

The East African Revival

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The East African Revival was a Christian conversion movement that began in an Anglican mission station in northern Rwanda in the mid-1930s and spread throughout eastern and central Africa during the 1940s and 50s.¹ The Revival was an engine for the production of testimonial literature, and there are now dozens of books that present revivalists' autobiographies as evidence of God's work in eastern Africa. That is how converts described their experience. Their testimonies compressed the long and conflicted course of time, rendering complicated local dynamics into a pre-determined narrative about religious and personal transformation. Today as at the time of their composition, it is easy to lift revivalists' testimonies out of the polemical context in which they were composed. The back cover of one collection invites readers to 'sense the freedom from bondage to heathen practices as [God's people] prove by their lives the God of the Bible to be the only true God'.² Framed in this way, converts' autobiographies become inspirational literature, placeless affirmations of the universal truths of Christianity.

But there was a second, less visible, more contentious Revival that developed alongside and in tension with the authorized version. This subterranean Revival was largely a movement of women, especially young women. Their religious experience was not decorous. There was an

¹Derek R. Peterson, Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent (Cambridge, 2012).

²Dorothy Smoker, Ambushed by Love: God's Triumph in Kenya's Terror (Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, 1993).

eschatological Christianity, composed in expectation of the imminent end of the world. This millenarian Revival was prompted by terror. It entailed vivid displays of emotion and the exercise of charismatic gifts. It obliged converts to open up the most private corners of their lives to public inspection, narrate instances of sexual deviance, name names, and assassinate characters. The leadership of the Anglican Church did not know what to do about it. They actively sought to suppress this second revival, imposing rules that limited the latitude of converts' confessions.

In neither its decorous nor its millenarian aspect was the Revival straightforwardly an Anglican movement. In Tanganyika Lutherans were in the leading role; in Kenya Presbyterians had an important part to play. In Uganda—where Anglicanism was the established Church—the Revival's leaders had a tense relationship with the bishop, and in the early 1940s they contemplated taking the Revival out of the Anglican Church altogether. What made the Revival Anglican was its literature. It was the literature of English non-conformism—especially Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress—that gave African revivalists a template on which to orient their life stories. The Pilgrim's Progress was the defining literature of the British evangelical missionary movement. After the New Testament, it was the second book that British missionaries published in Africa's vernacular languages. The first translation of Pilgrim's Progress in eastern Africa was the Swahili edition, which appeared in 1888, only five years after the New Testament was published.³ Uganda missionaries brought out a Luganda edition in

³Msafiri: Kitabu hiki Kimefasirika katika Kitabu cha Kiingereza kiitwacho 'Pilgrim's Progress' (London, 1888).

1900.⁴ The Kinyarwanda translation—published in 1933—was composed in the years immediately preceding the beginning of the Revival. Rendered in DhoLuo, Swahili, Lunyankole, or Kinyarwanda by a cadre of earnest translators, Bunyan’s text became standard reading material for students across Anglophone eastern Africa.⁵ It was a primer on ontology. The story invited revivalists to see sin in material form, as a weighty bundle of possessions, deeds, and dispositions that could—like the bundle on Christian’s back—be separated from the whole fabric of their lives and disposed of. The Pilgrims’ Progress thereby encouraged converts to renounce people and possessions, to disencumber themselves of their old lives.

The Revival was a machinery for self-editing. It entailed disavowal, the severing of relationships, slander, and other antisocial acts. Only later—after a contentious process that is the subject of this chapter—were revivalists domesticated and made members of civil society. There was, in short, a great amount of disciplinary work that had to occur before the Revival could become a source of inspiration in the field of World Christianity.

Technologies of the Self

In the early hours on Sunday 2 July 1936 Dora Skipper, an Anglican missionary at Gahini in northern Rwanda, awoke to a cacophony. The noise coming from the girl’s school near Skipper’s residence sounded like a ‘Bank Holiday crowd on Hampstead Heath’. She and another missionary forced the school’s door open. There was bedlam.

⁴Omutambuze (London, 1900).

⁵Isabel Hofmeyr, The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Princeton, 2004), Ch. 5.

The girls seemed to have gone mad and some were on the floor, they were all throwing themselves about, they were absolutely uncontrolled, some were laughing, some weeping, most were shaking very very much and they seemed to have supernatural strength. The powers of darkness seemed to be right on us. It felt like being in hell, as though Satan had loosed his armies.

Skipper dragged one of the girls to the side. 'I am so frightened, I am so frightened', she repeatedly said. The next morning the girls were awake at 3:30 am. They had such shattering revelations that they broke the windows and desks in the school. Some of them were writhing 'like the maniac when Christ came down from the Mount of Transfiguration', Skipper wrote, and all of them said that they were 'conscious of thick darkness and the hopelessness of their sins'. It was not until Wednesday evening that Skipper and her colleague brought the girls to their senses. At seven p.m. they went to the school with as many lamps as they could find. When one of the girls began to cry and shake, she was taken out of the dormitory and made to be quiet. The night thereafter passed in a clinical peace. But over the ensuing weeks the events at the girls' school were replayed in dozens of village churches around Gahini. People gathered in the early hours of the morning; one of them would suddenly begin shouting out all of the awful sins he had committed, and thereafter some people would start 'shrieking to God to have mercy, others rolling about on the floor and tearing their clothes and foaming at the mouth in a regular fit', reported Skipper.

This kind of behavior seemed like insanity. Only five years earlier, in August 1931, Dora Skipper had written in her diary about the sad case of Yudesi Mukarurubuga, a schoolgirl who

had ‘gone off her head’.⁶ Mukarurubuga had fallen into a ‘sort of religious mania’: during a confirmation service she had begun to weep copiously, despairing, she said, over the eternal damnation of her fellow students. She believed herself to be so unimpeachably holy that she refused to sleep in the dormitory with other girls, who she thought to be ‘wicked’. Skipper hoped to cure the girl by isolating her from her fellows, and for some time Mukarurubuga slept on the missionary’s floor at night. But by September Skipper was convinced that she was ‘terribly mad’. Mukarurubuga was sent back to her family home, where she lived in confinement under her brother’s care.

