1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Introduction:

The *Gidan Addu'a* Prayer Home is an indigenously initiated prophet-healing movement that seeks to chart a new course of indigenising the Christian faith. The indigenous movement attempts to synthesise biblical and primal religious healing techniques. However, to a large extent, it appears that its approach holds on to the old religious practices while it seeks to reform or contextualise the old religious practices. For various reasons – which the study will unfold – they failed to adequately embrace Christian religious tenets. It appears that personal obsession and self-esteem are the underlying factors that motivate the Charismatic lay leaders. Nevertheless, they claimed to have said and acted otherwise due to the grip of 'spiritual experience' on them.

Histories of new religious movement in many societies have shown that from time to time religious movements arise to challenge the prevailing religious institutions. These movements may be seeking new means of addressing issues ignored by the established religion, or they may be engaging in new interpretations which seem to challenge the established religious dogma.[1] The leaders of such movements often claim to receive 'spiritual experience' directly from God through dreams, visions, vocal utterances and trances, among others, in order to address specific problems facing society. This phenomenon is very common in the emerging religious movements in African Christianity.

In African Christianity, most of the leading figures in healing were members of mission-founded churches. Following their spiritual conviction, they became healing Charismatic lay leaders.

[1] L.P. Mair, 'Independent Religious Movements in Three Continents' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.1, No. 2 (January 1959), pp.113-136 (113); see also Lamin Sanneh, 'The Rise of African Independent Churches' in *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), pp.168-209.

A few examples are William Wade Harris[2] of Liberia in Ivory Coast (now Côte d'Ivoire), Garrick Sokari Braide[3] in West Africa and Simon Kimbangu[4] in the Lower Congo, Zaire in Central Africa.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The history of the *Aladura* (prayer-healing) movement began with the emergence of a small band of Scripture Union students (otherwise known as the 'Precious Stone' or Diamond Society) and members of the Anglican CMS at Ijebu Ode, in the south-western part of Nigeria. The movement arose to respond to the influenza epidemic of 1918 that killed thousands of Nigerians. Almost all medical services proved ineffective. The epidemic was so devastating that churches were closed by Government decree; still, there was no adequate solution. The mission-founded churches were perceived as spiritually lax. Therefore, students' study of the Bible convinced them that the mission-founded churches had ignored certain doctrinal issues, especially the theology of 'power.' The students claimed that the Bible had answers for all human afflictions, as well as for the difficulties the Nigerians were facing. J.D.Y. Peel writes that 'The simple claim of the *Aladura* is that God answers all prayers'.[5] This movement launched a form of religious innovation that resonates with a traditional worldview of mystical causality. The movement was an attempt to revive and indigenise the Christian faith. It emphasised visionary experience, dreams, tongue speaking, signs and wonders, divine healing and spiritual warfare as their guide in seeking God's intervention against mystical causalities.[6] These beliefs and practices synthesise the biblical and primal worldviews. Samuel Abogunrin suggests that the prayer bands began exhibiting Charismatic experiences and healings.[7] In the midst of these healing interests, some mission-

[2] Gordon M. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of An African Prophet and His Mass-Movement in the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast* (London: Longman, 1971).
[3] E.A. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), pp.355-363; G.O.M. Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta' in Ogbu Kalu (ed.), *Christianity in West Africa: The Nigerian Story* (Ibadan; Daystar Press, 1978), pp.323-328; Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1995), pp.286-287; Elizabeth Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa: A History* (Westport, London: Praeger, 2004), p.199.
[4] M.L. Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1975).
[5] J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.119.
[6] Peel, *Aladura*, p.62.
[7] Samuel Oyinloye Abogunrin, 'Preface' in Samuel O. Abogunrin et al (eds.), *Biblical Healing in African Context: Biblical Studies Series No. 3* (2004), p.ix.

founded churches did not pay attention to the trend. They considered the activities of this movement extremist.

This attitude is not generally different from that of the mission-founded churches, particularly the CRCN, towards the *Gidan Addu'a* where the Charismatic leaders of *Gidan Addu'a* are members. The leadership of CRCN considers the theology and practices of the *Gidan Addu'a* Charismatic lay leaders as inclining towards falsehood and advocating social disharmony in the society. Nonetheless, none of the mission-founded churches (the CRCN or any other mission-founded churches) has ever undertaken an in-depth study of the *Gidan Addu'a* movement since its emergence.

The basic problem is that the *Gidan Addu'a* Charismatic lay leaders classify healing based on spiritual experience and use biblical and primal worldviews to legitimise their beliefs and practices. The mission-founded churches consider these practices to be in opposition to, and independent of, the code and ethics of the Bible. The Charismatic lay leaders perceive 'spiritual experience' such as dreams, visions, trances, vocal utterances and discernment as means of diagnosing the cause of people's problems. Furthermore, they perceive interdependence between the sacred and secular life experiences. For them, to a large extent, there is cause-effect: sin–sickness and confession–healing in life experiences. They tend to believe that sin, the devil and demons are the agents who always breach relationships between the physical and the spiritual, while Jesus Christ is the living power that brings healing. Consequently, they are thriving and attracting membership across Pentecostal-Charismatic churches and mission-founded churches, especially CRCN among others. The leadership of the mission-founded churches do not share their beliefs and practices and are raising queries about their theology and practices. For example, Bitrus Dan-Maigona, an erstwhile supporter and member of *Gidan Addu'a* in the early 1990s, lamented that

> Jesus in his healing ministry had nowhere shown or attempted to predict a patient's enemy after healing. But the *Gidan Addu'a* evangelist will "heal" you, then claim to know a personality behind your misfortune, either within or outside the family. If one is delivered, and then told of a personality behind his or her misfortune, how will the patient think of the alleged culprit?[8]

The theology and practices of the movement therefore present new forms of Christian religious innovation that resonate with traditional notions of mystical causality and how to

[8] Bitrus Tanko Dan-Maigona, Interview, 7 October 2009, Government Senior Science Secondary School, Wukari.

respond to its perceived effects on victims. This is not only a threat to the mission-founded churches but also a challenge to the norms and code of the Bible, and calls for in-depth study.

