

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MISSION WORK OF THE LONDON
MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND THE RESULTING UCCSA IN ZIMBABWE, WITH A
POSSIBLE FUTURE MISSION PARADIGM**



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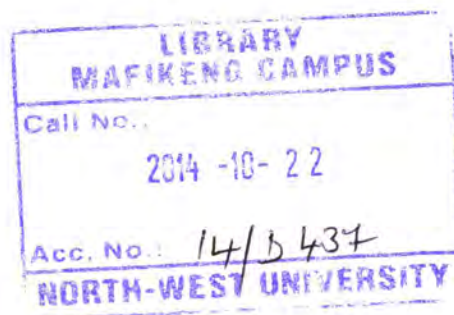


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Mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Magister Artium in Missiology at the Mafikeng Campus of the North-West University

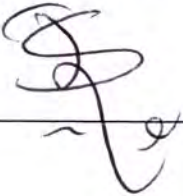
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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of *Magister Artium* in Missiology at North-West University (Mafikeng Campus) has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and execution and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.



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ABSTRACT

It is not the aim of this research to reform the mission of the UCCSA, but rather to come to a proper understanding of missionary work as inherited from the LMS. The focus, though taking the whole of UCCSA on board, centres on the Robert Moffat column with special mention of Zimbabwe. The research also looks at funding principles as the motivation and commitment of the missionaries. It also takes a deliberate interest in the current paradigm dominated by the current themes with the intentions for suggesting a paradigm shift and or embracing it. It cannot be denied that the encounter with colonialism created a new theological thinking that also informed the mission outlook of the church. A new paradigm is/was in the making. The idea of the paradigm shift was borrowed from the social science import into Missiology field by Bosch (1991). It is used to keep pace with the changes in the theology of mission. Maluleke (2005:469-493) argues that since the early 1980s there has been a call for African theologies and African churches to recognise paradigm shifts within their context and to effect the paradigm shifts. Interestingly, although, the churches have the capacity to affect a paradigm shift, these seem not to realize this and hence do not respond relevantly.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	American Board of Mission
BCC	Bantu Congregational Church
CUSA	Congregational Union of South Africa
LMS	London Missionary Society
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
UCCSA	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU PF	Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
SADC	Southern African Development Community

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 BACKGROUND

The background of this research is twofold; it takes into account the researcher's background and the subject background.

1.1.1 RESEARCHER'S BACKGROUND

The world we live in affects our religious, social and academic perspectives or interaction. Having grown up in a poor community and family, the author knows how it feels to have nothing to eat and to attend a poorly resourced school. The author grew up in Zimbabwe and experienced the ugliest side of the liberation war of independence in Zimbabwe. Then followed the experiences in the postcolonial times, when the ZANU (PF) led government embarked on ethnic cleansing [1980-1986] that saw more than twenty thousand Ndebeles dead or missing. These experiences influence how the author understands poverty and justice as a mission paradigm. The liberation war in Zimbabwe will also set the tone of the analysis of the missionary task of the church in relation to the poor, issues of justice and social responsibility.

Having worked in three synods of the UCCSA [Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa] the author's perception of mission has been challenged. He has learnt that:

- Culture is very complex and one cannot argue that he/she knows the people unless he/she can interact with their culture. Culture is complex because it is defined through language, traditions, beliefs, norms and values.
- Culture is dynamic, even though there are some values that people would not like to let go (Nida 1992:C82). These have stood the pressure of changing times and are used as the elements that define the identity of the given people.

- Culture can also be corrupted or copied through interaction with other cultures; hence, one cannot speak of a pure culture. All the points cited above affect missionary work and its definition and also the mission of God in given geographic space and historical time.

1.1.2 SUBJECT BACKGROUND

The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) as a church has gone through three life cycles. The first cycle was in 1795, when the frustrated clerics of the English church formed a fraternal they called Missionary Society. This was a fraternal of the frustrated clerics who were not happy with the interference of the monarch on the life and work of the church. The intention was to escape the frustrating environment and the intention to escape led to the formation of the mission to the 'heathen land', Africa (Haile 1951:1). It would be difficult therefore, to argue for an outright ecumenical principle on the composition of the London Missionary Society (LMS). According to Vidler (1971:257) traditionally ecumenism applies to those creeds and councils of the church that were universally accepted, and in the modern understanding it denotes an ideal of universality, it points to what separate churches of Christendom have in common despite their divisions and to their will to attain the unity that they ought to display.

The second cycle was in 1818, when the fraternal of ministers evolved into a missionary Society (London Missionary Society) (Lovetta 1899:645). This was the stage when Missionary Society decided to send missionaries to the 'heathen land'. Heathen land did not only refer to Africa but it also included Asia.

The last cycle was the stage of transformation, around 1967. This is when the missionary society transformed into a church namely the United Congregational Church Southern Africa (UCCSA). A number of other ecclesiastic traditions claim their ancestry to the LMS but it is not in the brief of this research to discuss them.

The study attempts to analyse the mission work of the church whose tradition and formation spans nearly 500 years calculated from 1567 during the time of the

separationists (Briggs 1986:55). This means that the incubation period of the LMS/UCCSA can be traced to when the separationists refused to submit to the authority of the Monarch. They defined the church as the people of God who had responded to the call of Christ and Christ is the head of the church and covenanted with Him and one another. This meant a total rejection of any authority except Christ's authority.

Robert Browne in 1582 defined the church as the planted and gathered, as the company of Christians under the governance of God and Christ and that keeps his laws. This is the church (as defined by Brown, the Anglican), which protested against the Roman and the English church. The formation of the Church of England (Anglican) as a protest against the Catholic Church that gave the Pope the power over the church and the state, created a structure that allowed the Monarch to head the church and the state. This also meant that the liturgy had to be reworked to recognise that ecclesiastical structure, something that the church did not do. They simply replaced the Pope with the queen. John Owen (Briggs1986:56) rejected all liturgical worship on the ground that they are in conflict with the Holy Scripture, as all theology must be designed to support such liturgy.

The formation of the Missionary Society shows some principles of individualism, that is a fragmented and uncoordinated programme. Positively, it argues for the power of the people on the ground to form their own church polity (Briggs 1996:46). The principle was not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any form of the church Order and government (about which there may be difference of opinion amongst serious people), but the Glamour Gospel of '... God to the heathen and it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the person who God may call into fellowship with his Son, to form church government as to appear most agreeable to the Word of God' (Haile 1951:1)

In 31 March 1799, '... four willing prisoners of Jesus Christ, chained by the vision of a continent to be won for Christ' arrived in what is today known as Cape Town (Briggs and Wing 1970:13). These were Dr Johannes Theodorus Van den Kemp (army doctor), Johannes Jacobus Kicherer, a minister of the Reformed Church of Holland, both from

Netherlands. There was also John Edmonds and William Edwards from England, all were lay people except for Johannes J Kichere. This marked the beginning of LMS missionary work in the 'heathen' continent. The mission was not to the virgin land since other missionary societies were already in Africa. According to Gundani (2005:177) by 1506, there were missionaries already working in southern Africa. For example, The Dominicans were in the Kongo kingdom in 1610 and the Jesuits were in the Mutapa in 1560 (today Zimbabwe).

The London Missionary Society was transformed to a church, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) on the 3rd October 1967 (Briggs 1986:61). The UCCSA operates in five countries, which have different economical and political circumstances. Other elements that have affected the missionary landscape as it evolved and did its missionary work are population movements, doors that suddenly open as a mission opportunity that may not have foreseen and planned (Greenway 1999:5)

However, the researcher acknowledges that the mission of the church {UCCSA} has gone through extensive changes to date. The on-going transformation is enhanced by the changes in socio-political, economic and technological landscapes; hence the research follows those paradigm contours. In this call for paradigm shift, the research proposes the understanding of the mission of God regarding how God's people witness to and participate in God's activities of reconciliation, healing and transforming society. The mission of the church is God authored [*Missio Dei*] and Christ centred. It is about how one communicates the gospel.

The Mission from an African perspective is that the church speaks the language of the people, reflecting their life experience. The reading of Acts 2:12 suggest that mission must be transformative and bring new lease of life.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Owing to the continuous debate on the missionary role of the church on issues of justice, ecology, politics and economic injustices and its being a contemporary of

colonialism, people have treated the subject of European missionary activity [London Missionary Society in particular] with suspicion. A mission paradigm is always informed by the issues on the ground, and therefore the 21st century socio-political and economical landscape informs the mission of God as understood by the people.

David Bosch (1991), proposes a paradigm-approach to mission. This approach allows missiology, even theological scholarship, to look at a scenario within the said paradigm context (*sitz-em-leben*) and make a biblical reflection with the intention of coming up with a missionary plan. Moreover, such an approach does not limit the unfolding of other paradigms.

- Given the above scenario, the following research questions arise: Did the LMS understand their missionary work as *missio ecclesiae*, mission of the church or *Missio Dei*, mission of God?
- How did they deal with issues of social justice and poverty?
- How did the London Missionary Society work and manage the challenges among the Ndebele?
- Is there any missionary story that can be told or authored from the African perspective within the post-colonial era as the landmark of the new paradigm of the UCCSA?
- How does the church (UCCSA) respond to the 21st century paradigm?

1. 3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 AIMS

The broad aim of this study is to give a critical analysis of the LMS missionary work and suggest a new paradigm informed by the political, economical, inter-religious interaction and justice issues, as they affect the post-modern world.

1.3.2 OBJECTIVES

Out of this broad aim, the following specific objectives arise:

- To provide biblical understanding of mission as *missio Dei* and *missio ecclesiae* as the partner;
- To understand the historical evolution of the LMS and UCCSA within its socio-political context;
- To argue and present a transitional period from LMS to UCCSA based on the socio-ecclesiastical, political and economical paradigm;
- To analyse the mission model of the European Missionary Enterprise with the intention of telling the African story of mission, within the Zimbabwean context;
- To propose a new mission paradigm informed by current issues (justice, oppression, eco-theology, economic injustices, globalisation, liberation and reconciliation);
- And finally to look at the UCCSA within the new paradigm.

1.4 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The central theoretical argument of this study is to argue that as the socio-political and economic landscapes change new missiological themes emerge and thus create a new paradigm. The UCCSA must adapt and be relevant to the paradigm.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

There is no universally agreed methodology on missiology. The Missionary ministry is as old as the Old and the New Testaments. However, the conducting of missiological research with the use of fully developed methodology is a new phenomenon.

The missiologists themselves have different interests. That means, as they engage in their areas of pursuit ranging from mission theology, mission theory, theory of religion, anthropology of mission, theology of culture and mission management, they also suggest different methods of study. Wan (2000:2) argues that missiological study, by its nature, is integrative in its methodological approach. For example, when one attempts to understand the culture of a group of people in order to proclaim the gospel to them, one integrates social sciences and missiological studies, while ethno-research and ethnographic studies help one to know and understand the culture of the target group. In trying to understand the mission changes and advocating for a paradigm shift, the research will follow Bosch's (1991) understanding of mission paradigms. He argues that in the wider crises, with regard to mission, a new paradigm is emerging; the ecumenical paradigm. In this trans-historical research, the author will follow Bosch's methodology to establish the church paradigm and accept that there is still a paradigm coming or to be realised.

The study will extensively employ the historical approach, social analytical approach and theological critical approach. The historical approach helps in the research as it is interested in the unfolding of events (study of the missionary work of an institution takes historical route) and the role and the behaviour of the missionary practitioners in a historical epoch. It allows the presentation to admit the real life situation of both missionaries and the recipients of the missionary discharge.

The Social analysis approach argues that the missionary activities or work did not take place in a vacuum but in social context. The society has its values, norms, and customs. The society also has its challenges and successes. All these affect the understanding of the missionary work and its analyses. The success and failure of missionary work also depends on how the missionary practitioner handles issues of values, customs and norms of the society under study. It (social critical analyses) also helps researchers to appreciate that societies handle issues of social and economic justice differently.

The theological critical approach suggests that forgiveness, reconciliation and justice are the kingdom of God values. It checks the church's relevance to the mission

paradigm. It also challenges the evolutionary and revolutionary thinking of mission theology.

The study of both missiology and systematic theology literature will form the central theoretical framework in the analysis of the missionary work of the London Missionary Society, in Zimbabwe. The journals and letters of Mary and John Moffat will also be analysed to gain understanding of their mission work in Zimbabwe.

Since missiology is a practical study, mission praxis (cf Kritzinger 2002) will be used by the author. Unlike philosophical approaches that put many emphases on logic, praxis focuses on contextual analysis, reading the signs of the time within a given context. This entails analysing how politics and socio-economical issues affect the mission of the church in any given historical epoch. In the ecclesial analysis, the researcher takes the church (LMS and UCCSA) through history. The analysis is not done with the intention of raising accusations i.e. how the church contributed to colonialism, but as means of establishing a mission legacy for reflection.

1.6 STUDY LIMITATION

The study is limited by the fact that missiology by nature is multi-disciplinary. This means that issues dealt with in the analysis are interpreted differently by different disciplines. Secondly, although the London Missionary Society in Zimbabwe is often considered to be tribal, and thereby associated to the Ndebele, the mission issues that arise are not tribally related. Thirdly, the study attempts to track the missionary work of a church which is more than 200 years old. This provides a challenge in comprehending that long period in a single research. The other limitation has to do with Ndebele as mission context. The Ndebele were nomadic at the time of the arrival of the LMS, since they were still running away from the Shaka regime. The geography of Mzilikazi's kingdom could not be drawn as a result of the nomadic life style. Lastly, the political, economical and social set-up that informs missionary paradigms are not static. However the study is convinced that in all these circumstances a new paradigm emerges too.

Therefore, the study does not deal with the historical elements in depth since it spans a long historical period and geographical space. The study will, however, focus on God's salvific plan; *missio Dei*, and *mission ecclesiae* as the agent of God's mission.

1.7 THESIS OUTLINE

In order to achieve the above stated aims and objectives, the study will evolve as follows:

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2:

THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF MISSION AS MISSIO DEI

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LMS

CHAPTER 4

LMS IN THE COUNTRY OF MZILIKAZI

CHAPTER 5

MISSIONARY WORK IN ZIMBABWE

CHAPTER 6

CREATING A MISSION PARADIGM FOR THE UCCSA

CHAPTER 7

UCCSA'S IN THE 21ST CENTURY MISSION PARADIGM

CHAPTER 2

THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF MISSION AS MISSIO DEI

2. INTRODUCTION

This chapter opens with the general understanding that mission in Christianity belongs to God and does not originate with the church or special groups in the church (Bosch 1980:239). God is a missionary God by nature and activity (cf McCoy 2001:5). In order to address this claim, the author first attempts a definition of mission. In the process of defining mission, the author will also discuss various mission perspectives. These are cultural, biblical and theological perspectives, alternative understanding of mission i.e. working definitions, mission as the spread of the gospel, mission as the expansion of the kingdom of God and mission as God intervening in human history.

2.1 WHAT IS MISSION?

Definitions are in most cases relative and depend on the subject area even though they are sometimes considered circumstantial. It is generally agreed in the academic field that a definition may be accepted at one time, but in the next generation it would be dismissed as weak and not sufficient in detail to the subject it intends to define. It is therefore academically safe to talk of the working definition, as used in the particular study. This can be better understood in the format of Bosch (1991) in his discussion of historical paradigms. In as much as each definition guides the author in the academic exercise his/her freedom in the exploration of the definition must be done with responsibility taking in cognisance the change in context and mission trends.

The word 'mission' has enjoyed wide general usage in many quarters of life. According to Soanes and Stevenson, (2004:914) mission is defined as: 'an important assignment, the vocation of an organisation to spread their faith, a strong sense of calling (sending)'. In the army, it refers to the job done by the member of the force especially attacking the enemy; while in the government refers to the people sent to represent their country to the other to discuss and or collect information. It can also be used to mean the job or the duty as assigned to someone.

Within the context of religion, Christianity in this case, mission refers to the religious leader or congregation who has gone to a foreign place to teach people about Christianity or to help the poor people. It also means a building where mission is done. In all these definitions the following can be noted; mission is defined as *missio Dei* and the inclusion of other perspectives admits that the mission of God is more than the translations of the Latin phrase *Missio Dei* to the English equivalent of Mission of God. It also suggests that the exercise is more than the etymological gymnastics but is a theological discourse.

As already mentioned definitions cannot be exhaustive, however from the few given above, there is general understanding that someone owns the mission and automatically becomes the sender. The agent, who in the religious field would be identified as the missionary, is accountable to the sender who can be either be a mission enterprise or God (2 Corinthians 2:20), depending on the nature of mission. At times the agent is sent out to a foreign country, in the case of the government. That definition therefore puts two tasks for the missionary, to teach people about God and to help the poor. This does not exhaust the mission agenda. The mission may also be understood and defined by how people and God relate.

Through the dictionary definition provided above there is still no detail about the reason for sending agents, but based on the political usage of the word, it suggests the sender is the author of mission hence the agenda comes from the sender. For the purposes of this research, the agent or the missionary's duty is to convey the gospel. This brings another concept of mission, namely mission as the communication of the gospel of God as the task of the church. The gospel is communicated to the people within their historical and socio-cultural context (Hiebert 2005:2). Assuming that the communication of the gospel takes into cognisance the context, and then any negligence of life experience of the people makes it irrelevant. It would not be addressing the issues of the intended receiver of the mission context. There is a need to attempt the definition of gospel (Hiebert 2005:4) as the expression of mission. The call to define 'gospel' is necessitated by the fact that what may be defined as good news to one person may not necessarily be understood to mean the same thing to someone else or to another

generation. Mission is about communicating the good news to the people in their context and life situation.

McCoy (2001:5) argues that mission is the creating, reconciling and transforming action of God. It flows from the community of love found in the Trinity, made known to all humanity in the person of Jesus. It is entrusted to the faithful action and witness of the people of God who, in the power of the Spirit, are a sign, foretaste and the instrument of the reign of God. This means that the gospel must be transformative in nature, not idle but missionary. Then the kind of church that gives the expression of God's mission must be relational, reconciling in its participation in the mission of God. Further, mission asks why we are here as a church and what the purpose of church is. The Christian mission refers to the purpose of the church outside of itself and how it is deeply rooted in the Christian faith. This mission can not be the program of the church but of God.

People on the street still define mission differently and in most cases their definitions are a reflection of how they understand the role of God in their daily lives and the role of the church as the face of the mission of God. For example The Council of World Mission (June 2011) in their magazine made the following observation from 67 participants.

<i>Mission is...</i>	
Participating in God's work to bring fullness of life to all people	36.9%
A practical expression of God's concern for the whole of creation	23.9%
Making disciples of Jesus Christ	21.6%
Churches reaching out to bring others closer to God	8%
Something else	5.1%

The work of missionaries sent out on behalf of a church	4.5%
---	------

How the questions are designed and how the results are analysed suggest that mission is primarily about proclamation and conversion. However there is a shift in the understanding of mission as expressed in the table above. Mission is now understood as participation in God's activities as He brings fullness to people's lives. The table also suggests that mission is no longer about people only, but the whole creation forms the mission of God. It involves (Bosch 1980:227) the concepts of *martyria* (witness; telling the world the wonders of God's works to his people (Goldingay 2010:228)), *kerygma* (proclamation), *koinonia* (fellowship) and *diakonia* (solidarity).

The Great Commission (*kerygma*-proclamation) of Matthew 28:18-20 and the Great Commandment (*diakonia*) of Matthew 22:39 must not be taken as separate but rather as the two sides of the scissors that work in unison and *koinonia* (fellowship) keeps them together. Genuine *diakonia* (solidarity) gives credibility to the *martyria* (church and or individual witness). The comprehensive approach takes these four together; *martyria*, *koinonia*, *kerygma* and *diakonia* (Bosch 1980:229). As the church congregates to renew its covenant with each other and God they use liturgy, arguing that *leitourgia* (liturgy) is an important element in mission. It is in liturgy that as a church we have been exposed to the sending of God through his Son and, empowered by the Holy Spirit for *martyria* (witness).

Mission is therefore more than soteriology (saving of individuals in a heathen land), or introducing people from the East and the South to the blessings of Western Christianity (cultural), or the expansion of the church or a certain denomination (*missio ecclesiae*). Such a definition of mission makes the church the prime focus and it seems detached from the nature and the activities of God. The mission must be defined within the classic doctrine of *Missio Dei*; God the father sending the Son, and the father and the son sending the Holy Spirit (Bosch 1991:113), after that the fourth movement develops, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit sending the church to the world. The mission of

the church gets its meaning from the nature of the fatherly God (Bosch 1980:240) who is full of love for the world (John 3:16). But the mission is more than the sum of the activities of the church. It is the attribute of God, a missionary God (cf, Bosch 1980; Bosch 1991; Stott 1992). Seen from the church's perspective, missions are a movement from God to the world with the church as the agent (cf Wright 2006), to bless the world (Genesis 12:1-3), and to show God's love and grace.

The context which one finds oneself in has an influence on one's perspective on the paradigm. Therefore, different perspectives would be discussed as preparation for the analytical discussion of mission. As this is a historical presentation, older sources will be used to understand the context in which the missionaries work.

2.2 MISSION PERSPECTIVES

Perspective is a science of optics (Warren 1964:11); people speak of '*looking through*', hence their perspective or world view is influenced by optics (Van der Walt 2001:43). The perspective details influence the opinion on the object or subject under study. The lens, through which a participant looks, in most cases, determines the perspective and the result. This means that if one uses dark lenses, objects look dark, if one looks at social issues through a theological or political perspective, the result will be informed by that position or perspective. Warren (1964:14) argues that 'faith, hope and charity' points towards the perspective within which we are to understand our mission within the 21st century. This means that in mission, faith, hope and charity are the cardinal principles, and they become the lenses through which one defines mission in a particular time. But that does not mean that these will be the cardinal principles in mission in the postmodern period.

On their arrival in Africa (Cape Colony) in 1799, the LMS had people among its society who had mixed intentions (Du Plessis 1965:121). Some came for tourist ventures, commerce, business and exploration. This impaired the perspective of mission as the pure work of God (*Missio Dei*), carried out by the London Missionary Society. This makes it difficult to know whether the gospel book (Bible) was covered with commerce and curiosity, or these were covered with gospel. In such confusion, taking the former

will suggest that gospel was content-empty and just filled with commerce and curiosity. This will imply that the gospel was used as a colonial tool. This thought seems to find support in the state church concept (Bosch 1991:275). The concept was prevalent in the 15th-17th centuries where European kings missionarised colonialism (Bosch 1991). The line was thin between Western socio-political expansion and missionary activities (du Plessis 1965:122). This meant that the use of the word mission becoming synonymous with colonialism (Bosch 1991:275) resulted from the failure by the mission practitioners or the people from the pagan world to see or show differences between the two. This coincided with the delineation that saw mission rise from the Western colonialism, hence the fallacy of synonymous reading of colonialism and Western Christianity.

It must be appreciated that missionaries and the colonial administrator, especially in the Cape Colony, did not use the same ideology on the treatment of the locals. They (missionaries) were against the exploitation of locals as cheap labour. There was constant conflict (Du Plessis 1965:165) between the two groups, colonial administrators and missionaries.

For the purpose of this thesis, the argument will be developed around three perspectives; theological, biblical and cultural, acknowledging that it is not the task of this research to exhaust all the perspectives, and accepting that missionary work is more than what was presented by the European Missionary Enterprise. The paper also admits that in defining mission we are but expressing the limitation of our perspective.

2.2.1 THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Theology has been defined by different academics belonging to different churches and institutions. These theologians belong to different historical periods which in turn inform their perspectives. Even those operating within churches and academic institutions, have their own politics that impact on the perspective of the theological discourse, hence the position of the definition.

From the onset, it must be understood and appreciated that theology has many elements: including doctrines, biblical and traditional Christian symbols and biblical

narratives, suggesting that the theological perspective must reflect or exhibit these though not necessarily all of them. Theology is not only about Greco-Roman systematic religious thoughts (Warren 1964:15) but about how people as Africans, Europeans, and Asians, blacks, whites or coloureds name God. The terminology of interpreting the doctrine will have to be derived from (*local*) language. This will naturally have the undertones of (*local*) thought, but must also avoid theological isolation, limitation, and blanketing the perspective of the local context as if to suggest that no other theological world perspective or world view exists. This admits that it is difficult to talk of a systematic theology or perspective in mission but rather of a contextual theology. A theological perspective attempts to mirror the salvation plan for humanity in God mission '*missio Dei*'. The definition of theology as a subject and discipline influences a personal perspective on *missio Dei*. Theology as reasoning shows (Vanhoozer 2010:188) that we are able to make intellectual judgements based on present day conceptualities, as those expressed in the biblical world may no longer be extant in our context. In most cases this is informed by people's relationship to God. The author refers to the Christio-Jewish God. One's context provides one with a perspective of study, talk and reasoning about God. As such, it is against natural wisdom to argue for a single theological perspective. Each person, racial or tribal grouping has its own way in which they reason about God, hence different theological perspectives. One can talk of women, feminist, black, trans-Atlantic and African theology; all those are a reflection of a particular people and hence their mission perspective. The understanding of theology must be a defining characteristic of mission to other nations or cultures.