The schoolgirls of July 1936 were very much like Yudesi Mukarurubuga. Like her, they were terrified by a judgmental God; and like her, they made dramatic evaluations about sin and self. But where Yudesi Mukarurubuga went insane, the schoolgirls in 1936 were the starting point for a new Christian movement: the East African Revival. They knew how to transform their terror into a form of discipline. There were new techniques at their disposal. In the days that followed the events of 2 July Dora Skipper was besieged by a constant flow of students wishing to return things that they had stolen from the school. One girl confessed to having stolen two sewing needles: she had thoughtlessly placed them in her Bible before the Christmas holiday. Another girl confessed to stealing a piece of soap. A third returned one and a half francs to the missionary, explaining that she had stolen a hinge from the school storeroom to mend her locker. ‘Streams are coming’, returning ‘pencils, soap, francs and bits of cloth all stolen at some time or

⁶Dora Skipper, diary entry for 30 August 1931, Church Mission Society Oxford archives (hereafter CMS Oxon) Skipper papers, folio 1/3.

another', wrote Skipper.⁷ 'It is amazing to me how they carefully diagnose their spiritual condition'.

The Gahini girls had at their disposal a technique of self-editing that allowed them to transform their terror into a new way of living. The Religious Tract Society had published The Pilgrim's Progress in Kinyaruanda in 1933, three years before the events at Gahini. It sold at one shilling a copy. The book is an allegory about the protagonist Christian, who as the story opens bears a heavy burden that 'lieth hard' upon his back.⁸ Guided by the character Evangelist—who advises him to 'Fly from the Wrath to come'—Christian sets out on a long pilgrimage, blocking his ears to the entreaties of his wife and children. Along his way to the Celestial City Christian reaches the 'place of deliverance', where the straps that bind his burden to his back are broken and it rolls into an open sepulcher. The translation was conducted at Gahini by missionary Harold Guillebaud and Samsoni Nyarubuga. Guillebaud made a habit of reading each week's work aloud in the sermons he delivered at Gahini's church.⁹ The book vitally shaped Gahini people's sense of their destiny. Dora Skipper's cook, a man named Isaaka, was reading The Pilgrim's Progress in May 1936 when he was suddenly convinced of his 'unpreparedness to meet Christ'. He made a long confession to Skipper, describing how he had pilfered coffee, milk, salt, and sugar from her kitchen store, and offering to compensate her for the costs from his wages.¹⁰

⁷Skipper, diary entry for 19 April 1937, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 1/3.

⁸John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which is to Come (Uhrichsville, Ohio, n.d. [1678]).

⁹H. Guillebaud, 'The Crowning Joy of Six Year's Work', Ruanda Notes 39 (Jan. 1932).

¹⁰Skipper, diary entry for 7 May 1936, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 1/3.

Samsoni Nyarubuga, the translator of the book, felt obliged to conform his life to its directions. In April 1937 he confessed before a church assembly to having practiced witchcraft in secret. ‘He couldn't get a word out for sobbing, he got up and sat down weeping unrestrainedly,’ Skipper reported. ‘Then his wife had a try but she wasn't much better, but gradually they both got out what they wanted to say; most heartrending confessions and finally they produced his charms’.¹¹

The Pilgrim's Progress was a manual in self-management. It showed Rwandans and other East Africans how to put a distance between themselves and their old lives. It demanded that converts edit their lives, renouncing dispositions and possessions that belonged to the past, sloughing them off, like the pack that had fallen from Christian's back. Here was a procedure for the creation of new life. Here, in its earliest days, the Revival can be seen not as a movement—with a leadership, an organization—but as a technique for the production of new forms of selfhood. When the Gahini schoolgirl named Abisagi converted, she burned virtually all of her possessions—pillow, blanket, dresses, and photos—before an audience of her peers, explaining ‘why each thing had to go’.¹² As the Gahini converts travelled further afield they taught other people these procedures for self-management. By 1937 people were pressing into Anglican churches in Kigezi, just across the Ugandan border from Gahini. Missionaries found a thousand people gathered at one church centre. ‘Some were beside themselves with grief’, wrote a missionary. ‘In many places the floor was wet below their faces, and the bodies of many were

¹¹Skipper to Joe Church, 25 April 1937, Henry Martyn Centre (hereafter HMC) Joe Church (hereafter JEC) archives 3/4.

¹²Skipper, diary entry for 18 April 1937, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2; Skipper to Church, 25 April 1937, HMC JEC 3/4.

convulsed with shaking which went on and on, apparently quite uncontrollably.¹³ Their grief led them to dramatic acts of disavowal. Amos Mbitama, a schoolteacher in southern Uganda, converted around this time. He remembered seeing ‘flames, flames, flames, and all things would be revealed one after another after another.’ Mbitama felt himself obliged to confess the most embarrassing things. ‘I would be standing publicly’, he told me, ‘confessing openly that this woman is the one who I have been involved with sinful acts, and indeed I would repent, and I would not go back. Aah!’¹⁴

The East African Revival entailed the popularization of new forms of self-accounting. Revivalist technologies moved through the scholastic networks that the Anglican Church had opened up. The first Revival preachers to reach Amadi, in southern Sudan, were students from the Anglican school at Loka.¹⁵ They had been converted when they heard revivalists preach, and walked overland from Loka to Amadi in August 1938, a distance of over a hundred miles. British missionaries at Amadi found the Loka schoolboys ‘almost maniacal’. So ‘fierce and provocative were their words that most of the station staff ... thought the boys were mad and possibly dangerous’. Within days crowds of Christians in Amadi were in hysteria, awaiting the imminent return of Jesus. Many people ceased cultivating their fields, and at in one church converts met for four or five services every day. In Amadi as in Gahini and Kigezi converts felt obliged to make

¹³Joe Church, circular letter, 13 March 1939, HMC JEC 3/4.

¹⁴Interview with Amos Mbitama, Kagarama, Ndorwa, 27 June 2004.

¹⁵This paragraph is derived from Arthur Casson, circular letter, 29 November 1938; and from Joe Church, circular letter, 28 March 1939, in HMC JEC I/4. Andrew Wheeler, ‘Richard Jones and the Sudan Revival of 1938’, *Anglican and Episcopal History* 71 (2002), pp. 168-86.

restitution for the smallest things. On Sunday mornings the altar at the Anglican church was piled high with bags of sugar, tea, pillows, pillowcases, blankets, and money. On one occasion there was a bicycle assembled from spare parts. All of these articles had been produced by people who had renounced the encumbrances of their former lives of sin.