1.3 Healing Movements in African Christianity

In traditional African religion, ill health is often attributed to a 'spiritual cause' or an attack on life experiences within one's context, both secular and religious. This experience is believed to have been coordinated through malignant forces such as witchcraft and occult powers. Such malignant forces diminish livelihood.[9] In traditional African society, diviners are consulted to search for spiritual causes and to prescribe solutions to such specific life experiences. The divinatory consultation is to appeal to benevolent powers to intervene on behalf of the victim against the malignant forces. This is a power encounter.

When the aforementioned Charismatic prayer groups (which later became part of the *Aladura* churches or AICs[10]) came on the scene in Nigeria, they drew from the primal worldview of spirit causation of sickness. It is possible to interpret the AICs' theology of deliverance from evil spirits through the power of the Holy Spirit as a renewal of the primal religious worldview on power encounter. This time the Holy Spirit is perceived as the supreme force in counteracting the satanic forces that threaten life-forces. He is also depicted as the powerful conqueror over sicknesses and afflictions. The Charismatic churches also perceive sickness as hostile and detrimental to general wellbeing.

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[9] By 'diminish livelihood' here I mean retrogression of life achievements socially, economically, politically and morally. More than that, it may take away life.

[10] The acronym, AICs, has varied meanings based on the context within which the phenomenologists, anthropologists and sociologists perceived their emergence. For example, Harold Turner defines African Independent Churches in reference to churches that have been founded in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans. See Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements* (Boston, Massachusetts: G.K. Hall and Company, 1979), p.92. According to Allan Anderson, 'African Indigenous Churches was proposed to distinguish between the newly founded independent churches in Africa and those that had formed autonomous churches decades before'. The mission-founded churches wanted to be identified as 'Indigenous' churches. This was inadequate because most of the mission-founded churches still had 'foreign' influence. See Allan H. Anderson, *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Treton NJ/Asmara, ERITREA: Africa World Press, 2001), pp.10-11. Later on both 'African Initiated Churches' and 'African Instituted Churches' were used interchangeably in reference to churches that were initiated by Africans, and not by Western missionaries. Anderson, *African Reformation*, p.11. of recent, John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu II used 'African Initiatives in Christianity' because the churches are characteristic of African initiatives and operate in accordance with the African genius and culture and ethos. See John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu II, *African Initiatives in Christianity: The Growth, Gifts and Diversities of Indigenous African Churches – A Challenge to the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1998), p.4. In Nigeria they are called, *Aladura* (from Yoruba, 'Prayer people'); in South Africa, they are called, 'Prophet-healers;' and in Ghana they are called 'Spiritual Churches'. Anderson, *African Reformation*, pp.17-22, 53-67, 76-86, 93-124.

John S. Pobee, in the work he co-authored with Gabriel Ositelu II, observes that 'In African ministry, it will be judged deficient if it does not treat healing as a function of religion'.[11] The view of the AICs and Charismatics is contrasted with that of Western Christianity that secularised all healing. It is asserted that the emphasis (or rather over-emphasis) on healing might mislead people to perceive continuity in the power of Satan, which Jesus had already suppressed in His atoning work. This is why M.L. Daneel pointedly notes that Western Christianity found it difficult to relate adequately with the power encounter in the experience of sickness, suffering and misfortune.[12]

To a large extent, indigenous Christian healing movements that emerged from mission-founded churches attempted to wage war against purported satanic forces or mystical powers which the mission-founded churches seemed to have failed to address. Sometimes the mission-founded churches did not know how to address the issues; at other times, they chose to ignore them altogether. They often asked their members to break with and renounce all cultic practices and their paraphernalia, use of charms, amulets and other cultic protective accessories so as to receive God's healing. Therefore, African indigenous religious movements perceived that Western Christianity had failed to take seriously African consciousness, customs, culture and contexts. Consequently, several indigenous African healing movements emerged to respond to everyday problems. In most cases, however, they do not adequately contextualise the indigenous concepts in Christian terms. Hence, it results in confusion and ambiguity.

The movement in view here is an indigenously initiated renewal movement formed by lay Charismatic members of a mission-founded church, the Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN). The movement focuses on spiritual encounter as a means of prayer healing. This movement's first public manifestation started in 1995 in Wukari, Taraba State, in the Middle-Belt of Nigeria. By 2000, several others who share similar beliefs and practices emerged. Even today, all the Charismatic lay leaders still maintain their membership with the CRCN. However, they established these prayer-healing ministries in their homes, independent of the Church's spiritual oversight. All the ministries under the auspices of the movement consciously or unconsciously employ primal religious techniques of healing, but with innovations. They interpret life experiences from a spiritual perspective. They believe

[11] Pobee et al, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, p.49.
[12] M.L. Daneel, 'Communication and Liberation in African Independent Churches', *Missiolonia*, Vol.11, No. 2 (1983), pp.7-93 (58).

that all adverse life experiences, moral and natural, are caused by sin, the devil, or demons. In other words, retrogressive life experiences are said to be manifestations of spiritual causation. Thus, there is the need to counteract satanic forces with the supreme force of the Holy Spirit in the name of Jesus Christ. This belief contributed to the burgeoning rise of the movement. Many members of the mission-founded churches, especially the CRCN, flood to the ministries. The CRCN is directly impacted because all the Charismatic lay leaders are its members. The CRCN sees the Charismatic lay leaders as threats to the church, blaspheming biblical norms, which it vehemently condemns. In spite of its condemnation–as far as one can tell–the CRCN has not conducted any study of the trend, but condemns the beliefs and practices wholesale, using the pulpit to restrain its members from patronising the movement. This called for an examination of the movement's core beliefs, how and why they are thriving, what needs the movement intends to meet and its future prospects. One needs to ask, on the other hand, where had the CRCN and other neighbouring mission-founded churches relaxed, creating a vacuum for this movement? Has the movement any values that the CRCN could adopt? Does the movement contribute to the advancement of Christianity or to its recession? Are there spiritual challenges confronting members of the CRCN which the church has ignored? These and many other questions are, hopefully, to be addressed in this study.

