Migration and Christian identity in Congo (DRC).

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the Rwandan population is definitely and irremediably divided into three different ethnic groups (p. 26) and that the hutu are ‘the people’ while the tutsi would be a ‘feudal aristocracy’. Discussing evangelisation, the author’s overall conclusion is simplistic and apologetic: evangelisation has been a ‘success’ in Rwanda, and the cause of this success is that missionaries were faithful to the instructions of the founders of the White Fathers missionary society (p. 352). All in all, this book contains much information on a fascinating subject, but its narrow institutional approach and its a priori ideological interpretation seriously limit its contribution to the field.

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It was for long an assumption of the historiography of twentieth-century African Christianity that only in the African Initiated or Independent Churches (AICs) could Africans feel ‘at home’. The historic mission churches planted by European missionaries were depicted as culturally alien and inflexible institutions. Emma Wild-Wood’s accomplished study of the history of the Anglican Church in north-east Congo adds to the accumulating weight of evidence that European-originated Churches could (and still do) evoke strong African loyalties. Congolese Anglicanism owed its origins in the 1890s to the saintly Ganda evangelist, Apolo Kivebulaya, ‘the apostle to the pygmies’. Its early adherents saw no contradiction in their membership of a Church that was both international in its reach and closely linked to particular ethnic allegiances in East Africa. For the aristocratic Hema people from West Uganda, settled on the Semeliki escarpment in what became in colonial times part of the Belgian Congo, the reverence instilled by Anglican liturgy and the respect for order symbolised by episcopal hierarchy appeared wholly consonant with their own cultural values of dignity and authority. Anglican adherence was also yoked to the pursuit of maendeleo (advance or development), which encouraged church members to seek their fortunes beyond the escarpment in new urban contexts. When, from the 1960s, Hema migration extended its reach into the expanding towns of the north-east Congo, the Hema took their Anglicanism with them as an integral constituent of their ethnic identity. The fall of Idi Amin in 1979 precipitated a new wave of migration from Uganda, mainly of Congolese who had originally fled to Uganda after the Simba rebellion of 1964. These returnees, more ethnically diverse than the first wave of migrants, settled further north, in an area evangelised by the Africa Inland Mission, whose Communauté Évangélique du Centre de l’Afrique offended the immigrants by insisting that they be rebaptised as adult believers. Migration thus subverted the neat comity divisions erected by Protestant missions during the colonial era and ossified by Mobutu within the federal Église du Christ au Congo/Zaire. The Église Anglicane du Congo appeared ironically as a dissenting newcomer, challenging the Protestant unity proclaimed by a dominant American evangelical establishment. It was among these northern returnees and their children
that the Anglican Church grew most rapidly, and as it did so its cultural ambience changed. The younger generation paid less attention to liturgical tradition and, as Congolese ethnic conflicts multiplied in the 1990s, became uncomfortable with any identification between Christian and ethnic allegiance. Youth choirs and other movements propagated a Pentecostal style of Christianity which sat loosely to both denominational and ethnic identity. Older traditionalists branded the new charismatic Christianity as a new form of witchcraft imported from Europe. The young for their part criticised their elders for compromise with pagan ways. In contemporary Africa, as elsewhere, Christian identities are increasingly fluid and hybridised. Further micro-histories of particular African Churches are likely to confirm Wild-Wood’s suggestion that ‘mainline’, African Initiated and neo-Pentecostal Churches have more in common than rigid scholarly categorisations imply.

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This is the latest volume in the Studies in the History of Christian Missions series, of which R. E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley are general editors. Bergunder identifies a model for conducting mission studies from an anthropological perspective. He correctly points out that one historical root of Pentecostalism has been somewhat neglected as a distinctive category, namely, the missionary movement. He also suggests that this missionary awareness provides clues as to why tongues-speaking became so important for the movement – i.e. xenoglossic or the ability to preach in the language of the listeners, which he suggests was taken by Charles F. Parham from the missionary movement. Ironically, the most famous claims to xenoglossolalia came from biographers of Francis Xavier, when they reported that he preached in the native language of Travancore (probably Malayalam), a miracle subsequently debunked by Protestant scholars who argued that no good thing, including xenoglossic preaching, could have come from the Catholic side. Bergunder successfully describes the struggles of Pentecostal groups in South India, often against each other, as they attempted to lead converts into the ‘real truth’ – known in Pentecostal circles as the ‘Full Gospel.’ Among the many points of difficulty between Pentecostals and mainstream Christianity was ‘ornamentation’, the wearing of jewelry – especially the wedding band – by Christians who were ‘filled with the Spirit’.

This is a strong contribution to understanding of Pentecostalism in South India. Bergunder has lived among the people, learned their social mores, searched their source materials, conducted innumerable interviews and pulled all his research together into a well-reasoned whole. His work is remarkably free from errors, although one is particularly noticeable to this reviewer. On p. 270 he states that the former Assemblies of God missionary, Clarence T. Maloney, Jr, left India for good in 1961. In reality, Maloney still maintains a home on a hill in Kodaikanal, Tamil Nadu. This is a model study in Global Pentecostalism. Originally available only in