What was it that terrified the people of Amadi? Why were converts in southern Uganda and northern Rwanda struck down with fear? Revivalists were sure that their contemporary world was coming to an end. They saw the evidence of an impending doom in their contemporary world. Joe Church, the most influential missionary advocate of the Revival, was in 1938 convinced that ‘Armageddon is very near’.¹⁶ ‘These are the last days’, wrote Church, with the war in Europe on his mind. ‘The Lord Jesus is calling us to a total war in this last battle before he returns’.¹⁷ African converts did not need to look so far afield for evidence of the impending end of time. The evidence was all around them. ‘I never cease to have sorrow for my friends who are still on the road that leads to destruction’, wrote the evangelist Yosiya Kinuka in 1938. ‘I keep on telling them that they are in a land like the land of Sodom and they must come out of it and be born again’.¹⁸ Kinuka thought his contemporary world was soon to be destroyed. His conviction was widely shared. At Shyira, in Burundi, Anglican missionaries reported that ‘many people began to have dreams warning them of the nearness of the Second Coming, and of their

¹⁶Joe Church to Miss Hall, 29 Dec. 1938, HMC JEC 3/4.

¹⁷Joe Church, circular letter, 9 March 1942, Mid-Africa Ministry archives (hereafter MAM), University of Birmingham A3.

¹⁸Yosiya Kinuka to ‘Ruanda friends’, n.d. (but 1938), HMC JEC 6/3.

unpreparedness for meeting Christ'.¹⁹ One convert, a teacher from Gahini, dreamt that he was standing before God's throne in a long line of people. As their names were read out, some people passed upwards to heaven, while others 'with terrible cries' fell into an abyss.²⁰ Dreams like these were proleptic. They attenuated time, trimmed life's span, and brought dreamers face to face with a judgmental God.

For these converts the eschaton—the end of time—was not an arid theological concept. They experienced the end times as a visual, emotional, visceral encounter. The Revival in one part of southern Uganda is said to have begun when a visiting convert preached to an assembled group of women about Revelation chapter 20 verses 12-13, which depicts God's judgment. The preacher dramatized the text with illustrations of the fires of hell, then called for conversions. His message received a powerful reinforcement when a woman living an immoral life immolated herself in her house. Her body made an audible pop as it burst open, and on hearing the noise, people who previously had doubted revivalists' message were convinced of their impending doom.²¹ People were prompted to think about the eschaton by the evidence around them. One woman converted in 1936 because 'she feared Hell which was waiting those who died before

¹⁹Ms. L. Forbes, annual letter, 28 August 1936, Church Missionary Society archives, University of Birmingham (hereafter CMS), Annual Letters file.

²⁰'Reports of African Conventions', *Revival News* 1 (2) (1950), MAM E 1/9.

²¹John Muhanguzi, 'The Spread of the Revival Movement at Burunga in Nyabushozi County, East Ankole' (unpublished Dip. Theo. thesis, Makerere University, 1985); E. Maari, 'The Balokole Movement in Nyabushozi County of Ankole', in Occasional Research Papers in African Religions and Philosophies, vol. 22, ed. A. Byaruhanga-Akiiki (Kampala, 1974).

they repent and confess their sins'. Whenever a drop of hot water or a spark from the cooking fire touched her body, it reminded her of the 'horrible fire of Hell'.²²

For the first revivalists, God's judgment was a lived experience. One of my interviewees, a man named Asanasiyo Rwandare, seems to have lived much of his life while standing in judgment. He has had dozens of visions over the course of his life, many of them summoning him to account for his sins.²³ In April 1936, Rwandare was lying in bed when he heard a voice telling him 'The end is at hand'. On opening his eyes Rwandare saw a man standing beside his bed, dressed in white robes and carrying a lamp. 'Why don't you allow me time to repent of my sins?', Rwandare cried. He was drawn to his feet, and just as he was leaving his family's compound, the man turned and said 'Go immediately and repent'. The following morning, Rwandare stood up in a church assembly and confessed his sins, but his dreams did not come to an end. Three years after his encounter with the white-robed man, Rwandare was again accosted. Rwandare was walking along a familiar path when, quite unexpectedly, he came upon a man leaning against a piece of wood. 'His hands were outstretched', Rwandare remembered, 'and when I looked, there were nails in the hands, and even through the legs'. Crying, Rwandare followed the crucifix as he walked homeward. 'He went over the pieces of wood that had been used to close the gate', Rwandare remembered. 'When I went into the enclosure, I found him

²²N. Magambo, 'The Balokole Movement in Mitooma Parish' (Dip. Theo., Makerere University, 1974).

²³Interview with Asanasiyo Rwandare, Rwenyunza, Rukiga, Kabale, 26 June 2004; and Kabale town, 21 August 2005.

standing right at the door of my mother's house.' The spectral Christ only disappeared when Rwandare 'realized what I had caused the Lord to go through'.

Revivalists like Rwandare were face to face with an impending judgment. Driven by the doom they witnessed, men and women made an inventory of their deeds and their goods. One man, a government chief, converted in 1936, confessing to a terrible temper. He made a list of his sins in columns on a piece of paper, and for each sin he promised to make restitution to those he had wronged.²⁴ A teacher at an Anglican school listed his sins in a letter to the school's board of governors, describing how he had purchased two shirts with money that had been given him as a traveling allowance. In an earlier confession he had forgotten about that particular sin, he wrote, 'but now the Holy Ghost revealed it to me, it was really a big sin which should throw me into Hell'.²⁵ Converts thought their eternal welfare was at stake in even the most inconsequential of things. One of my interviewees was lying in bed one evening in February 1942 when a voice told him 'you stole your brother's handkerchief'. He had thoughtlessly put the handkerchief in his pocket while doing the family's washing.²⁶

Their assuredness about the imminent end of the world drove some people to despair, and led others to act in a radical manner. Eschatology was the drill sergeant marshaling early converts to behave in antisocial ways. Wilson Komunda remembered that in 1935 he and other people in

²⁴Butlin, annual letter, 1936-1937, CMS Annual Letters file.

²⁵Master, CMS High School, Mbarara, to Clement Pain, 25 May 1942, CMS G3 A7/5.

²⁶Interview with Enoch Lugimbirwa, Ruharo, Kigezi, 8 July 2004.

Kigezi began to ‘hear voices in our minds about how God could kill us’.²⁷ On hearing the voice, he said, ‘I would actually get out of bed, and ... I would raise my voice and tell them to run away from hell, because anyone who is not saved is bound for hell’. The favorite hymn which he sang during his night-time preaching sessions went:

You people of this world which is being condemned,
 what are you thinking about the end?
 Why don't you think about what we have in store,
 to talk about the bad parts of our lives, thieving and other sins?
 We are going to leave you in your stupidity.