1.4 Definition of Selected Terms:

The name, ***Gidan Addu'a***, is derived from two Hausa words: *Gida*, which means 'home' or 'house' and *addu'a*, meaning 'prayer'. Hence, *Gidan Addu'a* means 'Home of Prayer' or 'House of Prayer'. However, I intend to use 'home' rather than 'house' because home better denotes the dwelling place or residence of the lay Charismatic leaders who formed the movement. These founders claim that their call to ministry was through 'spiritual experience'.

In Wukari, there are nine of such prayer homes. First, 'Heart-Sowing and Sewing Mission' (started early 1995) with an emphasis on 'Restoration from Societal Decadence'; second, 'Jesus the Healer Ministry' (started early 2000) with its emphasis on 'Exorcism of Occult Powers'; third, 'Voice of Healing-Prayer Ministries' (started early 2003) with an emphasis on 'Divine Healing'; fourth, 'The Dekker Recovery Ministry and Prayer Band' (started early 2004) focuses on 'Rehabilitation'; fifth, 'Freedom Ministry' (started early 2006) emphasises

the 'Integration of Healing Practices'; sixth, 'Prayer and Healing Ministry' (started late 2006) with its emphasis on the 'Exposure and Expulsion of Witches'; seventh, 'Total Healing Ministry' focuses on the 'Integrative Healing Practice' (started late 2008); eighth, 'Healing Ministry' emphasises 'Divine Healing' (started early 2009); ninth, 'Healing and Deliverance Ministry' focuses on 'Exposure and Expulsion of Evil Powers' (started late 2009).

The present study focuses on five of the more established ministries. The selection of the ministries has also been informed by a gender balance, as three of them are led by men and two by women. The five ministries under study are representative of the rest. These are: 'Heart Sowing and Sewing Mission' (Chapter Three); 'Prayer and Healing Ministry' (Chapter Four); 'Jesus the Healer Ministry' (Chapter Five); 'Freedom Ministry' (Chapter Six); and 'Voice of Healing-Prayer Ministries' (Chapter Seven). The arrangement of the chapters – with the exception of Chapters One and Two – are based on the 'emphases' of the various ministries under the auspices of the *Gidan Addu'a* movement. I have not strictly followed the serial historical emergence of the ministries.

Practice: In this study, I would like to examine in detail this emerging religious movement known as the *Gidan Addu'a.* The usual healing emphases and practices across this movement are power encounters using various religious models and paraphernalia: application of anointing oil, 'back-to-sender' oil, holy water, chaining and whipping, altogether meant to ward off demons and evil spirits. The methods of healing differ from one *Gidan Addu'a* to another. The only common feature is that all the Charismatic lay leaders, consciously or unconsciously, adopt and develop traditional African healing practices due to their personal 'spiritual experience'. However, none of the Charismatic lay leaders admit that they have a connection with traditional medicine. They all claim to have been charting a new course of healing as imparted to them by the 'Spirit'. Nonetheless, an examination of their beliefs and expressions shows explicitly that there are similarities between their activities and those of the traditional healers.

Theology in this study refers to an inquiry into experiential religious questions, especially regarding what God is saying to human situations. Alan Anderson defines theology as 'our response to God's Word'.[13] In Andrew Walls' view, 'theology is about making a Christian

[13] Anderson, *African Reformation*, p.217.

decision in critical situations'.[14] Kwame Bediako defines theology as a means of seeking Christian answers to 'culturally-rooted questions'.[15]Cephas Omenyo defines theology in the context of African Christian as 'a serious reflection on concrete religious experiences of Africans and the practical and existential concerns of African Christians'.[16] Osadolor Imasogie observes that 'authentic theology is one that responds to the existential needs of a people within a specific historical and cultural context'.[17] All the aforementioned definitions are important for this study because theology as understood in Africa is not a speculative construction. For such 'speculative constructions' do not adequately speak to existential African cultural and religious contexts. This helps in effectively analysing the way in which the *Gidan Addu'a* Charismatic lay leaders perceive theology as a response to life's experiences.

Challenge is used in this study to refer to and also re-examine the felt needs which seem to have been de-emphasised, ignored or relaxed. The challenge is to rightly respond to deep-seated issues in daily life experiences. The *Gidan Addu'a* as a movement is challenging the dominant evangelical tradition to constructively appreciate, integrate and re-interpret indigenous elements of 'power' in its worship life. Thus, it is responding to the felt needs of the people. In contrast, the CRCN leadership, and perhaps leaders of other mission-founded churches, perceived this approach as undermining the dominant tradition held for centuries, a situation which is chaotic.

Church: There are many mission-founded churches in Wukari. These are *Nongo u Kristu hen Sudan ken Tiv* (NKST), that is, Church of Christ in Sudan among the Tiv; Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN); Reformed Church of Christ in Nigeria (RCCN); and Church of Christ in Nigeria (now Church of Christ In Nations - COCIN), among others. The Charismatic churches and the African Church (as a denomination) as well as traditionalists share with this movement the spirit cosmology. The CRCN is the major mission-led church that is mostly impacted positively or negatively by this trend. All the five leaders of the

[14] Andrew F. Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', *Journal of African Christian Thought,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2001), pp.44-52 (47).
[15] Kwame Bediako, 'Summary' in *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1999), pp.xv-xviii (xv).
[16] Cephas Narh Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Zoetermeer, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002), p.302.
[17] Osadolor Imasogie, *Guidelines for Christian Theology in Africa* (Achimota: Africa Christian Press, 1983), pp.19-20.

movement are members of the CRCN and are from the Jukun ethnic group (with the exception of Joel Hammajulde Gashaka, one of the Charismatic lay leaders). This study focuses on the CRCN as a representative of other mission-founded churches. However, this will not deter from sharing the perspectives of neighbouring mission-founded churches as they resonate with the CRCN view.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

This research provides viable information about the underlying beliefs and practices of *Gidan Addu'a* in Wukari and its environs. The study explores 'spiritual experiences' which the *Gidan Addu'a* Charismatic lay leaders always hold. This study establishes that any spiritual experience, with its attendant interpretations, not tested of its outward fruits, is chaotic for the current Christian faith and for subsequent generations.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The goal of this research is to enable the CRCN, and indeed other mission-founded churches, to cease from condemning outright the *Gidan Addu'a* for its excesses, but to rather discern in them 'genuine spiritual experience.' The hope is that this study would develop helpful criteria for assessing other emerging indigenous religious movements in order to situate them appropriately, whether or not they fit well within historic Christianity.

