

## FROM MISSION TO CHURCH IN BUGANDA

by *Adrian Hastings*

### I

There are in history particular moments which achieve a classical quality of memorableness. In the lengthy history of British government the events of the Long Parliament in 1639 to 1641 stand out in such a way. There was an exhilaration, a sense of breakthrough which the rough and tumble of subsequent years, disillusionment, a return to conditions of accepted mediocrity have never effaced. Much the same is true for what began in France in 1789: the thrill of the Tennis Court Oath, the fall of the Bastille, the march on Versailles. Life continues, often with a certain weariness, but the moment of greatness is not forgotten.

In the vast and complex story of missionary work in modern Africa, the first years of the church in Buganda attained a quality of these dimensions. Doubtless the entire setting of the state of Buganda and the court of Mutesa, already depicted in such glowing terms by Henry STANLEY, have contributed to this effect. The character of the leading missionaries, Mackay and Lourdel, had their part to play. Still more important was the dynamic quality of the young christians involved: Mukasa, Lwanga, Kalemba the Mulumba, Andrew Kagawa and others. The martyrdoms, the strange subsequent history of exile and civil war, the final settlement and the quite exceptional growth of the Church in the following years: all these factors contributed to make of the years in Buganda after 1877 an epic in which the men involved, the twists of event, the rise and fall of fortune, remain imprinted on the mind with a clarity which time does not dim and which history affords to few of its subjects.

Clearly we are indebted for our awareness of these years, not only to the writings of many of those involved, missionary and non-missionary, and the genuine oral traditions which still survive, but also to subsequent writers who have studied what happened in a way that is perhaps unique for nineteenth century African history: Sir Apolo KAGWA, Sir John GRAY, Fathers THOONEN and FAUPEL, Miss Margery PERHAM, Canon TAYLOR, Professor LOW, to mention only some of those whose research and published work have thrown light on these vital, tumultuous years in which the Church in Uganda was born<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Among the more recent literature Father FAUPEL's *African Holocaust* (Chapman, 1965) takes pride of place for the study of the first christian decade. It is, of course, a revision of Fr THOONEN's *Black Martyrs*. Canon JOHN TAYLOR's *Growth of the Church in Buganda* (SCM Press, 1958) is a work of major importance and the present study owes very much to it. Of other general works ROLAND OLIVER's *Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1952; second edition with a new introduction, 1965) is still worth consulting; there are also E. MATHESON'S

## II

It is obvious that a new church will normally begin from a 'Mission' and with missionaries, but the theological relationship between mission and church, whose actual working out in the particular context of Uganda I wish to examine, is itself a complex one<sup>2</sup>.

'Church' refers to the totality of the Christian fellowship, both local and universal, 'Mission' to its service and outgoing action. But as the Church can have ultimate meaning only in terms of its function, of the striving after that purpose for which Christ launched it, it can be said that it is only in terms of its mission that the Church herself can be interpreted. Mission is not an occasional event in the life of the community like a sudden swarm of bees from the hive, after which everyone can settle down again to an internally directed existence, it has instead to be a constant movement, the most decisive permanent dimension of christian living both at the level of world church and at that of a healthy local church. It exactly balances the other dimension of union, coming together, communion. Mission, then, cannot be understood simply in a geographical sense and the establishment of new local churches; it is to be carried on in many ways and circumstances where that is not called for. In its absence any church becomes 'churchy' and inward-turned. Nevertheless the mission to the wholly beyond and the consequent planting of a new local church ('Missionary activity' in the more traditional

*An Enterprise so Perilous* (Mellifont), a study of nineteenth century White Father work in East Africa, and H. P. GALE's *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers* (Macmillan, 1959) which goes up to 1914.

For the nineteenth century three specialised studies are of particular value: D. A. Low, *Religion and Society in Buganda 1875—1900*, East African Studies, a seminal essay; the same author's *Converts and Martyrs in Buganda* (pages 150—163 of *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, edited C. G. Baeta, Oxford, 1968), useful especially for its evaluation of Mutesa's later years; J. A. ROWE, *The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court*, Journal of African History, vol. V, 1964, 1, pp. 55—72. This last is an excellent study of the years 1885—6. MARGERY PERHAM's *Lugard, the Years of Adventure, 1858—1898*, (Collins, 1956) and the massively detailed three volumes of the *Diaries of Lord Lugard*, edited M. PERHAM (Faber & Faber, 1959) help greatly for the years 1890—92. What the history of Buganda at present lacks is a full study of the crucial developments in 1887—89, although Sir JOHN GRAY's article "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda 1888—1889", *Uganda Journal*, 1950, pp. 15—52, provides a most valuable basis for this. There is also far too little generally available on White Father work after 1892.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to refer here adequately to the vast modern theological literature on the Church-mission relationship, but reference may be made to C. COUTURIER *The Mission of the Church* (Helicon Press: Darton, Longman & Todd) 1960, first published in French, 1957; H.-W. GENSICHEN *Living Mission* (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1966): much in JOHN TAYLOR's book listed above, and the first chapters of my own *Church and Mission in Modern Africa* (Burns & Oates, 1967).

sense) remains its apex and most striking expression, and it is that aspect of mission with which we are chiefly concerned here.

Examining christian life in Uganda we will label it as 'Mission' in so far as it is still dependent upon overseas christian bodies in a way that a full local church is not, while we label it as 'Church' in so far as it has become a self-ministering, self-supporting, self-propagating body — a rounded local fellowship of christians in faith, sacrament and service, a self-reliant community, itself obedient to the call of mission.

Nevertheless we have here to remember that a local christian church cannot be by the nature of the case a wholly independent entity. There are churches throughout the world, but there is and has still to be the one Church. It is evidently the missionary task to establish a new local church in such a way that it is a living part of the world communion. And a living part means a giving and taking part. It is natural moreover that old well-established churches should continue in a special way to help young ones. It is not easy to say apodictically how much continuing help is proper within a healthy communion between two such churches and how much indicates rather an unhealthy mission domination over new christians, but it is clear that the latter has too often happened. Missions have continued for centuries, never becoming truly churches, but remaining dependent generation after generation on a ministry, both episcopal and presbyteral, coming from abroad. It has to be admitted that this has been a fault particularly characteristic of post-Reformation Catholic missionary work.

### III

These general observations may help us in our judgment on the course of growth in the two churches established in Uganda, the Roman Catholic and the Church of Uganda<sup>3</sup>. Their origins date from almost exactly the same time. The Anglican missionaries, the Reverend C. T. Wilson and Lieutenant Shergold-Smith, arrived in June 1877 but the latter was murdered south of the lake a few months later; Wilson withdrew twice in the next months and the C.M.S. mission was only really established on Wilson's return with Alexander Mackay in November 1878. Three months later, 17 February 1879, Père Lourdel and Brother Amans landed at Entebbe.

At that time Mackay was twenty-nine years old and Lourdel twenty-five. They were to be the two dominant figures of the early years. Both

<sup>3</sup> A joint study of the two communions in Uganda whose history is in many ways so similar is not made easier by the quite extraordinary hostility each felt for the other through many years. Missionary literature on each side abounds in the most sweeping condemnations of the other. Happily this is now passing. The present study completely ignores this aspect of missionary work and church growth, but it cannot be denied that it was often almost uppermost in the minds of the founding fathers of the church in Uganda.

were men of great faith, highly intelligent, daring, energetic, rather hasty. Mackay excelled in his practical capacity as a craftsman and engineer, Lourdel in his tact, charm of character and ability as a counsellor. Both died early in 1890 just before the frequently tragic and finally decisive events of 1891—2 which, under the direction of Lugard, established a radically new milieu for the churches to live and work within<sup>4</sup>. The British Raj had begun.