Honour and Shame

From the start all of this was deeply controversial. East Africa's diverse peoples observed different models of social discipline, but everyone agreed that an honorable reputation was built at home. Honorable people needed to present a good face to the public.²⁸ They had to manage appearances. Rwanda's Tutsi aristocrats took care to wall their families off from outsiders' observation. Their homesteads were enclosed with thick hedges, twenty or thirty feet in height.²⁹ When a Tutsi woman wished to venture outside her home, wrote a missionary observer, ‘everyone is chased out of the courtyard and a mat is held in front of the gateway, while another beautifully woven mat is held carefully round her so that she walks as if wrapped up from

²⁷Interview with Wilson Komunda, Bukinda, Rukiga, Kigezi, 25 June 2004.

²⁸John Iliffe's Honour in African History (Cambridge, 2005) offers a full assessment of Africans' overlapping theories of honor.

²⁹Dora Skipper, Annual Letter, 31 August 1930, CMS Annual Letters, 1917-34 file.

the outer gaze'.³⁰ These screens and fences organized human sociability, separating private life off from the prying eyes of outsiders. When in 1935 a curious missionary paid an unexpected visit to a chief's homestead in northern Rwanda, she surprised the lady of the house, who disconcertedly brushed past her visitor and hurriedly entered into her compartment. Only there would she agree to greet her guests.³¹ Respectable men were obliged to mask their interests and emotions, to cultivate, in the words of one anthropologist, 'the art of astutely disguising one's thoughts with consummate deception, of not seeing, not understanding, not reacting'.³²

Revivalists, in contrast, lived in the open. They would not stay behind the screens that respectable people erected. Mariya Kamondo, the aunt of Rwanda's king, was an early convert to the Revival. Like other elite women, she had spent much of her life out of the public eye: when missionaries visited her they described her household as a 'complete maze', surrounded by a large hedge and subdivided with smaller fences. But on the occasion of her conversion in May 1937 Kamondo stood, in the open, before a congregation and announced that 'the wrongs she had done to the various of her tenants and others she was going to put right, and in front of her children, servants and various Roman Catholics who were sitting round the door of the church she, the King's aunt, made a full confession of her past life, and finished up by saying, "And everything else as God shows me I am going to speak of it that I may have it out from my

³⁰Margaret Guillebaud, quoted in Meg Guillebaud, Rwanda: The Land God Forgot? Revival, Genocide and Hope (London, 2002), p. 41.

³¹Skipper, diary entry for 29 September 1935, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2.

³²F.M. Rodegem, Anthologie Rundi (Paris, 1973), pp. 17-20. Quoted in Iliffe, Honour in African History, 163.

heart”.³³ After her confession Kamondo made a show of walking—without a screen or a veil—in missionaries’ company.

Conversion entailed disclosure. It opened things up, breaking private life out of its containments. I interviewed Julaina Mufuko in 2004 at her home in a remote part of southern Uganda.³⁴ In answer to my first question—How were you converted?—she talked, preached, and sang for over thirty minutes. So deeply was she invested in her testimony that at certain points she began to cry, while at other times her conviction was so intense that my translator held up his hands, trying to cool her ardor. Julaina had converted in 1936. She and a group of other girls had made a habit of playing sexually while herding the goats, but one morning, Julaina remembered, a voice told her ‘That habit that you were in is sin’. The next day, Julaina stood up in a church assembly and confessed her sins, describing the deeds in which she had formerly been involved. In those days, Julaina remembered, she and other converts would sometimes see flames licking the tops of the hills, or the sun in the heavens shaking. And then, she remembered, they

used to shake, and there would be jumping and falling on the ground, and from that time we started cutting off the ornaments we used to wear, and we poured out the beer we were keeping at homes, and at night we went into churches, and we made a lot of noise, both men and women ... So there would be screaming! People would climb to the tops of these mountains, and would begin exclaiming that the end of the world was coming!

³³Skipper, diary entry for 22 May 1937, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2/2.

³⁴Interview with Julaina Mufuko, Kandago, 25 June 2004.

Julaina did not stay on the hilltops. Her attention was particularly focused on Paulo Ngologoza, the county chief in Rukiga, in the heart of the highlands of southern Uganda. Ngologoza, a Catholic, thought Julaina to be a threat to public order. He summoned Julaina and three other girls to his headquarters, lined them up, and complained that ‘everyone has been caught into this salvation, and women are disobeying husbands, and husbands are complaining everywhere’. He interrogated Julaina, whip in hand, asking ‘How did you receive this Luther to come here?’ For weeks his police came to Julaina’s home, summoning her to the county headquarters. Julaina tearfully told me how she and her friends were whipped on six occasions. ‘They would beat me during the night, and that morning, I would be on top of the mountain, preaching’, she remembered. ‘The Lord was forcing us to go and speak, speak, speak!’ Her favorite song, which she made a habit of singing outside Chief Ngologoza’s headquarters, went:

You are now beating us with wooden sticks,
 But when Jesus returns, he will whip you with iron sticks.
 You have beaten us with these wooden canes,
 But you will be beaten with iron canes.
 So why don’t you think about what you are seeing?

At Gahini in Rwanda, two converts camped outside the home of their chief, singing and preaching against his sins. When the chief ordered them to desist, one of them replied ‘We are not under the orders of the Government or you ... We are commanded by the Holy Spirit’.³⁵ The chief had the converts imprisoned, but neither Gahini’s chief nor the embattled Paulo Ngolooza could get a grip on troublesome revivalists. Not even Rujumbura county’s formidable Chief

³⁵Skipper, diary entry for 29 May 1937, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2/2.

Karegyesa—six feet nine inches tall—could put revivalists under his feet. During the late 1930s several of Karegyesa’s lovers converted, confessing in public to their liaisons with the chief. Converts stationed themselves outside his home, singing songs condemning his sexual prolificacy.³⁶ One convert, a schoolteacher, was so persistent that Karegyesa had him beaten, jailed, and exiled from the county. Karegyesa warned his nephew that ‘This new kind of religion is dangerous. It invades your privacy. You have nothing left’.³⁷ In their public appearances revivalists spoke openly about subjects that men like Chief Karegyesa sought to keep secret.

The indiscriminate character of revivalists’ testimonies endangered other people’s reputations. Many people—not only chiefs—found themselves drawn, willy-nilly, into converts’ self-justifying discourses. Julaina Mufuko described how female converts would ‘confess in public, right in front of the men they had committed adultery with!’ Snapping her fingers to the rhythm of her words, Julaina described how the ‘Holy Spirit would show you spontaneously, say this, say this, say this! If you have met Jesus, you have got to confess this!’³⁸ When the anthropologist Derrick Stenning attended a revival meeting in Ankole, he listened as the parish chief’s wife described how she had committed adultery with no less than fifty men.³⁹ In their loud

³⁶Catherine Robins, ‘Tukutendereza: A Study of Social Change and Sectarian Withdrawal in the Balokole Revival of Uganda’ (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1975), 248-49.