1.7 Motivation

The emergence of the *Gidan Addu'a* largely within the CRCN is not the first challenge in the history of the church. The CRCN is the first Protestant or Evangelical church to be established in Wukari after St Mary's Catholic Church. Its founding missionaries, Sudan United Mission (SUM) British branch, first visited Wukari in 1905 and opened a mission station there in 1906. In 1973, the Kuteb ethnic group split from the church and formed the

Reformed Church of Christ in Nigeria (RCCN).[18] Early in 1975, the church witnessed a challenge from the Charismatics when many Christian youth joined Pentecostal churches. More splits resulted in 1980 over the issue of speaking in tongues.[19] Then, the early 1990s witnessed the formation of new religious movements by lay Charismatic members. History has shown that the CRCN, being the oldest Evangelical church in Wukari, witnessed enormous splits on socio-political and religious grounds. Although the proponents of these new movements maintain their membership with the church, they established ministries in their homes, not because of any leadership conflict, but because of doctrinal issues. They thought that the evangelical church leadership might resist this approach.

What inspired this study are the thriving healing successes of the emerging *Gidan Addu'a*. Some questions that came to mind are: What is the context of their healing practices? What methods do they use to attract members from mission-founded churches? Why are these methods effective? Is the *Gidan Addu'a* in any way contributing to church and society? What are the weaknesses of the mission-founded churches that the *Gidan Addu'a* intends to strengthen? Why are the mission-founded churches criticising them? What practices of the *Gidan Addu'a* contradict the norms, beliefs, and practices upheld by the mission-founded churches? These and other questions motivated this study. The motivation for the study was, therefore, to examine the strength and weaknesses of the ministries in terms of their beliefs and practices of healing, and to explore the pre-Christian worldview of the founders, adherents and the context of the society so as to help shed light on the nature of the movement.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study examines five established *Gidan Addu'a* in Wukari and its environs. Some limitations to this study are due to the *Gidan Addu'a* being a new indigenous religious

[18] Jordan Samson Rengshwat, 'Founder Member Denominations', in Mark Hopkins and Musa Gaiya (eds.), *Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN* (Bukuru, Jos: ACTS Bookshop, 2005), pp. 79-81; Istifanus Bahago, 'New Member Denominations', in Mark Hopkins and Musa Gaiya (eds.), 'New Member Denominations', in *Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN* (Bukuru, Jos: ACTS Bookshop, 2005), 104-109; *Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN): Documentary Centenary Book 1905-2005* (Takum: Livingwaters Christian Publishers, 2005), pp.11-12.

[19] Joseph Sanfo Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011, Wukari; Joseph M. Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari; Jonah Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010, Wukari; Caleb S.O Ahima, Interview, 19 October 2009, TEKAN Headquarters, Jos.

movement emerging from mission-founded church (CRCN) for about two decades now. First, there are no previous major studies of the movement of which I am aware. The information now available is of a general nature and comes from oral interviews, letters, minutes and records of healings in oral texts. So, exploring the *Gidan Addu'a*'s complex practices and theological perceptions proved challenging. Second, the movement is markedly experiential and led by mostly lay evangelical Charismatics who have not undergone Bible raining.[20] Third, being one of the ministers of the mission-founded churches, which they consider unsympathetic to their beliefs, I had to establish trust with the Charismatic lay leaders. This was not an easy task because the Charismatic lay leaders are suspicious of criticism and condemnation. Fourth, owing to the sensitive nature of this study, I have declined to name my respondents, but have rather used the term, 'anonymous', for security purposes.

With these limitations, I cannot claim to present comprehensive information about the movement, but hope that the study will rather stimulate further research into the movement.

1.9 Intellectual Framework

The study employs Andrew Walls' thesis in 'African Christianity in the History of Religions'[21] on the 'continuity' of Christian faith with the traditional African religion, and maintains that Christian tradition is taking a new form as 'expressed in [African] intellectual, social and religious milieu'.[22] Walls explains that both Christian faith and traditional African religions are interdependent because 'African Christianity is a new development of African religion, shaped by parameters of pre-Christian African religion'.[23] The massive shift of the centre of gravity of the Christian world in the 20th century from the north to the south placed Africa as a new representative centre of Christianity with challenges of developing Christian

[20] Just recently, two of the Charismatic lay leaders, Bitrus Samaila and Musa Dantani, attended Bible training, though not recognised by the CRCN. A detail of their training would be stated in the course of each life history in the subsequent Chapters.
[21] Andrew F. Walls, 'African Christianity in the History of Religions', *Studies in World Christianity*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1996), pp.183-203; see also, Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis books/Edinburgh: T& T Clark, 2002), pp.116-135.
[22] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.116.
[23] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.116-117, 120.

theology.[24] Walls observes that there are ways of expressing theology other than through Western thought processes. The crucial issue for African Christians, though, is how the Christian faith would adequately interact with the dominant African culture to make Christ speak to their situations.[25] Walls suggests, therefore, that one of the ways is to think, choose, interpret and adequately apply indigenous concepts. According to Walls, doing so 'is not an intended act of apostasy….'[26] Moreover, many indigenous concepts lie beneath the beliefs and expressions of African Christianity.[27] The fundamental reason for employing African concepts is to determine what Christ is saying and doing in the African Christian experience.[28] The correct choice, interpretation and application of the concepts would result in the creative development of Christian theology, while a wrong choice, interpretation and application of the concepts would result in confusion and chaos in Christian theology.[29] For Walls, theology is a way of 'making Christian decisions in critical situations'.[30] Walls observes that the evangelical Christian tradition has difficulty in converting – turning toward Christ – pre-Christian symbols and materials and in interpreting and applying the indigenous categories to Christian tradition.[31] Christian missionaries are increasingly sceptical about the nature and authenticity of the religiosity of new religious movements. The missionaries oppose the new religious systems of Africa because they are not able to adequately turn all the indigenous categories toward Christ.