The theological perspective of missions can also be traced through the Reformation. Njoku (2005:223) argues that the reformation gave various groups that resented the authority of the Roman Catholic Church the opportunity to seek their freedom and hoist their own religious flags. This period also gave birth to a number of religious movements who questioned, among others, the use of Latin as the liturgical language. This allowed various interpretations of the Bible, thus gave various theological voices and ecclesiastical intolerance. The 'no salvation outside the church (*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*)' of Bishop Cyprian speaking from the Roman Catholic perspective became the

classic expression of ecclesiastic intolerance (Bosch 1991:218). In that regard Christianity became the religion of salvation. This accounts for the attitude of the missionaries towards Africans as the recipients of the missionary gospel. There was a general disregard towards the African Traditional Religion's sacred space, rituals and religious practitioners (*izangoma and ngaka*) by European missionaries. Though this was a theological position of 3rd century scholarship, it is against the biblical conviction, as it assumes that God only saved Christians (to the extreme, of a certain denomination). This defeats God's mission purpose for the world and its inhabitants (Genesis 1:1, John 1:1-3) and because of his love for it he had the intention of saving it (John 3:16) and its inhabitants.

Mission contextualizes theology and calls it into praxis. It commits the practitioner to the transformation of a society on behalf of and along with the oppressed, and it becomes theology *'with'* not *'for'*. Thus the position of Cyprian (Bosch 1991:218) may not be the best in the 21st century mission. Theology done from the abstract, detached from social realities, may not provide a meaningful base for mission. It is therefore against that we will have to look at the theological perspective of the London Missionary Society in the persons of Dr Livingstone, van der Kemp, John Campbell and Dr John Philip, as they worked among the Hottentots of the Cape Colony, providing an evolutionary trace of the Missionary Society (see chapter 3 of this research). In addition, we will consider their work up to the BaTlhaping ba ga Mothibi of Kuruman, Bakwena ba ga Sechele up to the land of Mzilikazi as the geographical area of focus and study.

Cone (1974:138) raises a fundamental discourse that, 'if Jesus Christ, in his past, present and future reveals that the God of scripture and the tradition will be disclosed in the liberation of the oppressed' then the mission of the church must be constantly analysed as the oppression takes a new face, as new paradigms emerge. This means that theological understanding in the 21st century mission needs to be understood within the current realities which are completely different from 1st century Christianity.

Doing mission, in study or practice, must have a starting point which must be real life experiences. The missionaries must do evidence based planning, on site dialogue with

those on the ground. This type of planning is not the product of office intellectual and book planning, but one engaged in the situation on the ground. It profiles the community and from that, one can design a mission strategy and base it on the needs of the community. Such a claim also argues that mission must be validated. Validity of missions, according to theology, originates from the praxis of liberation, when the local church participates in the struggle for liberation, i.e. *mission ecclesia*, the church must be visible in the success and the challenges of the community it serves. The theological perspective calls for a new mission hermeneutic influenced by current issues.

It must be appreciated that during the period of reformation Western Christianity shifted from a central church to a variety of autonomous Christian centres speaking their own theological truths. This points to relative truths in Christendom. This was so because of the plural theological and doctrinal voices the missionaries had and the creation of religious colonies, as an expression of different denominations and societies.

This means that doing mission theology goes beyond the traditional sources, scripture and tradition (Song 2006:249). It includes context. Contextualization in mission is no longer an option but a theological imperative. Real life situations that centre on the local culture are taken seriously and sensitively. Contextualisation in mission must take cognisance of the bible as the base of mission context and be mindful of the sinfulness of the human beings (Moreau 2006:326) in a certain cultural set up.

The theological perspective provides us with the mission window that allows us to see and talk of different theologies that reflect a certain social context, such as African, Black, woman, feminist, and liberation theology. The author then turns to the cultural perspective, as another optic of understanding mission.

2.2.2 CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The cultural perspective on mission is necessitated by the fact that the European Mission Enterprises taught the African a broken or dualistic world view, (van der Walt 2001:43) thereby causing a gap between African traditional culture and Christianity as preached by the western missionary enterprise.

Culture is a complex subject, defined in terms of values, language, norms and traditions. It can only be fully understood from within (Warren 1964:27, Hesselgrave 1992: C-35). Van der Walt (2001:49; 2008:93) expresses the difficulty in defining culture and acknowledges that there are a number of definitions. For his researches (2001 and 2008) he puts his definition into categories; segmental and comprehensive. A segmental definition looks at the spiritual achievements like intellectual and artistic product. As such culture can be seen as something that bestows lustre on life at a higher level of existence (van der Walt 2001 49). If this is to be followed as the canon, it gives the impression that culture is an intellectual level attained by certain individuals in society. This mostly suits the monastic and western life. This is not representative of African society which is communal; culture is the societies' frame of reference, a fountain of society's survival and identity.

A comprehensive definition of culture defines human life in total not just the merely intellectual and the artistic achievements. I would prefer this one in my discussion on mission perspective as it does not look at life in a silo, but comprehensively. 'Culture' is inclusive (1 John 1:1-2), it take into account language, political, economic, social, psychological, religious, and racial components (Hesselgrave 1992: C35). Communicating the gospel as the mission task must consider culture very seriously (2 Timothy 2:15). It can unlock or lock the communication of the gospel across cultures.

How Christians interpret the unique saviour-hood and transcendent Lordship of Jesus Christ to a person of another (culture) faith, taking into cognisance the complexity of the person's culture, will always beg a question. Because of the complexity of the subject of culture, it has presented a problem for sociology and religious scholarship to define. Many attempts to define culture have produced a legion of definitions. Culture is '...human life expressed in a variety of ways, a comprehensive plan of living (Kirk 1999:85). It is the sum total of ways of living that shape... the continuity of life of human beings from generation to generation'. Culture is thus a composition of three fundamental components; beliefs (the society's world view: birth, death, race, gender, concept of suffering, success and failure), values (moral principles) and outward forms.

The gospel is therefore conveyed in culture, the components as presented above would always show up in the preaching and presentation of the gospel by the individual. It is no surprise, however, that in the presentation of the gospel by the European missionaries, their culture took dominance. Similarly, Jesus was a Jew, not a kind of a universal man... educated in the Jewish law, participated in the synagogue and Jewish festivals; (Passover) steeped in the Jewish history. All these showed up in the storytelling methodology of gospel presentation he adopted and how he handled the scriptures.

The question of culture has both a conceptual and a practical dimension (Kirk 1999:80). Conceptually, it is difficult to separate beliefs in the gospel from the values of the Western missionary Societies in which the gospel was presented and shaped, hence the possibility of committing the fallacy of transplantation. Hence, practically, to become a Christian appears to be a betrayal of the family, community and the ancestors, it adds up to the abandonment of one's roots and is considered a social rebellion.

The use of terms like civilisation in the description of evangelism 'misunderstood... and humiliated' indigenous cultures and the church born out of this civilisation process became subcultures alienated from the living tradition of the local people (Kirk 1999:81).

Mission here is seen as converting people to the missionary's own culture. Then the missionary must expect resistance, suspicion, or a syncretistic religion will be the product.

1 Peter 3:15 '*... always be prepared to give answers to everyone who asks you to give reason for the hope that you have. But do this with gentleness and respect...*' the writer explains that one must be always in position to defend one's faith and perspective.

As each person encounters others, one wants to demonstrate that one's sets of beliefs are more Godly than those of others. Thus some prejudicial terms like, heathen, Dark Continent, people of no faith and primitive arise. Such negative terms are a pointer of what one considers to be a mature and developed culture. It must be noted however, that behind that conviction of each person, lies some measure of experience which has

predisposed him to the belief that his own understanding of reality is right. The exodus motif among Israel, Pentecost among the early century Palestine Christians, rain making among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe also forms each person's understanding of faith as relation to a higher Being. There is a need to understand that each person is correct in his/her religion and faith.

The understanding and appreciating of indigenous cultures by missionaries from other countries is necessary, to the extreme, compulsory. It is through culture that terms like God, sin and salvation (*Theos, hamartia, and soteria*) are better defined and decoded within the social, political and economic context of the people. This paper supports the views of Hiebert (1992: C24) in which he states that the culture of the local people as the mission field, is important and needs to be respected.

2.2.3 BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE OF MISSION

The introduction to missiology tends to begin with a section called.... 'The Biblical foundation for missiology'. Once these 'foundations' have been established, the author may proceed by developing his/her exegetical findings into systematic theory or theology of mission (Bosch 1991:15). There are some striking facts that present the bible as a divided document, that is Old and New Testaments. This can lead to the understanding that there is no missional basis in the Old Testament.

As mentioned in the attempt to define mission, mission has to do with going out and reaching out to people who may not necessarily be of the missionary's faith, race or political opinion. If understood this way, then the Old Testament cannot be considered as a mission document. We do not find an outreach program, and even the story of Jonah going to Nineveh was not to other nations and cannot stand as an example. The Old Testament deals with a chosen race of Israel, whom God fought and provided for. At times, when they went astray, He sent prophets to correct them. And this was the task of the prophet Jonah to Nineveh.

The emphasis of one race, Israel, draws the conclusion of the absence of the mission in the Old Testament. However, the election of Israel was not for the sake of Israel, but for

Yahweh (Goldingay 2006:192) and the revelation of God is through Israel and not by Israel. It is not the activities of Israel that define the mission of God. Israel is the vehicle for God's mission as He heals, judges the world, and empowers the oppressed (House 1998:11 cf. Martin-Achard 1962).

The type of *missio Dei* in the Old Testament also presents an inactive race (Israel). They are only the recipients of the wonderful deeds of Yahweh. He fights for them (1 Samuel 7:14) and provides them with food in the form of manna (Exodus 16:4-35). However, we have to admit that the salvific plan of God was revealed in Isaiah 62:1ff, especially the fact that there is no longer any vengeance and there is need for reconciliation (Luke 4:18-20). It explains the Old Testament mission of God who wanted the nations to know Him through Israel, which being the chosen race was for the benefit of the mission of God and not the people of Israel. The inactivity of Israel did not suggest that they must not keep the covenant with God.

Inasmuch as the Old Testament does not have a mission focus, it cannot be denied that the mission outlook in the New Testament is influenced by the theology and the sociology of the Old Testament (how the first century Palestinians organised themselves) hence themes like 'I am sent to the lost sheep of Israel' and 'to the Jews first' (Matthew 10:6, Matthew 15:24, Romans 15:8). But this is not the sum total of what can be used to argue for the absence and limitation of mission in the Old Testament. God of mission is the universal God and this is the foundational axiom of the Old Testament faith (Wright 2006:71, Stott 1992:A11). The missionary God in the Old Testament could not be limited in terms of geographical boundaries (2 Kings 19:15) and is not limited to any human race (Jeremiah 32:27). His mission is to save the whole world (cf. Isaiah 54:5).

The argument that advances the absence of mission in the Old Testament is limited to the definition of mission as the activities of man or church. However, the salvation acts of God have been there since the creation of the universe and all that is in it, and expressed in the saving of fallen man. The absence of the mission pronouncement in the Old Testament also explains the proof text approach (Wright 2006:32). The search

for supporting verses makes the reading of the bible to be like a 'mine' where gems are extracted. The bible student searches for the texts that support his/her convictions. If we are to get the biblical foundation for mission we must avoid treating the bible as fragmented.

It is through the bible as a whole that the missionary God is argued to be the owner and creator of the land. This commodity is and was at the centre of the liberation in Africa and other colonised parts of the world. In calling Abraham when his father was still alive, God was to give land [Genesis 11:31, 11:32, 12:1, 15:7]. Hermeneutical readings of these passages have given birth to hostile opposite theological thoughts. Some biblical examples see the exodus as the God blessed colonisation which finds some backing in the exodus motifs (Genesis 12:1; Exodus 3:8; Joshua 13:1-24:33), while on the other hand, land belongs to God and he uses it to bless his elect and this would be against the doctrine of universal atonement (Erickson 1998:846). The concept of the 'elect' created a super race or tribe, and other social ills found expression in the bible thereafter. Romans 12 and the famous Paul statement in Phil 4:11-12 '... I have learnt in whatever state I am in to be content ...' accept the oppressive conditions; hence breaking the yoke is termed rebellious. In this study the author does not limit the understanding of land to dry earth, but as it defines the nation (Ezekiel 36:24) and also the place that God desires to put his saved people as rescued from suffering and oppression (Exodus 3:8; Genesis 12:1)

Despite some of the points brought up in this discussion, the fact that the New and the Old Testaments [bible] are mission documents is too strong to be naively brushed away. The testaments reveal that the Creator God is the God of history (Stott 1992: A-17). The Bible point out that history is not a random flow of events. Instead it is the well coordinated salvation mission plan of God. The missionary God is working through a time frame which is conceived in the past eternity and will consummate in future eternity.

The reconstruction advocacy, which has dominated the 21st century mission paradigm, is informed by the postexilic themes [539-7BCE]. The post-exilic period is characterised by the emergence of postexilic Judaism that combined religion and politics (Senior and

Stuhlmüller 1984:29). There was no dichotomy drawn between the religious governance and economical and political administration. God was seen working even in the sectors of development and prosperity. Mission takes a universal approach as recorded in Isaiah 56:3-8. The missionary Yahweh is the God of nations; he blesses all the nations Genesis 12.

The Bible gives mission a dual mandate. The first one is the universal mandate; God created the universe not just the earth and the human beings not a race or tribe. The second mandate is *sotereological* motive (Hebrews 2:3). *Missio dei* has the salvation plan for a sinful and fallen humanity (Genesis 3; 9). God's mission is to save his creation and reconcile with Himself in Jesus Christ. And this calls humankind to repent.

The Bible tells us that the missionary God gives promises to fallen mankind. This is demonstrated in the call of Abraham (Genesis 12:1-3), but God did not create Abraham the father of the chosen race, but Adam the father of the humankind. However, this is a point we see in the sender God, Abraham is blessed to in turn (sent to) bless others, to reach out to the world with God's blessings.

The connection of the Old and the New Testament can be demonstrated in the writing style of the New Testament writers. Statements like 'it is written', 'the scripture has been fulfilled', Luke 4:18ff//Isaiah 61:1ff, Matthew 4:5ff, Matthew 12:17' present the gospel in terms of the fulfilment of the Old Testament. Thus the New Testament finds its background in the Old Testament. The research now takes a brief look at some of the themes that shape the understanding and doing of mission.

2.2.3.1. MISSION AS GOD'S INTERVENTION IN HUMAN HISTORY

Mission, as God intervening in human situation, cuts across human history, from creation (Genesis 1:1) through the fall of Adam, to the persecution of Christians, through the birth of the church in Pentecost and the political situation in the colonised world up to political freedom. This understanding of mission proposes the fact that central in the mission is practical life of the people. The church is called to participate in this historical work of God within their historical world.

The meaning of this scripture; Luke 4:18ff is more than just a synagogue sermon and the quotation from Isaiah 61:1-2 (Bosch 1991:89). It spells clearly that Jesus Christ wanted His Jewish congregants to reflect from the Old Testament and understand the centrality of the poor in his ministry. The choice of the Lukan missional line to Mathew's paradigm is not done on missionary supremacy of the gospel. In Matthew too we see the mission road to other cultures being opened (Bosch 1991:83). But for the purposes of analyses of the LMS, the Lukan strand will be followed especially on how Luke dealt with forgiveness and solidarity, the setting aside of vengeance, and the special attention given to the poor (Matthew 5:3 compare Luke 6:20, 24-25) and the Gentile mission. These must form the bases especially in the next study where we have to look at the mission model that befits that scenario.

2.2.3.2 POVERTY AS MISSION PARADIGM IN THE MISSION OF JESUS CHRIST

The poor are central in the mission of Jesus Christ and need to be explained as they provided, among other aspects, the gospel framework. Two gospel writers talk of the poor. The reading of Luke 6:20 '*Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God*' in comparison to Matthew 5:3 '*Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*'; suggest that the understanding of poverty was not uniform among the evangelists. Matthew seems to have over spiritualised a socially scandalous condition. There is a sense in which emotional and spiritual poverty have been overlooked. There are some who are spiritually poor and rich materially but they are very difficult to categorise and define (Kirk 1999:97). Although the rich enjoy material abundance, they are deprived in their personal lives of spiritual abundance. They have strained relationships and as a result, they suffer from inner emptiness. There is also a salient point to be followed. The early church had enough material things to meet their needs (Acts 4:34). Through 320AD, churches of Constantine were supported by people paying taxes, the church receiving funding from the state. The church was running charity organisations, meaning that the socio-economic hermeneutical interpretation of the verse will suggest that the church with material riches will not see the kingdom of God (McGrath 2013:43). Then riches were no longer the blessing from God but from man, a point that does not have social or biblical backing. But if the church is the agent

of God's mission and attends to the plight of the poor, then it can still be argued that through those mission activities we can see the *Missio Dei*.

According to Gutierrez (1973:291), poverty is portrayed in the bible as the scandalous condition inimical to human dignity and thus contrary to the will of God. In defining poor, he uses four Hebrew and Greek terms and these will influence our understanding of the concept of the poor in the London Missionary Society activities, especially the projects in Bethelsdorp and Caledon:

Dal: the weak and the frail, this also refers to the poor of the land. It also referred to the economically disadvantaged.

Ani: the one labouring under a weight, the one not in possession of his whole strength and vigour, humiliated.

Anaw, uses the same root as the above, but has a religious meaning as it refers to the humble before God.

Ptokos, means those who do not have what is necessary to subsist, the wretched and those driven into begging, according to Meeks (1986:71), these people depended on what was left in the field after the people have harvested (Leviticus 19:9-10, 23:22).

Whether the poor are victims of their circumstances or contribute to their own poverty is a matter of debate (Kirk 1999:99). Poverty can be a result of external forces that act permanently against the interest of the poor, this can be seen in the foreign policies of the first world countries and their subsidiary finance institution (IMF, World Bank), that have committed poor countries to be always paying debts to these institutions. As a result of the payments, the indebted countries' economy only produces to service debts and not for the eradication of poverty.

It must be understood that the socio-economical paradigm of the LMS and that of Gutierrez are worlds apart. For the missionaries, understanding the African poor was based on the Western standard while Gutierrez (1973) talks from within the South

American background. Mission, therefore, is God's intervention in the people's history of survival and poverty must not be over spiritualized.

2.2.3.3 POVERTY AS THE MISSION PARADIGM IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

As presented above, the poor were central in the mission of Jesus. As a boy growing up in rural first century Palestine, attending the synagogue teachings, Jesus learnt the Jewish tradition of charity [Deuteronomy 15:5-11]. He taught his disciples the value of the poor in God's salvation plan. In the presence of his disciples and the congregation, He commended the financial contribution of the widowed woman [Matthew 6:20].

After Jesus' ascension, His disciples continued recognising the poor as the focal component of their mission [cf. Acts 4 32ff; 2 Corinthians 9:6-8]. This shows the extent of the importance of poverty in the mission of the early church and how the early church helped the poor. However, one can also argue that the apostles wanted to form a sect based on modern communist ideologies as reflected in Acts 4:34, where the community shared with the needy. Inasmuch as there were those who were poor, the teaching and the ideology advanced was to share with one another. This gave birth to the *diakonia* as the mission model as expressed in the choosing of the deacons in Acts 6:1ff.

Therefore, the question of the poor as the mission paradigm is constant through Judeo-Christian history, exhibited in both the Old and New Testaments hence the need for continuous advocacy in all current and emerging paradigms.

2.3 MISSION AS THE EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The difference between *regnum Christi* (the reign of Christ) and *regnum Theo* (the reign of God) must be demonstrated. This is clear in the messianic expectation attached to Jesus' earthly ministry. There was a sense in which it was perceived to be political, and he always corrected this perception even after resurrection. The phrase "reign of God" would be preferred in this research, because the kingdom of God would not be geographically located and limited in terms of the omnipresence of God. If the kingdom of God was to be defined in terms of geographical demarcations, it would be very difficult to designate the boundaries as it would shift from time to time as the struggle

with the devil continues. Mission as the expansion of the reign of God is, therefore, the participation of His chosen people (1 Peter 2:1-10 read together with Exodus 19:5-6; Isaiah 43:20; 60:6) the church (people of God taken out of darkness into light of God), in confrontation with the corrupt and evil world. This fight would culminate in the second coming of the Messiah.

2.3.1 KINGDOM OF GOD DEFINED

In biblical reading, three phrases are being used 'the kingdom of God', 'the reign of God' and 'the kingdom of heaven' in understanding the mission of God in relation to Jesus' ministry. The kingdom of God was central in the mission activities of Jesus. It also formed the central part in the parables, miracles, and teachings, hence the importance of the kingdom in the mission of the church. According to Macquarie (1977:368), the kingdom of God is the commonwealth of free beings, united with each other through love. However, as Schweitzer argues (1974:568), the Kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus is revolutionary, the parables in the teaching of Jesus dealt with the revolutionary coming of the kingdom of God, and the turning upside down of the political tables was reflective of the revolutionary behaviour in Jesus Christ (Matthew 21:1ff). The failure of the coming of the Kingdom of God to take place is expressed in the disappointment of the disciples in Acts 1:6-7. In response, he said '... it is not for you to know the time and dates...' affirming the belief of the disciples. The response could be interpreted to mean that inasmuch as it is not now it will still come. Jesus' response corrects the disciples thinking that the kingdom of God was political and instead it belongs to God and its coming is entirely dependent on him.

There is a sense in which the kingdom is to be identified with the church. But the church that spearheads it shares many ambiguities with the world (Macquarie 1977:369). The Kingdom of God, therefore, as understood from the ministry and activities of Jesus, is all embracing as the commonwealth of love and freedom. The kingdom of God, in the teachings of Jesus, was not connected to heaven (Erickson 1998:122). It mainly focuses on justice, social equality and democracy. Though Jesus in his defence before Pilate (John 18:36-38), said his kingdom doesn't belong to this world, He didn't deny its

coming to the world (Acts 1:7, Luke 12:39-40, Mathew 24, 3, 26; 1Thessalonians 5:1-2 and 2 Peter 3:10), but the timing of its coming is to be left to God.

The kingdom of God as the earthly reality needs to be understood in three strands; firstly is conversion *gentilis* (conversion of the gentiles), wining heathen lands for the Lord, secondly *plantatio ecclesiae* (the planting of the church), and lastly and supreme is *Gloria et manifestatio gratiae divinae* (the glory and manifestation of divine grace) (Vasquez 2000:6). This would help us to compute the mission's success as both disciple making and expressing the salvation work of God. The kingdom of God, as the agenda of mission, must reflect the Godhead concerned with love, peace, justice and reconciliation in the broken world, riddled with economic and political melt down and also moral degeneration.

2.4. POST-RESURRECTION MISSION APPROACH

The understanding of mission by the disciples changed after the death and resurrection of Jesus. The disciples became witnesses of joy, hope and victory of Christ in the cross. The doctrine of Trinity is introduced (Matthew 28:19), however it must be realized and appreciated that at this stage it cannot be used to argue for the doctrine of trinity in mission but only as the baptism formula. The author has no intentions of discussing the doctrine of trinity. However, suffice to mention that the three, i.e. the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are or were never in cross-purposes as far as mission is concerned.

The church was starting to be institutionalised, with its headquarters in Jerusalem. Peter, James and other the apostles are taking the leadership role in the leading of the evolving institution. The gospel is being spread outside Jerusalem. Different mission methodologies are expected to manifest and be employed. The church of the post-resurrection mission history is called to live the resurrection life, that is to say, it must stand against the forces of destruction and death as defeated by Christ on the cross (Bosch 1991:515).

2.4.1 TRINITARIAN MODEL OF MISSION

The history of the church is full of controversies and the doctrine of Trinity is one of them. Two councils were called to discuss the doctrines as a follow-up to the Council of Nicea 325 (Erickson 1998:732); these are the council of Constantine 381 and of Chalcedon 451 (McGrath 2013:58). This led the early church to reconsider the doctrines of the person and divinity of Jesus Christ, and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as they both relate with God. In these debates, the ranking of the three persons in Trinity was central rather than how they relate to the mission of the church or the concept of salvation. It was the Judaeo-Christians who found it especially difficult, when arguing about the formula of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. They believed in the monotheistic jealous Yahweh (Exodus 34:13). However, in mission, the loving God (John 3:16) sent his Son and on his departure the son promised the disciples that he would send them the Holy Spirit. 1 John 4:8 points out that God sent his son to the world so that it may live (4:9) and not perish (John 3:16). Jesus admits being sent by God (John 12:44-45). God and the Son (Jesus Christ) send the Holy Spirit (John 14; 49). In Luke 24:49, the Spirit is directly sent by Jesus to guide the disciples. God is the author of the mission, which centres on Jesus and is guided by the Holy Spirit. The missionary God is a sending God.

In the trinity, the kingdom of God is the focus. Jesus came to build the Kingdom of heaven on earth (Mark 6:10 and Luke 11:2). Jesus Christ, in his teachings, parables and miracles focused on the kingdom of God, which according to his teachings was very difficult to enter especially for the rich (Matthew 19:24, Mark 10:25 and Luke 18:25). But Jesus was not clear as to how the kingdom of God was to come and when. Such ambiguity as to what kind of kingdom Jesus is talking about, which has occupied his mission and energy, made it possible for the thought of a political model of the kingdom to develop. This kingdom would come and topple the Roman Empire and restore the kingdom of David. In the prayer that Jesus taught to His disciples, the kingdom of God was eschatological, not necessarily to come in his lifetime, even though it does not tell us whether it was political or religious, hence the understanding of his mission seemed to elude a number of people including his disciples. According to the

disciples (Acts 1), Jesus mission was considered political. The religious and theological understanding of the Kingdom was a post resurrection concept whereby the people would be taken from the unfriendly world. It changes from forward looking (liberation) to an upward looking and other-world kingdom, ruled by God not the principalities of this world.