Within a few months of the passing of the two great pioneers, the two outstanding figures of the church of the next generation had arrived, their arrival indeed curiously mirroring that of the earlier pair just twelve years earlier. Bishop Tucker entered Uganda on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1890, Father Streicher on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1891<sup>5</sup>. It is in fact strange how completely December 1890 marks a new beginning as regards the European presence in Buganda. Mgr Hirth, replacing Livinhac, arrived for the first time on the 8 December. Captain Lugard reached Kampala ten days later, the 18<sup>th</sup>. Bishop Tucker got in after another nine days, 27 December'. Such a spate of arrivals must have greatly helped to build up Ganda tensions. It is worth remembering too that the only remaining

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Mackay left Buganda in 1887 and did not return. He died south of the lake at Usambiro in February 1890. — Siméon Lourdel died at Rubaga on 12 May 1890. He was in fact the first European to die in Buganda, but Bishop Hannington had, of course, been murdered nearly five years earlier (29 October 1885) inside what is modern Uganda.

It is not easy to state the exact relative importance of Fathers Lourdel and Livinhac in the early White Father mission. Father Lourdel receives the central place in all narratives. Fr. Livinhac was the first local superior of the Buganda mission and was certainly the one responsible for major decisions. And it was he who composed the first Luganda grammar. However he was in Buganda a far shorter time than Lourdel. The latter opened the mission in February 1879 and was joined by Livinhac in June. They were both there until the general departure in November 1882. After the return, however, Livinhac was present for only brief periods; he was by now bishop and responsible also for the missions south of the lake and Lourdel had taken over as local superior of the Buganda mission. Livinhac visited Buganda briefly May-June 1886 at the height of the persecution; he was back there in 1888 and shared in the general October expulsion; he next returned in March and April 1890 before leaving for Algiers to become Vicar General of the Society, Lourdel dying one month after his departure.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop Tucker was born in 1849. He retired from Uganda in 1911 and died in England 15 June 1914. TUCKER's two volumned work *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (Edward Arnold, 1908) contains much information on the early years.

Bishop Streicher was born in 1863; he retired from his vicariate in 1933 but remained in Uganda. He died at Villa Maria, the mission he had founded sixty years earlier, 7 June 1952 and is buried there. Reference can be made to Sir JOHN GRAY's warm tribute to him in the *Uganda Journal*, 1953, pp. 63—7 and to the lengthy work of J. CUSSAC, *Evêque et Pionnier, Monseigneur Streicher*, (Paris, 1955).

White Father with real experience, P. Denoit, died a few months later, in May 1891<sup>6</sup>.

December 1890 marked indeed a new beginning both for Church and state. Tucker and Streicher were the two men destined to have a decisive influence on the growth of their two communions in the next quarter century and it was largely due to them personally that both missions continued quite emphatically as churches in a way that has not happened nearly so clearly in many other parts of Africa.

#### IV

One cannot help but be impressed by the almost staggeringly self-assured approach of the first christian converts to their new religious life. The Baganda, members of a society in some ways surprisingly free and self-confident, seem to have been looking at that time for a religion and a possibility of personal commitment superior to that of their traditional gods. There had been a very real interest in Islam in the preceding years and some had died for it. Now the story was to be repeated<sup>7</sup>. Certainly this sense of a real quest for religion is not something missionaries encountered in many parts of Africa; here too, special circumstances helped to turn it early into a truly mature christian commitment.

The local church began quickly. The White Fathers baptised four converts on 27 March 1880 and four more on 14 May. However from then on they were tied by Cardinal LAVIGERIE's instructions, received 1 June 1880, enjoining a four year catechuminate. After further correspondence and a strong protest from Livinhac, some exceptions were after all to be allowed and they baptised eight more two years later, April-May 1882, among them Joseph Mukasa, Andrew Kagwa and Matthias Kalemba. They were all carefully picked men and they formed the nucleus of the Catholic Church<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Several of the most able Catholic missionaries of the next generation — Guillermain, Achte and Marcou among others — arrived the same day as Streicher, 21 February. The speed with which the journey from Europe could now be made is shown by the fact that they brought with them *The Times* up to 3 October, and sent them to Lugard the next day! See *Diaries*, II p. 96.

Guillermain succeeded Hirth as bishop north of the lake in 1895 but died almost at once (14 July 1896). He is buried at Bukalasa.

The very remarkable Anglican missionaries of the coming years — men like Baskerville, Pilkington the Bible translator and Roscoe the anthropologist — arrived either with Tucker or shortly after.

<sup>7</sup> This is a point Low well makes in his *Converts and Martyrs in Buganda*.

<sup>8</sup> Cardinal LAVIGERIE's extremely rigid instructions of 1879 allowing no baptisms, except in case of the dying, without a four year catechuminate are to be found in *Instructions aux Missionnaires* (Editions Grands Lacs, 1950) pp. 109—110. They were repeated in a letter to Livinhac, dated from Algiers 18 October 1880. At this date he had presumably heard of the baptisms of that

The Anglican missionaries made their first baptism the same year, 1882, while in 1883 the number they baptised was quite considerable. Yet despite this and the continued presence of the Anglican missionaries all through the next critical years, it seems clear that it was already the Catholics who were growing stronger and who provided by far the greater part of the leadership in the months of persecution, 1885—6.

I cannot help believing that the decisive reason for this, paradoxically enough, was precisely the sudden departure of the White Fathers from the country in November 1882 for reasons which have never been properly explained<sup>9</sup>. They only returned in July 1885, two years and eight months later. It is worth recording that Joseph Mukasa Balikudembe was martyred only four months after their return, in November. It is strange how much Father Lourdel has been given the centre of the picture in the years preceding the martyrdoms because it is clear from a careful study of the evidence that it was in his absence rather than his presence that the Church became really strong. The Catholics now had to stand entirely on their own feet. Their chief leaders, Mukasa and Kalemba, had only been baptised six months before the missionaries departed. Here was the Church: sixteen men, most of them fairly young, recently baptised, and a considerably larger group of catechumens. One might certainly have expected that in the coming years they would have merged with the Protestants — Mackay did not leave the country — or just faded away. In fact just the opposite happened. They grew into a genuine self-reliant, self-propagating Church and it was surely those years of full responsibility and leadership that prepared so many for future martyrdom.

It is a fascinating picture, something nearer to New Testament christian life than has almost ever occurred. There were in fact a group of 'house churches'. There was, first of all, the church in the King's court led by Joseph Mukasa. Secondly, there was the church in and around year, but did not know that Livinhac had now received his 1879 instructions. He therefore appended a further copy and added: «Mes prescriptions sont des ordres exprès, que je vous donne de concert avec le Saint-Siège Apostolique; elles vous obligent donc en conscience» (*Instructions*, p. 143). Livinhac had already written back a strong protest against these instructions which is reflected in LAVIGERIE's letter of 10 February 1881: «Cela me conduit à vous parler des règles que je vous ai données pour le catéchuménat et contre lesquelles vous me paraissez réclamer avec une vivacité que je ne comprends pas» (p. 168). However he agreed to permit exceptions for those willing to die for their faith! As a result of this permission the eight baptisms of 1882 were able to take place with quite incalculable consequences for the young church.