To a large extent, mission-founded churches are still drawing from the early Western Enlightenment theology, which sets a frontier between the natural and the supernatural.[32] This is because of its perceived closed and small-scale universe, which is at variance with the open and larger African universe, with no frontier between the natural and the supernatural. According to Walls, the closed universe has no room for witchcraft issues, personal experience, miraculous healing and works of power.[33] This is because Western

[24] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.46; Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in Transmission of Faith,* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books/Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), pp.9-10.
[25] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, pp.7-8.
[26] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural process in Christian History*, p.123.
[27] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.51.
[28] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', pp.49-50.
[29] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.46.
[30] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.47.
[31] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.122.
[32] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', pp.48, 50-51.
[33] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.49.

Enlightenment theology has ignored mystical causalities, and lacks the adequate theology to express it.

The AICs set the pace by endeavouring to interpret causalities in Christian terms. The Charismatics and other new religious movements follow in the steps of the AICs. However, the problem with the new religious movements in Africa is that whenever prosperity fails, it raises the suspicion and accusation of witchcraft and sicknesses always attributed to demonic powers – principalities and powers.[34]

In the face of these practices, Walls argues that 'the new religious systems seem to oppose traditional practice, only in theory, but bring protection or deliverance into active relationship with the Christian God, and by demonstrating more effective power than that of the traditional practitioners'.[35] Moreover, the new religious systems of Africa stress that 'God speaks directly'. This is the common perception of Christian prophets, healers, holiness leaders'. They generally stress having 'heard the voice of God'; having seen 'a vision of Christ', and sometimes 'in a dream'.[36] Most of the new religious systems in Africa claimed to have determined 'their vocation by a voice heard as the voice of God'. They do not assume that the voice, vision, and dream are self-authenticating. The general perception is that, 'by voices, dreams and visions, God, usually in the person of Christ, is held to speak directly to people and reveal the divine will'.[37] Despite a series of radical changes within the new religious systems in Africa, 'they remain in one guise or another', adapting the old goals of protection and power, and 'frequent interventions of the transcendent world in the phenomenal world'.[38]

Andrew Walls develops three principles that would guide in testing Christian expansion: the church test, the kingdom test and the gospel test.[39] The church test focuses on 'the spread of Christian profession in particular areas'[40] at a particular period. There are times and places where new religious movements arise, stagnate and even die off. Like Kenneth Latourette,

[34] Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', p.50.
[35] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.123.
[36] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.129.
[37] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.130.
[38] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.122.
[39] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, pp.10-25.
[40] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.10.

Walls calls this 'Christian advance and recession'.[41] Walls argues that 'the primacy of the church factor…is not the production of saved or enlightened individuals, but of congregation'.[42] Therefore, the congregation, rather than the converts, is the main sign of the presence of Christ. When it comes to sustaining congregations, Christianity 'decays and withers in its very heartlands, in the areas where it appears to have had the profoundest cultural effects'.[43] Once it crosses 'cultural boundaries, it then takes root anew on the margins of those areas, and beyond'.[44] The reason, argues Walls, why 'Christianity has no culturally fixed elements'[45] is because it is incarnational. Christian faith 'ceases, if the Word ceases to be made flesh within that community. It is therefore, not profitable to question the 'fate of the vanished church'.[46] The church test thus reveals a serial expansion of the Christian faith, including advance and recession. Beyond this, the movement or new church will later die off, if Christ is not made the centre and source of its sustainability.

The kingdom test[47] addresses the occasional emergence of new religious expressions, which altogether attempt to trace their origin to Christ. These movements may emerge as reformations, or renewals, or revivals which sprout up to challenge Christian missionaries and to channel Christ's influence to the world. Their expressions are often demonstrations of power in casting out demons. They do so in an attempt to penetrate the society's culture and to translate Christ; stress experience with God in their contexts; use techniques drawn from African diviners, but tend to do so in the name of the God of Scripture, and justify the use by biblical examples. Whereas their beliefs and expressions seem to show that the 'new source' – the God of the Scripture, in association with Jesus and Holy Spirit, has broken with the traditional religious powers, their prognosis and diagnosis still follow patterns of traditional divinatory processes. Still, they will persuade the health-seeker to throw off his curative charms, amulets and talismans in order to secure healing. Christians who often resort to traditional divinations secretly with a bad conscience do so thinking that they could allay

[41] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.10. The rising and falling of Christian expansion is discernible as one recalls the Western world which was the heartland of Christianity is now becoming mosques, garages and even nightclubs. This is because, Christianity does not have 'a steady, triumphant progression, but has in it 'advance and recession'. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.12.
[42] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.10.
[43] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.13.
[44] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.13.
[45] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.13.
[46] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.13.
[47] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, pp.13-18.

their deep-seated fears. These religious movements stress the immediacy of Christ salvation and the power of the Holy Spirit over all adverse life experiences.

The gospel test[48] deals with the issue of the Good News that Jesus died and rose again, and triumphed over principalities and powers, that is demonic or political world rulers.[49] These powers oppose God, spoiling, corrupting and poisoning the society, including life and personality. The victory of Christ's death converted all things that had been distorted, and turned them towards God.[50] The 'turning of everything towards God/Christ' is what Walls calls 'conversion'. He maintains that 'there is only one gospel of salvation' which rests on the Christ-event: the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[51] Whenever this 'good news is heard, it corresponds with reality, with a real victory secured by Christ over the forces of evil and death'.[52] This follows that any movement that does not stand on the singular Christ-event, which turned everything back to God, ceases to be a profitable gospel agent.

This study of the *Gidan Addu'a* is thus an attempt to test Walls' position that most religious movements in Africa developed from traditional African religions with a series of changes and innovations.

1.10 Methodology

The study employs a qualitative research method in the gathering and analyses of data. The data collected are drawn from interviews, participatory observations, group discussions and documents of and about the movement, church minutes, and reports. These primary data collected are supplemented with secondary sources in the form of published and unpublished works relevant to the topic. The sources are appropriately used in the theoretical and critical analysis of the movement.

[48] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, pp.18-26.
[49] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.19.
[50] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.19.
[51] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.20.
[52] Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.20.