³⁷Quoted in Festo Kivengere with Dorothy Smoker, Revolutionary Love (Fort Washington, 1983), p. 10.

³⁸Interview with Julaina Mufuko, Kandago, Kigezi, 25 June 2004.

³⁹Notes on a service at Kiruhura, 20 October 1957, Cambridge University Library Add. 7916, file B.5.

confessions revivalists threw their respectability to the winds. Even as they confessed, converts felt themselves acting immorally. Asanasiyo Rwandare, the convert who seems always to have been dreaming about an impending judgment, was terrified when in 1935 he stood to confess his sins. 'If I say all these things I have committed', Rwandare worried, 'won't these people stone me to death? Because I had committed incest, I had intercourse with my close relatives, I used sometimes to destroy other people's gardens.'⁴⁰ In their denunciations of other people's behavior, converts laid down their civic responsibilities. Critics were convinced that converts were consumed with self-interest. In one part of Uganda converts were known as Abatarukukwatanisa, 'Those who do not cooperate'.⁴¹ In another part of Uganda converts were known as Binkwatiireki, 'I am not concerned with whatever', as Tinfayo, 'I am not bothered', or as Bafaki, 'Don't worry about me'.⁴² The nicknames are a form of criticism, given to converts by their offended neighbors. They showed converts to be both callous and uncommitted. Converts would not comport themselves in a way that upheld sociable communities.

Domesticating the Revival

⁴⁰Interview with Asanasiyo Rwandare, Rwenyunza, Rukiga, Kigezi, 26 June 2004.

⁴¹Derrick Stenning, 'Preliminary Observations on the Balokoli Movement, Particularly Among Bahima in Ankole district' (Unpublished seminar paper, East African Institute of Social Research, 1957).

⁴²Ndambuki Peace, 'The Impact of the 1935-1937 Revival Movement on the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Kihanga Archdeaconry in Kigezi Diocese' (Unpublished Dip. Theo. thesis, Makerere University, 1990).

Many people doubted converts' sanity. That is what Dora Skipper was worried about during that cacophonous morning at Gahini in July 1936. Within the space of a few weeks she was insisting that girls who wished to offer long and revealing testimonies of conversion would confine themselves to a simple formula: 'Once I was blind but now I see'. When a convert at the Gahini school went into a 'long rigmarole of how she had been saved', Skipper would cut her off, telling her to 'only say those words I told them'.⁴³ Here we can see, in its earliest form, the emergence of forms of social control that were designed to limit converts' latitude. The Revival's spread generated anxious efforts to reinforce confinements, defend standards of decorum, and domesticate conversion.

One of the turning points in the domestication of the Revival came in 1940, when noisy and untoward converts in Bugufi, in northwestern Tanganyika, occasioned the movement's first crisis. In April 1939 a group of revivalists from northern Rwanda and southern Uganda spent six days preaching at an Anglican school on the northern edge of Bugufi. The Ten Commandments had been translated into LuHangaza, the language of Bugufi's people, a few years before. The preachers spent their time going through them line by line. Their programme focused consecutively on 'sin', 'repentance', 'the blood of Jesus', 'the new birth', and 'judgment'.⁴⁴ On the day the revivalists departed, the schoolmaster Lionel Bakewell found a steady stream of students at his door, returning goods that they had pilfered from the school's store. Bakewell's own cook presented him with a gallon of oil and a cushion that he had stolen, and repaid a debt that he owed to the school. A schoolboy confessed to tearing a piece of paper out of a school

⁴³Skipper, diary entry for 14 Sept. 1936, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2.

⁴⁴Lionel Bakewell, circular letter, 29 April 1939, HMC JEC 1/3.

exercise book.⁴⁵ By June, all the schoolteachers, twenty-nine schoolboys, and many of the school's laborers had confessed to formerly hidden sins. Chapel services ran into the early hours of the morning. 'Boys and teachers vie with one another to get up and make some confession or further confession', Bakewell reported. One young man's confession lasted for all of 55 minutes. Many people were overwhelmed by the evidence of their sin. At a chapel service early in 1940, Bakewell reported, the schoolteacher Denys Balonzi 'raised a scream of 'Dhambi, dhambi, dhambi' ['sin, sin sin'], and rushed out of the church and went screaming among the trees 'Sin, sin has entered the church and is ruining it!' Later he came to our house and almost like one possessed preached to us for forty minutes, until I stopped him and insisted that we must have our meal'.⁴⁶

By February 1940, converts in Bugufi were gripped in what one missionary later called an 'African Pentecost'.⁴⁷ Lionel Bakewell reported that some people were 'bowled over, almost as if they had fainted or had an electric shock or a fit'. They 'fell to the floor, often rolling about, sometimes calling out inarticulately, sometimes with words of praise to the Lord Jesus, sometimes laughing in what in other circumstances one would describe in a demented sort of way'.⁴⁸ A visiting missionary was disturbed to find that converts were 'falling to the ground,

⁴⁵Bakewell, 'Revival in Tanganyika in East Africa', n.d. Typescript seen courtesy of Kathy Kozlowski.

⁴⁶Bakewell to Church, 22 March 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

⁴⁷Joe Church, Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival (Exeter, 1981), p. 169.

⁴⁸Bakewell to Church, 22 March 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

groaning and laughing accompanied by heavy breathing'.⁴⁹ The schoolmaster Bakewell was seized by the Holy Spirit in October 1939, and thereafter he joined his students and fellow-teachers, kneeling in their midst and speaking in tongues.⁵⁰ When February 1940 a contingent of African revivalists from Burundi and Rwanda visited Bugufi, their leader complained about the Bugufi Anglicans' demonstrative Christianity: 'They think that if a man has not fallen down and lost consciousness several times he is not born again ... They shouted and laughed until they were carried outside ... and when you meet him or her outside you find them taking off clothes or other things. Among the girls you see a girl just fallen and her friend trying to stop her crying like a baby'.⁵¹

In April 1940 Tanganyika's Anglican bishop, George Chambers, traveled to Bugufi to investigate. In a furious report, Chambers called the service he attended 'pandemonium let loose'.