<sup>9</sup> In a letter of Cardinal LAVIGERIE, dated 24 March 1883, he still clearly knew nothing of the departure from Uganda of the previous November. Indeed he speaks instead of the probable departure of the C. M. S. missionaries (*Instructions*, pp. 200—1). But he had heard about it by August. Two years later, in a letter to Livinhac of August 1885, he speaks of the return to Uganda, «cette mission si malheureusement interrompue par de vaines terreurs» (p. 216).

the house of Mathew Kisule, the gunsmith, at Natete; thirdly, a group in the household of the young chief Alexis Sebbowa. Fourthly, there was the community fifty miles away at Mityana built up by Kalemba. It is thought that by the time of the martyrdoms there were some two hundred believing christians at Mityana, a place where no missionary had ever come. Certainly many of these christians had not seen a priest even once. Lourdel estimated on his return in 1885 that the total count of Catholics, baptised and catechumens, was now upwards of eight hundred. If the freedom of outlook and missionary method of New Testament times had been retained, some of these apostles would surely have been ordained priests; instead of that the missionaries could still hesitate as to the propriety of even baptising some of the firmest believers! It seems to have been Joseph Mukasa's martyrdom which really convinced Lourdel on this point, and it is moving to remember that the new leader — Lwanga — was baptised the very day (15 November) the old one died. Yet there was still over-much hesitation. Lourdel in his diary gives the impression of feeling he must justify himself for this action<sup>10</sup>. At one moment it was actually Charles Lwanga who had to take the matter into his own hands and baptise four of his companions on the very eve of martyrdom. Lwanga, like Mukasa, was after all no younger than Lourdel himself had been when he arrived in Buganda, while many of the others were far older<sup>11</sup>. One feels already a strain between missionary preconceptions and methods and the real needs and possibilities of the young church.

If I have here concentrated upon the Catholics in these years, it is just because — for partly accidental reasons as I have suggested — they seem to have become a more vigorous community, a more genuine Church. Mackay once sensed part of the trouble when he wrote regretfully: "There is so much in our ways and methods that strengthens the idea of foreign rule ... English men, English Church, English formularies, English Bishop"<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps as a Scot he was particularly sensitive to this! I suspect too that his own character and his very skills as a craftman more than a teacher had something to do with it. But probably the very continuance of his presence was the most decisive factor!

Mackay left Uganda for south of the lake in 1887, and was followed by the remaining Anglican missionaries in the general expulsion of the following year. It seems probable that the very much more active role

<sup>10</sup> 'How could we refuse them this grace?': FAUPEL, *African Holocaust*, p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> There is still a tendency to talk of the converts rather indiscriminately as 'boys'. Thus FAUPEL calls Sebwato a 'boy', p. 116, when he must in fact have been in his middle forties! As FAUPEL himself remarks, Europeans often underestimate the age of Africans, and Lourdel himself seems to have done so with Lwanga (FAUPEL, p. 62). Only a minority of the martyrs, and none of their leaders, could possibly be described as boys.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Mackay wrote this in 1877. It was, of course, *mutatis mutandis*, true of all missions.

that the Baganda Protestants exercised in the coming years is again not unconnected with that fact. With his departure Sebwato and Kagwa took over the Protestant leadership, just as Mukasa and Kalemba had done for the Catholics five years earlier. However it was Honorat Nnyonintono, the new Catholic leader, who held the christians as a whole together with remarkable statesmanship through the long crisis of 1888 — probably the gravest moment for the young church in the whole story. His death in battle the next year was a major tragedy. He was replaced as christian *katikiro* by Apolo Kagwa, certainly another great statesman though he lacked Honorat's capacity to hold the two christian groups together.

Upon both sides the experience of the 1880's, when for one reason and another the young christians had had to stand in crisis after crisis upon their own legs, make their own decisions, die their own deaths, and finally triumph in arms when Gabriel Kintu recaptured the capital and restored Mwanga to his throne in February 1890, it was that experience which was to be decisive for the future of the young Church. Only a relatively small group was, after all, martyred<sup>13</sup>. The colleagues of Mukasa and Lwanga had remained to fight it out and then to provide a permanent core of mature African lay leadership which had a profound effect upon the development of Church life in the next thirty years<sup>14</sup>. On the Catholic side men like Alexis Sebbowa and Stanislaus Mugwanya, on the Protestant side Nikodemo Sebwato, Ham Mukasa and Apolo Kagwa had all been christians through the time of persecution. The mantle of the fallen leaders had passed to them and it remained very markedly with some of them — Alexis and Stanislaus, Ham Mukasa and Apolo Kagwa — right into the nineteen-thirties and even after. Ham Mukasa, already a believer before the persecution, baptised in 1887, remained for decades a pillar of the Anglican Church. He became county chief of Kyagwe in 1905 and only died in 1956<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See the very clear treatment of this point by ROWE, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Of course, a further considerable number of these men died fighting in the six years following the martyrdoms. Thus, of the seven men who gave evidence before the White Fathers in 1887 on the subject of the martyrdoms — so providing the start for the canonisation process — three died in battle in the following years: Louis Kigongo, killed at Mengo in October 1888 when the Muslims drove the Christians out during Kiwewa's short reign; Charles Werabe, one of the three young men spared at Namugongo 3 June 1886, fell at the same time as Nnyonintono in one of the battles of 1889; while Francis Kintu was killed fighting the Protestants at Mengo, 24 January 1892 (NICQ, *Le père Siméon Lourdel*, p. 535, <sup>3</sup>1922). The same day as Kintu, Sembera Mackay, one of the first five Protestants to be baptised (18 March 1882) died fighting on the other side. He had also been one of the first six 'lay evangelists' commissioned by Bishop Tucker just a year earlier. LUGARD mentions him in his account of the fight (*Diaries* III, p. 32): 'Poor Sembera (the best fellow in Uganda, and the peacemaker) was shot by these first few shots and killed'.



It was such men clearly born to authority, conscious from the start of their responsibility for the Church as for the state, who ensured that in the coming years of missionary preponderance the inheritance of the first age was not lost.

## V

They were helped in this, as has already been suggested, by the two remarkable new missionary leaders who arrived in the country at the end of 1890. It is certain that the outlook of these two was at times strikingly different from that of many of their European fellow-workers. Of the two Tucker had, of course, the direction of his church from the start, while Streicher arrived as a junior missionary, and in March 1891 after only three weeks in the country was sent off westward to found a first mission in Buddu county, the heart of the later Masaka district<sup>16</sup>. Only six years later was he chosen bishop, travelled to Bukumbi south of the lake for consecration (15 August 1897), and then returned to exercise a decisive influence upon the Catholic church for over thirty years<sup>17</sup>.

These years after 1890 were ones of constant missionary expansion and of a vast increase in the number of christians. By 1904 there were 79 C.M.S. missionaries in the country, 83 members of the White Fathers society and 35 of the Mill Hill Fathers. Mission stations were being opened not only throughout Buganda but far away to the West and East. There is no doubt of the continued fervour and energy of the new converts. Nevertheless, the more the missionaries increased, the less room there seemed to be for African initiative — at least unless it could be channelled into a clear institutional pattern. Already in November 1892 the Anglican Baskerville could write: 'Our meeting with the elders on Saturday did a lot of good, and I think they will not be so independent in future'<sup>18</sup>. This almost inevitable attitude was characteristic of both churches, but perhaps particularly of the Catholics, and this just because the church institutions they took for granted were both more rigid and left less room for lay initiative than those of the Anglicans. Conditions required for ordination to the priesthood could not be modified; moreover there was no suggestion of the introduction of church councils with full

<sup>15</sup> There is a brief but pleasant memoir of Ham Mukasa in the *Uganda Journal* 1959, pp. 184—6.