1.10.1 Sources

1.10.1.1 Primary Sources: Primary information was obtained about *Gidan Addu'a* through visits to the prayer homes. Second, information was drawn from participatory observation in their worship services. This was done to grasp the 'essence and meaning' and then 'reach [an objective] a proper understanding and perception of the religious phenomena in and of themselves' without any bias or value judgment.[53] This has helped me 'feel and understand' the religious movement as an 'insider'.[54] Third, the study also obtained information from structured interviews with leaders of the ministries and their members as well as selected members of the mission-founded churches and traditional leadership in Wukari society. Engagement and dialogue with the aforementioned categories was to seek a 'deeper and firmer understanding of the practitioners' worldview which enabled access 'inside of the practitioners' faith.[55] Such an approach was employed because this study 'is dealing with persons and personal faith, not some abstract religious systems'.[56] Since the *Gidan Addu'a* movement relates to personal life and context, it is necessary to understand it within the context of the practitioner's worldview and life, as well as within a wider social context. Fourth, I accessed some documents related to the ministries such as correspondence, church minutes, reports, and records of prayer-healing sessions in oral texts. The data collected were analysed. The movement has few written documents. I therefore depended more on the information from oral sources obtained through participatory observation and interviews.

1.10.1.2 Secondary Sources: I used published and unpublished works as additional tools to examine and interpret the movement. The published works were on similar movements that have existed elsewhere and studied on the African continent. These sources helped me decipher the emphases and inherent tendencies of the *Gidan Addu'a*, this new indigenously initiated religious movement.

[53] Chris Partridge, 'The Academic Study of Religion: Contemporary Issues and Approach' *Evangel* (Summer 2000), pp. 39-49 (43-44, 46).
[54] Partridge, 'The Academic Study of Religion', p.45.
[55] Partridge, 'The Academic Study of Religion', p.45.
[56] Partridge, 'The Academic Study of Religion', pp.45, 47.

1.10.2 Review of Relevant Literature

Many studies have been carried out across the African continent and beyond on new religious movements. Each of them has had a particular target. However, for the sake of the area under study, this review has focused on those that address healing movements like the *Gidan Addu'a*. This literature sheds light on similar movements that have emerged and are still emerging in other parts of Africa and beyond. The review begins with the ministry of two early prophet-healers. Then moves on to review related literature that deal with healing, which encompasses social, political, moral and economic aspects. Healing in the African context encompasses all wellbeing.

William Wade Harris[57] was a Kru of the indigenous Glebo people of Liberia. He was brought up in the Methodist Church.[58]

He was jailed in 1910 on a charge of instigating anti-government revolt.[59] It is reported that while he was in prison, he experienced a trance-visitation of Angel Gabriel,[60] who told him that God was coming to anoint him and that he would be God's prophet and should baptise many.[61]

After he was released from prison, he engaged in a 'preaching ministry'.[62] 1913 and 1914 witnessed his evangelistic tour in Ivory Coast and western Gold Coast[63] using Pidgin English[64] as the medium of communication. He abandoned the Western dress, walked barefoot, wore a long white calico gown, a round white turban and black bands crossed

[57] Many scholars have documented Harris' life story and ministry. See, for example, Gordon M. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of an African Prophet and his mass Movement in the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, 1913-1915* (London: Longman, 1971) and David A. Shank, *The Prophet Harris, the 'Black Elijah' of West Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
[58] Elizabeth Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa: A History* (Westport, London: Praeger, 2004), p.198.
[59] Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p.92; Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of A Africa*, p.198. He had suggested that Liberia become a British colony rather than be ruled by Americo-Liberian settlers. He pulled down the Liberian flag and planted the Union Flag. Alan H. Anderson, *African Reformation: Africa Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2001), p.70.
[60] Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.92. Bediako adds that Harris claimed he 'saw' Moses, Elijah and Jesus and spoke with them'. Haliburton reports that Harris 'experienced the Holy Spirit descended on his head and all over his body as ice and he spoke in tongues'. Haliburton *The Prophet Harris*, pp.30-32, 35.
[61] Cephas Narh Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Zoetermeer, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002), p.67.
[62] Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.92.
[63] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.198; Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p.67.
[64] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.198.

around his chest, carried a Bible, a gourd rattle, and a staff in the shape of a cross[65] or a bamboo cross and bowl/calabash for baptism.[66] In his charisma and ministry, he 'countered spiritual forces'.[67] He encouraged his followers to confess their sins and repent, destroy their cult objects of the old religion and believe in Jesus Christ.[68] He sealed his converts with holy water. Those who went wayward died or went mad; he called down fire and rain from heaven.[69] He abandoned the long 'probation and instruction' of the existing church tradition.[70] It is reported that he baptised between 100,000 and 120,000 converts.[71] He did not however establish a church, but rather encouraged his converts to join any church of their choice and remain there for further instruction in the faith.

Harris' ministry was successful because he demonstrated a deep knowledge of the African worldview and was able to integrate it into his Christian beliefs and practice. He demonstrated that the God of the Bible was more powerful than the divinities, spirits and ancestors that Africans were venerating. He believed that the African spirit universe was real, but regarded the spirits as the works of Satan to be cast out.[72] His healing role made the gospel relevant to the deeply felt needs and aspirations of the people.[73] Most importantly, he placed the Bible at the centre of his ministry. To him, the Bible was the yardstick of authentic Christian witness, the source of all truth and light, and God's plans and purposes.[74]

Another relevant prophet-healer was Garrick Sokari Braide[75] who was born in Obonoma,[76] but grew up in Bakana,[77] the Kalabari settlement on the northern edge of the Niger Delta.[78] His parents were adherents of the traditional religion. He also came from a mixed parentage: his mother was an Ijaw, from a Kalabari family, while his father was an Igbo.[79] Before the age of thirty, he was a canoe-maker, and earned his living through fishing and petty trade.[80]

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[65] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.198.
[66] Haliburton *The Prophet Harris*, p.1; Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p.67.
[67] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism,* p.68.
[68] Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.92.
[69] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris,* p.3.
[70] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.199.
[71] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism,* p.68; Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.199.
[72] Haliburton *The Prophet Harris*, pp.2-3, 47.
[73] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism,* p.69. Shank, *The Prophet Harris*, pp.154, 172.
[74] Shank, *The Prophet Harris*, pp.154, 172.
[75] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson,* pp.355-363; Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', pp.323-328; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, pp.286-7; Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.199.
[76] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.325.
[77] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.355.
[78] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.286.
[79] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.286.
[80] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.286.