As darkness drew near, the waving hands and arms increased to the rhythm of profane hymn tunes and choruses. The clapping of hands took place, people began to sing different hymns at the same time and persisted in doing so, some finished their hymn with a rocking laugh, and then followed cryings, screamings, shoutings, making noises like those of animals such as catcalls, the yelping of dogs and the snorting of wild beasts. Two women groveled and wailed on the grass floor of the church, another woman crawled on the floor like a [snake], a girl kept up an incessant shouting and crying for an

⁴⁹Bill Butler to Church, 19 February 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

⁵⁰Capt. W. McKee to Church, 25 March 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

⁵¹J. Omusoke to Church, 19 February 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

hour, in a kneeling posture, with her face three inches from the wall ... There were loud utterances and unintelligible to others, mutterings and murmurings ... When exhausted and there was a lull in the noise, some one would rise to read the scripture. Immediately another would sing and drown the hearing of God's word or would pray aloud.⁵²

Chambers was convinced that the pentecostal practices of Bugufi's Anglicans had sent them to the edge of madness. He ordered missionaries to immediately 'cease such forms of devotion'. Lionel Bakewell initially refused to accept his bishop's instruction. But shortly after Bishop Chambers' departure he consulted a medical book, and found that 'the descriptions given there fitted what was going on here almost exactly'. The next day, Bakewell told the Sunday congregation that their ecstatic experiences were in fact a 'pestilence', maradhi, a wasting disease that was sucking out their lives.⁵³ He preached on I Corinthians chapter 12, which described the fruits of the Holy Spirit as peace and self-control, and instituted new rules to control converts' enthusiasm. Services at the school chapel were to be limited to one hour, and lights were to be out by nine in the evening. When one evening a group of students gathered at one o'clock in the morning to preach and sing, Bakewell called them into his office and caned them, one by one.

The controversy that followed went to the core of the matter. In the wake of Bakewell's change of heart, revivalists spent long hours on the football field, loudly preaching. Bakewell described their invective: 'My name is mud, I'm unsaved, a blasphemer, quenching the spirit, seeking rank

⁵²Chambers to Church, 5 April 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

⁵³Bakewell to Church, 18 May 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

and position etc. etc'..⁵⁴ There was more to this debate than name-calling. Bugufi's Anglicans were contending with missionaries over the very definition of Christian behaviour. Bakewell told a correspondent that 'the Bible has been combed for texts about people falling down on their faces, and these have been used to justify rolling about when one receives the Holy Spirit, irrespective of whether it was angels in heaven who fell down or sinners like Saul or Balaam in Numbers 22:31'. The teacher Denys Balonzi composed a ten-page epistle and read it aloud in the chapel. It condemned missionaries for 'daring to pass judgment on what was God's business alone'. He cited as a defense of Pentecostal practice Hebrews chapter 2 verse 4, which described how God ministered to people 'both by signs and wonders and by manifold powers and by the gifts of the Holy Ghost'.

All of this scriptural exegesis had little effect. In August 1940, four months after Bishop Chambers' ill-tempered directive, missionary Lionel Bakewell was transferred to another station. His replacement, a man named Charles Maling, could by 1941 report that the 'excesses' of the Revival had died away.⁵⁵ Maling replaced converts' nighttime chapel services with a more sedate, and ill-attended, Bible study. In the absence of charismatic fervor, the missionary was struck by converts' probity and discretion. Where formerly 'lying, theft and laziness were prevalent', Maling wrote, 'honesty and hard work are now accepted principles'.

Here, in a remote corner of northwestern Tanganyika, we can see the operation of a machinery for the reinforcement of probity. Church authorities worked to domesticate the Revival by

⁵⁴Bakewell to Church, 15 May 1940, HMC JEC 1/3.

⁵⁵Maling to Church, 12 June 1941, HMC JEC 1/3.

imposing an editorial authority over converts' testimonies. They sought to separate private life from public affairs, to quiet converts' disclosures and promote decorum and comportment. Church and secular authorities across in eastern Africa employed the same procedures. Like Bishop Chambers, African chiefs sought to impose confinements on converts, setting timetables to control the duration and location of revivalists' enunciations. In northern Rwanda, chiefs adopted by-laws in 1937 mandating that church services were to end at nightfall.⁵⁶ In southern Uganda, Chief Karegyesa barred noisy revivalists from gathering anywhere outside the precincts of the local church. Revivalists who sang as they walked along the road were liable to be fined. In July 1942, the district commissioner extended Chief Kargyesa's war against revivalists: revivalists gathered in private homes were obliged to disband by 8:30 pm, and singing was by government writ to cease by 9:30 pm. Eighteen Anglican teachers and forty unmarried girls were arrested in September for violating the curfew. In May 1943 government authorities in Kigezi banned drum-beating in churches, made singing on the roadways illegal, and ruled that religious services could not be convened outside registered churches.⁵⁷ But even in the face of these draconian rules, converts kept singing. The irrepressible Julaina Mufuko told me how, when passing a Catholic priest on the road, she and other converts would sing 'Hmm, hmm, hmm' to the tune of 'You have whipped us with wooden bars, but when the Lord returns he will whip you with iron bars'.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Skipper, letter for 29 May 1937, CMS Oxon Skipper papers, folio 2/2.

⁵⁷These rules are discussed in KigDA bundle 129, 'Church Missionary Society' file.

⁵⁸Interview with Julaina Mufuko, Kandago, Kigezi, 25 June 2004.

By 1944 police in Uganda were convinced that revivalists posed a threat to good government. Under wartime censorship regulations the Special Branch began opening revivalists' mail, and undercover agents attended Revival meetings and reported on the proceedings. The intelligence they produced was alarming. The governor of Uganda worried that revivalists 'engage in abusive attacks on chiefs and impugn their moral characters in public, in church and in law courts. Their attitude to authorities, even Europeans, is disrespectful and impertinent'.⁵⁹ Uganda's Director of Intelligence and Security worried that the converts were 'openly attacking persons in authority in the established church, and the next step may easily be against the authority of the state'.⁶⁰ The chief secretary was concerned that 'the incitement of the African to indiscipline and contempt of authority is extremely dangerous in its potential repercussions'. And the governor darkly worried that the 'purely religious stage of the revival has practically passed, and a second and far more dangerous stage, in which violence between the [converts] and non-[converts] in the name of religion may occur ... From the second stage to the third stage—violence against the state—is the logical sequence, and in fact we have already the beginnings in Kigezi'.⁶¹

The file that the Uganda government sent to the Colonial Office in London listed the names and addresses of all of eastern Africa's Revival leaders. The chief secretary in the Colonial Office thought it to be a 'tale of morbid religion and hysteria'. The Colonial Secretary in Churchill's

⁵⁹DC Kigezi's report of May 1942, quoted in Governor of Uganda to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 May 1944, BNA CO 536/215/4.