<sup>16</sup> Streicher had already learnt a good deal of the Luganda language before arrival with the aid of LIVINHAC's grammar. The next month, April, Mgr. Hirth sent Achte and Marcou eastwards to begin work in Kyagwe, that being then the county ruled by Alexis Sebbowa, (cf. G. LEBLOND *Le Père Auguste Achte*, *Maison Carrée* 1912, p. 137).

<sup>17</sup> He learnt of his appointment as bishop 6 May 1897; he had, however, been ruling the vicariate as Provicar since the death of Mgr Guillermain the previous July.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

lay participation: the latter were only to be introduced by Bishop Kiwanuka fifty years later. But in both communions the element of 'Mission' increases, that of 'Church' decreases.

However this was far from absolute. Both the strength and confidence of the African christians themselves and the clear aims of Tucker and Streicher, each operating according to the characteristic outlook of his church, prevented it.

Let us consider the pattern of Anglican growth first. A Church council under the leadership of Sebwato was established as early as 1885 and some sharing of the laity in church government was an established reality from then on. Again, it is remarkable how much of pre-baptismal instruction in the early years was managed by the converts themselves — one passing on his knowledge to others with an enormous enthusiasm, husbands teaching their wives to read, and so on. But the most characteristic and striking feature of all in the Church life of the 1890's was, perhaps, the catechist movement, the entry of Africans with a very great élan into a regular Church ministry both at home and abroad. Already in 1891 Nathaniel Mudeka, a nephew of the old pagan Katikiro Mukasa, offered to work outside his own country and became a catechist south of the lake. In the next years Anglican Baganda catechists were going forth West, East, and North, evangelising new lands — Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, and other places still further away. By 1906 six of them had reached as far as the famed Gondokoro in the Sudan.

It is right to recall here that this early Baganda missionary movement was — like so many other missionary movements in history — linked with a nationalist, even semi-imperialist, expansion. On the same roads tramped by catechists went other Baganda — chiefs and soldiers — and the Baganda catechist missionaries could suffer at times from the characteristic attitudes and limitations of an imperialist viewpoint. Crabtree, an early Anglican missionary visiting Bukedi early in 1901, had this to say: 'Amongst the Bakedi the language difficulty comes in: those boys or lads who join the Baganda and live with them and learn their language, are being taught slowly as at Bululu and Kikabukabu in the Lumogera district. Three years, and yet not a Muganda able to teach in the vernacular ...'<sup>19</sup>. Elsewhere, however, Crabtree did note a

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in JOHN GRAY, 'Kakunguru in Bukedi', *Uganda Journal*, 27, I, 1963, p. 41. For the general Ganda expansionism of this time see, among others, A. D. ROBERTS, *The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda*, *Journal of African History*, III, 1962, 2, pp. 435—50. The tendency for some catechists to mix up evangelism and government can be illustrated, for instance, by the Mill Hill Father VAN TERM's complaint to the authorities, dated 4 October 1901, that in the eastern districts Baganda catechists settled down in the chief's compound and dominated civil proceedings (see GALE, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, pp. 224—5). But it is hard to blame catechists for mixing up the two when so many missionaries had consistently done the same!

few exceptions to this, and the linguistic exertions of a man like Kivebulaya are well-known.

For Bishop Tucker the grade of catechist was the first rung in a continuous ladder of ecclesiastical ministry; from it the more reliable could rise higher. In 1893 he ordained his first deacons and three years later, 31 May 1896, the first Baganda priests. This extremely rapid start with a local ministry, once a bishop was in the country, is surely remarkable. Of the early Anglican deacons some were great chiefs like Sebwato, but most of them were full time evangelists. Thus Mudeka was ordained a deacon in 1896 and priest three years later. In this way an African ministry with great devotion but naturally also a rather limited education was able to get under way with considerable rapidity.

The finest figure of all in this early Anglican ministry is surely that of Apolo Kivebulaya. Baptised in 1895, he volunteered for the ministry two years later and was soon engaged both in studying at Namirembe and preaching the gospel in neighbouring villages. In a few months he was sent off to Toro. Ordained a deacon in 1900 and a priest in 1903, he had a long, holy, and arduous life of evangelisation in the Congo, dying in 1933 at Mboga where he had been a minister for thirty years<sup>20</sup>.

All this was magnificent, but it must be noted too that there were strict limits in the initiative allowed. The missionaries remained only too clearly in ultimate control. There was certainly no real parity of dignity between priests white and black. Bishop Tucker had earnestly striven for this, and his plans for a church constitution, first proposed as early as 1897, were extremely far-sighted and in the line of Henry Venn and the C.M.S. tradition at its very best. They were however, only accepted in a modified form in 1909, leaving the mission clearly above the local church. In the words of one of the earliest missionaries, Baskerville, a man — be it noted — who lived very close to the people indeed: 'To me the greatest objection seems to be the proposed equality of European and native workers, thereby in some cases placing Europeans under native control'<sup>21</sup>. With such an outlook a really self-confident local church could hardly be expected to develop. If a European handed over a job, it must always be so as to retire upwards. And as there were by now a good many Europeans about, this very effectively limited for many years a full development in the recognition of responsibility in the local church. It must be noted also, that, despite Tucker's flexible approach to the ministry, the numbers ordained did in fact remain comparatively small: by 1914 there were no more than 33 native priests. It is striking too that though the first Anglican priests were ordained seventeen years before the first Catholic priests, the first Ugandan bishop was to be a Catholic<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> ANNE LUCK, *African Saint*, the story of Apolo Kivebulaya (SCM Press, 1963).

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>22</sup> The first African to be consecrated a bishop in the Church of Uganda was

Turning to the Catholic effort in these years, we see some things very similar, others rather different. The enormous initial enthusiasm, the vast catechism classes of the 90's and their self-help system were the same; so too was the catechist movement. When Streicher took over the vicariate in 1897 there were already, apparently, 243 recognised catechists and they were soon penetrating as far afield as their Protestant counterparts<sup>23</sup>. A group of Catholic Baganda catechists was settled in Teso by 1903. The saintly Yohana Kitagana, baptised in 1896, had set out for Bunyoro in 1901 and he continued his work with utter devotion in the western region for nearly forty years, dying at Mutolere in 1938. It is worth noting that both the Anglican Kivebulaya and the Catholic Kitagana worked as celibates, a condition obligatory neither for the Anglican priest nor for the Catholic catechist, but freely embraced by both as helpful to evangelism.

Bishop Streicher was as anxious as Bishop Tucker to have African priests, but there could be for him no question of promoting a catechist in this direction. The road to the priesthood was to be a different one. The Catholic Church was not prepared to accept a basically lower educational standard for its black priests than for its white. Moreover, the extensive knowledge of Latin required together with the obligation of celibacy raised great further difficulties. But the early White Fathers were not to be deterred. It was in fact Mgr Hirth who began the work as early — almost unbelievably — as 1893, in which year Fr Marcou was put in charge of a group of boys stationed at Villa Maria, Fr Streicher's own mission. Even Streicher had at first been doubtful as to the wisdom of starting such a thing so quickly. It was the explicit instruction of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda that convinced him: 'A mission that can produce martyrs can produce priests'<sup>24</sup>. From that moment Streicher put all his weight behind this work and drove his often reluctant missionaries on: 'This is the chief work of my vicariate'.