It must be pointed out that the bible does not teach explicitly the Trinitarian view of God, but it is Augustine's view of interpreting the doctrine in terms of expressing God's love that is of missional importance in this research (Erickson 1998:345). The triune God becomes the locus for the origin of mission. The understanding of mission becomes more than winning souls in heathen lands and planting churches, but a more complex combination of proclamation (*kerugma*), dialogue and service (*diaconia* as mission) (Vasquez 2000:6). By being a missionary, the church is drawn to the very life of the trinity, witnessing to the world the love of God the father, the redeeming work of Christ and the empowering work of the Holy Spirit. This is how the Triune is expressed in the mission of God, and the church is the partner in the explanation of the Trinity in the mission model.

2.5 MISSION AS DISCIPLE MAKING

The Model of mission as Disciple making comes after the resurrection of Jesus and when it was 'confirmed' by witnesses. The model appears in all four evangelists. However, it cannot be precisely argued that these evangelists are talking about the same incident. Mark does not specify where the commissioning took place. Matthew 28:18-20 records that it was in Galilee on top of the mountain. It must be understood that Matthew was writing to the Jewish community, and the mountain in terms of divine communication was very important. A mention of the mountain would bring divine authenticity to the incident. Luke states that it took place in Jerusalem. The author's argument does not only centre on the geography of the instruction but also as to who were indeed sent and why. There is an understanding and subsequent position that this was a direct address to the disciples. Inasmuch as that is true, there is a sense in which the whole church is commissioned 'to go to the world'. It is my submission that

whichever way the commissioning is understood, 'the world' of the eleven disciples, 'the world' of the European missionaries and for the world of the present day church differ. The reading of such scriptures (Mark 16:14ff and Matthew 28:18-20) powered the overseas missionary zeal to go to the world and make disciples.

There is an underlying thought that the commission did not take place at all (Bosch 1991:56). It was the product of the early church (post-resurrection Christians) who wanted to justify the extension of the Christian faith to other nations as an instruction from Jesus, hence the questions on the authenticity of the commission. This can also be argued about, the debate among the apostles (Acts 15 and Galatians 2) in Jerusalem. This means the apostles did not agree on the format and the world in which the mission work was to be executed. Nevertheless, they concurred on the command to go and make disciples.

The debate on the historicity of the Great Commission must not overshadow the intention of the post resurrection mission paradigm as making of disciples across all cultures. The commission also provided the Jewish audiences of the gospel writers the fact that the saving grace of God can be made available to other nations. In either case the great commission provided the missionary reason to go to other nations (Jeremiah 1:5). It provided the church of the time the opportunity of mission outside their culture (Bosch 1991:56).

As discussed in the definition, God sent Jesus and together with God they sent the Holy Spirit. This formulation makes us understand the trinity in unity as the sender and provides 'the sent' with the mission agenda, i.e. the disciples or the church, as the case in this thesis. The church partakes in the mission of the triune God. According to Luke 24:48-49, there is a shift in terms of the agenda. The sender also becomes the focus of the mission, disciples are to go to the world and be witness as to the mighty works of Jesus. The second interesting insertion is the phrase 'all creation'. It must be admitted that most bible scholarship agrees that in the Old Testament the phrase was used to refer to humanity, not other creatures such as animals (cf Bosch 1991, Wright 2006). At the same time, there is no limit in arguing for the introduction of eco-theology and

theologies that will bring the understanding of God outside the Greco-Roman and Jewish worldview and cultures. Thirdly, the post-resurrection mission presents a new understanding of salvation. It is no longer only for the Jews but for all creation. This also challenges the movement's religious administration and orientation, as it allows people of other cultures outside Judaism to come in (Acts 15). Sinners, tax collectors and lepers are to be called the children of the kingdom of God (Bosch 1991:34) and the disciples were to carry this beyond the Judaic world. Finally, the fact that the disciples are sanctioned to take the gospel out of the Roman Empire is no longer boundary limited.

It is important to note that the mission of Jesus' disciples after his death changed. The focus was on making disciples and witnesses. This was to take them outside of their culture to have an encounter with other cultures. It was necessary to develop a new mission strategy that would support disciple making in cross cultural mission work.

During the Greek Patristic mission paradigm, the understanding of salvation was influenced by the pre-existence and the incarnation of Jesus. In the Western mission paradigm, focus was on the theology of the cross. All these are found at the edge of the earthly life of Jesus Christ. It is the post-resurrection paradigm that takes the life of Jesus Christ on earth as the mission formative factor. According to Bosch this means that the 21st century mission paradigm must be dominated by the comprehensive Christological framework (*totus Chistus*) (Bosch 1991:399).

The reading of Mathew 10:15-24 gives the impression that the mission of Jesus Christ was exclusively for the Jews and was not meant for the 'dogs' referred to in Matthew (Matthew 15:26). However, in dealing with this mission shift, Jesus was supposed to debrief the disciples' missionary orientation. One thing that becomes clear is that Jesus had to deal with the disciples' 'lack of faith and stubbornness' (v14). The Matthean mission paradigm focuses on the period dominated by persecution and some Christians' loss of faith and falling into disbelief. Matthew's understanding of mission as disciple-making is more than reaching out and bringing new members into Christianity but also making strong members of the church mission for and with the missionaries

(Bosch 1991:74). Salvation was primarily meant for the Jews but because of their lack of faith it was taken to the 'Heathen' world. This must not be taken to suggest that the mission to the Gentile world according to Matthew was secondary to the mission to the Jews. Matthew shows that the mission to the Gentile world was in Jesus' cards (Wright 2006:504). In Matthew 15:21-28 it is Jesus who initiates the trip to Gentile territory and the Jews are urged to support it (Greenway 1999:39).

It is possible also to document the missionary work of the LMS as making disciples, going out to other cultures to witness the grace of God. That being the case, it can be inferred that the mission of the European mission enterprise was commissioned by God and thus belongs to God.

2.5.1 TO THE JEWS FIRST: PETRINE MISSION

In mission practice, missionaries differ in approach and priority, as it would be realised later in the case of David Livingstone and Robert Moffat. But as the brief of this section the author looks at the Petrine mission perspective as underlying the foundation of mission to other cultures and the Jews.

Peter and other first Christians and disciples viewed their mission as the continuation of Jesus' ministry. Peter's vision in Acts 10:9 provided a theological and psychological turn in the missionary mentality of the disciples as far as the mission to the heathen world or other cultures is concerned. The great commission seems to support this shift in missional thought and execution. The mission to the whole world calls for a new mission strategy. The success of the strategy must be tested on the basis of the fact that foreigners and strangers find comfort in the salvation plan of God as the prime aspect of *Missio Dei* (Ephesians 3:3, 6).

The instruction given by the risen Lord, (Mark 16:14ff, Luke 24:36-49, John 20:19-23, and Matthew 28:19ff), to go to the world, speak their language, and cast out demons [poverty, oppression, corruption, sickness], shapes the post resurrection mission paradigm as understood by the disciples of Jesus. But this does not limit the 21st church

from adding some evangelical impositions, whereby the understanding of demons is not only spiritual but also social ills.

The interests of this subsection are the words in Matthew 28:20 that *'teach them these things'* to obey. The interpretation of the things to be taught to the young followers or disciples caused a lot of problems and confusion among the believers. Some Jewish Christians believed that for one to qualify for salvation one must turn to the culture of the Jews, rendering mission as culturisation (Bosch 1991:389). They highlighted circumcision as the sign of the covenant with Yahweh (Genesis 17:9-13) and as the key requirements for salvation. Peter (Acts 10:4-15) held the same belief that the teachings of Moses are the things that must be taught to the new disciples. The 'Judaising' Christianity went as far Antioch, Syria and Cilicia making sure the new believers followed the Jewish teachings. Paul and Barnabas could not deal with the intensity of the situation hence it was referred to the Jerusalem council (Acts 15). Thus the mission of Peter was modelled around culturisation.

2.6 ACTS 15: JERUSALEM COUNCIL A MILESTONE IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE LMS MISSIONARY WORK

In the analysis of the work of the LMS, Acts 15 will be used to show how the first century dealt with the issue of culture in the context of spreading the gospel. Though the use does not claim that the situation is the same, yet it can be used as a mirror on how culture can affect or help the mission execution.

The text suggests that at this time (Acts 15) the gospel was already outside Jerusalem, the church was already in contact with other cultures and Jerusalem had become the Christian Centre (Bosch 1991:94, Wright 2006:514, cf. Acts 1:8, 20:15; Galatians 2:1 and 2 Corinthians 8:2-5). However, the church was caught up in a situation where it found it difficult to separate the Jewish culture and the new Christian faith based on the teachings of the earthly Jesus Christ. The disciples agreed at the time that the whole world needed to be saved and that salvation could only come through Jesus Christ by obeying his teaching. The problem was the life to be adopted by the gentile Christians as the new religious life. The disciples and believers were brought up in Jewish socio-

religious culture, guided by the Mosaic laws. The question is how far should the culture of the indigenous people (Hottentots and the Ndebele) be considered in mission work? In most cases the culture of the locals is mentioned only as a hindrance to mission progress (Du Plessis 1965:276). This could be realised in the case of the Jerusalem council where the culture of the people who wanted to accept the gospel became the issue, rather than the realities of the mission work.

The understanding was that Christianity is Jewish or at most its extension or a new manifestation of the Jewish religion. To be saved, one must believe in Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ but in order to be part of the covenant community, Israel, one had to become a proselyte, which could be achieved by circumcision, an obligation on individuals to keep the laws of Moses.

Therefore, the *judaisers*, i.e. those advocating the following of the laws of Moses as the new way of life, must be understood from within their context. They were from Judea and once belonged to or were still Pharisees (Acts 15:5) and had been converted to Christianity. They were convinced that what they did and taught was representative of the church in Jerusalem. To be a Christian was to change one's culture and adopt that of the missionary. In this case the gentiles were to conform to the Jewish laws (Galatians 2:11ff). Thus the problem centred on cultural observation rather than religious conviction (Acts 15:5 *'the Gentiles must be circumcised and required to obey the laws of Moses'*) (NIV)

Critical mission questions arise as a result, as to whether missionaries are to deal with cultural dominance or the mission of acculturation thus subduing all nations into their cultural orientation.

The author makes a submission that the mission to the 'heathen land' would mean a break from the traditional understanding of 'the culture'. For the apostles it meant breaking away from the laws of Moses. They were to share meals with gentiles (Galatians 2). And in comparison, it implies that for the LMS missionaries it meant a break away from the western definition of purity and social right and embracing the cultures of Africa.

The acceptance of the outcome of the council (Acts 15) brings the meaning of agape; unconditional love and acceptance into practice. This meant that the Jewish believers were to share in the table with the uncircumcised. However, Peter had double standards (Galatians 2) and Paul confronted him 'to his face' on this behaviour. Paul argued that the church belonged to those who could accept one another without condition, i.e. their socio-political and religious background, while Peter saw the church as a community divided, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, and wanted to please both (Bosch 1991:151, Wright 2006:193). The converted brothers and sisters are now equals in the house of the lord.

2.6.1 WHERE THE GOSPEL AND CULTURE COLLIDE

Christianity was open to anybody from a devout Jerusalem Jew whose faith centred on the temple in Jerusalem and the observation of the Laws of Moses (Bosch 1991:292), to the native Galatians who has been brought to the Christian faith by the missionary activities of Paul. Galatians grew up in a pagan world where the sacredness of the Judeo-Christian temple had no meaning. The right wing Jewish-Christian held that circumcision must be obligatory to the gentile fellow Christian.

The issue of circumcision must not be taken as just one of the cultural issues. It was more than that; it also carried the religio-political meaning. It will be naïve to believe that the circumcision dealt with in the Old Testament referred to the circumcision of the heart. In the New Testament, the idea of the circumcision of the heart was brought in to bridge the gap between the Jews and the Gentiles. It was a late development that took place after the Jerusalem council (Acts 15: AD49/50). The Old Testament was used to moderate the over emphasis of circumcision as the rite of passage to social-religious rank. As such it is unfair to suggest that the Jewish Christians were spreading a wrong teaching. Their teaching was biblical and supported by Jewish customs (cf Genesis 17:5-14 and Exodus 12:48). The believers in Jerusalem were faced with the task of redefining the gospel in the context of the inclusion of other cultures (gentiles) in the building of the kingdom of God. Peter's testimony showed the council that even if he

was once opposed to going to the house of the uncircumcised Acts 11:1ff, God showed him that he is the God of all mankind and it is not for him to judge.

2.6.2 ACTS 15 JUDGEMENT: MISSION TO ALL NATIONS

James, who is thought to be the brother of Jesus, was silent in the ministry of Jesus but is heard passing the judgement. The position of James in the ministry of Jesus is only mentioned in relation to the judgement but will not be discussed here. The judgement showed that the love and grace of the creator and mission of God is not limited by cultural perspectives and convictions. The judgement reached by the James-led-council considered the importance of circumcision in the Jewish culture and the importance of pagan background of the new Christian converts. To the Jews, James admonished that they should not trouble the gentiles converting to Christianity by making circumcision obligatory as a rite of passage into Christianity. While to the Gentile believers he said they must not eat food offered to idols. The issue of unchastity arose as there seemed to be a sexual licence in the pagan practice, at least according to the Jews of that time (1 Corinthians 6:13). The Jews could not tolerate that sexual behaviour and the gentile Christians were requested to observe the marriage laws (Leviticus 18). There is another thought that James was referring to *choireia* pork not *porneia* unchastity. That being the point, it would be a translation debate which is not of interest to this paper. The gentiles were not supposed to eat anything that was strangled and flesh from which blood had not been drained (Leviticus 17:10ff). This was based on the Noah covenant (Genesis 9:4) that involved all mankind. This could further be understood to suggest that blood is life and hence sacred and must not be eaten and this would also cater for murder. (Leviticus 17:11-13).

Both the Jewish and Gentile Christians were comfortable with the judgement reached by the council. However, it was expected that the disciples would speak the language of the local people as expressed later in the day of Pentecost. The gentiles Christians were to be taught to accept Christ as the saviour in their own cultural context. The culture of the missionary will always find its way in packaging of the gospel; each time running supremacy and become the living standard and canon of the new converts'

faith. But also it is important to realize the value of the response of the converts as it is through culture that the world view is pictured and the gospel decoded and evaluated (Hesselgrave 1992: C-45). In doing mission, giving the impression that the spread of the gospel is cultural imperialism must be avoided. This is normally exhibited when the culture of the missionary is super-imposed as supreme over those of the local people.

2.7 CROSS-CULTURE [PAULINE APPROACH]

Having dealt with the judgement of the council, the author can now turn to the mission to other cultures as sanctioned by the church. This section centres on the person of Saul [Paul] and his writing. Peter, in writing 2 Peter 3:16, admits that the letters and ideas of Paul are hard to understand by a simple mind. Paul spent most of the time defending his apostleship, which seems to be doubted by those who argue that his call appeals to psychological interpretation (Guthrie 1968:386). Paul would always refer to his divine encounter as the source of his authority and calling (Romans 1:1-6, Galatians 1:12 cf. 1 Corinthians 1:16). Saul, as a Pharisee, used to hunt down the members of the new Christian faith. It is fair to understand Saul within the socio-political tone of the time. Firstly, he wanted to defend Judaism from the new movement, which seemed to spring from the teachings of the disciples of Jesus Christ and recruits who were joining as a result. Secondly, the activities of Saul were purely political, based on the Messianic expectation that was to come from the house of David. This meant that the expected messiah was a political messiah and that the advocates of the new movement came from Galilee, the home of freedom fighters. Then Saul, as a responsible Pharisee and Jewish citizen, took it upon himself to stop the new religious movement. If the Jews were to join the new movement, with its seemingly political motives, the Roman authorities would lash out and destroy the temple (John 11:48). The Jews had partial freedom provided they did not cause problems with the authorities. These were the Jews who were advocating for the admission of the gentiles without circumcision as a condition.

Upon joining the new movement on the road to Damascus, [Paul's conversion took a turn in the mission of new movement]. Paul (Acts 9:15 chosen by God as partner in

Missio Dei) was among the first recorded theologians and missionaries to have intentionally and strategically taken the gospel out of Jerusalem. Others include Peter to Joppa, and Philip (Acts 8:26ff). Taking the gospel outside Jerusalem meant that it has now going to the nations. It must be admitted though that some places were reached not as a planned mission outreach, but because the apostles were scattered and running away from persecution (Acts 8:1ff).

2.7.1 PAULINE MISSIONARY STRATEGY

There were three mission strategies that were in place for Paul to exploit (Bosch 1991:129). Firstly, the strategy involved wandering in groups, preaching the coming of the kingdom of God. Secondly the strategy evolved around Greek speaking Jewish Christians who embarked on a mission to the Gentiles from Jerusalem to Antioch. This was more of a cross-cultural mission embargo. Thirdly, Paul seemed to have combined the first two, but he could stay for a year or more in one place, and this approach was a modification of the two strategies already in existence. The strategy helped to nurture the young congregation to spiritual growth.

In the execution of his strategy, Paul selected strategic places like districts and provincial capitals, which were centres of communications, culture, commerce, politics and religion (Bosch 1991:130). They were representative in character of all sectors of life. People met in provincial capitals for business transactions, both the merchants and the clients. This seemed to be same strategy that Jesus had used when he went to fishing ports and market places. Those whom He had healed would go and tell others. Subsequently, people would be eager to see or hear Jesus teaching his gospel, which is a gospel that attracts. It is how one structures and executes divine tasks that will attract the people to the gospel. The idea was that those who hear the gospel become its agents in their respective places. This seemed an effective and not expensive methodology of mission approach. It acknowledges that all Christians can be participants in the *Missio Dei* (*Ephesians 2:10; 4:12*). Every Christian is challenged to take the mission of God further to the nation and within the everyday world, as you have been blessed bless others (Warren 1965:297 cf. Lovetta 1899).

The other notable Pauline missionary strategy was always to go to virgin land (Romans 15; 20), and when he felt like he had preached enough (Romans 15v23) he would go to the next place. Bosch (1991:124) argues that 'Paul's understanding of mission is not an abstract construct ... but an analysis of reality triggered by ... experience...'

2.7.2 FUNDING OF MISSION (PAULINE)

Missionary funding is always problematic because it comes with conditions attached to the donation. It also limits prophetic ministry especially if one has to speak against the donor. This leaves the recipient with the concept of 'do not bite the hand the feeds you [your mission]. If the mission was to be free and independent from any duress, it needed to be self-funding. Paul introduced what has come now to be called tent making ministry [Acts 18:3], so that he would not become a burden to the recipients of the gospel [2 Thessalonians 3:8]. Tent making ministry is also used to encourage self-reliance as Paul tried to teach his audience that those who don't work must not eat (2 Thessalonians 3v10). Paul practiced the tent making ministry, because as a Jew he was taught this trade for living. Even Jesus had a trade; he was a carpenter [Luke 2:42, Matthew 6:3]

2.8 CONCLUSION

The author has deliberated on the definition of mission as *missio Dei*, considering some mission perspectives, theological, biblical and cultural, attempting an across-look at the selected biblical passages with intention of a trans biblio-historical definition of mission. The analysis looks at an institution whose history spans more than two hundred years, the author therefore makes a summative conclusion that the mission as *missio Dei* originates with God making it Theo centric as opposed to ecclesia-centric. Churches, organisation and societies are privileged to participate, and this means that they are not mission initiators. The author also realised that development of *missio Dei* as the theological concept can not be divorced from its historical context which changes as it responds to socio-political realities. The biblical texts put forward are meant to demonstrate that mission is the major key (Wright 2006:17) in unlocking grand narratives in the bible, thus, accepting the whole bible, Old and New Testament, as the

mission document. Finally, our understanding of mission theology must reflect God as the source and origin of mission and that mission expresses the very nature of God, who is concerned with human salvation.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LMS

3. INTRODUCTION:

The previous chapter discussed the understanding of mission as an attempt to create the bases for the research; it is now intelligible to make a historical presentation of the LMS.

The fundamental principle of the London missionary Society as defined by the Directors in May 1796

'the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissention it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government but the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God to the Heathen; and that it shall be left... to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of his Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church government as them shall appear most agreeable of the Word of God' (Lovetta 1899: 49, Haile 1951:1)

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the mission theology and activities of the London Missionary Society which has evolved to United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. The paper does not intend to present a full-fledged history of the church but a potted history as a means of unearthing the mission of the LMS. In doing so, the author takes deliberate intention to; firstly, present a historical perspective as an appreciation that each historic epoch reveals a distinct understanding of mission and the practise of faith. In the presentation, the research must acknowledge and demonstrate that the British Missionary Enterprise is a late comer in the mission field of Africa especially in the present day Zimbabwe. Secondly, the chapter will look at the milestone historical events in the history of the church that informed and shaped the missional theology of

LMS. These include the reformation and Evangelical awakening, the cardinal principle of congregationalism, and finally, the chapter looks at LMS arrival in Southern Africa.

3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE LMS

The table below gives a picture of the development of the history of the LMS and other theological thoughts that influenced its mission.

Timeframe table 1 (Briggs 1986:48-49, cf Du Plessis 1965, Briggs and Wing 1970)

Dates	Events/Remarks
1300	Decline of the medieval church leading to the Reformation
1400	John Wycliffe, the morning star of reformation. John Huss
1500	Martin Luther, Zwingli, Calvin Western church divided into Roman Catholic and Protestant 1534 the Church of England finally breaks from Rome 1567 Emergence of Puritanism in England, London Congregation formed 1580 first Congregational church formed in Norwich
1600	1620 Congregationalism established in America with the arrival of the Pilgrims 1658 Rule of Oliver Cromwell in England; Savoy declaration 1662 Great rejection and persecution of the Dissenters
1700	Great awakening in America and Evangelical Revival in England (John Wesley and George Whitefield)

	<p>1795 London Missionary Society formed</p> <p>1799 Dr. v d Kemp and company arrive in South Africa as the first LMS missionaries</p>
1800	<p>1801 Edwards and the Kok family arrived among the Batswana of BaTlhaping at the Dithakong, they started the trade that went sour and led to the death of Mr. Kok.</p> <p>Period of the missionary expansion in Southern Africa ;</p> <p>1817/8 John Philip arrived in South Africa</p> <p>1820 Robert Moffat arrived in Kurumane</p> <p>1826 Robert Moffat produced a Tswana catechism and the gospel of Luke was translated</p> <p>1826 Moffat met with Mzilikazi at Marico (Today Zerust in South Africa)</p> <p>1835 American Board Mission starts work in South Africa in now Kwa-Zulu Natal</p> <p>1838 first draft of the New Testament in Se Tswana was translated</p> <p>1857 the whole Se Tswana bible was translated, Chief Khama is converted</p> <p>1859 the mission work in Zimbabwe starts with founding of Inyathi</p> <p>1859 Evangelical Voluntary Union (later Congregational Union of SA, is founded in South Africa</p> <p>1868 King Mzilikazi died</p> <p>1869 Lobengula succeeds his father Mzilikazi as the Ndebele King</p>

	<p>1870 second mission station in Zimbabwe is founded in Hope Fountain</p> <p>1895 first Ndebele was baptised after 37 years of labour (Mathambo Ndlovu) in Inyathi</p>
1900	<p>1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference</p> <p>1936 Christian Council is founded (later called South African Council of Churches)</p> <p>1967 Bantu Congregational Church, Congregational Union and London Missionary Society unite to form United Congregational Church of Southern Africa</p> <p>1972 The Disciples of Christ join the UCCSA</p>
2000	21 st mission paradigm

The table above gives a tabular historical presentation of the church and the events that defined and influenced its missionary activities, however it does not intend to produce a church history chart.

The London Missionary Society was formed during the period of the Evangelical Revival of 1790-1830 (Lovetta 1899:2). There were a number of major issues at play during the period. These issues included spiritual nadir, partly because of the growth of rationalism (Bosch 1991:279). This led to the church's failing to address the religious experience of the time and to deal with the rigidity of the non-conformist. Of interest, however, was their theological conviction. They held an opinion that it is sinful to live in a corrupt world and do nothing to transform it (Lovetta 1899:3). This became a driving force in the campaign to win the world for Jesus Christ. The greatest mission product of the second Awakening was voluntarism as a mission model. The people were not responding as a

church but as individuals (Bosch 1991:280). This also led to the formation of mission societies which were independent from the churches and LMS is one of them.

The idea of the formation of the Society must be traced back to the William Carey pamphlet of 1792 (Lovetta 1899:3). In the document entitled 'An Inquiry into the obligation of the Christians to use means for conversion of the heathen' and to his subsequent sermon of 31/05/1792 titled 'Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God'. These works of William Carey influenced the voluntarism in the European mission enterprise as a mission model.

Also important is the attitude of the Christians when forming the Society. They believed that since God had favoured and blessed them, they needed to pass the blessing on. Going to a heathen land was to share the blessings and favours from God. This mission to the heathen land was not haphazard. It was structured in thought and execution as to where to go, who must go, what must be preached, their doctrinal conviction, and finally the results of the mission, and need for feed/report back (Lovetta 1899:6).

The men who were behind the formation of the Society were learned and rich (Johnson 1976:444), they belonged to the upper class. But they chose the life of the monastery. They would wake up in the morning to go for prayers and to read the Bible. They were strong activists against the slave trade. Vidler (1971:34) points out that King George III considered these men as revolutionaries, a tag they denied in thought and deed. History tells us that in Africa, they were involved in trade, but not out of greed or business, but as a means for survival (cf. Haile 1951, Du Plessis 1965).