He was illiterate, and not even able to speak Pidgin English. He was zealous, but humble and of quiet disposition.[81] Braide was 'a seer of visions' and had 'unusual power and piety' (a miracle-worker) from 1908.[82]

Garrick Braide was converted and baptised in 1910 in St Andrew's Anglican Church, Niger Delta pastorate. In 1912, he had a visionary experience while taking communion,[83] from which he gradually developed a healing ministry.[84] Samuel Johnson concurred with Braide about his unusual healing power that one could heal without the help of medical science.[85] Braide won converts for the church without taking a penny from those who were cured.[86] He was the first Nigerian prophet who introduced 'religious awakening' in the Niger Delta Christianity.[87]

Braide changed the long procedures for baptism in the Anglican CMS, for example, teaching of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Catechism, and memorisation to the satisfaction of church conditions.[88] To him those procedures were not practicable, they were alien to the people's culture and most people were illiterate as well.[89]

Braide's movement between November 1915 and February 1916 focused on spiritual warfare against cult objects, confession of sins and absolute faith in the sufficiency of Christ. He engaged in strenuous religious exercise such as prayer and fasting among others.[90] He urged his followers to plunder cult objects and shrines.[91] He believed that people would find peace in Christianity only if they lost faith in the cultic objects. Braide believed that Jesus Christ was the active and living power, while other gods were obsolete, temporal and had to give way to the supreme power, Jesus Christ. Thousands of traditional religious adherents, rulers who received healing, and had converted to the Christian faith, brought out their cult objects

[81] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.356.
[82] In early 1908, he predicted calamities that would befall people who did not believe him or who disobeyed his advice and warning. He caused rain to descend in order to shame *dibias* (Ibo magicians) who attempted to seal the clouds against rain. He healed the sick by faith and prayer. Sick people from all over the delta and the interior of the Ibo country flocked to him for cures through prayer and mere touch of his hand upon them. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, pp.355-357.
[83] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.
[84] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.199; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.
[85] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.356.
[86] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.356.
[87] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.326; Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.356.
[88] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.326.
[89] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.326.
[90] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.326; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.
[91] Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, p.199; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.

and burnt them publicly.[92] Within three months of Braide's ministry, he became more popular than other missionaries in the eyes of traditional rulers and the people of the Niger Delta because of his supernatural power.[93] Braide's popularity was due, on the one hand, to cumulative Ijaw nationalist feelings from years of being marginalised by the *Saro* (Sierra-Leonean and Yoruba) in church leadership; and, on other hand, to the 'inadequacy and ineffectiveness' of the CMS under Johnson's leadership.[94] Moreover, the church used Igbo for instruction.[95] To the Ijaw, God had raised sacred people like Braide and his assistants.[96] Braide became the symbol of a Charismatic leader for all Ijaw, Christians and traditional religious adherents alike.[97] Braide was considered so sacred that people (Christians and non-Christians) scrambled for the water he bathed in as having healing power. They drank it and washed with it.[98] Moreover, Braide and his assistants were seen as the redeemers, not Jesus Christ, and were accorded unprecedented reverence. E.A. Ayandele reports what Johnson saw during Braide's visit to Obonoma on 6 January 1916 thus:

> Crowds upon crowds came out to greet him and do him homage. Chiefs, masters of the country, several of them of great importance, crawled along the ground to where he sat, and bowing with their heads to the ground did obeisance to him, he stretching out his right hand in a stately fashion to raise them up…each striving to outrival his neighbour in doing honour to one who was almost accounted a guest from heaven. When he went from the house of one chief to that of another, very large numbers of men, women, and children attended him singing his praise… many of them occupying a prostrate position for long spells of time. At other times when Garrick is on the march, a herald precedes him, and every one that passes by falls on his knees and remained in position till he has passed.[99]

Braide's ministry witnessed a massive conversion to the Christian faith because Braide taught the connection between sin and suffering and led his followers to confess their sins to be healed. He calmed their universal fears of unseen malignant forces and witchcraft. His healing practices were seen to have produced quick and visible results; the rates of healings of diseases were seen to have been higher than the ones done through traditional medicine or Western medical science. By contrast, Western Christianity prayed to the unseen God which

[92] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287; Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, pp.356, 358.
[93] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, pp.358-9.
[94] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, pp.358-9.
[95] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.
[96] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.359.
[97] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.358.
[98] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.359.
[99] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.361.

seemed to have yielded no visible results; it did not calm the universal fears of the unseen malignant forces and witchcraft, and it left diseases and afflictions uncured.[100]

Braide's ministry became a challenge to the leadership of Anglican CMS Niger Delta pastorate. This led Johnson to reconsider making the Christian faith meaningful and relevant to his members.[101] In February 1916, Johnson recognised the 'defect' of the ministry of the Anglican Church ministry. He also discovered an 'alarming weakness in the native Church' that the Braide movement which then was three months old brought 'serious drawbacks' and 'acquired control and mastery over' the Anglican CMS in the Niger Delta pastorate. He called on the entire leadership of the church to humbly do a 'thorough overhauling of their work' in all aspects with an aim to amend.[102]

During this time, Johnson's diocese was falling apart because members of the diocese, influenced by Braide's movement, were emphasising morning and evening prayers to stop the drinking of liquor, people were giving up their medicines and other cult objects, litigations were being curtailed and peace was being restored.[103]

The setback in Braide's movement started in January 1916, when Braide, under the impression of being guided by the Holy Spirit, claimed to be the second Prophet Elijah spoken of in Malachi 4:5.[104] Also, Braide's religious warfare on cult objects and socio-economic warfare on liquor trade and gin consumption had implications on his movement. This was because liquor was a major source of revenue for the colonial government.[105] Stopping the consumption of gin meant a deficit on colonial government revenue. Braide's warfare was therefore a direct attack on traditional religious practitioners and colonial administration.