The seminary was at first somewhat peripatetic. It moved from Villa to Rubaga, and Rubaga to Kisubi, only returning to the Villa Maria parish and settling down at Bukalasa in 1903, when Fr Marcou ceased

Bishop Balya from Toro; he was consecrated in 1947 as an auxiliary for western Uganda. He has now retired but is still alive and active.

<sup>23</sup> There was at first no regular training school. The beginnings of one date from the end of 1902, see a letter from Father Matthews to Bishop Hanlon mentioning the project: GALE, op. cit., p. 239. Initially at Rubaga, the following year it was already installed at Mitala Maria. Bishop Streicher used to visit it annually and make an appeal for volunteers to work outside Buganda (*Notices nécrologiques*, Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1952, pp. 3—47). Later on the school was again moved to Bikira, south of Masaka.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in the *Notice nécrologique* of Mgr. Streicher, p. 22. The unquestioning acceptance of these instructions in face of apparently insuperable obstacles is a good example of the way the very Ultramontane formation of the White Fathers stood them in good stead.

to be superior. At the same moment the 'major seminary' became an independent entity, going to Bikira. They were however reunited at Bukalasa two years later, the senior institution being finally established on its own at Katigondo only in 1911<sup>25</sup>.

Nothing is more impressive than the immense and persistent effort involved in this project and the refusal to abandon it in spite of the apparently overwhelming difficulties<sup>26</sup>. Among them the production of textbooks in Luganda for a suitable minor seminary course of ecclesiastical and humanistic studies was itself a herculean task in those early years, above all the writing and then printing of a full Luganda-Latin dictionary and grammar. I must confess to finding the dry 632 pages of the *Lexikon Latinum Ugandicum*, printed at Bukalasa in 1912 but in manuscript use much earlier, an intensely moving document<sup>27</sup>. Certainly in men like Fathers GORJU and LE VEUX, Streicher had linguists fully adequate for tasks such as these<sup>28</sup>.

It is safe to claim that at least between the years 1903 and 1922 there was no other institution in the whole of Uganda which offered an<sup>25</sup> *Registre du personnel du Petit Séminaire de la Sainte Famille, Bukalasa*. When the major seminary was brought to Bukalasa from Bikira in 1905 there

were in all eight major seminarians, of these three became priests: Bazilio Lumu, Victorio Mukasa (both ordained 29 June 1913) and Yoanna Muswabuzi (ordained 7 March 1915). Fr. Lumu died in March 1946, Fr. Muswabuzi on Christmas Day 1967. Both are buried at Bukalasa. Mgr. Victor Mukasa is still alive and active at the time of writing.

<sup>26</sup> It is not unfair to make the comparison with the seminary at Bagamoyo, begun at the first mission on the East African coast, in the late 1860's, but allowed to die a natural death in face of great difficulties a few years later. Work was only resumed in the 1920's... see F. VERSTEIJNEN C. S. Sp. *The Catholic Mission of Bagamoyo* (1968) section under heading: 25-4-1938. *Preliminary Notes*.

<sup>27</sup> Bishop Streicher's *imprimatur*, given at Villa Maria, is dated August 1911. This must have been one of the first books to be printed on the press at Bukalasa. The press remained there until its removal to Kisubi in 1938.

<sup>28</sup> Father LE VEUX first joined the minor seminary staff in October 1903 at the move to Bukalasa. He had then just arrived from Europe. His great work, the *Premier essai de vocabulaire luganda-français* was printed at Maison Carrée in 1917. He had completed it in France in an ambulance unit at the front. It opens with an introductory letter from Mgr. Livinhac, now near the end of his life. Over a thousand pages long, it has remained the basic work on Luganda vocabulary. LE VEUX was rector of Bukalasa from July 1932 until August 1947. He died in January 1965 and is buried at Bukalasa.

Father GORJU was rector of Bukalasa from 1914 until 1919. He wrote several books, including the well-known *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard* (1920), of value anthropologically. He was also the first editor of the Luganda newspaper *Munno*, begun in January 1911 and at that time printed at Bukalasa. Begun as a monthly it is now a daily. GORJU was appointed first vicar apostolic of Urundi in 1922, resigned in 1938 and died in December 1942. He returned to Uganda after his resignation and is also buried at Bukalasa.

education of comparable academic level to that of Bukalasa and Katigondo<sup>29</sup>. The six year minor seminary course was followed by nine further years before ordination, including two of actual ministry, and yet the first two Baganda priests were ordained in 1913. By 1924 seventeen men had been ordained and a few years later — by the early thirties — a systematic policy of handing over the parishes of the Masaka district was begun<sup>30</sup>. In 1939 this became a separate vicariate under the first African Catholic bishop of modern times, Joseph Kiwanuka<sup>31</sup>. By then 73 priests — not all to them, of course, Baganda — had been ordained from Katigondo. The calibre of this first generation of African priests was, I think, very impressive. The very length and quality of the education offered (in comparison with anything available elsewhere) helped to encourage the best. Many of these older Baganda priests worked for years outside Buganda, and some indeed are still there — in Kigezi and Ankole. Devoted pastors, conscientious administrators (like Mgr Maurice Mukasa, Bishop Kiwanuka's vicar general for many years), scholars and linguists (like the historian Father Joseph DDIBA), they represent the specific response of a second generation of christians to the responsibility of sharing in the Church's life and ministry<sup>32</sup>. They were supported by a growing number of local religious brothers — the BANNAKAROLI.

There is undoubtedly a dynamism and a determination in this movement, both from the missionary side and in the African response, that is very impressive; from the establishment of the first seminary through the ordination of the first priests and on to the consecration of the first bishop forty years later. Given the conditions of the system, it surely could not have been done faster. And, if this was indeed fully consistent with White Father policy elsewhere, as with that of *Propaganda Fide*, it is still true that its outstanding success here was largely due to the personal determination of Bishop Streicher and his closest collaborators.

<sup>29</sup> See the significant comments in the *Phelps-Stokes Report*, p. 161. Their visit was in March 1924.

<sup>30</sup> Already in 1934 an African vicar delegate (Fr. Joseph Mpagi) was placed in general authority over all the Masaka parishes. The first African parish priest of Villa Maria itself, Fr. Maurice Mukasa (ordained like Fr. Mpagi in 1924) was installed by Fr. LeVeux 1 November 1934 (*Diary of Katigondo*).

<sup>31</sup> The telegram announcing his appointment arrived 1 June 1939 (*Diary of Katigondo*). Bishop Kiwanuka had been ordained ten years earlier, in 1929. He had since joined the White Fathers Society, studied in Rome, and then returned — first to parish work, then to teach at Katigondo. After more than twenty years as bishop in Masaka, he became archbishop of Rubaga in 1960, attended all the sessions of the Vatican Council, and died in February 1966.

<sup>32</sup> Fr. DDIBA was ordained in 1925. His two volumed history, *Eddini mu Uganda*, was published at Masaka in 1965 and 1967. Mgr. Maurice Mukasa, Mgr. Mpagi, Fr. DDIBA, and others of their generation are still alive, active church workers today.

A further field of work should also be noted, and surely a remarkable one: the establishment of an order of African sisters. This work began with the recruiting of female catechists in 1904. Out of this group, under the formation of White Sisters, and especially Mother Mechtilde, there developed the Congregation of the Daughters of Mary, *Bannabikira*. The first eleven took a promise of obedience and chastity in 1910. In August 1925 it was officially constituted as a diocesan congregation, when 130 sisters took permanent vows at the same moment and elected their own general superior. This very rapid development of female cooperation in Church work is, in the African context, in some ways the most remarkable of all Streicher's achievements.