An analysis of the mission of the LMS (which evolved into the UCCSA) is difficult because it adopted the theology of the middle path. LMS is a blend of Presbyterianism and the Radical Protestantism of the Baptists and the Quakers. In 1794-5, a Missionary Society was formed whose objective was to spread the knowledge of Christ among the heathen and the unenlightened. Church planting and governance was never their objective or prime focus. That was to be the responsibility of those who received the gospel. In 1818 the Missionary Society was renamed London Missionary Society, after Van der Kemp and his crew had already been in Africa since 3rd March 1799. It would

be expected, therefore, that the transformation of the Missionary Society to London Missionary Society would have the African experience in content and outlook. This was also the period when the British were starting to politically mistreat the Dutch in the Cape colony, thus pushing them up North. Other than the fact that the name reflects the place of origin of the society and that it helps to distinguish it from other missionary societies, there is no theological or missionary interest in the name: London, hence it will not be discussed further.

Theological intolerance from the Puritans (who later called themselves the non-conformists, was also a feature of this period and the intolerance forced them to leave the church because according to them it was no longer pure (De Gruchy 1997:200). There is a school of thought that by staying in the church, one risked becoming spiritually impure and contaminated. It could be deductively concluded therefore, that by evangelising and civilising the *'heathen world'* the missionaries were cleansing it (the heathen world) of spiritual impurity. Assuming this was the missionaries' theological conviction, then going to the outside world had a sense of seeking for the pure world free from doctrinal impurities.

It was not only the question of spiritual purity that was in the centre of the debate and a cause for division, but also the philosophy of church governance. There was hostility to those who advocated for the Presbyterian polity. This is a church governance structure that has the court of elders, some of whom may be spiritually impure, hence 'it shall be left to the minds of the person whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God' (Haile 1951:1, cf. Lovetta 1899, Du Plessis 1965). It seems that there was a deliberate avoidance of teaching a refined church polity, though there was great emphasis on the supremacy of the Scriptures (Word of God) as the final court of appeal and canon for any decision on church polity. Congregationalism as church governance and polity was never defined.

Inasmuch as a number of factors such as (awakening and reformation, to be discussed later in this chapter) influenced and shaped missions to Africa, it was the response to

slave trade that made the mission specific. During the period 1720-1820, the slave trade was a booming industry. In 1780 the Quakers took a theological position condemning the slave trade (Johnson 1976:444). British Christians responded by taking on a mission to give love to Africa and the Asian world. This can also be seen in their interest in the lives of the downtrodden Khoi of the Cape colony (cf. Du Plessis 1965, McGrath 2013:272). The history of the mission work of the LMS can be understood within the themes of justice and advocacy for peace.

After the Second World War the British colonies started the liberation campaign. This changed the socio-political attitude towards the church especially for those with western origins. At the end of the war, the need to reconcile the warring parties became an important step towards peace and reconstruction (McGrath 2013:306). This, among others things, resulted in the formation of the World Council of Churches, to assist the world countries to find common ground and forgive one another. Therefore it has to be realised that post conflict society; i.e. society after a social unrest, calls for the church to seek and consider reconciliation and reconstruction as some of the major mission paradigms.

There was also a problem in dealing with indigenous religions. This also could be understood from the fact that the missionaries had the Puritans' influence in their religious conviction. This came up clearly later in history, during the liberation campaigns of the 1960s. The African political freedom fighters depended on the African Traditional Religions for their rituals. Even those who turned to Christianity did not completely divorce themselves from indigenous religions. Ignoring the influence of African Traditional Religions among the locals caused the European Missionaries failure to deal with religious dualism. The people would go to church and later go and consult traditional healers on practical issues which they felt Christianity could not address.

3.2 FORMATIVE FACTORS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHTS

It is through doctrine that Christian movements define their faith and one can tell the content of the gospel. It is also through doctrinal interpretation that the churches differ as denominations. The LMS doctrines are influenced by reformation and Calvinist

theology. The dialogue with these factors will also help us to understand the texture of the gospel the missionaries took out of Europe. The inclusion of these formative factors is not to fish out the missiological perspective but to see how they influenced the missiological thoughts of the Missionaries that came to Africa.

3.2.1 CALVINISM

Inasmuch as Calvinism could refer to the entire theological thinking of John Calvin, Calvinism is used exclusively to refer to his views on salvation (soteriology). The doctrine of predestined salvation is fundamental to Calvinism (Bosch 1991:258). However, drawing from John Calvin's sermons (Botha 2009:2), there are some missiological hints in Calvin's theological thoughts. An example is the preaching in 1 Timothy 2:1-2, where he calls Christians to pray for the world. Calvinism is brought in as a cardinal theological thought in the development of the London Missionary Society theological thinking, but the doctrine of predestination will not be discussed in depth here, it is only mentioned to put the study into perspective.

The reason for considering the theology of salvation is that the author holds the view that mission is about the salvation plan and activities of God (see chapter two of this thesis). Hence, how the church defines and interacts with the concept of salvation is paramount in its mission work. Inasmuch as Calvin never explicitly used the word 'mission' (Botha 2009:4), the issue of his theological interaction is of missionary interest. He dealt with social justice, dealing with the poor, defining concepts of *missio Dei*.

The intention of LMS was to make people witness God's acts of salvation, and therefore it must be contained in their understanding of the doctrine of salvation. According to Calvinism as the LMS influencing thought, there is total depravity, meaning that man is corrupt, wicked and bad and is affected by sin and is not able to believe in God (Botha 2009:4, cf. Ephesians 2:1, Colossians 2:13). From this understanding, the doctrine that states that God chooses whom to save, the doctrine of election or predestination (cf. 1 Thessalonians 1:4, Ephesians 1:5), is thus developed. The doctrine of election states that salvation does not depend on a person's faith but whether a person is chosen by

God. On the basis of this doctrine, atonement is therefore at the mercy of God and is explained in terms of predestination.

The extreme interpretation of Calvinist theology of predestination created a scenario where Christians are robotic beings who do not have a choice in the destination of their religious future. This is contrary to the simple philosophical logic of free will. Mark 16:16 and Matthew 28:16-20 show and confirm that the people used their intellect and made informed decisions to be Christians.

3.2.2 AWAKENING

There were two Awakenings recorded in the church history. The first Awakening (1726-1760) was mostly in the American colonies and the second (1787-1825) was also known in England as the Evangelical Revival (Bosch 1991:279). It is the second revival that is of interest to this research as it profoundly influenced the setting of the English Societies including the LMS. Two other issues dominated this period. The first issue, rationalism (Age of Reasoning or Enlightenment) had invaded schools and colleges and even crept into the church. It was so powerful that it even defined religious commitment. A German theologian F D E Schleiermacher (1763-1834) (Vidler 1971:23) responded through his book 'Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers (1799). He argued that religion is not only for those who are not intelligent, and it is not right for rationalism to call for religion to be subjected to reason. The second issue is Deism. It resolves not to accept those tenets of religion that could not be tested and demonstrated through reason (Erickson 1998:42). It argues that they must be scrapped as void. Such subjection of religion to rationalism affected the spirituality of the church.

During the period of the Awakening, the spirituality of the church was thought to be in decline and Awakening came as a wave that brought in a new lease of life in the church. It replaced the view that saw the church as a group of people who covenanted together to lead a Christian life, with the theological thought that insisted upon individual conversion as the accepted way to the kingdom of God (Bosch 1991:280). The London Missionary Society was expected to bring the gospel that emphasizes the community of

believers; however turning to God and joining the church for fellowship needed an individual decision.

The Awakening brought about a new mood in religious institutions, a great zeal to save in spite of opposition. With that zeal and drive, individuals started to organise themselves outside the structures of their respective churches to serve as missionaries. The following individuals were influenced by and through this religious wave: J T Van der Kemp who became a missionary to Africa, William Wilberforce who was an activist against the slave trade and was an avowed evangelical. However the abolition of the slave trade only took place after his death (McGrath 2013:272). He died in 1833. Lastly, William Carey who did not only influence the modern mission's practical definition but also showed that mission is about feeling and getting concerned about other people's plight (Bosch 1991:281). Carey's protest against the sugar imports from West India which were produced by slaves was a clear demonstration on his position and thought on slave trade and oppression. This is the reason why some colonial administrators were always at odds with the missionaries. This missionary advocacy shows that the missionaries did more than just preaching, but also spread the message that improved people's condition in daily living. Advocacy was also a component of the missionaries' activities, which became the voice for the voiceless in the issues of slavery.

3.2.2.1 AWAKENING AND MISSION IN AFRICA

The slave trade was high during the period of the Awakening and some of the British Merchants were involved. According to McGrath (2013:276) the most notable benchmark of the Awakening was the conversion of John Newton (1725-1807), the slave Captain. That proved vital in the attitude change towards humanity. He is known for his songs; "Amazing Grace", which talks about his spiritual transformation and "Negro Complaint" that is about the conferment of dignity on all people. This contributed to the attitude of those who were oppressed. They were to be seen as people of God whose dignity is vital too.

Important to the mission to Africa is how the missionary enterprise responded. The evangelical Protestants responded in two ways. Firstly, it was in advocating for the

abolition of the slave trade. The advocacy found prominence in the person of William Wilberforce, who was an Evangelical too. Secondly, it was by bringing the gospel of love to the people who were dehumanised by the slave trade and colonialism (McGrath 2013:276). This is also reflected in missionaries' relationship with the Khoi people of the Cape Colony (cf. Lovetta 1899, Du Plessis 1965). Out of awakening, mission was primarily defined as advocacy and solidarity.

3.2.3 REFORMATION

The Reformation is not the focus of the research, but it is mentioned here for two reasons. Firstly, it is the author's conviction that it is difficult to discuss a church of protestant tradition outside the backdrop of the Reformation. Secondly, LMS traces its ancestry in John Calvin's theological thought that was born out of the Reformation.

Studying reformation in missiological research one is met with the claim that there was no mission in reformation. The claim has divided scholars into a group of those arguing for the absence of mission in reformation (Warneck 1906), and those countering and defending the reformers. The first group argues that the church made no effort to go to the world and never gave defence for their causes. The absence of the church's action was seen as an affirmation of the absence of the mission duty in the church. This is true only as far as the nineteenth century understanding of mission is concerned, hence it would be very unfair to use that definition as the canon of sixteenth and seventeenth century theological thinking. The group does not take into cognisance the practical issues on the ground at the time (15-17th century). There is a need to appreciate that there was ideological debate between the Anabaptists and the Reformers during this period (Bosch 1991:246). It was the position of the Anabaptist that there must be no relation between the state and the church, whilst the reformers argued that there must be no mission activity where there was no protestant government. Unfortunately, there was no protestant mission at the time, only Catholics were practising missionaries. For example, in the Portuguese colony of Mpanza Kongo in modern day Mozambique, the Catholics arrived in 1491 (Gundani 2005:172). The reformers' attitude therefore

explains the arrival of the LMS in 1799, shortly after the coming of the British government in 1795.

Secondly, the Reformers were being accused of being passive and quiet. It has to be understood, however, that the reformers were pre-occupied with the reformation of the church. This meant that the reformed church could thereafter be entrusted with mission to the outside world. Therefore, the Reformation was not only limited to fighting against the papal administration, the process was a milestone in mission understanding of the church worldwide. This had an impact on the theological thinking of the European missionaries who ventured into Africa and other regions that were considered to be dark and heathen.

It must be stated that mission as practiced today can not be used to explain the mission understanding of the 14th -17th century. This means that we cannot mine or define the paradigm with precision as for example, the celebrated analogy of Martin Luther that, spreading the gospel is like throwing a stone in the water so that circular waves are formed from the centre (Bosch 1991:244). This analogy also admits that mission is not dependent on human effort, as the person who throws the stone is not the one who spreads the waves.

However, of importance to this research is the concept of salvation and how it was understood and taught during the Reformation. It is the Reformers (e.g. Luther) who taught a subjective and individualistic approach to salvation. His existential question becomes a classic example (Bosch 1991:246), '...where do I find a merciful God?' Salvation was no longer a community concept and was then against the collective expression and intention of sending Christ by God (John 3:16).

There are some points that can be drawn from the discussion as reflected in the LMS approach that could point back to reformation theological thought and these are found in the missionaries' teaching in Africa. The first theological thought was the translatability of liturgical literature as part of the mission methodology. This meant that the gospel is available in the language of the indigenous people. Secondly, it was the recognition of the headship of Christ and the acknowledgement that it is not the Pope who heads the

church but Christ. Thirdly, it is the New Testament (Bible), not the church that is the final authority. Fourthly, there was a new understanding of poverty. In as much as they agreed that the Christian life was to be lived in poverty, rather than opulence, this was reflected in the teaching and the practices of John Philip as he dealt with slave trade.

It was not only socio-political and economic themes that affected missionary work, but other religious rituals such as baptism created disagreements' amongst the missionaries and the local people.

3.3 ARRIVAL IN AFRICA

The history of the LMS in Africa starts with the arrival of the Hillsborough, a convict ship bound for Botany Bay, in Cape Town on the 31st March 1799. The ship carried four willing prisoners of Christ, chained by the vision of a continent to be won for Christ (Briggs 1970:13). The missionaries arrived in the Cape in 1799, four years after the British. They were welcomed by their home government. This development resulted in missions up north in the persons of John Philip, John Campbell and Robert Moffat.

3.3.1 THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

When one talks of human rights, one cannot afford to remain apolitical. However, it must be noted that linking mission and politics does not suggest politicising the missionary work of the LMS. Equally, the avoidance of politics must not be regarded as de-politicising mission or creating a political vacuum in the prophetic ministry of the church. The work of human rights in the London missionary Society centres on the persons of Dr Livingstone, John Philip and Campbell.

During the early stages of the missionary activities of the LMS, there were two types of missionaries (Haile 1951:2). There were those called to evangelise the natives and coloureds and the second category are those who felt led to settle among the colonialists and build colonial churches. It was out of those who saw their call to evangelism to the down-trodden, and those who were suffering from Colonial oppression that the Bethelsdorp centre was initiated and built.

3.3.1.1 BETHELSDORP CENTRE

As recorded in the missionary work of the LMS, Bethelsdorp was a refugee camp, but Du Plessis (1965:119) challenges this thought and calls a revision of the position. The idea of Bethelsdorp was not a product of the missionaries. Instead, it was a government program to deal with 'roaming Hottentots to the disturbance of law and order' (Du Plessis 1965:124). The ecclesiastic function of Bethelsdorp came after the government could not get a person to run the place. The government officials approached Van Der Kemp who, unfortunately, saw the situation of the Hottentots differently. He considered the Hottentots as 'free men with all the rights and privileges of free citizens. This contrasted with the intention of the government who thought that they wandered all over the place and needed to be kept in one place and be controlled.

After Van der Kemp's death in 1820, his position was filled by John Philip, who arrived in South Africa in 1818. He approached missionary work with a philosophical conviction, influenced by Rousseau that '... the life of the savage is the simplest and perfect, and social laws are unjust' (du Plessis 1965:120). This allowed him to live among the local people and accept their living standard as the way of life. Philip was more of a human rights activist than an imperial evangelist.

In their call for the human rights campaign, the LMS missionaries were to deal with a complex situation. There were slaves mainly from Madagascar, Angola and Mozambique who provided the economy of the Cape colony with cheap labour. The other group of mixed ancestry (coloureds), considered themselves as free, and according to John Philip, the Coloureds were de facto free (du Plessis 1965: 128, De Gruchy 1999:23). The local people were non-existent in the law under the Netherlands East India Company; coloureds were included, up until 1811/12 when the British as the new colonial masters gave them recognition as free people. However, it was only in so far as they would be servants of the whites. Philip argued that 'there is no tyranny as cruel... as that which is exercised under the pretext of the law, under the colour of justice, when wretches are... drowned on the very plank to which they clung for safety'.

Philip's unwavering position on human rights and dignity made the locals consider him a prophet.

Through the dealing of the Bethelsdorp, the Hottentots were reduced to refugees in their own land. Ordinance 50 of 1828 assigned freedom of movement, accommodation and allocation of work to the residents of Bethelsdorp. However, the ordinance did not give the Hottentots [indigenous people], the right to ownership of land (Constable 1999:24),

A few lessons could be learnt from the church as it ventured up north from Bethelsdorp, as the launch pad for the gospel as it spread from the Cape Colony. The church had an interest in social issues. It challenged the political administration of the time. As a result, Sir George Yonge wrote to the Secretary of State expressing his dislike for the activities of the missionaries, Van der Kemp, De Buys and Read (Du Plessis 1965:124). The missionaries were bringing other elements into their mission such as church planting. In 1801, the first LMS church was planted in Graaff Reinet and it was also used as a school for sixty-two children. The idea of staying and establishing these institutions was against the founding principle that argued that whoever hears the word and responds and makes a covenant with Christ must establish his/her own church polity.

Bethelsdorp (1813) did not only provide a launch pad to the mission up north. It also provided a head quarters of missionary ambitions in the Eastern Cape (Makuzeni 1999:32). It subsequently succeeded as a mission station, where locals were provided with survival skills such as cash crop production (horticulture), and knitting for women as led by Matilda Smith (Briggs & Wing 1970:18). The gospel got a local flavour as the locals were taught how to preach, it was therefore easy to reach the locals

3.4 THE MISSION WORK UP NORTH

The mission up North would follow the route that goes through Botswana up to Zimbabwe with the key personalities of Robert Moffat, David Livingstone and Mr Elliot. Elliot first came into the picture in 1824, when he was asked to come and work among the Mohammedans of Cape Town (Du Plessis 1965:98). This was because of the knowledge of Arabic he acquired while working in the islands of Johanna. He left the

mission due to the lack of support from his colleagues and society. In 1888 he is reported to have joined the Hope Fountain Mission, in the land of Mzilikazi (Briggs and Wing 1970:190). The reason for giving this short description of Mr Elliot, (Rev Elliot as in Du Plessis 1965:98) is the letter he wrote that provoked the debate that influenced the shift in mission focus to the North. In 1848 Mr Elliot wrote to the mission Board that the colonial administration had improved the rights of the Hottentots were recognised and the refugee centres (Bethelsdorp, Pacaltsdorp, the Kat River settlement and Caledon) were no longer needed as they had served their purpose as refugee camps (Lovetta 1899:645). It is thought that this letter fanned flames of a potential controversy. The timing of the statement was ill placed as it came when the board was discussing the question of funding. This meant that, according to those who supported the centres, removing them was as good as giving the colonial powers a blank cheque. While on the other hand Moffat and Livingstone were interested in the untouched fields ahead, Bechuanaland, the Makololo mission and the Mission among the Ndebele and had little interest in the debate that seemed to delay the mission (Briggs and Wing 1970:192). This created what the author has in general referred to as the mission up North.

Two missions resulted from the work up north. One mission led by David Livingstone headed to Makololo. It was inspired by his friendship with Chief Sebituane. The other expedition led by Robert Moffat, which was inspired by the friendship with the Ndebele King, Mzilikazi, headed for the Ndebele kingdom. It is this expedition which records a number of established churches in both the current Botswana and Zimbabwe. However it must be noted and appreciated that David Livingstone made some impacts in Botswana in the region of Kolobeng near the present day Gaborone.

Therefore, in the analysis of the missionary work up North the author will follow the Robert Moffat expedition. It must be noted that division of mission work as it went up north was not a peaceful division of labour. The church was divided on its socio-religious approach to mission and on the church-state relationship (Haile 1951:6). Livingstone was more of an explorer than pastoral or an evangelical or gospel missionary . As a result he gave little attention and energy to missionary work. The traders were using more of his benchmarking and thus he spent more time on

exploration. However, both of them, Livingstone and Moffat, in their minds thought there was a heathen land to be won for Christ and the need to fight local exploitation in forced labour (Du Plessis 1965:126).

3.4.1 GOSPEL TO THE ROYAL FIRST: MISSION STRATEGY UP NORTH

Moving away from the Cape Colony was necessitated by many factors and called for a different mission strategy. In 1848, it was recorded that the colonial administration had improved and the rights of the Hottentots were recognised (Haile 1951:7) and institutions like Bethelsdorp, Pacaltsdorp, the Kat River settlement and Caledon had served their purpose as refugee stations. The situation suggested that the intended goal had been met hence the need to move on. The understanding was that the locals would keep the fire burning. The colonial economy was growing and there was an increased need for cheap labour to work in the economy and this led to increase in slavery as well. However, because of the political fighting between the Dutch settlers and the British people, the Dutch moved inland from the Cape Colony. The movement was called the Great Trek. The great *trek* inland meant that labour exploitation was taken inland, in response to this economic and political problem; there was a need for the anti-slavery advocacy to follow. There was the initial reason to preach the gospel to the 'heathen lands' that were beyond the Cape colony.

A new mission focus comes with new challenges and also new mission strategies and zeal. There was already tension between the missionaries and the colonial administrators (as discussed in the Graaf Reinet and Bethelsdorp mission work). Their strategy was to first convert the king and the subjects would follow the leader. This would strain relations with colonial masters. This was because the missionaries were suspected of selling weapons to the natives (Lovetta 1899:602), and thus empowering them to resist colonial endeavours. Having stayed and worked among the Africans, the missionaries came to understand and appreciate the power and the influence of the kings (*Dikgosi/inkosi/izinduna*) among their people both as political and religious practitioners. This is the strategy that was used among the Bangwaketse, BaKwena and

Bangwato of what is today Botswana. But the strategy did not work well among the Ndebele.

The mission endeavour was going to be problematic especially in the country of Mzilikazi who had had an unpleasant encounter with the Afrikaners (cf Lovetta 1889, Du Plessis 1965 and Briggs and Wing 1970). Two attitudes towards the missionaries were evident. The local people started to deal with European missionaries with suspicion. They were not able to differentiate their intentions as pure Christian or part of the political column. Due to the previous encounters with whites, the relationship with the Ndebeles was not good, it was either wars or trade, as such, all they were interested in was material gains, and this relegated gospel reception to the secondary tier. This made the preaching of the gospel difficult since the locals only saw business partners. Gospel preaching was supposed to be innocent of the two suspicions mentioned above.

3.4.2 CENTRALITY OF KURUMAN TO THE GOSPEL UP NORTH

It is not possible to discuss the mission up North, i.e. to the Bechuana and the Ndebele without mentioning Kuruman. The Kuruman mission can be traced back to 1812, when John Campbell visited Kgosi Mothibi of Batlhaping (Lovett 1899: 585, Haile 1951:3, Du Plessis 1965:158, Briggs and Wing 1971). But it is after the arrival of Reed and Hamilton that we can talk of Kuruman as a mission centre. Unlike the common practice where the missionary societies were given the land by the home governments, the land where the Kuruman mission was bought from Chief Mothibi for 40 pounds of beads.

As a central point for mission execution, Kuruman used translation as a mission tool. John Campbell translated (about 1813?) the Lord's Prayer into Setswana (Haile 1951:4) and Robert Moffat is recorded as having translated the Setswana New Testament, a commendable effort to learn the language of the people. But there is a need to look and challenge the historiography, which does not recognise the role of the locals, but celebrates the Missionaries at the expense of the locals. It must be noted that translation did not go without criticism, for example Edward and Inglis did not agree with the process (Lovetta 1899:593). Nevertheless, the mission work of the LMS took a tripartite approach focusing on health, education and the church. The mission work was

designed in such a way that it ministered to the whole person i.e. his physical, spiritual and intellectual needs. Furthermore, the new mission strategy was to start with a person in authority, such as a king and he would be trusted to instruct his subjects to join the church. This mission strategy was used among the BaNgwato of Kgama, BaKwena of Sechele and the Ndebeles of Mzilikazi. The strategy depended on the receptivity of the king, and assumed that what would be good and work for the king would do the same for the subjects. Lastly, the introduction of the teacher-evangelists tallied well with the strategy of translatability. This group of recruits served both as teachers in mission schools and preachers among the villagers over the weekends.

The Kuruman mission was also filled with controversy. Some of disputes even shaped and influenced the gospel up North. There was conflict between Dr John Philip and Robert Moffat. Moffat did not trust distant-control leadership, the mission work was centralised in the offices in Cape Town. Robert Moffat arrived in Kuruman on 12 May 1821(Lovetta 1899:584). However, Dr Philip had a problem in dealing with Robert Moffat. He saw him as headstrong and opinionated, not ready to allow others to share in the mission (Lovett 1899:591). He (Moffat) wanted all the credit for himself. The problem with his character was also reflected in the letters and journals of his daughter-in-law as she detailed how he (Moffat) made the mission among the Ndebele difficult for other missionaries (Wallis 1945:90) (see chapter four of this thesis).

The other issue that affected the mission was when the missionaries started to trade with locals (Briggs and Wing 1971:26). At one point the deals went bad and resulted in the death of a missionary called Kok, and the dismissal of Edward as a missionary in the LMS ranks. This delayed the mission progress.

However, it is Kuruman that saw the opening of the first school in 1828 by the missionaries north of the Orange River. In 1878 the school provided training to teachers and evangelists from Bechuanaland (Butler 1999:40). Because of industrialisation and the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, the transport network was developed. This railway network left Kuruman offline. The railway was built as part of the Cecil John Rhodes dream of a Cape to Cairo railway network. From the Kuruman mission station

the same services were extended to the establishment of Tigerkloof (Moeding in Setswana: meaning well or fountain). Tigerkloof catered for students from Bechuanaland and Matabeleland (Zimbabwe). The development of the north mission [education] continued in the later stages with the opening of the 'young tigers' Moeding college in Botswana.