⁶⁰Director of Intelligence and Security, 13 June 1944, Kenya National Archives DC/Kisumu 1/36/88.

⁶¹Governor of Uganda to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 May 1944, BNA CO 536/215/4.

government, Oliver Stanley, was moved to write to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, describing how the Revival had begun ‘to manifest less agreeable symptoms: dissension...accompanied by hysterical forms of public confession’. There was evidence, he warned, that the Revival had ‘deteriorated to congregational rowdyism, indirect encouragement of immorality and an unwholesome atmosphere in certain Church schools’.⁶² Privately, the governor worried that Uganda’s Anglican bishop had ‘lost his grip’, and contemplated asking the archbishop of Canterbury to replace him with a stronger man.⁶³

Prompted in part by the paranoia of the wartime colonial state, prompted also by the anxieties of African local government officials, Anglican missionaries moved to impose order on troublesome revivalists. In Rujumbura—Chief Karyegyesa’s county—the bishop was appalled when, during a confirmation service, people began ‘popping up all over the congregation to hold forth’.⁶⁴ ‘I felt as if I was on the edge of a volcano’, he wrote. At the bishop’s urging, church officials in Rwanda agreed in May 1942 to suppress both ‘dancing under the impulse of the Spirit’ and ‘uncontrolled emotionalism in greetings, especially ... between the sexes’.⁶⁵ By 1943 missionaries gathered at Ibuye in Burundi were prepared to go further: they passed a rule that ‘no interruption of divine service can be allowed by unauthorized speaking, singing, drumming etc.’,

⁶²Sec. State for the Colonies to Hooper, June 1944, BNA CO 536/215/4.

⁶³C. Cox, minute, 1 May 1944, BNA CO 536/215/4.

⁶⁴Stuart to Webster, 21 March 1942, CMS G3 A7/1.

⁶⁵‘Text of an Understanding Arrived at Between the Missions Assembled at Muyebe, May 1942’, HMC JEC 1/8.

and that ‘the public confession of shameful sins is not allowed’ in church buildings.⁶⁶ In 1944 the missionary council in Rwanda had ruled that ‘the principle of walking in the light through the public or private confession of sins is unscriptural’. Fellowship that ‘demands continual confession and the public denunciation of other Christians is error, and not of God, and must cease in the Mission’.⁶⁷ And in 1946 the bishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi ruled that priests—not laypeople—were to pronounce the absolution; that the Ganda term ‘pastori’ was to be reserved for the exclusive use of ordained people; and that all churches were to celebrate Holy Communion at least once a month.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Here was a path not taken in eastern Africa’s history of Anglicanism. The Anglican establishment hoped to promote a Revival that was consonant with the requirements of the secular colonial government. They wanted revivalists to be decorous, obedient to those in authority, composed, and careful about slander. In suppressing the millenarian Revival of the 1930s and early 1940s Church authorities also made charisma appear to be foreign to Anglican Christianity. That is why, in later years, Pentecostal Christianity was seen as a threat to Anglicanism. In 1960 Pentecostal missionaries from Canada and Kenya began to hold daily services under a tent in Kampala, near Makerere College. They claimed to be able to heal the sick and cure blindness. Hundreds of people attended their services. The bishop of Uganda wrote a letter of complaint to the governor, and the governor agreed to deny visas to Pentecostal

⁶⁶Bishop Stuart to Webster, 18 Jan. 1944, CMS G3 A11/1.

⁶⁷Letter to field missionaries from the Ruanda Council, 7 Feb. 1944, CMS G3 A11/1.

⁶⁸Bishop to Uganda to Talbot Hindley, 18 May 1946, CMS G3 A11/8.

missionaries applying to enter Uganda. ‘We don’t want any other sects, especially of the American hot-gospel variety’, he averred.⁶⁹ The commissioner of police called it ‘rather hysterical charlatanry’.⁷⁰ Official disapproval notwithstanding, Pentecostal churches grew at a moderate pace in the 1960s—in 1968 a survey found 650 people attending services weekly under the tent at Makerere, with 200 people at a suburban church in Nakawa.⁷¹ By the 1980s, after a decade of repression by Idi Amin, Pentecostal Christianity was again on the rise.

But Revivalists regarded Pentecostals with scorn. One of Buganda’s leading revivalists complained that Pentecostals had ‘brought a lot of confusion and difficulty into salvation because they all say they are saved, but the works of salvation are very few’. The revivalist critic stressed Pentecostals’ lack of composure. ‘They lay emphasis on healing, miracles, being filled with the Spirit, tongues, fasting etc’., he wrote, ‘but repentance, restitution, being cleansed with the Blood, walking in the Light—they don’t emphasize at all’.⁷² Revivalists in the 1960s and 1970s were preoccupied with proving their own righteousness. They had little sympathy for Pentecostal charisma. They made increasingly tendentious distinctions between sin and right living, rendering whole aspects of life out-of-bounds. In the mid-1960s a prominent convert named Yona Mondo began to preach that people who had once been converted now needed to be

⁶⁹Leslie Brown to Governor, 7 February 1961, BNA FCO 141/18252.

⁷⁰Commissioner of Police to Permanent Secretary, Security and External Relations, 15 March 1961, BNA FCO 141/18252.

⁷¹Greater Kampala Project, ‘Report on Fact-Finding Questionnaire for all Churches and Congregations’, 1968, SOAS Ms. 46.

⁷²Peter Kigozi to Malcolm and Barbara, 20 Feb. 1985, HMC JEC 15/2.

‘re-awakened’ in order to gain salvation. Mondo and his followers—they were called the abazukufu (awakened people) in the Ganda language—thought it sinful to purchase life insurance, as it thwarted God’s provision; they thought illness and disease to be acts of providence; they thought it wrong to borrow money, since converts should be beholden only to God.⁷³ Joe Church, who attended abazukufu meetings, listened for hours as converts repented of their hairstyles and other fashionable encumbrances.⁷⁴ They made a point of highlighting other people’s sin: when Yona Mondo met with a delegation of leading revivalists in 1971, he reminded one woman of a child she had born out of wedlock.⁷⁵ ‘This is the hardest time we have ever had in Uganda’, Joe Church commented. He put 28,000 miles on his car as he sought to reconcile the two factions.⁷⁶ In 1971 the Revival leader Simeon Nsibambi wrote a circular letter accusing Mondo and his followers of planting the ‘seed of hatred untold and a spirit of dissention, followed with such legalism which cannot be found in the teaching of our Lord’.⁷⁷

⁷³Apolo Nsibambi, “The Early Life of Mr. Semion Nsibambi,” n.d., Jocelyn Murray papers, London Mennonite Centre.