It should be noted that in the nineteen-twenties the *Bannabikira* were joined by a second congregation — the 'Little Sisters of St Francis' — based at Nkokonjeru, within the Mill Hill vicariate in the eastern part of Buganda. Begun on African initiative — the idea came from a girl called Paulina Musenero — a first group was formed in 1923 under the guidance of Mother Kevin of the Franciscan Missionaries for Africa. The first vows were taken in August 1928.

If we now compare the work of the two missions in these years from the point of view of the extent to which they maintained and developed an active and not just a passive local church, we can say that for the laity the Anglican Church, though not perfect, seems better than the Catholic. The great Catholic chiefs did indeed take a very real part in church life; on several occasions Stanislaus Mugwanya stood out boldly in the Lukiko for the Catholic point of view and the moral example and stern leadership provided by Alexis, the county chief of Buddu, for so many years was surely a source of inspiration for thousands<sup>33</sup>. How

<sup>33</sup> Alexis Sebbowa is a man who deserves a far more extensive study than he has received. Already a sub-chief before the persecutions, he had become by 1890 *Sekibobo* — county chief of Kyagwe — and one of the greatest lords in the land. In the 1892 reshuffle he exchanged offices with Sebwato and become *Pokino*; he ruled Buddu with great authority for many decades. LUGARD'S DIARIES are filled with his praises, for instance the following: 'The Sekibobo has perhaps done more than any man in the country to assist us. He was not in the fighting against us. He brought back the king. He is a man in whom I have absolute confidence, and whom I personally like very much. The Protestants trust him completely ...' 5 April 1892 (III, p. 145). See also LUGARD'S *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (W. Blackwood & Sons, 1893), especially II, p. 375—7. He remained county chief of Buddu for over thirty years and died in September 1937. Bwanda, the first house and generalate of the *Bannabikira*, to date the largest order of African nuns in the Church, is land given by him personally. He lies buried beside his great house at Kyojjomanyi, not far away. When in May 1935 Fr. Dupupet, the rector of Katigondo, had an accident and needed to be quickly transported to the capital, the diarist records: 'Alexis ex-Pokino a eu l'amabilité de prêter son automobile'. Two years later it was Fr. Dupupet who ministered at the burial at Kyojjomanyi (*Diary of Katigondo*, entries for 23 and 24 May 1935 and 21 September 1937.)

much the success of missionary work depended upon the support and cooperation of such men is not perhaps always recognised. The activity of the numerous body of catechists is also extremely impressive, but at the level of parish and inter-parochial decision-making it was only after the second world war that Bishop Kiwanuka developed in Masaka parish councils and parents' associations in a way that has since been copied by other dioceses.

Here, however, one can still insert a proviso. The strength of the early Anglican system was its extremely close linking of church and state implied in the concurrent responsibilities of the same men in both. County chiefs could even be ordained deacons while the *katikiro* certainly took an interest in the spread of evangelism beyond the borders of Buganda whose motivation was surely not purely religious. Such a system certainly appealed to the Baganda and it enabled the establishment of a structured local church to go forward rapidly<sup>34</sup>. But as a system it certainly had very serious weaknesses, inherent in every attempt to build the church closely into the state, which appeared in subsequent decades. The very dependence of Church life upon the chiefs meant that when, as happened in the next generation, there were few chiefs of outstanding christian calibre, the life of the Church suffered greatly. The moral defection of a chief could have deeper effects in the Anglican system than in the Catholic<sup>35</sup>. Again, there was soon a very real danger — and more than a danger — of a political churchmanship and of the tying of the church

<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that there *was* an understood division between responsibility in church and state, even in the lay sphere, almost from the start. This can be illustrated by a passing remark of ASHE: 'Old Nikodemo, the Pokino of Buddu, showed some annoyance at receiving orders from Kagwa, since Kagwa was nothing in the *Church*, where he himself was the principal man' (R. ASHE, *Chronicles of Uganda*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1894, pp. 141—2). This refers back to 1891 when Nikodemo Sebwato was still *Pokino*. Sebwato's death in March 1895 was certainly a grievous blow for the Anglican Church. There was probably no one else on the Anglican side with quite the stature of Kagwa (except for Kakunguru who had gone East), and Kagwa was basically more of the politique than the churchman. Indeed in many ways his position and outlook was very comparable with that of his predecessor (not immediate, of course) the old pagan *katikiro*, Mukasa. Each succeeded in maintaining his office across a change of king; each had a ruthless personal grip upon political power together with a very real sense of traditional Ganda values.

Certainly after Sebwato's death Kagwa tended to take for granted his own leadership in the Church as well as the state. See, for instance, his calling 'a meeting of the chiefs and more prominent christians' to plan the building of a new cathedral in 1901 (TUCKER, *Eighteen Years*, II, p. 283).

<sup>35</sup> By this contrast of 'system' I mean here, of course, a contrast as it actually came to exist in Uganda. It was not a contrast in desire. The Catholics would have been just as happy to have achieved an 'establishment', indeed they struggled hard to do so. It was in fact implicit in the whole concept of 'the christian kingdom' which was so central to LAVIGERIE'S missionary theory.



to the support of a political establishment. It cannot be doubted that the 1966 political revolution in Buganda has, as a result, caused a rather serious disorientation in Protestant church life. The shock effect of this may well, of course, be followed by a very real re-awakening and sense of liberation; and the real life of the Anglican Church has anyway for long been carried forward by the Revival Movement rather than by the establishment.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that the Anglican Church in Buganda is today somehow paying for its privileged position obtained seventy years back, and for that very relationship between church leadership and chiefly leadership which initially allowed Anglican African laity to take such an active part in church life. So often can the very strength of one generation prove a source of weakness for the next!

All this may help to explain too the fact that whereas in the Catholic Church in Uganda its Buganda section still somehow retains today much of the leadership it held at the start, in the National Anglican Church the Buganda dioceses have undoubtedly declined in vigour and most leadership now comes from the West — Ankole, Kigezi and Toro.

As regards the ordained ministry it is still less easy to judge between the policy of the two communions. In, say, 1905 the detached observer would surely have concluded that the Anglican system was a far wiser one, the Catholic rigid, unadapted and hardly likely to succeed<sup>36</sup>. I would tend to agree with this myself, and yet in some ways results do not confirm such a judgment. It is to be noted that when a profession and its traditions are established, the first pattern can prove difficult to change later on. The rather low level of education which became the norm for Anglican priests at the beginning has become a major problem sixty years later, providing an image of the clergy in a developing country which has slight attraction for the younger generation. The rather high academic level insisted on by the Catholics at the beginning, even if its content was far too formal and scholastic, has resulted sixty years later in the Catholic priesthood being by and large very much better equipped intellectually to deal with Uganda's modern society. And even in numbers in Buganda the Catholic clergy do not today lag behind. Adaptation has, after all, to be made with an eye to the future as well as to the present.

It is, however, most certainly true that a system of training which on the whole can be said to have succeeded in Buganda and to have helped create today a rather strong church has not worked out comparably

<sup>36</sup> After writing the above I happened to come across a relevant remark of C. W. HATTERSLEY written at just about the time I speak of. HATTERSLEY was not, it is true, a 'detached observer' but a Protestant missionary with a decidedly jaundiced view of Roman Catholics. Nevertheless his opinion was surely a common one. His book *The Baganda at Home* was first published in 1908 (reprinted, Frank Cass and Company, 1968). Speaking of the Catholic Church he says (p. 220): 'They have no native clergy connected with their mission, and are not likely to have any unless they can remove the obstacle of celibacy.'

elsewhere. For whatever reason the Eastern and Northern Regions, for instance, give a very different impression, and it would not be easy to maintain that in those areas the Catholic system has worked out better than the Protestant. Further, it can be added that the fault in the Anglican system surely lay not in the start of the ministry in Bishop Tucker's time but in a failure to adjust it sufficiently imaginatively in the thirty years following 1910, to keep in line (especially after the publication of the second *Phelps-Stokes Report*) with the quickly developing educational system of the country as a whole.