The naming of these institutions was consistent with the hope the missionaries had in their mission endeavour, '*moeding*' [Tiger Kloof and the Moeding of Otse in Botswana] and Hope Fountain (*Umthombo we themba*) in Zimbabwe. This suggested that, each mission station opened and provided the LMS with mission hope into the 'heathen land' and an answer to the mission dream. They became not only mission stations of hope but also centre of human empowerment.

3.5 FUNDING: ASHTON-MOFFAT CONFLICT

It was the feeling of William Ashton, who joined the Kuruman mission in 1843 (Lovetta 1899:594), and indeed in the principles of the Society, that the local churches must be encouraged to finance their mission as part of self-governance. Haile (1951:6) does not record the response of Moffat, but argues that he (Moffat) did not realise how he overshadowed his junior colleague Ashton, and Lovetta (1899) concurs that the conflict was more than just over funding but it also had to do with Moffat's personality of treating every one as a junior. And it is also emphasised in the words of Ashton 'I have been for many years as tame as an old wife's cat (Haile1951:7)'. However, the Society could not allow him to leave Kuruman. He participated in the training of the natives and assisted in the translation of the New Testament.

In response, the board of Directors of LMS sat in 1856 and made the following resolutions (Lovetta1899:591):

1. The churches must be self-supporting
2. The society will continue to provide pastoral oversight 'in touch with them with parental affection';

3. Directors were ready to transfer the property to the recognised trustees, and provide financial aid to the Society while the churches were establishing themselves.
4. They would guarantee beneficial privileges to the pastors and their wives.

The fact that the resolutions did not specify the standards to be met before the withdrawal of sponsorship, made some to argue that the LMS 'scuttled' from the Cape Colony and left the Congregational Union of South Africa (CUSA) with an intolerable burden. For a historical record, it has to be noted that at this time the CUSA was not yet formed, it only came into existence in 1877. CUSA was to help those churches from whom the LMS had withdrawn the financial support and as they established their own ecclesiastical governance. (CUSA is now part of the present UCCSA).

3.6 CONCLUSION

A historical presentation of the London Missionary Society shows us that most of the missionary enterprises plied their mission activities in the colonies of their home government, and they were contemporaries of colonialism. It was also the thinking of the protestant missionaries as influenced by the Reformation to do mission where there was a protestant government. Funding was amongst the biggest challenges among the LMS that led to missionaries engaging in trade with the locals and this compromised the progress of mission work (Briggs and Wing 1971:26). But it must be appreciated that the trading was not with bad intentions, but for the missionaries to replenish their depleted provisions. The armchair administration of the society from the West missed the practical issues such as culture and political realities.

CHAPTER 4

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN THE COUNTRY OF MZILIKAZI

4. INTRODUCTION

The story of the mission work of LMS in the country of Mzilikazi (Lovett 1899, du Plessis 1965, Haile (1951:9) started *'when Moffat visited Mzilikazi at Marico... In 1829 Two strong men stood face to face, the great King, Pezulu, the Elephant, the Lion's Paw, the son of Machobane and Moffat the Messenger of the Gospel of Christ'* a remarkable friendship grew between them.... when Matebele had settled in the north, Moffat said he was prepared to lead the mission to the Matebele.' This chapter then looks at the work of the missionaries in the country of Mzilikazi when he was settled in the North. The following will be the analytical topics, the three pronged mission approach, missionary gospel and the Ndebele worldview in the concept of God, salvation among the Ndebeles, the concept of healing and the socio-political administration.

4.1 GEOGRAPHY OF MZILIKAZI'S LAND AS THE MISSIONARY FIELD

The author intends to make a brief description of Mzilikazi, which does not intend producing a historical work but with the intention of establishing the mission context. Mzilikazi was one of king Shaka's captains who threw away the yoke of the tyrannical king to establish his own kingdom (Du Plussis 1965:162). The Ndebele are originally the Zulu clan who left the Zulu Kingdom when Mzilikazi had a problem with the King and was condemned to death (Lovetta 1899: 624). They carried on the cruel and warlike character of the Zulus. As he, Mzilikazi, ran away he started to build his nation through the 'conquer and assimilate' method.

The understanding of the geographical space of the country of Mzilikazi provides us with a number of challenges, from how the nation or tribe was built, to the area covered in the process. The first challenge is the geographical space of the present day Zimbabwe and the territory under the leadership of Mzilikazi of the 1800s. Historians seem to present it as a trek rather than a geographical space. The second challenge is the composition of the Ndebele tribe, it was built on conquer and assimilation. But it

does not include those tribes who were seeking the King's permission in the accepting of the missionaries (cf. Lovetta 1899, Haile 1951, du Plessis 1965). They were not really part of the Ndebele kingdom, but only joined for fear of attack or to seek protection from the Ndebele. It can not be used, therefore, to measure the geographical size of the country of Mzilikazi. This does not only bring a demographical challenge but also a cultural challenge.

The mention of Mzilikazi in relation to the missionary work of the London Missionary Society goes back to when Robert Moffat met with Mzilikazi at Marico in 1829 (Haile 1951:9), between the modern day Zeerust and Rustenburg in the Republic of South Africa. The timber donated by Mzilikazi to the mission church in Kuruman was from Marico (Zeerust). This suggests that the Ndebele kingdom occupied and had control over that area. However, considering the modern day Zimbabwe and the meeting place between Mzilikazi and Moffat, the fluid presentation of the geographical size of Zimbabwe as the field of the LMS mission works must be challenged. For the analysis of the work of the missionaries, the author will concentrate on the geographical contact points rather than the modern day Zimbabwe. However, it must be admitted that the establishment of the geography of the kingdom of Mzilikazi as the context of the analysis of the LMS missionary work is a difficult task. Using his raids and the vassal tribes as points to mark the size and stretch of the kingdom gives a false picture. Therefore, in locating the Kingdom, the present geographical space of Zimbabwe can be used as a guiding frame work.

4.2 CHURCH PLANTING IN MATABELELAND

The planting of the church must be the goal of any mission enterprise as a starting point and it was expected of the LMS to have such a goal. This was a departure from the founding principle where the locals were to decide for themselves on the type of the church and its governing structure (cf Lovetta 1899, Haile 1951, Du Plessis 1965). It allows the church to create a nucleus point, as the demonstrated by Luther (Bosch 1991: 244, cf Warneck 1906); Luther argues 'spreading the gospel is like throwing a stone into the water and circular waves form outwardly from it'. When the people hear

the word of God, they need to congregate or come together, the meetings or coming together of members is four-fold: (Glasser 1992: A-123) Firstly, the people need to assemble for worship, responding to the word of God and, secondly, for family fellowship. This means that all the members of the congregation considered themselves as a family, both Europeans and Africans would share fellowship together. But the author grew up in low density suburbs of Bulawayo and found that there were still two services; one for whites and another for blacks. This means that in as much as there is a desire for mission, it is at times difficult to attain that type of Christian community. Thirdly, the planted church is the organism for evangelism outreach and fourthly, it is a school for training in of bible study and Christian instruction e.g. confirmation classes and Sunday school.

However, for the success of the above, the king was the key figure in the setting up of missionary work, his nod or frown mattered a lot. Upon being granted permission by the king, the missionaries would set up a building or a mission station. People respected these buildings and places. Certain behaviours, languages, and dress codes would not be accepted in these areas. Buildings on mission grounds were then regarded as sacred places, representing the presence of God (Smart 1996; Hambira 1999).

4.2.1 FACTORS THAT AFFECTED THE MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE NDEBELES

There are a number of possible factors that may have made it difficult for the missionaries to work among the Ndebeles. Firstly, the king did not have a good history with the whites. Upon dissention from King Shaka, King Mzilkazi, had a number of wars with the whites that led him to move up north. While on the other hand, the Boer farmers could not trust the missionaries. They thought of them as the agents of the British government. There could be a grain of truth in this. LMS seemed to be flourishing in the areas where the British Empire was in control (Bosch 1991:246). When the Empire lost control; the influence of the LMS also declined. Secondly, the kingdom was built on conquering and assimilation. This strategy did not go well with Moffat. He considered it to be barbaric and uncivilised as he understood it to be against the Word of God.

Thirdly, women were not allowed to attend the services. If they attended a service, a man was supposed to watch from a distance. This meant that the service had few or no people attending since men were always at war. Even if the women attended services, they were not free to make conversion or take decision.

Fourthly, it is interesting that when the issues related to male domination in the church are discussed, the tendency is to consider them to be a product of African social organisation. However, it is something that is found in all societies. When women were mentioned in the LMS mission work, they were working as nurses or Sunday school instructors. They never led public worship or sat in meetings that designed and executed mission strategy. But it would be unfair also to relegate such ministries to minor service as it limits the ministry of the church to ordained ministry. However, this male-dominated London Missionary Society practice fitted in well with the Ndebele governance. Fifthly, According to theological and African anthropology, there was a problem accepting a God who could be caged in a building especially among the Ndebele (Hambira 1999:66). Either this God was limited in scope and in dealing with daily life or he could be manipulated. However this limits the understanding of the assemblies in the Christian worship services as only the interaction between the being and the supernatural, forgetting that it is also about fellowship among the Christians.

These factors meant that missionaries worked for many years without a candidate for baptism. The historians (cf. Ngwabi 1979:28. Reese 2009:8) give reasons for this lack of conversion. Firstly, the king was an absolute monarch. As mentioned earlier, the king's nod or frown was the key in the mission success. Secondly, his kingdom was based on the traditional religion. Conversion to another religion (Christianity) by the members of the Ndebele kingdom would be apostasy and dissent from the kingdom. Moreover, in most cases those that accepted Christianity as a way of life were killed (Briggs and Wing 1970:195). Thirdly, the high God of love preached by the European missionaries did not provide practical answers. He, the Christian God, did not provide practical answers to droughts and disasters that the Ndebele experienced. Failure by the missionaries to realise and deal with these impediments as their starting points, made them quick to conclude that 'here, indeed, is a country where Satan has his

throne (Haile 1951:19). The issues overlooked formed the crust of the Ndebele religious belief and their relationship to the higher being (unkulunkulu/Tixo), names that reflect the greatness of their god.

The missionaries needed to settle among the Ndebele, however, it was difficult to convince the king to allow them to do so, hence the out-sourcing of Robert Moffat's assistance to pursue the king to accept them. He already had a good relationship with the Ndebele King (Wallis 1945:1, cf. Lovetta 1899, Haile 1951, du Plessis 1965). This was so because the king Mzilikazi was sceptical in allowing the Europeans to settle in his kingdom.

4.3 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MISSION WORK OF THE LMS IN ZIMBABWE

4.3.1 THREE PRONGED MISSION APPROACH [EDUCATION, HEALTH AND EVANGELISM]

Education, health and evangelism are three legacies, though not discussed in order of importance. Preaching was the core business and education considered as the tool of the London Missionary Society left the church with, not in Zimbabwe alone but in all the five countries where they worked. These also formed the mission strategy of the nineteenth century up to the 1910 Edinburgh conference (Beaver 1992: B-69):

4.3.1.1 EDUCATION

In most cases education is designed to address the community needs, either economical or political (Nobbs 1975:73). When a country goes through the process of economic revolution, it needs a labour force whose efficiency can meet the challenges of the industrial changes. This research realises that the main aim of the missionaries in heathen lands was to evangelise and civilise (cf Lovetta 1899, Haile 1951, Du |Plessis 1965). Education was used as a mission tool to evangelism and civilisation, so that gospel converts would be able to read the bible and to meet the western standard of life which was considered as the canon of civilisation and godly life. This argument agrees with the school of thought that, in as much as the missionaries were part of colonialism by intent, they were in fact cultural imperialist (McGrath 2013:272).

It must be noted that the initial concept of education by the missionaries was not to produce engineers, lawyers or doctors. It was meant to facilitate the reading of the bible i.e. education for evangelism. Through education, the European missionaries were able to introduce the western values that were compatible with the gospel they preached.

The 'School approach' to church growth interpreted from the perspective of political history, means that the churches collaborated with the colonial empire. Donald McGavran (1970) studied church growth and concluded that in Rhodesia (Reese 2001:8) only missions who promised to maintain schools were allowed to enter and evangelise in the country, and the government provided education through these missions. In addition, this produced a distinctive church growth. McGavran however noted that the education was not based on the New Testament but was developed to fit the empire government and social structure (Reese 2001:9). McGavran's (1970) findings are only correct in reference to the later missionary activities, but during the mission period the focus was getting the people to read the bible so that it would be easy for the missionaries to preach and teach them.

There is also a feeling that the type of education given to the African child was second-class. This native education was designed so that he would not compete with the white graduate but continue to work under the white's supervision (Lovett 1899:594). To demonstrate the point, only primary schools were built not secondary schools.

However, it cannot be assumed that nothing was done in the development of the natives. The LMS in 1908 established the first teacher training college in Zimbabwe in Hope Fountain. In 1921 Inyathi mission opened an industrial school for boys which later developed into a secondary school (Mzilethi 1999:66). This was and still must be recorded as one of the positives in creating the self-reliant native. However, the colonialists also benefited from the skilled labour force who worked in the growing industry.

Through education the LMS teacher-evangelist program was initiated. The European missionaries brought the gospel to Africa, but it was the teacher-evangelist that took it to the Africans. It must be admitted that most of the African leaders in Zimbabwe and

Botswana were taught in the LMS Schools. Even the current president of Zimbabwe is the product of the Hope Fountain teacher training.

Education also made it possible for the gospel to be available in local languages. This also encouraged the people to fight for their independence. Dr. Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU PF (a preacher in the Methodist church), and Robert Mugabe a member of the Roman Catholic Church, both championed the liberation of Zimbabwe. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, culture and the values of society are better understood in one's own language; therefore making the gospel available in the language of the locals was a celebrated move. Translation then became a mission strategy for the London Missionary Society. They have contributed in the translation of the Setswana bible and the Ndebele bible, the first Setswana New Testament was complete in 1884. In the recognition of the work of the LMS, The bible society approached them in 1961 to translate the Ndebele Bible, the project was completed in 1978 (Mzilethi 1999:67) and both the Old and the New Testament were published. This made the liberating gospel in the language of the people.

Making the bible available in the local language showed the centrality of the bible as the word of God in the protestant mission. In fact, they never imported any literature from Zululand (South Africa), for use by the LMS missionaries working in Zimbabwe, they translated their own literature.

The translation of documents of worship and teaching in Christian mission was closely knitted with education. In all the 'worlds' the missionaries made an effort to learn the local language. They moved from the traditions where Latin was the liturgical language. God can be heard in any language. The effort to learn the local languages made the people feel that they were being taken seriously and they were at home in the new religion. The missionaries did not only learn the language but they made an effort to put it in writing. The word of God was available in the language of people.

4.3.2 HEALTH

Healing was always part of the programme wherever Jesus Christ conducted his ministry. When the disciples of John came to Jesus Christ to ascertain whether he was the Messiah, (Matthew 11:1-6/Luke 7:18ff) Jesus said to them 'go and tell him (John) that the sick are healed.' The first act of healing by the disciples after being commissioned and empowered by the Holy Spirit was the healing of the person in the beautiful gate (Acts 3:1-11). Healing therefore forms part of the core business of the Christian ministry.

The idea of the three pronged mission approach was to have a holistic pastoral ministry. Among the first LMS missionaries to arrive in Africa was a medical doctor, Rev Dr van der Kemp. Many health centres were opened in remote areas where the governments could not provide the services. To the African, the healing could not be complete if the spiritual, emotional and physical aspects of the body were not attended. The church was then accorded a special place in the community. Even those who did not attend the church gave it respect and could go for medical consultation at the medical facilities (Mzilethi 1999:70).

However, after independence, in 1980, the church in Zimbabwe handed over all the schools and clinics to the government. It is worth mentioning to demonstrate the importance of education among the missionaries. The LMS had the biggest number of schools in Matabeleland (Mzilethi 1999:71). Thus, when the schools and clinics were handed over to the government, the church had handed over its role as a place of healing and education to the secular authority (Mzilethi 1999: 68, cf. Briggs and Wing 1970). The church lost its two powerful mission trademarks: education and health. Health and education from the author's perspective, are human rights and a mission's obligation, and cannot be relegated in total to the secular government

4.3.3 EVANGELISM

Scholars do not agree on one definition of evangelism (Bosch 1991:409, cf. Watson 1983), but there is a consensus that it involves the spreading of the gospel. Historically,

this mission model defined the mission of the church (cf, Johnson 1976, McGavran 1970). As studied within the scope of this paper, to the Ndebele of Zimbabwe evangelism could be understood as the activities of spreading the gospel. Theologically, it means the reflection on those activities. The thinking, therefore, is that evangelism targets non-Christians by calling them to join the religion. Inasmuch as there is truth in terms of its general practice, this limits evangelism to a religious recruitment drive. Evangelism can also take place within the Christian community (Winter 1992: B-180). It becomes more than calling people to come and attend church services. Evangelism, as the mission model, sees the church as assigned by God to save the world (Luke 4:18ff), to preach and practise justice. It becomes more than verbal proclamation (Watson 1983:6 cf. McGavran 1970). It means making people feel the presence of the saving Christ in their daily world (Bosch 1991:418).

4.4 MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND THE AFRICAN WORLD VIEW

It is in the perception of the world view where the two religious worlds collided and the missionary work is greatly challenged. The African world view did not only affect the missionary work but also assessed the missionary's preparedness to work with other cultures, and embrace other people's values and traditional norms. This challenge was not peculiar to the European missionaries; even the apostolic church faced the same challenge (Acts 15 and Galatians 2).

World view is our perspective on the created reality (Van der Walt 2001:49), an indication of our place in the world in which we have to fulfil our cultural task. As such, a worldview is not dormant but calls for action as we deal with the reality in our socio-religious context. A worldview, inasmuch as it is important to each social group, must not develop into an ideology. Ideology is an absolute, hardened, closed, dogmatic orientation about the world and the cultural calling. The approach that emphasizes the supremacy of culture is based on preconceived ideas, hence we have the missionaries talking of the heathen world versus civilised. It is possible that this affected the missionaries of the LMS among the indigenous Ndebele people and those whom they worked amongst.

The missionaries needed to be aware of the world-view of the indigenous people and also be sensitive to the language and cultural practices of the people within the mission context. A missionary according to Mark 16:15-16 must ‘... preach the good news to all creation...’ and must start from one’s own culture (Jerusalem) and interact with of the world.

For the Ndebele, the king is also a religious practitioner or a priest. There is a thin line between the sacred and the profane in the Ndebele culture. They were also at home with ancestor veneration as a medium/mediator to reach and interact with god (Gundani 1998:203). The Ndebele people were at home with polygamy and the paying of *the lobola* (*dowry or bride-price*). The missionaries were against these practices. This made the Ndebele perceive these cultural concepts as the intended target of the gospel. There was great resistance in this regard, making the Ndebele hesitant to the gospel, and this is one of the reasons why the missionaries stayed for many years without having members who committed to Christianity. Although it is not in the brief of this paper to discuss the *lobola*, it is proper to mention that among the Ndebele it is not a price tagged on a woman who is seen as an object to be sold and bought. It is given to the family of the woman, first as a ritual of bringing the two family ancestors together. And it is an expression of happiness that a man has found someone who would help to enlarge his family.

4.4.1 THE RITUAL OF BAPTISM

The ritual of baptism is found in virtually all Christian churches; only the mode and definition differ. As part of the great commission the disciples were told; ‘... go and make disciples of all nations [those who believe] (cf Green 1999), baptize them in the name of the Father, the name of the Son and the name of the Holy Spirit’. Whether dipping or sprinkling, baptism is where the believer makes a public confession of his/her sins. It is through baptism, that God makes a relationship with the person as the created being, technically, he accepts the person back in reconciliation and covenant (Briggs 1996:141). In terms of infant baptism, it becomes a community sacrament, an event when the child is admitted into the communal life. The child becomes the responsibility

of the community in terms of making him/her a responsible person and subsequent member of the church.

The question is how baptism becomes a sacrament of interest in the mission among the Ndebele and Africans in general. The Ndebele has an almost similar ritual of religious passage when '*amathwasa*' the religious graduates to become a religious practitioner. They are taken to the river, '*Uyathatha inyoka emanzini*' [to go and get the spirit [snake]. It is in the water that the Ndebele spirit medium is initiated into a religious practitioner. Having stayed with the father's maternal uncle who was an inyanga, one who heals and also trains others, the author observed some of these things. The person who is the 'ordained', religious practitioner [religious priest] conducts the initiation ritual for becoming a religious practitioner. In the water, the person confronts the spiritual world. This created some problems, because the baptism candidate was perceived by the Ndebele as being initiated into the 'white man' religion and became connected to the white man's spiritual world. As an initiate '*ithwasa*', and having qualified as a religious practitioner, is now qualified to advise the king on economic, religious and political issues.

The other issue was that during a baptism the priest/minister had to recite some words. These words, which formed part of the baptism ritual, were 'I baptise you in the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit'. To the Ndebele these were the words that would invoke the spirit of the white men's God. This meant that the baptised person is completely a white person in spirit and is under their ancestral protection and must appease them.

All these provoking thoughts mentioned above were counter productive to the missionary work. For example, the London Missionary Society worked for more than thirty-seven years among the Ndebele before they could get a single candidate. When candidates came forward, the Ndebele people, through the king's instruction, killed the first two converts, (Briggs and Wing 1970:194) though one of Mathambo's relatives and friends negotiated for his release. It is therefore proper to look at the understanding of God as one of the possible missionary challenges in different cultures.

4.4.2 CONCEPT OF GOD

The God preached by the missionaries was different from that of the Ndebele's world view. He was different in naming and in interaction. However, it is difficult to talk of a single concept of God among the Ndebele. This is due to the way the tribe was formed by the conquering and assimilating of many tribes. For this reason it will be difficult to derive the concept of God from the definition of culture, as each of the subjects would have been allowed to keep their language and culture, hence the multiplicity of the expression of God. They were not de-culturised. (Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism 1992: C-178). Distinct groups were usually defined by their language dialect. For example, the Kalanga, Rozvi of Mambo and part of Batswana were subdued and assimilated during the raids into the cultural macro sphere of the Ndebele. The discussion will turn to the understanding of God through the naming, especial among the Ndebele as the context group.



4.4.2.1 NAMING GOD

The concept of naming God was developed by the Israelites who copied it from the Egyptians (von Rad 1975:182 cf, Anderson 1975:61-62). The formulation was common among the Egyptians as used by Pharaoh 'As I live, I am that I am'. And the author agrees with von Rad (1975:182) that it could not have been coined by the Elohist as it was a common practice to name God. The naming was a response to a life situation and it shows God's activity and creativity in human life (House 1998:95). In Exodus 3:13-16 Moses confronted the burning bush, (fire signified the presence of God), because of Moses' experience and God's response, he asks Him (God) what his name is in relation to that experience. The reason for asking was that Moses was going to communicate with the people who were used to the religious practice of the Egyptians. A number of names are found in the Bible; Genesis 22:14 Jehovah will see or provide *Jehovah-jireh*, that is the name of God in Abraham's experience. Exodus 17:15 *Jehovah-nissi*, Jehovah-shalom Judges 6:24, God of peace: as in the experience of Gideon; and other experiences like *Elohim* when he judges and *tsebaoth* as he shows

mercy. All these reflect one's experience and how he/she interprets God's response to his/her context.

The God of the European missionary is named based on the foreign experiences, thus He is distant from the Ndebele experiences. According to the Ndebele, their god is beyond human description, he is far above, and too big to be described, hence the name '*unkulunku*' (*umkhulu-khulu*). He communicates with the people through the spirit mediums. Then if they are to accept the same God, i.e. God of the missionaries they must also accept their spirit medium, Jesus Christ. The question the author would pose is how could the ancestor of the white man be able to transmit the joys and suffering of the Ndebele to god without knowing their life experiences?

The worship of the African god is hierarchical and is reached through family, clan and tribal spirits and the naming also signifies that. This made it difficult for the Ndebele to understand how the ancestor of the white missionaries, Jesus Christ, can be a universal ancestor. This was the challenge the missionaries had in working among the Ndebele. It also called for different Christological interpretation, in order to present Jesus Christ who is a healer, friend and the son of God. What kind of God was he, who has a child that made the whole message suspicious among the Ndebele. Having discussed the naming of God as the expression of relationship with mankind, it is proper also to look at the concept of salvation.

4.4.3 AFRICAN CONCEPT OF SALVATION

Cyprian (in Bosch 1991:218) argues that '*extra ecclesia null sales*', (there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church). This meant that there was need for one to be a catholic before the end of life. Failure to do so would land one in hell (Council of Florence 1441). Bosch (1991) calls this '*ecclesiasticization*' of salvation. But since the LMS belong to the tradition that did not subscribe to the Catholic theology, they were considered as the servants of error and their theology also considered erroneous. Repentance for the Ndebele, according to the missionaries, was to abandon the bloody war, polygamy, and ancestral veneration. The African meaning of life was condemned and abandoned. The elementary presentation would be to say repent and be saved.

This can be simply translated to mean that the Ndebele were to leave their ungodly ways and accept the missionaries' teaching as the way that leads to salvation. This created a direct attack on the Ndebele traditional religion, hence missionary struggle in making converts. This, however, must not be taken to suggest that the missionaries were supposed to allow what was considered to be ungodly just in order for them to record gospel trophies.