⁷⁴Joe Church to Bill Butler, 3 May 1966, HMC JEC 5/6.

⁷⁵Simeon Nsibambi to Mondo, 12 Feb. 1971, Anglican Church of Kenya archives, ‘Brethren, 1971-74’ file.

⁷⁶Joe Church to Harold Adeney, 24 October 1966, HMC JEC 5/6.

⁷⁷Nsibambi to ‘All the Bishops of the Church of Uganda’, n.d. (but 1971), Church of Uganda archives 02 Bp 24/1.

Mondo ignored him: directly after receiving Nsibambi's remonstrance he opened up a new evangelistic center.⁷⁸

The inflationary impulse to multiply sin, to look for obscure wrongdoings that could be confessed, had always been intrinsic to revivalist ontology. Shaped in the image of The Pilgrim's Progress, revivalists were prisoners to literary form. In order to convert they needed to author a testimony that could distance them from their old lives of sin. That is why the schoolgirls at Gahini confessed to such small things—a misplaced needle, a stolen handkerchief. That is why Julaina Mufuko had so much to say about Chief Ngologoza. That is why the noisy converts at Bugufi were so terrified. The revelations that converts made were shocking. They undermined reputations and destroyed concord. Yona Mondo's self-righteous denunciations went further than others had done. But he, too, was the product of the revivalist impulse to sort through life, to open things up.

In the end it was the foreclosure of eastern Africa's communications network that undermined revivalist Christianity. In Rwanda, the Hutu Revolution resulted in the displacement of tens of thousands of people, among them the Anglican evangelists who had been the Revival's first converts. By 1965 missionaries at Gahini, the Revival's birthplace, could report that their entire community consisted of women and children.⁷⁹ In Uganda, Idi Amin's disastrous 'economic war' resulted in serious shortages of paper. The telephone service collapsed after the Kenyan

⁷⁸Nsibambi to Yona Mondo, 12 February 1971, Anglican Church of Kenya archives, 'Brethren, 1971-74' file.

⁷⁹Beryl and Ted, circular letter from Gahini, 18 Jan. 1965, HMC JEC 8/2.

employees of the telephone company fled the country. Revivalists' networks shrank as travel became difficult. In 1972 the police interned several busloads of Ugandan revivalists who were on their way to a convention in central Tanzania.⁸⁰ When Amin was overthrown in 1979 converts composed a wave of circular letters, seeking to re-energize dormant ties of sentiment and fellowship. 'It has been so long a time without proper and free communication between us', wrote revivalist Andereya Sabune in May 1979. In an earlier time Sabune had been one among the many converts whose testimony of conversion was piped into print and distributed through the circuitry of the Revival.⁸¹ In the 1970s Sabune and his colleagues were preoccupied with more basic things. 'Our leaders have been uneducated people, what they know better was killing and taking away Ugandans' peace', wrote Sabune. 'During that time we were like Daniel in the flaming fire'.⁸²

There have been a great many Daniels in the history of the Revival, for revivalism feeds on stories of Christian endurance in the face of privation, pain, and loss. But Idi Amin's Uganda has generated an exceedingly small hagiography.⁸³ Janani Luwum, the archbishop who was killed by Idi Amin in 1977, has been recognized as a martyr by the worldwide Anglican communion,

⁸⁰Peggy and Andrew Ked to Joe Church, 30 July 1972, HMC JEC 15/2.

⁸¹Phyllis Hindley, "The Conversion of M..., a Young Mututsi," Front Line News 2 (Nov. 1944), MAM E 1/7.

⁸²Andereya Sabune, circular letter, 25 May 1979, HMC JEC 15/2.

⁸³Patricia Haward, ed., Looking Back: Personal Memories of Uganda's Troubled Past, 1970-2000 (Kampala, 2009); Margaret Ford, Even Unto Death: The Story of Uganda Martyr Janani Luwum (Elgin, IL, 1978); Dan Wooding and Ray Barnett, Uganda Holocaust (London, 1980).

and in 1998 a statue of Luwun was unveiled in Westminster Abbey. But in Uganda itself it has been difficult for revivalists—or anyone else—to put the 1970s behind them. There are no public memorials to Luwun or any other martyr; there are no museums where the victims of Idi Amin can be remembered.⁸⁴ The Amin dictatorship is not yet settled. It cannot be the forcing-house for the formation of Christian testimonies.

In the absence of discursive momentum the Revival had lost much of its power in the 1980s. It was for a new generation to plot a path forward. Yoweri Museveni, from southern Uganda, was the son of an Anglican revivalist, and as a schoolboy he himself converted. He was deeply impressed with converts' probity and discipline.⁸⁵ During the early 1980s Museveni was leading a guerilla insurrection against Milton Obote's corrupt regime. In a circular distributed in Uganda and in England, he argued that the 'moral fabric of our society is all but destroyed'. He planned to constitute a 'Directorate of National Guidance' and charge it with 'promoting a general revival of moral values in society'.⁸⁶ When Museveni's National Resistance Army came to power in 1986 cadres were convinced that a new epoch had begun. They thought themselves 'completely disencumbered of a shameful past', and free therefore to 'think and act'. The political theory of Museveni's revolution was formed in the image of Christian conversion. Where converts had

⁸⁴Derek R. Peterson and Edgar Taylor, 'Rethinking the State in Idi Amin's Uganda: The Politics of Exhortation', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 7 (1) (2013), pp. 58-82.

⁸⁵Yoweri Museveni, *Sowing the Mustard Seed* (London: MacMillan, 1997), pp. 14-15.

⁸⁶National Resistance Movement, 'Toward a Free and Democratic Uganda' (Kampala, n.d. [but 1982]), SOAS "Liberation" box 15.

once disencumbered themselves of a sinful past through acts of renunciation, Museveni found in the apparatus of government a means of authoring other people's salvation.

That is what the domestication of the Revival has wrought for eastern Africa's politics. Where once the Revival posed a mortal threat to colonial authority, it now furnishes the discursive architecture for tendentious and inhumane programs of moral and social reform.⁸⁷

⁸⁷Kevin Ward, 'The Role of the Anglican and Catholic Churches in Uganda in Public Discourse on Homosexuality and Ethics', Journal of Eastern African Studies 9 (1) (2015), pp. 127-44.