Bishop Tucker resigned in 1911 and one certainly has the impression that in the next forty years there was less sense of urgency among Anglicans in establishing a full local church, even though Tucker's successor, Bishop Willis, was in some ways far closer to Africans, having a linguistic knowledge which Tucker never acquired. A situation in which the top levels of the ministry were confined to expatriate clergy came to be accepted as a quasi-permanent one. One feels that the minor schisms from the Anglican Church of the *Bamalaki* (beginning 1914) and that in the 1920's which resulted in the Orthodox Church of Uganda, and even the Revival Movement starting in the 1930's, all express something of a justified dissatisfaction within the Protestant Church with the degree in which the Church had remained a 'Mission'<sup>37</sup>.

The Revival Movement (*BALOKOLE*), whose influence has clearly been of exceptional importance within the Anglican Church in the last thirty years, does however present a quite new element. It is one that cannot as such be paralleled on the Catholic side, though some comparison with the growth of local religious orders and even of the *Legion of Mary* — particularly from the viewpoint of providing scope for committed female fervour — could be sustained.

The Revival Movement began explicitly in 1937<sup>38</sup>. Its strength has been its predominantly African leadership and inspiration<sup>39</sup>, its largely lay character, and its continuance — despite tensions — within the original communion. It was both a reaction to the continued expatriate control of Church life and the rather heavy character of an establishment religion, and yet at the same time a renewal of that very religion from within. The missionary journeys of African 'Revival Teams' to Kenya and Tanganyika recall the missionary fervour of an earlier generation of Baganda. As an originally African movement which has yet not broken into schism, the East African Revival does indeed remain almost unique,

<sup>37</sup> See F. WELBOURN, *East African Rebels* (SCM, 1961) part II, in particular quotations on pages 40, 84, 86.

<sup>38</sup> For the East African Revival Movement the best general study is MAX WARREN's *Revival, an Enquiry* (SCM, 1954); see also TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—105, 223—6, and WELBOURN, *op. cit.*, pp. 72—5.

<sup>39</sup> The Revival was however clearly influenced in its stress both on fellowship and on the public confession of sins by the contemporary 'Oxford Group' movement (subsequently known as MRA).

and credit here must be given to its very understanding handling by bishop Stewart, the successor of Willis. The whole thing witnesses to the continued vigour of response to the gospel in a third generation. It may well be that the much greater extensiveness of Roman Catholic expatriate missionary activity in the last thirty years is the decisive reason why nothing quite comparable on the native side has happened within the Catholic communion.

Just because the Catholic procedure was such that it could only come to a peak more slowly, so too the specifically missionary momentum lasted longer<sup>40</sup>. But there is a clear impression that other bishops were far less effectively preoccupied than Streicher with the establishment of a viable local church, and that the Masaka area was a far too complete exception to the normal pattern. Here again, a mission situation was more or less accepted as quasi-permanent. Until well into the 1950's it was taken for granted that missionaries should retire up or to the side but could not (unless in exceptional cases and with very special safeguards) remain on *beneath* African superiors within an African church. Such an attitude — still apparent in some places — immensely retards the work of establishing a local church. Bishop Kiwanuka remained the sole African Catholic bishop in Uganda for over twenty years, until in fact, with his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Rubaga in December 1960, his successor in the diocese of Masaka, Mgr Adrian Ddungu, was appointed the following year. Only in October 1968 was the first Diocesan African bishop in the Northern and Eastern regions consecrated (Mgr. Asilo of Lira). He has, however, been rapidly followed by two further diocesan bishops in those parts.

In the Anglican Church too a large scale africanisation of the episcopate has only come in the 1960's. A number of African diocesan bishops were appointed after the establishment of the Province early in 1961 and an African metropolitan, Archbishop Sabiti of Fort Portal, Toro, elected in January 1966 to succeed Archbishop Brown. Today a sole European bishop remains in the Church of Uganda, and he was elected by the diocese concerned.

## VI

The deep similarities in the development of the two Churches within Buganda are clear. Both were hierarchical and it cannot be doubted that their solid establishment was assisted by the hierarchical character of traditional Ganda society. Their early pattern of organisation, their use of numerous catechists, their concern with the development of a local

<sup>40</sup> This can, of course, be partly explained too in terms of the steady increase in the number of Catholic missionary personnel, decade after decade, while the Anglican expatriate mission force ceased to grow after about 1920 and then came to decrease. Compare the 1904 figures TAYLOR gives with those for 1956 (op. cit. pp. 71 and 92—3).

clergy, their educational efforts, their africanisation of the hierarchy in the last ten years — in many points their development has been a parallel one.

On the other hand, as we have already seen, there have also been considerable differences which it may here be useful to summarise. The first has been a consistently different approach to the training and character of the ordained clergy (though the difference in training today is considerably less than it ever was in the past). A second has been a different relationship to political authority. This was more noticable in Buganda than in most parts of British Africa because the tie-up here was not only between British rule and the Anglican communion which was of a very restrained kind, but still more between the local Anglican Church and the Ganda monarchy and dominant political group. It was this that gave the former a very particular establishment character in Buganda with both its strength and its weaknesses. However, it should not be forgotten that on a much smaller scale something similar operated to the advantage of Catholics in the great county of Buddu, especially during the earlier years while Alexis was county chief. His behaviour was that of a semi-independent ruler. But his successors had not the same authority; the importance of the position of Pokino has steadily decreased throughout the century.

Thirdly, the growing difference in the number of foreign missionaries of the two communions has undoubtedly been a major factor. Up to about 1920 there was a rough parity. Since then the Anglican missionary force has quietly declined, while the Catholics steadily increased until about 1960. With this has gone the kind of work they do. For years no Anglican missionary has been engaged in permanent pastoral work in the countryside while many Catholic missionaries are still so engaged today. Mitala Maria, for instance, an important mission-parish forty miles west of Kampala, was founded in 1899. In 1968 it is still staffed by foreign White Fathers.

Fourthly, the Revival Movement in the Anglican Church and the widespread development of indigenous religious orders (together with local vocations to some older religious societies, such as the Brothers of Christian Instruction) in the Catholic Church represent strongly different approaches to the rejuvenating and enriching of christian life in a church entering its second half century.

Lastly, the Anglican Church was built upon a close knowledge of scripture such as the Catholics never had. The Anglican Luganda Bible was first completed in 1896; it has since been revised. The Catholics had the gospels from the last century and in recent times have possessed a complete New Testament, but even now they have no Luganda Old Testament. Nor do they make any extensive use of the Protestant translation. On the other hand Catholic life has been a strongly sacramental one, while even now Anglicans in Uganda do not consider Holy

Communion to be the normal Sunday service. Sacramental confession and communion have surely been the great force for holiness among Baganda Catholics.