Their concept of salvation differed from that of the Roman Catholic Church and was definitely the opposite of the Protestant missionaries. For the Ndebele, salvation must be defined in worldly terms as seen in the role of Mwari (Daneel 1998:97). Living a healthy life and accumulating material wealth was to define salvation. On the contrary, poverty signified that one was not saved and the ancestors had turned their back against the impoverished person.

Salvation manifests itself in the struggle for economic justice against exploitation, for human dignity against oppression, for solidarity against alienation and for hope against despair in person life. The next section assumes that the missionaries were not far from doing well, but somehow missed it; hence it attempts to answer that question.

4.5. WHERE THE TRAIN JUMPED THE RAIL: AN EVALUATION

This subsection seems to hold an assumption that things were going well up to a certain stage. Though this section may sound to imply that way, it intends pointing to the possible turning point in the mission work of the church, that is to say, was there a smooth shift from the western mission to the local church mission, and if not what were the possible hiccups.

4.5.1 LACK OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP TO TAKE OVER

The operation principle was that LMS would start the church and leave the local membership to establish their own ecclesiastical governance (cf. Lovett 1899, Haile 1951, du Plessis 1965). Though it sounds, democratic, the locals were not trained or equipped to lead the young church. The type of training offered to the teacher-evangelists was that of the assistant pastors. The assistant pastors or evangelist were

also referred to as the *isandla sika mfundisi* (the hand of the minister as a direct translation). Teacher-evangelists were classroom managers and not church administrators. However, one of the greatest problems for the colonial missionaries was producing churches that have leaders who can think and act theologically within their cultural context (Reed 1992:4). Indigenous theology was never raised as part of local leadership development.

4.5.2 MISSIONAL LEADERSHIP AMONG THE MISSIONARIES

Among the Africans, especially among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe, communal leadership is hereditary and belongs to the royal blood. According to Gundani (2005:274), the Roman Catholic Church followed the same pattern of recruiting leadership from the royal family (gospel to the king first then to the subjects) (Gundani 2005:174) and this explains why most of the relatives of the chief/king attended mission schools or were even sent to study overseas. This may not tally well with the missional leadership. A missional leader is a person God has called to provide direction to a group or movement to accomplish His plan and purpose, i.e. salvation for humankind. The mission leader must be able to cultivate a healthy vision for the church and at times the leader may be called to guide the church in discovering its own mission. He/she would not be a dictator and would be always prepared to listen to others and accept positive change, a possible characteristic that could be exhibited from Royal members.

Focusing on the royal family denies the availability of talent and links God's call to families. The initial thought, however, (Lovett 1899), as practised by the LMS, was that selection was not only based on education and family background but also the approval by the local church, religious commitment and good standing. The Society needed someone who would not put the church and the mission of God to shame.

4.6 JOHN SMITH AND EMILY MOFFAT ASSESSMENT: AN INSIDE EVALUATION

This section looks at the role of John Smith Moffat and his wife and how they analysed their missionary work. Emily was the wife of John Smith Moffat the son of Robert Moffat; and daughter of a tea merchant of Brighton. John Moffat together with Mackenzie,

Roger Rice, and Thomas M Thomas were assigned to the Matebele mission and they arrived in Kuruman in 1858 (Lovetta 1899:601). She accompanied her husband in the Matabele mission. Through the reading of her letters and those written by her husband, the following can be deduced.

Firstly, they were not equipped for the mission as no training was provided. This meant that there was no missionary technique, the strategies used were self taught as was the case with Paul, who employed two mission methodologies. Paul's mission methods were being 'like them in order to win them. When he worked with the Jews he imitated the Jews and amongst the gentiles he became a gentile in order to win them for Christ. The other method at their disposal was starting where the people are in terms of their faith, when Paul reached the church in Athens he said 'I saw it is written to the unknown God, and that is who I am preaching to you' (Acts 17:22-23).

Secondly, the missionary work was always faced with internal divisions. First, it could be the lack of on-site supervision (Lovetta 1899:584). Initially, all the supervision and administrative work was done from England. Later, there was the Africa society in Cape Town. Even though the missionary work was not decentralized, Kuruman remained the head quarters of the 'up north mission'. An estimated distance of about 1200km on modern roads, separated Kuruman from Inyati (Zimbabwe). Thirdly, the missionaries lived lonely lives and they were always homesick. This made mission activities substitutes for personal loneliness (Haile 1951 23). Mission work became pass-time activities to occupy lonely minds, but that does not play down their primary mission goal and expectation.

It is interesting though; that both secular and church historians do not have any interest in this important part of the missionary work in Africa. The historians want readers to accept the concept that it was a matter of the division of labour in the mission field: with David Livingstone pursuing the Makololo mission and John Smith Moffat being taken by his father to the Matabele mission. Reading the letters of David Livingstone, John Smith Moffat and his wife Emily suggest that it was not just a handshake farewell. However, the reason for the fights and division are not given.

Letter 23

David Livingstone to John S and Emily Moffat

Dated 2nd October 1858, he writes

'I sympathise with you in your new position, and though unworthy to give advice I would say, if I began life again, I would pay attention to the will of the master and less to that of the servants.....'

'..... There is a good deal of faultfinding in the region to which you go. Keep a genuine merry laugh ready for the half of it, and the other half lay up as lessons not to be imitated;..... I do not mean to inculcate rebellion.... In fact everyone has his own way of serving the Master, and he will do better in that way than in one any else's.'

The letters only tell of the extent of the problem but not the causes. One wishes the letters, especially from Livingstone, John or Emily, could give light on why John's mission to the Matebele was funded by David Livingstone and not by the Society. It is possible that it was either not considered viable due to the attitude of the Ndebele king hence not economically wise to invest in it, or the society had other priorities at that time such as assisting Robert Moffat, who was pre-occupied with the translation of the New Testament. But at least the letter is able to give the picture of the Matebele mission and how the Master made it difficult. The Master is thought to have been Moffat (Wallis 1945:67).

Thirdly, the missionaries spent more of the time on the road than on the mission field. Because the transport network was not as it is today, this affected the efficacy of the mission work.

Fourthly, Robert Moffat's approach to the mission in Matabele and his dealing with the Ndebele king was more of bribery and a difficult approach in pegging the foundation for missionary work (Wallis 1945:65). For him to be allowed to enter the kingdom, he had to give something to the king. This practice was difficult for those who could not fund it. Emily wrote to her father Jonah Stephen Unwin because she thought that her father-in-

law's practices are tantamount to bribery. However it has to be understood from the king's perspective, even up to now, among the Ndebeles there is what is called 'isivula mlomo' money or a gift to initiate negotiations. This is mostly practised during lobola negotiations. And I think therefore from within, it could not be taken as bribery. But when it is demanded it may be misrepresentation to suggest bribery. And the missionaries would have been wrong to see it that way and interpret it out of context.

Letter 40: dated at The Bawankwentse (Bangwakentsi) 9 August 1859 (Wallis 1945:67)

'..... I do not think I have told you about our prospects in the Matabele country. We go there, because John feels, if a kind of promise was made by his father that John should be the missionary to Moselekatse, it would not be right to alter now....it is difficult to understand the true position. Grandpapa has established a precedent and it will be impossible for us to follow in his steps. The old chief is extremely partial to 'Moshete' (that is how the Matabele called Robert Moffat). He has yielded to the tyrant's wishes and given almost anything that has been asked for.....we... tremble to begin missionary work on such a foundation, and while Grandpapa has opened the way, he has also opened difficulties for the successors....'

In addition, this coupled with Moffat attitude made it difficult to do mission among the Ndebele people.

Letter 32 John Smith Moffat to Jonah Stephen Unwin 21st March 1859

'...My father has a strong conviction ... He agrees with the old Boston that the way of providence is for the servant of God to just go on until a hedge across the way brings him to a standstill, and then he ought to look out for an opening either to the right or left.....'

Here John was referring to the dealing with the Transvaal government and how his father treated the matter (Wallis 1945:72).

There was no clear mission approach as it is understood today. There was no indicator on where to start. Mission success could be calculated in terms of the ground covered

not the souls saved. This may not be true of the *Missio Dei*. *Missio Dei* is the expansion of the kingdom of God. It is not about the geographical area covered but the souls touched by the news of the saving love and grace of God, it is about the transformative work of the missionary God.

4.7 FOUNDING FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE: AN ADVANTAGE OR DISADVANTAGE?

The fundamental principle of the London Missionary Society was not to send Presbyterian, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government... but to make known the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen land (Lovett 1899, Haile 1951:1). The questions raised were about the practicality of the founding principle. Did the society have theological discipline to keep these formations in harmony in the missionary field (heathen land)? There was a need for a system that was going to enable the missionaries outside the different church polities (Presbyterian, Independency, Episcopal) to operate and execute the mission work with a binding theological position on ecumenical discipline.

'It could be left to those called by God to establish their own ecclesiastic governance', the straight reading of this statement, means that the local people upon receiving the word of God and being baptised, will be given the right to establish their own church polity. However, there is another side that can be read into this statement. The resolution statement meant that among the denominations forming the coalition, those who felt they could stick around would be allowed to do so; also the church they would establish would logically follow their own polity. This sounds like the correct reading of the resolution statement.

Congregationalism would be the combination of Presbyterian, Independency, and Episcopacy. Congregationalism is a polity of compromise, avoiding the following of any of the existing church governance models. In as much as it remains loyal to the founding principal resolution it is practically a difficult polity to work in the mission-oriented church.

4.8 CHURCH (LMS) AS THE VOICE OF THE VOICELESS

There is a lot of ambiguity on the subject of the voice of the voiceless. This has led to the abuse of the 'voice of the voiceless prophetic' concept. A number of analytical questions arise in addressing this subject. When the LMS missionaries came to Africa, a relevant worry at that time was the slave trade. Under that condition, was the LMS the voice of, or for, the voiceless or were they chaplains of the colonial administrators? Answers to both questions were correct. However, during the height of the liberation struggle in African countries, the latter question informed the theological thinking of the time. Nevertheless, the question still arises, how was the LMS the voice of the voiceless? This becomes very difficult especially if analysed after the liberation of the African countries and the fact that the European missionary enterprise was the contemporary of colonialism.

However, a consideration of the work of the likes of John Philip, Campbell, and Van der Kemp who were missionaries to the Hottentots provides the prophetic theology of the LMS at that time. They confronted the authorities on labour issues and on issues of human rights. This made missionaries unpopular with the colonial powers. Van der Kemp argued that the life of the savage (assuming he was referring to the locals) is the simplest and perfect and the civilised communities are all degenerate, wealth a crime, tyranny and social law unjust (du Plessis 1965: 126). He further argued that the locals (Hottentots) are free like any other citizen; in dealing with them, the authority must not use compulsion. This made Bethelsdorp to be viewed as a hotbed of indolence and vice. Human rights were in the heart of their missionary work.

However, the voice of the voiceless must now take a new emphasis; empowerment must become a mission buzz word. The Jesus Christ mission methodology is more empowering. When He healed someone he would say, take a mat, go and show yourself to the priest (John 5:1ff).

There is also a submission that some of the African liberation political champions (Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe) have a Christian background. The gospel may have influenced them to get up and liberate themselves.

The voice of the voiceless may not necessarily be interpreted literally as to suggest a dumb-sheepish crowd following a vocal leader. However, it means a liberative thinking and action of a leader which is empowered by the biblical motifs. In Jesus, they must be able to see the original intended image of God that made him say after creation, 'it is good'. The prophetic voice must challenge the people to act accordingly and responsibly. In the process of shaking off the yoke of oppression one must not create another generation of the oppressed and the oppressors. The understanding of the one with the voice is that he/she is the servant of the Lord (Isaiah 40-55) 'the servant of God'. In this case, it is not the activities of the servant that are being emphasised (Bosch 1980:78), but the emphasis is placed on God who is the master and the sender (Kaiser 1992:A26).

4.9 LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN ZIMBABWEAN PERSPECTIVE

As mentioned from the onset, the driving force behind the LMS going to Africa and other parts of the world was to win the 'heathen world' for Christ, technically to 'save the lost'. According to Kritzinger (2002), this seems to have been common practice among the protestant mission Societies. This was based on the Pauline theology 'without Christ you are lost' (Ephesians 2:2-12). Theologically, therefore, it categorises people into two rigid groups 'lost and saved'. However, the LMS also got involved in other projects aimed at improving the holistic life of humankind (Ndebele).

There is an anti-colonial argument which seems to take all the missionary activities with suspicion. This argument sees the work of the missionaries (health, and education) as a lure to bring people to the church (Joel Ziga 2013). The thinking is further strengthened by the fact that all these; health clinics and schools were established next to the churches. But the thinking fails to separate the work of the church and that of its home government. It may also be looked at from the side of the missionaries, maybe they were engaging in activities that compromised their missions like trading (du Plessis 1965:111), and the unjust labour practices, which led to the death of Mr. Kok, one of the missionaries.

Such an argument is a good debating point that the missionary church used the facilities for their gain as bait, not for the community. The thought only serves to establish the postcolonial assessment of the mission activities. In addition, this becomes unfair to the realities of the missionary times. It reduces education and health to being mission tools and not mission obligations. As mission obligations, they were taken as human basic rights that tend to target the human development and dignity.

This argument, that sees education and health as political (colonisation) machinery, picks the weakness of the missionary activities. It tends to analyse the missionary works on political grounds and the fact that it was a contemporary of colonialism does not make it part of the colonial administration. Secondly, the argument on the proximity of the church was purely for administrative and supervisory reasons, since the society staffed both the school and the clinic. Thirdly, the catechumen class needed to be taught how to read the bible; therefore, there was a need for the young catechist to attend school. The intention of the LMS was to win the souls for Christ and make the world a better place to live in.

This theological thinking shifted the Ndebele understanding of salvation from 'this world and forward looking' to 'another world, 'heaven' and upward looking'. Such approach reduces the reality into simple 'save and lost'.

The Christian church today needs to come up with an approach that will analyse the missionary work on economic, social and political grounds, which at the same time does not lose focus on the evangelical calling of the church, which is to preach and build the kingdom of God on earth. It also wants to advance the theological understanding that God favours the poor. However, even though it misses the psychological analysis, religion appeals to the mind. It changes how people perceive things. It challenges the inner person.

4.10 CONCLUSION

The mission in the land of Mzilikazi was riddled with geographical and cultural challenges. These span from the area occupied by the Ndebele and the contact points with the missionaries as compared to the settled nation, this means that we can not speak of uniform worldview among the Ndebele, but the Rozwi, Kalanga, Tswana and Zulu worldview as these were brought together to form the Ndebele nation. The missionaries' practices challenged the Ndebele socio-religious practices such as ancestral veneration, the position of the king in socio-religious affairs and others like the paying of lobola. The missionaries adopted a three prong mission approach, education, health and evangelism, all under the auspices of civilizing the people. Missionaries did a great job and it is important that their success and failures be analysed within that historical epoch. The definition of mission at that time was accepted as to what they practised, 'mission as church planting, winning the heathen land for Christ and civilisation'. This does not rub away their association with the expansion of the empire, which often compromised their missionary work.

CHAPTER 5

MISSIONARY WORK IN ZIMBABWE

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Missionary work told from an African perspective challenges the presentation of history as a docile record of the past, without of western bias. It challenges the Anglo-Christian presentation of the LMS and the UCCSA as a church instead of a society that evolved gradually gathering influences from socio-economic and political interactions. It however acknowledges the role played by the locals as the unsung heroes of Afro-Christian history. The chapter also wants to suggest recognition of the new paradigm in the UCCSA, the mission of the church in the 21st century that marks the close of the European missionary Enterprise. The chapter also attempts to understand how the local church responded to the evolving from society to the church.

5.1 DEATH OF THE TWO NBEBELE KINGS [MZILIKAZI AND LOBENGULA] AS A MILESTONE IN THE LMS WORK IN ZIMBAWE

It was after the death of the two kings that missionary work started to show some numerical growth. The emphasis on numerical growth points to the fact that mission may not be understood only as bringing people to church, but as it influences the lifestyle and the social stratification and governance, i.e. total human life.

London Missionary Society started working in the country of Mzilikazi in 1859, brought by Robert Moffat as the friend to the king. The four, Moffat, John Smith, Thomas Morgan Thomas and William Sykes were given the charge of the mission among the Ndebele. John Moffat left the mission work for the reason of differences in approach (Mzilethi 1999:64) as expressed in the letters (as discussed in the previous chapter) (Wallis 1945). The men laboured for years without a trophy of converts to show to those at home.

Mzilikazi died in 1868 and at this time there were only four church members in the whole of Matabeleland and only one mission station at Inyathi (Mzilethi 1999:62 cf. Du

Plessis 1965:276, Briggs & Wing 1970:190). He was succeeded by his son Lobengula, who moved the royal residence to Bulawayo, and a new station Hope Fountain station was planted next to the royal residence. There is an interesting trend of having mission stations next to the royal residences. The kings never trusted the white missionaries and wanted to keep a close watch over their activities and also to protect them [*ombiza ka zibulawa*, vessels must not be broken]. The second reason suggests that the missionaries were not safe. If so, one would be curious to know who their enemies were and why. It is also unclear why they were called "the kings vessels". It could imply that someone was eating from them and by extension this could mean that the kings were benefiting from their presence and by keeping the missionary stations close to their residences, the kings were protecting their own interests.

At the time of ascension of King Lobengula (Briggs and Wing 1970:190) to power in 1869, there were a lot of political and economical activities in the Ndebele country. Traders, hunters, and gold miners were starting to come in (Mzilethi 1999: 64). This brought about conflict in the country and led to the 1896 rebellion that signalled the end of the Ndebele kingdom.

The conflict did not only change the political landscape but it also changed the role of the missionary ministers. The missionaries had to play a role of reconciler. This role was played with difficulty, because their ethnicity as whites made the Ndebele people doubt their impartiality on issues that involved conflicts between the European politicians and the Ndebele. On the other hand the whites thought of them as siding with the wrong people as they advocated for the rights of the local people.

The missionary work started to show some statistical growth after the death of King Lobengula. During the rebellion in 1896, there were only four church members in the whole of Matabeleland. It must be pointed out that the first 37 years of the missionary labour only produced one Christian convert (Briggs and Wing 1970:194). In 1910, there were 750 members; in 1938; 1000 members; in 1946; 2405 members and at the formation of the UCCSA in 1967 there were 4500 members.

It was after the death of the kings and the destruction of the Ndebele kingdom that there was a recognisable growth in the number of Christians. However, Rev Mzilethi (1999) seems to attribute the growth to the indigenisation of the ministry. This point cannot be disputed but it must be admitted that indigenisation was a later phenomenon. The behaviour and the attitude of the kings were the major factor in the limited growth of the mission results.

Mzilethi's point (1999: 66) is not without a base. As early as 1912 there was an Ndebele ordained minister, (cf Briggs and Wing 1970). Tshitsho Moyo was the first to be ordained and he ministered to farm workers. He was not a real Ndebele but from one of the tribes that Mzilikazi conquered and assimilated into his kingdom. The second minister to be ordained was Mongwa Tshuma, a product of Tigerkloof, in 1915. The third minister was Ntompe Khumalo who was ordained in 1917. Initially he wanted to be a warrior but due to the collapse of the Ndebele kingdom his dream could not be realised. He also studied at Tigerkloof. In 1921 the fourth minister, Sitshenkwa Hlabangana was ordained, together with Goliath Matebese who in 1931 moved to Mafikeng.

At this particular time people (blacks) were moved to what was called Reserves (Briggs and Wing 1970:178) when the fifth minister, Senzani Mnkandla, was ordained in 1930. He was to work in these areas, which were infested with malaria and other diseases. The area was so difficult that the mission station at Sivalo was to be relocated in 1926, to Zinyangeni which was close to the Inyathi. The church had followed the movement of the people to these reserves, so that its work was in rural areas.

However, seeing the death of the two kings as the sole possible turning point could be fallacious. It is possible that the conversion of some Ndebele people reflected their deep spiritual experiences. Secondly, it can also be seen that they have seen the truth in the gospel, or thirdly, that they believed that Christianity would facilitate the growth of western civilization among the Ndebele (McGrath 2013:184).

5.2 EVOLUTION OF THE LMS TO UCCSA

UCCSA can be properly identified to have been formed in 1967. Three church traditions came together: these are London Missionary Society, The American Board of Missions and Congregation Union of South Africa (De Gruchy 2000:10). It must be argued that by this time, LMS had, technically, collapsed. It would be historically naive and ecclesiological misleading to talk of a wholesale coming together of the different churches in the formation of the UCCSA in Zimbabwe. This is because only the LMS did arrive in Zimbabwe; hence one can only talk of name, administrative and structural changes.

The inter-denominational nature of the London Missionaries Society made it easy to manage the reception of different traditions (denominations) because of the historical background (Johnson 2003:16); LMS has always been free from domestic (British) structures of a single home (Anglican) church.

First to join the LMS was Evangelical Congregational Union which was formed in 1877. It was formed after the withdrawal of the London Missionary Society from the Cape Colony (Briggs 1986:60), to embark on the mission up north. It later became the Congregational Union on the formulating statement, 'in all things relating to internal management and ecclesiastical order, the church will be left in enjoyment of every privilege their Divine Lord has secured for them' (cf. Lovett 1899. Haile 1951, du Plessis 1965). This suggests that the union was loose, voluntary and congregational in nature and in governance.

The second denomination was the Bantu Congregational Church formed in 1890, from the American Board Mission. The board, also known as the American Zulu Mission or American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, was formed in 1812 (du Plessis 1965:219). They arrived in Cape Colony in 1835 and preceded to Port Natal at uMgungundlovu, in 1838 the ABM arrived in Dingaan's capital (Briggs and Wing 1970:78). Their missionary approach was that the church must be self-propagating, self governing and self-sustaining. The locals were to be empowered for the propagation of the gospel among their own people. Among the congregations that formed UCCSA,

Bantu Congregational Church is the only church to come up with the home grown missionary road map. In 1919 *'isu elitsha'* (new plan) was produced. The church was structured with the executive *'umlomo'* responsible for administrative issues and *'umkhandla'* the council was to deal with legislative issues. Out of the funds pooled together, a certain portion was set aside for a program called *'malihambe'* (let the gospel go forward).

Accordingly, it is the Bantu Congregational Church and the Congregational Union of South Africa that brought autonomy in the new church. Two organisational approaches made their way into the new church, autonomy and local leadership. In this context autonomy must not be interpreted to suggest independence, but it means that the local church has the power to run their own local affairs but remain inter-twined to other local churches of the UCCSA. The second approach allowed the empowerment of the locals for missional leadership.

Only one missionary group, the LMS (*abaka Motshede the people of Moffat as they were called by the King and his people*) arrived and operated in Zimbabwe. However, they had the challenge of dealing with the administrative philosophy brought by the merger.

The coming together of the different denomination meant that the UCCSA, in its evolution, was to redefine autonomy (UCCSA constitution 2009). The congregations were left to enjoy the privileged ecclesiastic order and governance that they found suitable to their context. The church was taking a deliberate move to empower the locals for mission and leadership.

5.3 FORMATIVE FACTORS OF THE UCCSA IN ZIMBABWE

Having discussed the formation of the London Missionary society and its evolution to UCCSA, it is important to look at the formative factors in Zimbabwe.

Ever since its arrival in Africa, the LMS had an interest in working with the down-trodden, and their liberation. Anti-slavery campaigns became the trademark of their mission. This was exhibited in the founding of projects like Bethelsdorp, Caledon in

South Africa. The Dr Livingstone mission up north among the Makololo was also informed by the anti-slavery campaign.

The society had high interest in politics. The formation of the UCCSA coincided with the climax of the liberation from the British political administration. It would be naïve to dismiss the partnership between the expansion of the empire and the LMS mission work in Zimbabwe. Carnegie and Helm's involvement in the negotiation of the Rudd concession 1893 that led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe is enough to suggest that they were as much in politics as they were in the religious mission. The concession was negotiated between the British South African Company (Chartered Company). Even though the missionaries participated in the negotiation, they did not benefit at all. Instead their involvement hampered the progress of the missionary work (du Plessis 1965:277). There was tension between the Ndebele and the British colonisers, pointing to the fact that war is a disturbing fact in missionary work. The war signalled the end of the Matabele Kingdom (du Plessis 1965, Briggs & Wing 1970, and De Gruchy 1999). The reading of Briggs & Wing (1970:193), suggests it is not fair to use this incident to conclude that the missionaries had an interest in politics. This is based on the fact that after the conclusion of the concession, Helm was offered an important position and he turned it down. But also the study must not be naïve since the deal led to colonisation, and Helm's refusing the position afterwards did not redeem the missionaries of their role in the colonisation of Rhodesia (which became Zimbabwe after independence in April 1980). This makes the author to assume that the details and intentions of British government were not made known to the missionaries. It must be acknowledged that Lobengula was sceptical of the activities of the missionaries, so the missionaries were seen as an ally in the British Company. This was not the case, unfortunately they were tricked too.

The UCCSA's evolution was also based on the founding principle that the locals would be left to establish their own ecclesiastic governance. Because of the prevalent political tone there was a great call for local leadership to take over from the British associated Missionary Society. The understanding of the folding up of the missionary work can be better explained within the founding principle '... that it be left to the people called to



establish their own church governance as God guides them...' (Haile 1951:1, cf. Lovetta 1899) It was not the intension of the LMS to start and own churches but to facilitate the spread of the gospel. Most of the activities were in re-settlement areas which were developed after the forced relocation of the people to create space for the new developments that were accompanying industrialisation.