## VII

Perhaps today the most relevant aspects of the mission-church relationship are financial and cultural; we cannot tackle the vast problems that these involve here, vital as they are. The cultural problem can be particularly subtle in young churches such as that of Buganda, which already have some sixty or more years of settled history and a quite recognisable pattern of local church life. European devotional attitudes of the late last century (both Catholic and Protestant) are now very deeply built into local christianity<sup>41</sup>. Today, such attitudes (often repudiated by modern European christians, but maybe held to tenaciously by African christians especially of the older generation) cannot easily be classified as either 'European' or 'African'. After all, cultural assimilation does not follow *a priori* rules. When an African priest stands by the harmonium and the use of Latin, while an expatriate presses for the liturgical use of drums and the vernacular, the cultural shape of the mission-local church encounter is not easy to delineate.

From the financial point of view the pre-1920 period could provide an excellent example. The mission was then largely self-supporting and the local church was taught to be the same<sup>42</sup>. Churches were constructed in local materials at little cost, the missionaries lived on their own garden produce. Today the pattern is, unfortunately, often a different one. The desire to emulate the costly buildings and institutions of Europe and North America forces the African Church, entirely lacking in adequate resources for such a feat, to become a permanent beggar. And he who pays the piper can and will, to a considerable extent, call the tune. The recent building of Mityana's Catholic church and the 'taking over' of its parish by the diocese of Augsburg might be an example of what should be avoided. Once again, this is a far more serious problem for the Catholic Church, because it seems in fact to be able to obtain more considerable funds elsewhere. The Anglican Church maintains a more consistent policy of self-reliance<sup>43</sup>. It will certainly be increasingly important in the future for the churches — if they wish to be true self-ministering, self-supporting communities — to scrutinise very exactly their use of foreign money.

<sup>41</sup> For an interesting study of how 19<sup>th</sup> century Evangelicalism has survived in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Church of Uganda see JOHN POULTON, *Like Father, Like Son*, Some Reflections on the Church of Uganda, *International Review of Missions*, 1961, pp. 297—307.

<sup>42</sup> See TUCKER's interesting remarks on the subject, *Eighteen Years*, I, pp. 358—9.

<sup>43</sup> The stress on this in *The Ten Year Plan*, dated March 1967, of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi (printed by the Uganda Bookshop) is quite clear.

I have tried in this survey to present the ebb and flow of events over ninety lively years of church history. We have seen something of how the forces of mission control and local initiative have pressed upon each other, sometimes in one form, sometimes in another. It is clear, of course, that there must be some missionary control in the early days of a new church and plenty of instances elsewhere can show how a local church too quickly left on its own may either go strange ways, disintegrate, or — most likely of all — fall into a very conservative groove, a static maintenance of the original, necessarily rather simple, pattern.

There is, it is clear, no simple formula for church building, for the development of an adequate local ministry, for the structuring of lay initiative, for the establishment of just such institutions as are inherently viable within a given economy, for the whole relationship between a sending and a young church. All this becomes still more complex when the wider context is one of rather rapid social change. The Holy Spirit, as the human temperament also and different historic christian traditions, can lead many ways. Certainly from many points of view early missionary work in Buganda stands out as a model which could have been happily imitated elsewhere. Yet even here one feels that in both communions, though faced with this quite exceptionally vigorous response from people some of whom were of clearly outstanding character, the missionaries were often too slow to trust the young christians fully, or at least too tied by the institutional ways and acquired reflexes they had brought from home.

On the other hand it is clear too that there were many missionaries at work here of exceptional ability and fervour and their basic aims cannot be called in question, nor indeed the soundness of much of the work achieved. Certainly time and again in Buganda the quality of the missionaries has been at least balanced by that of the young christians. One and the other have, with the grace of God, worked to establish a tradition of christian living and a church community whose essential viability can hardly today be called in question. There is a tendency nowadays to suggest that a vigorous African response to christianity is only to be found in the break-away independent churches. I think it should be clear that in Buganda at least this is very far from true. I have tried to illustrate the quality of the African response within the historic churches for the first generation of converts in the 1880's, which included both the martyrs and the subsequent lay leaders of the Church; for a second generation of men coming to maturity about the turn of the century, and for a third generation represented both by the growing group of educated Catholic priests ordained in the 1920's and 30's and the leaders of the Revival. The same could be shown for subsequent generations — for many men, laity and priests, who came to the front rank in the years of rapid expansion after the second world war. And it is, I am convinced, true again of those coming forward in the 1960's.

The Church exists. But that is always only a beginning. If the 'Mission' was for the Church, so is the Church for mission. The really important questions today are not: Is there a local hierarchy? Can the Church survive? Is its internal organisation as efficient as when it was mostly in missionary hands? But instead: Is this new church continuing to be a missionary church? Does it as a human community have a sense of service rather than of self-preservation? Is its ordained ministry succumbing to the temptations of clericalism? Do its rich members help its poor ones? Such are the questions that the Church in Uganda should be asking itself today.

## BERICHTE

### CHRISTLICHES MÖNCHTUM IM FERNEN OSTEN

*Ein Kongreß in Bangkok (9.—16. Dezember 1968)*

„Die religiösen Gemeinschaften... sollen sorgfältig überlegen, wie die Tradition des asketischen und beschaulichen Lebens, deren Keim manchmal alten Kulturen schon vor der Verkündigung des Evangeliums von Gott eingesenkt wurde, in ein christliches Ordensleben aufgenommen werden können“ (*Ad Gentes*, Nr. 18). Was hier von den *alten Kulturen* gesagt ist, gilt ganz besonders von denen des Fernen Ostens, dessen Religiosität durchaus monastisch-mystisch geprägt ist (Hinduismus, Buddhismus). Um so erstaunlicher ist es, daß man erst in jüngster Zeit einzusehen beginnt, wie sehr Erfolg und Glaubwürdigkeit evangelischer Verkündigung vom Zeugnis christlicher Mönche inmitten jener Völker abhängen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Tagung von Vertretern des monastischen Ordens aus ganz Asien von zukunftsweisender Bedeutung. Auf ganz unvorhersehbare und tragische Weise wurde die Weltöffentlichkeit auf dieses Ereignis aufmerksam, als der plötzliche Tod des namhaften Trappisten und Schriftstellers THOMAS MERTON, der als Experte nach Thailand gekommen war und kurz nach seinem Vortrag, wohl an einem elektrischen Schlag, starb, bekannt wurde.

Das Treffen war von der A.I.M. (*Aide à l'Implantation Monastique*) vorbereitet worden, einer Kommission der Benediktinerkonföderation, die ihr Sekretariat in Paris hat und sich die Förderung monastischer Neugründungen in jenen Ländern zum Ziel setzt, in denen das Mönchtum nicht oder nur schwach vertreten ist. Nach ersten Bemühungen um Afrika und Lateinamerika wandte man sich nun (Ost-)Asien zu. Aus verschiedenen praktischen Erwägungen hatte man Bangkok gewählt, was überdies den Vorteil bot, in unmittelbare Berührung mit dem dort stark vertretenen buddhistischen Mönchtum zu kommen. In der Tat wohnte der Höchste Patriarch von Thailand, SOMDET PHRA SANKARAT, der Eröffnung des Kongresses bei und wurde vom Abtprimas des Benediktinerordens und Präsidenten der Tagung, DOM REMBERT G. WEAKLAND, durch eine Ansprache begrüßt, auf die er in gewählten Worten erwiderte.

Es waren über siebzig Teilnehmer anwesend, in der Mehrzahl Asiaten — Mönche und Ordensfrauen, Benediktiner verschiedener Observanz, Zisterzienser, Trappisten. Sie kamen aus Neuseeland, Australien, Indonesien, Japan, Hong-