5.4 UCCSA IN ZIMBABWE: A RURAL CHURCH

The author as a member and a practicing minister of the UCCSA church grew up and served in a rural congregation of the UCCSA, and can testify and demonstrate, through participation, that most of the missionary activity was concentrated in rural areas. These areas are as follows: Lupane seven congregations, and there was school which was later surrendered to the government; Nkayi, Zinyangeni as it is administratively called in the church, where the author spent the first three years of his ministry), had forty-two (42) congregations and thirteen primary schools (this was the author's first ministerial posting 1998-2002), Bubi (Inyathi) had thirteen (13) congregations, one primary school and one high School, Hope Fountain had twenty-six congregations, one primary and one high school, and rest of the primary schools were given to the government. Dombodema (Shimali) eleven had (11) congregations and one high school and Kezi had nine (9) congregations and one primary school (Synod Secretary's Annual Report 1998).

In contrast, in urban areas there were 13 congregations in Bulawayo, one in Kwekwe and one in Harare. The distribution of the church stations is presented to show the missionary activities and Matabeleland as the stronghold of the London Missionary Society. However, there is also a point in which the missionaries wanted to provide the essential activities where the government of the day could not do that. Out of the rural districts mentioned above, Nkayi, and Dombodema had well established health clinics provided by the missionaries.

The analysis must not lose focus of the fact that the formation of the LMS was influenced by evangelical revival. Its roots were firmly in the lower to middle social classes and most of the LMS missionaries were of the working or lower middle

class...the Protestant churches were interested in ministering to the 'people' (Johnson 2003:14). In addition, the people were in the rural areas. This also may explain their interest in the down trodden of the African society.

In the analytical reading of missionary history, the questions will always arise 'on whose side were the missionaries'. The question by itself calls for a retrospective analysis. Johnson (2003) argues that historians of colonised communities viewed foreign missions as an expression of the exigencies of the British colonial rule. These arguments cloud an effort to fish out mission as liberation and as executed by the European mission enterprise, and as expressed in earlier paragraphs when there was Anglo-Ndebele war in 1894-6.

But a fair assessment that does not take them out of context, pictures missionaries as servants of God who were championing human rights, who unfortunately, in their practice found themselves being the contemporaries of an evil socio-political history. This does not mean that they did not benefit from the imperial expansion as they operated as cultural imperialists.

The author can testify from serving in the rural church that it is different. It calls for the recognition of the theology of the laity. The churches are scattered in 'outstations'. The minister visits them maybe once a year due the number of congregations and distance. It is the lay leadership who facilitate the services every week. They conduct funerals and keep the church together. African leadership in the rural churches do not subscribe to what a person has, but the authority the person represents. Unfortunately, although the members of the congregations are mostly women, they still hold that the church leader must be a man. However, this is something that can be addressed through gender dialogue.

5.5 MISSIONARY ACTIVITY AND THE WARS OF LIBERATION; MISSION AS LIBERATION

The starting point is that, if the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-20) provided the motivation for the mission paradigm to the world outside Jerusalem (Schreiter 2003:6)

then Luke 4:18-21 becomes the biblical impetus for viewing liberation as mission. Theologians and mission practitioners working in liberationist paradigm must be aware of the context and package their gospel with liberating gospel resources that speak of God's grace and salvation. Such practice must call the community to resist evil and oppression. The biggest challenge for mission as liberation is how to keep hope alive in distressing times of evil and oppression.

After World War II, African countries started to gain their independence or were at the peak of their liberation campaigns. This challenged the church (UCCSA refer to 5.4) to re-consider the mission approach *Kerugma, diaconia or koinoinia*. The gospel truth was to be understood from the perspective of liberation and thus the 'us' and 'them' prophetic annunciation.

Through the biblical teachings of the missionaries that liberation models must be drawn from the exodus motif and prophetic voice of the bible characters, African Christianity and the world were able to understand the liberation in those stories of the Israelites. The bible also presented a God who has a preferential treatment for the poor. In this case, mission is seen as liberation (Bosch 1991:432), a protest against the inability in the Western church and missionary circles, both Catholic and Protestant, to grapple with the problem of systematic injustices. This must not suggest that there was no liberation in the missionary efforts as mentioned earlier when we dealt with the story of missionary work outside the Cape colony, focusing on the persons of Philip, Campbell and other missionaries from other societies who advocated for the rights of the people.

It becomes a problem to articulate with precision a theological thought that speaks of mission as liberation; this does not undermine the role of advocacy in mission societies. The question would therefore be can we speak with honest and missiological pride of mission as liberation in the period of the LMS and early days of UCCSA, as an intentional mission project?

5.5.1 LIBERATION AND SALVATION

As mentioned earlier on in this study on how the Ndebele people understood the concept of salvation, the author will now try to link that understanding to the concept of liberation. The missionaries made the people believe that it is right to suffer in the present time as a better life awaits them in heaven, implying that salvation cannot be realised in one's lifetime. The challenge to colonialism argues that salvation could be equalled to liberation and is hence achievable during one's life time. The colonial oppression could be viewed as sin and those who practice it need to repent. God would come and save/liberate his people. This means that the call for liberation is leading people to political salvation. This thinking must not be viewed as politicising the purely religious concept, but calling for the avoidance of pocketing the mission of God and treating it in fragments, since the mission of God cuts across all spheres of life. Therefore, Liberation and salvation can not be polarised (Mugambi 1995:5).

The sub-topic sees liberation and salvation as inseparable and they provide missional hermeneutics. The approach argues that action for and on behalf of the poor and the oppressed must come first, then out of the commitment and praxis we do the theological reflection (Wright 2006:43). The plight of the poor and the exploited has been dominating the agenda in the *missio ecclesia* of the LMS and the mission of God (*missio dei*) (cf. Lovetta 1899, Haile 1951, du Plessis 1965, Briggs and Wing 1970) (Psalms 68:20; 88:1; Revelations 7:10).

5.6 PRIVATISATION OF HISTORY

This notorious academic activity of privatisation of history is not only found in Christian historiography, even in political history, it is also an obstacle in the production of balanced historical facts. Those in power or who own the means of historical production determine what makes history.

The correction of this mistake has never been easy. Those who try to correct it become reactive. They either blame or over praise the silent mission players. Privatisation of

history tends to reduce the local people to non-players in the missionary work of the LMS.

A lot of praise is showered on the missionary agents and this fails to recognise the role of the Hottentots who were covering the distance on foot leading the wagon spans. Their knowledge of the bush as guides must be appreciated.

The role of the Batlhaping of Kuruman in the translation of the Setswana Bible is not recorded; it is the lone figure of Moffat that is marketed worldwide. Postcolonial history gives an impression that there was nothing the local people contributed in the production of the local literature for use in the confirmation classed and Christian Education.

5.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter managed to discuss the impact of the local i.e. the teacher-evangelist. The teachers were doing church work after class hours and were considered by the community as the church leaders. This gave them a double mandate in the community, i.e. to preach and teach. Inasmuch as the European missionaries brought the gospel to Africa, Mzilikazi's country in particular, it is the local preachers who took it to the people as they were able to be in dialogue with locals in the local's language, belief systems and culture. Finally, the reflection on the behaviour of the two Ndebele kings reveals that economical and political landscape shape the tone and direction of missionary work.

CHAPTER 6

CREATING A NEW MISSION PARADIGM FOR UCCSA

6. INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the mission work of the church in Zimbabwe it is proper to attempt the understanding of the mission paradigm of the church. Joseph Wing (1980) argues that at each critical stage in its history, the church encounters new situations; the church is compelled to reformulate its faith (the first UCCSA General Secretary in 1980 when he was addressing the assembly meeting in Cape Town). This means that no theology is final it only bears witness to a particular historical context. The 21st century mission paradigm signalled the closure of the enlightenment oriented mission paradigm that was pre-occupied with individualism (Bosch 1991:362). It calls for the realisation of the togetherness, and interdependence, and the psychology of separateness must give in to the epistemology of participation. This is expressed in the emergence of ecumenism and the interfaith mission approach.

It cannot be denied that the encounter with colonialism created a new theological thinking that also informed the mission outlook of the church. A new paradigm was in the making. The idea of the paradigm shift was borrowed from the social sciences and imported into the Missiology field by Bosch (1991). It is used to keep pace with the changes in the theology of mission. Maluleke (2005:469-493) argues that since the early 1980s there has been a call for African theologies and African churches to recognise and effect paradigm shifts within their contexts.

Paradigm shifts must not imply to the minds of the reader a block of unconnected missio-historical epochs in the prophetic mission of the church. One context of reference builds on the other. Therefore, for the Zimbabwean UCCSA to recognise and effect the paradigm shift, the church must shift focus from being preoccupied with the missionary omissions (Maluleka 2005:487) and the supposed link between Christianity and colonialism. The church must shift to the heart of *missio Dei* that is to save humanity (Wright 2006, Stott 1975, Lovett 1899).

There is school of thought (Bediako, 1995. and Maluleke 2005) that suggests it no longer makes sense for the postcolonial communities to talk of Christianity as a foreign religion because the gospel has become contextualized. It has settled and been made part of the local socio-political and economic life. Nevertheless, the school quickly admits that this does not completely write off missionary activity and colonialism as contemporaries. It is equally important not to assume that Christianity can be pitted against colonialism. The mission of the church is more of the gospel to the people; in mission it contextualizes the saving message of the gospel.

6.1 LOCAL CHURCH MISSION THEOLOGY

The theology that supports mission in post-conflict society must be guided by the issues on the ground. These are the realities of the past, the current situation and the projected future. Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 but it never enjoyed its independence. From 1980 to 1983, the country started to experience political instability. It was divided on tribal grounds with the Ndebele affiliated to ZAPU PF and Shonas supporting ZANU PF. Both these, PF ZAPU and ZANU PF, were liberation movements.

Zimbabwe has more than three million of its population scattered over the world as political and economic refugees. On leaving Zimbabwe they were reduced to second-class world citizens. They are open for exploitation as cheap labour, and that exposes them to xenophobic attacks both physical and verbally.

Any brand of missional theology in Zimbabwe must have the socio, political and economic situation as the starting point, and these must form and inform the mission theology of any church worth its salt. The prophetic role of the UCCSA in Zimbabwe must be analysed together with ecumenical bodies like Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC). The ZCC, of which the UCCSA Zimbabwe Synod is a visible member, initiated the National Constitution Assembly [NCA]. In its initial stage, the idea was to form a Civic Education Trust, whose aims and objectives were to make the people aware of their constitutional reforms and human rights. These were in line with the founding premise of Christian Council of Rhodesia (founded in 1964) as ZCC was known at that

time. It is the duty of the church to speak against the government on political issues (cf. Gundani 2005).

Nevertheless, they later abandoned the project in 1998-1999. The NCA became independent of church influence, and was relegated to the position of observer. Morgan Tswangirai the current Prime minister in the coalition government became the head of the task team.

It is such inter-twining that made the people become suspicious of the church's political allegiance. The churches under the guidance of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) are credited for the initiation and production of 'The Zimbabwe we want (2005)' document. The problem is that the churches are always accused of opposition politics. The churches respond late to prophetic calls, and as a result are always blaming the ruling party. This automatically puts them with the opposition, which compromises the church's prophetic mission and its apolitical position.

6.2 ZIMBABWE CONTEXT AS HERMENEUTIC POINT OF DEPARTURE

The UCCSA spans in five countries and the study focuses on Zimbabwe, hence the decision to pick Zimbabwe as the hermeneutical point of departure. Hermeneutical point of departure makes a number of admissions, argues that the bible is the product of the missional activities of God as He saves the people and the world (Wright 2006:26). Therefore, mission as the activities of God, is based on the needs and context of the people and these situations and contexts provide the missional hermeneutics. As discussed before, people have the bible in their language and they can read and reflect. The missionary hermeneutics argue for a new reading approach which is an action for and on behalf of the people providing the theological reflection and praxis. As the study looks at the Zimbabwean situation in total, economical, political and socio-religious, it must appreciate the multiplicity of perspectives and contexts even though there are some issues that may cut across contexts. Zimbabwe is a country divided on political ideology and this division is the source of socio-economic intolerance among Zimbabweans themselves. Missiological hermeneutics calls the church not to commit the fallacy of seeing things from one perspective rather than seeing the broad picture

and the argument for one missiological perspective to be followed will affect the understanding of scripture as the product of God's missional activities.

It could be naïve for the UCCSA to talk of one Trans-national mission theology and then attempt to build mission prophecy on that theological base. UCCSA in its current structure (after 3 October 1967) is made up of five synods i.e. Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Two factors have to be taken into cognisance. The other synods were not affected much in terms of the formation of the UCCSA. For them it was more of a change of name and leadership than the coming together of different brands of congregationalism. This meant that the reality and the depth of socio-political issues of the past, for example, racism, in the church would not be understood and owned in the same way. Challenging racial discrimination would not be seen as doing anyone a favour. It would be about helping the people regain the dignity that discrimination had stolen. One thing that needs to be realised is that discrimination of any kind makes the victim invisible, thus stealing that person's confidence to participate in social processes.

The economic and socio-political challenges are not the same in all the synods. So far, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa have not experienced any post-colonial political instability. The mission theology will, therefore, not be defined in the same way. However, for the purposes of this paper, the author will pursue the Zimbabwe situation as the bases for the call for the paradigm shift.

6.2.1 POST COLONIAL ZIMBABWE AND THE EXODUS MOTIF

Towards the end of the European missionary enterprise activities (1960s) in the whole of Africa, there was a great demand for independence. The Exodus stories told after the Egypt experience are a fundamental confession of Israel. They affirm that Yahweh, '... heard our voices and saw our afflictions, our toil and our oppression... he brought us out of Egypt....' Deut 26:5-9(Anderson 1975:53). The verbs of the narrative sweep to a climax: God heard, God saw, God rescued. The exodus motif as used in liberation theologies and in politics goes up to the Independence Day. But also we can learn something out of the exodus narratives; the Israelites were made to be people in their

process of liberation, but the tyrannical policies of Jeroboam made them feel that they were not part of the community of the people of God. 1 King 12:16 *what portion have we in David, we have no inheritance in the son of Jesse.....*' It can be learnt from the narratives that the liberators can become tyrants, oppressor's designers of forced labour.

The second thing that can be learnt from these narratives is the constant role of the prophets. They did not allow themselves to be swallowed by the politics of the liberated Israelites. They constantly reminded them of the life in Egypt and how they were liberated by God.

UCCSA Zimbabwe synod can be listed as one of those old protestant/missionary churches whose prophetic theology is not always clear or never pronounced. If it is to be analysed outside the ZCC, however, as mentioned earlier, the UCCSA is the visible member of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

The post-conflict mission paradigm calls for justice, reconciliation, forgiveness, judgement and hope. Hope must not be taken as creating a false optimism but accepting the realities of the past (de Gruchy 1997:52). Seeing life beyond the painful realities of the past and present provides the window to see the hopeful future. For example, the church continued to preach with hope in the times of the Smith regime in 1965-1979 and in 1980-1987 when Mugabe sponsored the massacre of the Ndebele and the whole country was condemned to poverty as he wanted to hold on the presidential seat.

6.2.2 RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION

The former South African president Thabo Mbeki addressing the UCCSA bi-centenary celebrations on 31st March 1999 said (de Gruchy 1999: vii) that 'though we now have our political freedom, the challenges that remain are enormous we are still learning how to be free, freedom is the beginning of the greatest possibilities of the human genius it is not the goal...struggle is life I believe that the church should devote itself to national reconciliation as permanent exercise, finding ways for sustaining it'. According to Mbeki,

forgiveness is fundamental in Christianity. But it must be understood in the context of seemingly contradictory ideas. There can be no redemption without repentance, and that mercy which precedes justice creates the space for such reconciliation. The church has a critical role to play in the building of a new nation and creating an environment that sustains it.

It can be deduced, therefore that freedom is a process and it can be learnt. It follows that it can be mastered or failed. After independence some of the countries found themselves in civil wars or having their heroes turned into dictators. The preaching of peace, by the church, must continue especially when the country is riddled with crime, institutionalised corruption, greed, state sponsored violence, and poverty.

The concept of forgiveness is an important part of reconciliation. Reconciliation takes many angles. It could be forgiveness in exchange of the truth; the principle is that of telling the truth to receive forgiveness. It is based on the Johannine principle (John 8:32) *'the truth will set you free'*. This is a theory that supported the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. Additionally, forgiveness works on the principle of healing over time. This principle lacks the psychological ritual of closure, and does not allow an individual to deal with the painful realities. The extreme negation of forgiveness is the "eye for an eye" principle. (Deuteronomy 19:21; Exodus 21:24). This principle encourages the spirit of revenge and endless wars. The principle is not a good route for post-conflict societies. This research adopts the Lukan missionary approach of no vengeance (Bosch 1991:108). Jesus Christ reading Isaiah 61:1-2a (ref Luke 4:18-20), made forgiveness central in the post-conflict *kerygma*. Forgiveness provides not only reconciliation but also allows healing to take place.

Also linked to the choice of the Lukan missionary approach of 'no vengeance' is the rebuilding of a new nation after the winning of independence. It can only be built on the truth as a platform for reconciliation and reconstruction (John 8:32), and calling for no vengeance. This builds confidence on the map to reconciliation.

6.2.3 MISSION AS RECONSTRUCTION IN POST COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

Mission and theology take on another level as they deal with issues in post conflict society. Reconstruction, development and democracy become as prominent in the political language as were words like struggle, revolution and liberation during the times of colonisation and its subsequent challenge (cf Gathogo 2006 173-206)). This challenges theological thinking to shift from the exodus motif as a formative factor and embrace the post-exilic prophecies as the framework for new theological discourse.

The proponents of theology of reconstruction (Jesse Mugambi of Kenya, Charles Villa-Vicencio of South Africa and Ka Mana of Cameroon) argue that Christian theology is crucial in the reconstruction of the society torn by political conflicts in Africa. For Mugambi (1995) liberation and in-acculturation form a single paradigm in Christian theology and were designed to respond to colonialism and its challenges. According to Ka Mana (2002:90) theology has to be understood via the stages or theological paradigms of how it developed to theology of reconstruction. The first stage is made up of the missionary theology of *'tabula rasa'*. There was no defined theology occupying the African intellect. The theology was focusing on church founding and planting in Africa. It could be relevant also to suggest that inasmuch as the indigenous were not all that enlightened according to the western standard, the missionaries, especially LMS, were not all that equipped theologically. Out of the four congregational fathers of the LMS in southern Africa, only Johannes Jacobus Kicherer, a minister from Reformed Church in Holland (Briggs and Wing 1970:13) could make a theological discourse. This does not disregard the theology of the laity, as it was shown in the use of teacher-evangelists as important people who took the gospel to the people. Europeans brought the gospel to Africa but it was the lay African preachers who took the gospel to the people.

The second developmental stage calls for the theology of indigenisation. This is the stage when missionary theology was challenged. Theology had to be done from the African life experience and historical context. What was the African and Zimbabwean experience then and now? They were colonised, oppressed, and dispossessed of the

productive land but now they are independent, and all traditions of Christianity are flourishing. The challenge is that the relevant theology must reflect the experience of the people. The type of the education given to the teacher evangelist was that of assistant pastor/ministers. But the effect of the gospel in their liberation thoughts must not be down-played.

The third developmental stage is the coming of the liberation theology whose premise was economic and socio-political injustices. It also addressed issues of dignity, freedom and prosperity (Ka Mana 2002). These are issues that are as a result of oppression and slavery.

The fourth paradigm in Ka Mana's (2002) language is the theology of reconstruction. The paradigm accepts that colonialism and neo-colonialism has gone but also there are tendencies of liberation movements becoming dictators.

6.2.3.1 BASES FOR RECONSTRUCTION: A ZIMBABWEAN PERSPECTIVE

When theologians talk of liberation their premise is 'let my people go'. However, the context of the Israelites may not be the same as that of the colonial and post-colonial Zimbabweans. *'Let my people go'* in the Israelites narrative meant going out of the occupied land (Egypt). The second difference is that the postcolonial Zimbabwe would not match dot-to-dot with the postexilic time. The Israelites' land of milk and honey belonged to the local Canaanites while for Zimbabwe, first it was the colonising regime and in the postcolonial time, it was the domestic grown oppression. Domestic grown political oppression becomes painful is because it is from the institution that one looks up to for protection.

6.2.3.2 RECONCILIATION AS THE BASE FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction is a word borrowed from engineering (cf Mugambi 2005). It assumes that the originally constructed object is either dysfunctional or in the case of a house, it imposes danger to the occupants. Secondly, reconstruction assumes that the one suggesting the reconstruction has an alternative, or has done thorough analysis of the problem in order to put forward a correcting plan.

It must be mentioned here that in the Christian faith, the work of reconciliation is the work of God and it runs throughout the bible. Reconciliation celebrates the freedom of both the oppressor and the victim of oppression. Jeremiah 29:7 calls for the oppressed also to advocate for prosperity as they would benefit if there was peace, justice, love and prosperity. Reconciliation advocates for people with opposite pasts working towards living together and building bridges of peace, harmony and justice. In the process of reconciliation, the parties confront the painful past and are engaged in the reconstruction of the new society. In the process, a new person is born who is not that of the conflict society but shaped by that society, equipped to map the way forward.

In Zimbabwe, it is difficult to be sure whether reconciliation can take place or as historians would like to argue, did ever take place at the fall of colonialism in 1980. How the country has grown in independence has created a vicious circle of brutality that has taught the drumming up of supporters by the political parties to be violent. However, reconciliation as the base for socio-political and economical reconstruction in post conflict society must not be taken as the erasure of the memories of suffering or providing an escape door for the perpetrators. Psychological shelving of a problem creates a time bomb, the offended will always refer to the unsolved past as the reason of the others' wayward behaviour. While politically, it becomes an incubator for civil conflict and continuous suspicion of why an individual has acted in one way or another. This also creates space for the breeding of vengeance, which this research has argued is not the best line to follow. This approach has paralleled the people of Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and the Shona, as irreconcilably apart.

6.2.3.2.1 ASPECTS OF RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation shows that mission as salvation argues that both the oppressor and the oppressed are catered for in the salvation plan of God. It also acknowledges that both the oppressor and the oppressed do not want to be in their current situation and they strive for an escape. Hence, there is a need for both to participate in the reconciliation process, which calls for repentance as a substantial requisite.

6.2.3.2.2 TELLING THE TRUTH AS THE BASE FOR RECONCILIATION

This is the first stage in the reconciliation process and the subsequent base for reconstruction. John 8:32 says 'the truth will set you free'. In the gospel of John, Jesus is both the truth and the source of truth that can set people free. This means that He is the perfect standard of what is right. Therefore, both the oppressor and the victim need to tell the truth and repent (see the following sub-section on repentance). This is the route the post apartheid South Africa took in its model of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). According to Schreiter (2003: 6) telling the truth must also involve speaking aloud. Speaking aloud is letting what happened during the conflict time be known to the public. The atrocities committed by the Smith regime (Zimbabwe), the postcolonial regime atrocities during the Entumbane crisis in 1980 the Gukurahundi atrocities of 1982-86 and the structural oppression and political suppression must come to the surface. The church must preach the gospel of reconciliation based on the truth told by both the victims and the perpetrators. This must not be understood as suggesting that the perpetrator does not have truth to tell. The truth of the perpetrator helps in balancing the facts in the case of the victimised exaggerating the incidents. Telling the truth also counters the propaganda spread by the regime information machinery, the state media. It is taken as a block-brick in the building of a new society.

When the truth is told, some one must be listening. Listening becomes a critical component of the church involved in the mission of reconciliation. The right ears are those of the non-partisan body. There is a temptation, as a church to adhere to the philosophy and theology of the exodus narrative where Yahweh is the God (the God of the Israelites) who is always on the side of the poor and the oppressed. That being true and undisputed, the mission as reconciliation argues that God has salvation plan for both the oppressor and the victim. But healing must start with the victim, so that he is in a position to forgive the wrong doer.

Interestingly, though, if God had allowed the Israelites to remain in Egypt and growing in number, there was a possibility of their taking over Egypt. Then God's salvation plan is for both the oppressor and the oppressed. Therefore, the let my people go narratives

were as good to the Hebrews as they were to Pharaoh. That is the reason why Pharaoh was asked to repent; it is through that repentance that he got access to salvation.

6.2.3.2.3 REPENTANCE AS THE BASIS FOR RECONCILIATION

This is very important in reconciliation because telling the truth alone does not help in the road to reconciliation. There is a need for one to show remorse and regret and own his painful past. Repentance provides good environment for forgiveness and reconciliation as the way forward and is meant for both the victim and the perpetrator. The reading of Matthew 3:9, Luke 3:8 and John 8:33 give the impression that some people thought that because they were the descendants of Abraham there was no need for them to repent (Winter and Hawthorne 1992:A15). John's message shocks the status quo.

6.2.3.2.4 JUSTICE AS THE BASIS FOR RECONCILIATION

Telling the truth must not be the end. It must be acted upon as a way of dealing with the past and creating a new society. The prophetic church ceased to be the friend of the state organ (Lovett 1899:510) when the LMS missionaries challenged the maltreatment of the Hottentots, and the challenge led to a feud with the colonial administrators. The prophetic role of the church must not be outwardly to shout but it must challenge its members to think and act justly and become lovers of peace.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, therefore, this chapter argues that, since the UCCSA is a trans-national church it means that there are some issues that are peculiar to the different synods/countries and that call for different mission models. The history of the church from its inception in 1795, and its arrival in Africa in 1799 and through its evolution into UCCSA in 1967, has been occupied with issues of justice, and reconciliation as mission paradigms.

CHAPTER 7

UCCSA IN THE 21ST CENTURY MISSION PARADIGM

7. INTRODUCTION

This chapter takes us beyond the formation of the UCCSA as having evolved from LMS into its mission practice in post-conflict Zimbabwe or the post-modern period. The mission thinking is influenced by reconciliation, reconstruction, economic equity, dialogue with other religions as mission models of this paradigm. Changes in paradigm call the church to relook at its organogram, its programmes and personnel empowerment. The local church comes to the centre of the mission activities.

7.1 NEW PARADIGM

The new paradigm or model of interpretation, explaining and understanding argues that the church cannot become what we need it to be without changing the way it does mission and the theological development. As referred to in Chapter 6, the Zimbabwean context as the hermeneutical point of departure in the explaining or understanding of the post-conflict mission paradigm must be discussed. The author has deliberately avoided post-modern Zimbabwe because scholars have failed to reach a consensus on its scope and (McCoy 2001:3) the definition of post-modernism. Those who have tried simply call post-modernity a project that reacts to the failure or decline in modernism or modernity, and then it could not be an end product, but a process. I suggest that the post conflict Zimbabwe be understood to refer to the responses, reaction, and affirmation of the joys and pains that are being experienced in the independent Zimbabwe.

A new paradigm or way of perceiving Zimbabwe has emerged within Southern African Development Community (SADC), the European community and the rest of the World. The Zimbabweans are scattered all over the world either as political or economic refugees, or as victims of structured human rights abuses. The reduction of the Zimbabweans to diaspora citizens is caused by poor economic and political administration of the post-colonial Zimbabwe. Secondly, the institutionalisation of

corruption, unconstitutional and illegal land and mine occupation had condemned Zimbabweans to perpetual poverty.

This also affects the way people perceive God. As the Zimbabweans in Diaspora come back home during holidays, they develop a different way of understanding poverty and prosperity (Rosado 1997:6). This makes them start questioning God. Whose side is He on in relation to their reflection on other countries? As the society asks these transformative questions, the mission paradigm of the church cannot afford to remain unchanged. The doing of theology as a reflection must equally shift. It is proper to mention that it is not within the capacity of this paper to design a missionary model to respond.

It has been historically accepted as a fact that Africa was subjected to two powerful forces. These forces are Christianity and Colonialism. Both these forces changed the political and the religious landscape of the continent. Therefore, the author would like to agree with Van der Walt (1994:5) that the two forces cannot be fully separated on socio-political and religious issues. Post conflict, by definition, points to a new life season (paradigm) that suggests new ideas, theories, hypotheses and concepts in mission. Most of these ideas, hypotheses and concepts are a negation of the previous situation, the colonial period that was dominated by Western ideas and religious (Christianity) interpretation. This has seen the development of a new theological trend, theology of reconstruction (cf. Mugambi 1995), which sees beyond the conflict situation.

The new paradigm also looks at post colonial Christianity as no longer the colonial empire (McGrath 2013:341). The new understanding and interpretation of western Christianity has seen the rise of a brand of Christianity; the rise of African Initiated Churches (AIC) in the 1920s-1930s. Sundkler (1948) in his publication 'Bantu Prophets in South Africa' (cf. Adogame and Jafta 2005:310) called them Bantu Independent Churches. As a result, Sundkler was caught up in an ideological and political web. The use of the word 'Bantu' was considered offensive and limited to lingual reading and the term African was preferred.

The AICs represented the transformation and transmission of Christianity in Africa and African Christianity (Adogame and Jafta 2005:309) and occupied the religious space in Africa to compete with mission Christianity. Their establishment was a way of finding an African response to the gospel as expressed in songs and liturgy. The AICs have also claimed to be the best illustration and the face of the African Christianity and theology. Such theological rivalry affects the mission practice and the design and adoption of mission models.

The UCCSA in the paradigm must not only come up with a mission model that recognises the presence of the AICs as another brand of expression of African Christianity, but also the African traditional Religion that had gained scholarship interest and backing (McGrath 2013:341). This means that it is no longer the religion of the heathens; it has also become a major player in the religious space. The UCCSA must adopt a new mission understanding, influenced by its history; mission as the creating, reconciling and transforming action of God, flowing from the community of Trinity entrusted to the people of God, the church, and empowered by the spirit (McCoy 2001:5). However mission remains the activities of God, *missio dei*, it is not the task of the church but of God to enlist socio-religious transformation in the hands of the church.

7.2 JUSTICE IN THE NEW PARADIGM

The concept of justice is wide. It looks at economical, political, social and spiritual concepts of life (Bosch 1991:118; Wright 2006:269). All these form principles of the kingdom of God. It is the continued belief of this paper that the theology of reconstruction must be informed by the issues on the ground. If issues on the ground inform local church theology and theology of reconstruction, then a working or local level definition of justice must be created. It is common knowledge that when issues are resolved and they favour one person he/she can argue that justice has been done.

Justice is a value in the kingdom of God. It can be pursued without vengeance (Bosch 1991) (Luke 4:18-22). It must also be understood that the administration of justice is not uniform. It differs from society to society. At times it differs amongst people within the same geographical location, clan, or tribe or between nations. In the Old Testament, as

in Deuteronomy 19:21, the principle of an eye for an eye does not provide progressive steps to reconciliation. It addresses justice in terms of revenge and creates a spiral of hatred in the society. Amos 5:1ff points to the justice issues '...you turn justice into a bitter herb.....you hate him who reproves in court and despise him who tells the truth.....you trample the poor and force him to give you grain.....you oppress the righteous and take the bribes and you deprive the poor of the justice in the courts.....hate evil, love good'.

This shows that mission and justice could not be divorced and social justice was at the heart of prophetic tradition of the Old Testament (Bosch 1991:401). The UCCSA in Zimbabwe has an obligation to challenge the rulers of the pre-independence and postcolonial Zimbabwe. Justice can be pursued in three ways: Firstly, there is punitive justice. This means that those who have committed a wrong must be punished. Among the Ndebele, i.e. in traditional courts punitive justice is the most favoured. At times punitive judgement goes to the point of dismissing the wrongdoer from that area. The logic behind this is to send a tough signal to those who may think of committing the same offence. However, in dealing with complex social conflicts, it creates resistance and does not provide safe ground for reconciliation. Secondly, there is restorative justice; this allows for the return or restoration of that which was stolen. This is done with the assumption that it will settle the conflict. For those who were affected by the system, either economically or psycho-socially they were to be compensated as a way of addressing imbalances created by the previous system of governance. This can be understood in conjunction with the third proposal. Thirdly, this is structural justice, which the church gives an account of what was the cause of the conflict, e.g. during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, the reason for going to war was, land and economic imbalances, and minority dominance in politics, and these are the issues that must dictate the reconciliation drive.

There are a number of factors that have affected the participation of the church in Zimbabwe in the advocacy for justice. The church has not been pro-active. This means that the church came onto the scene late, and failed to read the signs of the time. If we follow this logical premise, the church is not in touch with the constituencies it serves.

The argument could be that, the first point is not true, but the political administration has created such a toothless church. The advancement of politics in Zimbabwe has been built on the understanding that 'the gun is the best way to communicate and make people buy into your policies'. The church has not been spared from such practice. Even if the church reads the signs of the time, it cannot challenge the government because of the fear that it will be met with violence. Then maybe we can talk of the theology of suffering and of the cross. The general argument that the church is involved in politics, hence their advocacy for political and economic justice is not neutral but sides with either of the parties in opposition. It is further argued that churches benefited from the colonial parcelling of land, especially the UCCSA and its association with Britain. Classic examples are the Farms in Inyathi (1859), which were given by King Mzilikazi and Hope Fountain (six thousand acres) which was given to the church by King Lobengula (de Gruchy 1999:63) are classic examples. The land was never bought and the conditions to the gifts were that as long as there were under the king they could use the land (Briggs and Wing 1970:191). This poses the church as the colonial partner. True as it may be, this does not take away from the missionary activities of the church then and now. Such arguments must not lose focus that in as much as the church is the instrument of God's mission, it is as an institution a social construct, and is more likely to have benefited and to continue to benefit from some social grant. What is important, however, is that the church must not compromise its earthly task, which is showing the love and the grace of God to the people.

As mentioned earlier, Zimbabwe is one of the Southern African countries that have not enjoyed its independence so far. Just after independence, there was the persecution of the Ndebele people and those who raised voices against the (ZANU PF) regime. Two things could be said about reconciliation in the independent Zimbabwe; firstly, ZANU PF and PF ZAPU did not want to accept that they subscribed to different political opinions though they agreed on the common enemy, the colonialist. Secondly, Zimbabwe as a country did not define the parties or stake holders in the reconciliation process. It assumed that extending an olive branch to Smith was enough to define reconciliation,

and forgot the ideological differences among the liberation movements (ZANU PF and PF ZAPU). Failure to acknowledge that is still haunting Zimbabwe even to this day.

7.3 POVERTY IN THE NEW MISSION PARADIGM

Bringing the question of poverty, oppression and suffering is not to chronicle the ill practices of the past, but to look at the mission work of the church in the 21st century as it responds to the new faced evil. Reading the history of the LMS, assuming it is true, with other western societies of that time, you are confronted with words like 'slave girl or boy'. They are either in the kitchen or leading ox-wagons carrying the missionaries. They led wagons on foot over long distances. The author is not romanticising the situation but postulating that the church may be found guilty of the very crime it was fighting, which was the abuse of the indigenous people. Out of the literature read in the previous chapters there is no indication that those 'slaves' were maltreated. However, this silence may not suggest the absence of maltreatment, but it might expose the bias of the historiography.

Social justice was the core of the prophetic tradition ministry in the Old Testament (Bosch 1991:401). The prophets like Jeremiah and Amos could challenge the king if they sensed injustice in the kingdom. Since Old Testament times, God made his redemptive comprehensive plan clear (Wright 2006:269). His redemptive plan is to free the people firstly politically (Israel from Egypt), secondly, economically. Israelites were exploited slave labourers, Exodus 1:11-14, working on a land that was not producing for them. In Exodus 6:8, God promised them their own land of prosperity. Thirdly, there was also a need to be free socially as there was a state sponsored violence against the Israelites, in the killing of the male babes. When Israel was settled and had made their covenant with God, human and social justice became core in their legal and social structures. And lastly, they sought spiritual freedom. Economic, political and social oppression are hindrances to the worship of God. The test of the 21st century missionary church is its voice against these as they hinder people from hearing the liberating word of God.

Poverty will continue to be all-time mission paradigm theme. Reading the Bible, the poor and the rich always make the agenda of the prophets and evangelists. Such a dominance of the socio-economic and political stratification has created group theologies: woman theology, black theology, liberation theology, Asian theology, Black theology, African theology. All are an attempt to address economic and socio-political imbalances that the people find themselves in.

Proverbs 22:2 'the rich and the poor have this in common; the Lord is the maker of them all' [NIV] and Proverbs 29:13 'A poor man and the oppressor have this in common: The Lord give sight to the eyes of both. [NIV] in the two verses, despite the different economic situations of the people, God remains their maker. This suggests that God has a plan for both of them. The fact that God gave them both sight, is also testament to the fact that the situation is escapable.

On one hand, the two scriptures seem to suggest that the poor man must accept his position as the will of God. He provides light to the poor as he does to the rich man. While on the other end, the scripture intends to suggest that the poor man must have eyes to see his way out of the vicious circle of poverty like the oppressor. The problem arises out of the idea that poverty, and the rich are a profitable biblical reality and this formed and occupied Jesus Christ's mission and ministry and subsequently that of his movement. It continues to question the reason for the church's existence today.

7.3.1 JESUS' UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY

On pronouncing his mission, Jesus (Luke 4:18) states three things that were to form his mission priorities. These are first to preach good news to the poor. Preaching the good news is about pronouncing the kingdom of God values, which are 'justice, love and peace'. He also came to proclaim freedom for the prisoners; and lastly His aim was to restore 'sight for the blind'. The poor are the priority in Jesus' movement and He understood poverty as a social position stratified by economic inequalities.

Firstly, though born from Davidic lineage (Matthew 1:1-46), his nuclear family i.e. Joseph and Mary were not rich, could not afford to make a decent offering when he was

presented in the temple (Luke 2:21-24), they offered 'two doves or pigeons' an offering of the poor, who could not afford a lamb (Leviticus 5:7).

Secondly, listening to the 'magnificat'; Mary's Song of Praise; (Luke 1:46-56) she was of a 'low state' (v48), without pride (v51), and hungry (v58).

Growing up under such conditions, of economic poverty and political oppression, Jesus talked about economic and political liberation. The poor are those who cannot speak for themselves and are socialized into believing that they are the voiceless. That was the condition of the historical Jesus. He was landless (Luke 9:58; Matthew 8:20 '*foxes have holes, the son of man has nowhere to put his head'-(he is landless)*). This was a political announcement, especially when read together with Luke 13: 32, where Herod is referred to as a 'fox'. Jesus died trying to tell the poor that they must not be fooled into believing that the kingdom of God is only an 'after death' abode.

Gutierrez (1973 291) argues further, using the Greek term '*Ptokos*', meaning the one who does not have what is necessary to subsist, the wretched and those driven into begging. These people depended on what was left in the field after the people had harvested (Leviticus 19:9-10, 23:22).

Whether the poor are the victims of their circumstances or contributed to their own poverty is a matter of fierce debate (Kirk 1999:99). Poverty can be as a result of external forces that act permanently against the interests of the poor. The policies of IMF and World Bank have committed the poor countries to be always paying debts to these institutions. The deductive assumption is that their economy only produces for paying debts and not for the eradication of poverty. This means that poverty will continue, but in different ways and not only as a result of foreign institutions but also as a result of poor government administration, poor economic management, and human rights abuses that tend to displace people.

7.3.2 EMPOWERING THE POOR JESUS MISSION MODEL

It has been proven, throughout this paper that LMS had an intentional interest in the social well being of the people and how their lives could be improved. The author's

recommendation therefore, anchors on the position of West (1998:30) on the logic of dominance, where the poor are socialised to accept their position as a suggestion to challenge that mentality. They have the language of their own but they use the language of their oppressor. Firstly, Jesus' method was that of empowering and challenging the people to take their mat and go. The argument is that there is a need to help a person to stand, to allow one to go on ones own, and just provide the support structure. The person must be helped to discover his voice and pronounce his situation. In the process the person is able to read the realities of his situation and in the telling he writes a 'lived' history. Empowerment means the critical understanding of political and economical realities. One does not only understand the reality but goes a step further and challenges the change of that reality. Finally, empowerment means that one is able to be part of the dialogue that reconstructs one's reality based on ones current life experience as cold reality.

Jesus encourages the poor to face authority and turn the tables. This is shown in his entry into Jerusalem where he faced the Roman authority, in a coup like entry. Those benefiting from the regime asked him to stop the poor from 'irrupting'.

Maybe the right question to ask is 'does the world understand the voice of the poor' instead of 'do the poor have a voice'. The other route to understand their voice is to argue from their places of residence. They are found in the informal settlements and are made up of the jobless who came to the city to look for employment. They are foreigners who are either economic refugees or those fleeing persecution. Then the place is congested with hungry people in abject poverty, squalor and despair (Dibeela 2008:4). The voices of 'crucified people' are heard through service delivery demonstrations against the liberator who has become too occupied to attend to them. The demonstrations are done under the 'warlike' eye of the riot police, and also political uprisings, as is the case now in Muslim countries. And this is the 'irruption of the poor'. They are politically and economically squeezed, socialized into believing that they do not have a voice. The only way they pronounce their situation is through irruption, which may not be the preferred biblical teaching, but is thought to be the only available option. Jesus teaches them (Mark 2:12-19) 'take your mat and go' tell that fox (Luke 13:32) and

show yourself to the priest that it is possible to be out of this situation and you have a voice. The political economist would be quick to respond by saying 'yes', but it is not meaningful to policymaking, distributive spending and implementation.

The politicians argue that the poor man's voice is his vote. The political field is not even. It favours those who are economically strong and well-to-do. There is a lot of smear campaigns which the meek and poor cannot stand. Politics, as a career has become expensive and beyond the reach of the poor and thus those with light financial muscle are left out. Vote rigging has left the poor with no choice but to surrender their voice collectively to one person in the form of voting. However, like consumers, the poor have a choice to exit the situation or remain in the system by surrendering or voting for the regime that is not benefiting them. Vote becomes the voice of the poor in political situation.

The Old Testament argues that the prophets are the mouth piece of the poor. This accounts for the voice of the voiceless concept. The understanding is that the poor are protected by God and prophets come as divine intervention. In the voice of the voiceless approach the glory goes to God (Isaiah 61/Luke 4:18-20 *the spirit of the lord is upon me /aiding me as a vessel of the good news*) who is the author of that salvific plan. The Yahweh, who cannot be seen, sends his vessel. The situation favours politicians in parliament who when canvassing for votes promise to be their voice in parliament.

Even those who argue for the presence of the voice of the poor admit that it is not loud enough to be heard.

7.4 OFFICE OF THE MINISTER IN THE 21ST CENTURY MISSION PARADIGM

Two mission models dominated the LMS mission work. These were *Kerugma* as mission model which saw the centrality of preaching and the scripture as the way of reaching people telling them of the loving God as the missionary God, and the *voluntaristic* missionary model, as influenced by the Reformation's emphasis on the individual's right to read the scripture that resulted in the formation of societies based on volunteers. It is this submission of the paper that these remain central and important in

the mission of the church, but they need to be re-contextualised and this will in turn equally call for the redefinition of the office or role of the minister.

It would be naïve for the church to think that it will respond or initiate a new paradigm without altering the office of the minister. There is a shift from a parish minister who preaches the love of God that cannot be seen live in the church. The minister who can deal with the above needs to have his/her office revamped from the missionary type of 'my way' not 'your way' is the route to the kingdom of God. The pastoral approach shifts from being prescriptive to narrative. Plotting a life plan or map using the person's experience challenges the current office of the minister. To understand these and respond to the mission needs identified by the 'justice and social responsibility committee' of the UCCSA, the office of the minister then entails pastoral concern for the persons and social situations, pastoral care and listening to the inner life of individuals and pastor working as a mediator and reconciler.

7.4.1 THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION REVISITED: A RESPONSE TO THE NEW PARADIGM

This section does not intend to argue in the line of cost but on the relevance of training given to the church students, it is not the question of the cost, but a question is; does the theological education equip our students for the challenges of the new paradigm.

The church needs to move from the traditional introvert theological training which was exported during the missionary expansion. It is based on the four theological training pillars; biblical, historical, systematic and practical mission. The curriculum was canonised and exported to theological colleges and seminaries worldwide. Arguing for the church to consider Missiology as a key in ministerial formation is more than simply adding a Missiology course to the curriculum. It means a reformation of the theological students by placing the mission of God at the centre of their objective of study which will make the theological training of the UCCSA minister reflective and active. The minister needs more than just a theology degree, but must also be equipped to deal with the spiritual and social concerns of the twenty first century parish member.

The church will then realise mission, as a transformational, ministerial competence that becomes a key course outcome rather than just passing examinations. This calls for a re-look into the courses, seminaries and universities that the churches send their ministers for training. The course must be designed to address the current issues not just academic debates.

It must be acknowledged that unlike during the missionaries' time when evangelists, teachers and ministers were trained in Kuruman and Tigerkloof, now theological training is offered at secular universities. The secular university's prime interest is in the production of academics. The production of a pastor is a secondary task to them. This means that the type of training would lack the important ministerial components, which are prophetic and pastoral. Ministerial formation must create ministers who can speak theology which is reflective of the transitional period, from colonialism to liberation, from European Christianity to African Christianity, without distorting the gospel truth.

7.5 PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE NEW PARADIGM

The reason why the author brings this subsection in the new paradigm is twofold. Firstly, as it would be discussed in the next section, the churches are making a forward bound paradigm where inter faith/culture is an option of doing mission. The acceptance of women in these faiths varies. Secondly, the bible only talks of inclusiveness in terms of membership to the Christian faith not leadership. In this section, I will contribute to gender equity in relation to ordination, acknowledging that this topic has attracted a lot of debate, in politics, business, and religious space. Gender is socially constructed and accepted over history, unlike sex which is biologically fixed and determined (Gilchrist 1994:1).

Those who argue for the exclusion of women in leadership of the church, in general, are able to use scriptural and traditional support (McGrath 2013 332). The New Testament, especially Paul, limits the leadership to men (1 Timothy 2:12) and women are not allowed to speak in church (1 Corinthians 14:34). Inasmuch as the quotation is clear, the argument fails to put Paul's thought in context and appreciate that these were personal opinions of Paul. As such they cannot be applied universally as normative.

From the Old Testament through the New Testament, traditions seem to favour men in leadership. Jesus was male and so were his disciples. True as it may be, tradition is living and thus it is capable of growth and adaptation. It does not suggest that all generations must uncritically take past cultural and religious convictions as given. Jesus' mission also involved breaking down oppressive traditions. (McGrath 2013:332).

A number of women were mentioned in the process of dealing with the mission of the church but a lot of emphasis was put on male missionaries. This is despite the fact that most adherents were women (Mwaura 2005:411). Two things need to be corrected. Mission participation must not be limited to ordained ministry. Home is the first school and women were the family teachers entrusted with the Christianisation of the family. Secondly, the non-participation of women is always based on their invisibility in positions of power and influence, but they still dominate the pews today. This has been a consistent trend from the pioneer period to date (Mwaura 2005:411). Now women are making in-roads into the ordained ministry. The Zimbabwe synod (UCCSA) has so far ordained 10 women. The author will not discuss the women in ministry in details as it is not the brief of this paper, but suffice to mention that in as much as we appreciate the in-roads; however their participation must be intentionally supported by the church. Even those who are not in the ordained ministry should be encouraged in, their missionary participation, even in the use of the pulpit.

The participation of women in the church challenges historiography to integrate women's perspectives and experiences in mission. The spirit of God empowers and sends everyone, despite gender differences (Mwaura 2005:442).

The call for a theological reflection of women has created another watershed for the mission theology in the new paradigm. Feminist theology, women theology and other women activists believe that they are more than just gospel carriers, their experiences must be considered as a formative factor for a sound theological thinking. According to Gathogo, the theology of Jesse Mugambi (Gathogo 2006) 'naively responded joyfully to the collapse of the Berlin wall and saw globalisation as ushering in a new time where everything would be fine and sweet. He argues that Mugambi's works remain quite blind

to the superstructures of patriarchy that must be deconstructed in order to reconstruct. His theology is founded on sand as long as it does not address major issues of oppression in both globalisation and patriarchy.

Deconstruction in the mind, society and gender perspectives to key is the new paradigm. The deconstruction will help in dealing with the paradigm shift. It must not take women as missionary aides to man, but as missionary partners with God.

However, the church continues to make strides in this regard by continuing to open doors for women in the ordained ministry. Women ministers are taking the mission of the church further by forming their own group/platform of solidarity and encouragement. The group is called 'the women in the well' and their name is based on John 4. The fact that the woman goes to the well during resting hours must be a challenge to the church on the naming of the group. But it must be admitted that in Zimbabwe, as the context of the study, the participation of women is greater in the African Initiated Churches. Where there are either founders or healers, it must be acknowledged that the spirit of God is not limited to gender.

7.6 INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AS MISSION MODEL

A salient paradigm is emerging and needs to be recognised in *missio dei*. The paradigm sees interreligious collaboration as mission strategy. The theological starting point is that the God who created the world is the missionary God and He is the same God in all religions. This has found favour in dealing with community activities, but there is a need for a common language that will excite the people (Acts 3) and avoid the Tower of Babel disaster (Genesis 11:4).

7.7 CONCLUSION

The missiological study of the church (UCCSA) needs a praxis approach (Kritzinger 2002: 22) that integrates all factors, political and economical melt down in Zimbabwe, gender, and inter-religious dialogue, as shaping the dynamics of life.

Mission theology of the new paradigm is not completely engulfed in new doctrines of God, doctrines of Jesus Christ or doctrines of salvation. Fundamental to this epoch is the people's experience (praxis). The experience of women, children, disabled and the poor of the land must influence the theological and hermeneutical thinking of the church. The pastoral planning of the church must reflect that the church needs a serious social and contextual analysis.

The church must advocate for restorative justice as the paradigm for the post-conflict Zimbabwe. In this analysis the church must be prophetic and not align with politics. God's justice must be understood in the light of his attribute 'love', if love does not have justice (Erickson 1998:324) it is merely sentimental, and this lacks a biblical base. Love and justice in the new mission program of the after conflict Zimbabwe must be seen as working together in the salvation plan of God. The situation has affected women and children. Their experiences must form the praxis of the mission of the church in Zimbabwe. The changes, either political or economical, define the type of life the people live and this call for a new theological thinking. This affects the traditional office of the minister. The working of the office of the minister as a missionary also calls for the type of education to be reviewed in order to be always relevant post the paradigm shifts. Christianity is no longer defined in terms of western Christian intelligence. The coming up of the AICs has brought about schismatic theological thinking in doing mission.

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