Johnson, who initially concurred and acclaimed Braide's unusual spiritual healing power and movement, reversed his support due to Braide's unusual practices and acclaimed spiritual experiences. For Johnson, 'no man was divine; no man could be divine'.[106] Johnson saw Braide as a heretic who had committed unforgivable sins against the Holy Spirit; he had

[100] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.359.
[101] Tasie, 'The Church in the Niger Delta', p.327.
[102] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.360.
[103] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.360.
[104] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.357.
[105] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.356; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.287.
[106] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.360.

usurped the position of God by posing as a confessor and presenting himself as a divine who could redeem and forgive sins.[107] Johnson summoned Braide to Bonny in January 1916 to discuss issues about his movement, but Braide disregarded him. Johnson's anger was further heightened when chiefs in Bonny and Bakana introduced Braide as a 'prophet'.[108] Johnson became suspicious and hostile to Braide's movement. He declared thousands of Braide followers as false converts who did not understand the implication of their acclaimed new faith; they were nominal Christians who only held to the cure they obtained; Braide's teachings on liquor focused on its danger to the body rather than to the soul; it was unhygienic to use the water that Braide bathed with for its healing virtues; the devil had entered Braide and his assistants.[109]

The colonial government picked up from where Johnson stopped. Between February 1916 and January 1917, the colonial authority persecuted Braide and his followers because of Braide's socio-economic warfare on liquor. The administration saw the movement's nationalist feelings as aimed at expelling the white man's rule in the Niger Delta. Braide was accused to have allegedly said that the power was passing from the hands of the Whites to the Blacks, and that he could put a stop to the war between the Germans in the Cameroons. Heavy fines were imposed; mass arrests and imprisonments were made.[110] The colonial government found him guilty of excesses, extortion and evoking nationalist feelings. Braide died in prison during the 1918 influenza epidemic.

Braide had initially succeeded in his ministry because he knew the deep-seated problems of his society. He believed that Jesus was the living power above all cultic deities and objects. However, the cumulative perception of the Ijaw of having been marginalised and the unprecedented reverence accorded him led to spontaneous emotions. He was not cautious of the implication of such reverence and radical changes within a three-month period.

Cephas Omenyo's *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism* is a study of new religious movements (African prophets and 'Spiritual Churches' and/or Charismatic renewal) within the mainline churches in Ghana. The reason for the emergence of those new movements was to respond to some life-challenging issues which the mainline churches are said to have failed to meet. They were attempting to renew African Christianity, and to make it more relevant to the

[107] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.360.
[108] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.361.
[109] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.361.
[110] Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, p.362.

African context.[111] Moreover, the new religious movements claimed that the mainline churches failed to sympathise with and 'constructively relate to the Akan [Christian] indigenous cultures and its beliefs in spirits'.[112] For example, they failed to address issues of spirit powers such as witchcraft that was threatening life experiences. Their aims, therefore, were simply to help mainline churches 'develop ways of being the church in Africa, and ceasing to be Western churches'.[113] Omenyo argues that the movements posed a number of challenges, problems and dangers to the mainline churches.[114] The mainline churches perceived the movements to have been undermining the dominant tradition with the aim of causing a schism. Since some of the movements could not have a place in the existing mainline churches, they later became independent.[115]

Bengt Sundkler's study, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa,*[116] gives a sociological analysis of Independent African Churches in South Africa and also provides the historical framework of the movements.[117] Sundkler's first regional study was the one that generated large scholarly works on NRMs from local, regional and continental levels. The causes of these movements are dynamic, complex and idiosyncratic.

Similarly, Essien A. Offiong's article on 'The influence of Pentecostalism on the Historic and *Aladura* Churches in Nigeria'[118] argues that the emergence of the *Aladura* (praying people) movement in 1918 synthesises faith-healing and African traditional healing. In the same vein, Michael Mbabuike's article, 'Skimming the New Waves',[119] links the emergence of new

[111] Cephas Narh Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Zoetermeer, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002), p.4.
[112] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p.75.
[113] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p.75.
[114]Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p.8.
[115] Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, pp.6-7, 276.
[116] Bengt G.M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).
[117] His second work, *Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists* deals with some of the same churches but from historical and biographical materials, especially personal information about the lives of many of the key figures in the South African religious movements. It stresses that Swazi community endeavoured to retain their unity and traditional culture in the face of the divisiveness and Westernisation of the mission-founded churches. Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists;* As reviewed by: Harold W. Turner, 'New Studies of New Movements: Some Publications on African Independent Churches since 1973', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 11, Fasc. 2 (1980), pp.137-153 (151-2); Hilda Kuper, 'Review' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (1978), pp.306-7 (306).
[118] Essien A. Offiong, 'The influence of Pentecostalism on the Historic and *Aladura* Churches in Nigeria' in *Calabar Journal of Religious Studies* (November 1992), pp.39-51 (47); cf. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, p.124.
[119] Michael C. Mbabuike, 'Skimming the New Waves: A Survey of New Age Religions in Nigeria', *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (March 1996), pp.401-413.

religious movements in Nigeria to the 'amalgamation' of Christian faith-healing movements and African traditional worship. Offiong and Mbabuike emphasise that NRMs blend the old religious system with the new [Christian religious faith] system. Indeed, blending the old and new religious systems often produced NRMs, which eventually distort both religious systems. The practice produced the adhesion of the old to the new, leaving no room for the new to convert the old. However, the common claim was that Christ had over-powered the old sources and so was the restorer.

Adrian Hastings in *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*[120] argues that religious movements emerged due to a reaction against European mission domination. He traces the root of national independences to two causes: first, African movements due to colonialism and racism resulted in cultural identity conflicts between African agents and the CMS leadership in the Niger Delta mission pioneered by Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther.[121] The second cause was the mass conversion to Christianity or African 'revivals' which later developed into established institutions.[122] In his view, a movement starts with a response to leadership, moves on to revival, and then to an organised institution. Lamin Sanneh in *West African Christianity* [123] corroborates Hastings' view and adds that secession from parent church bodies sometimes results when a faith movement has an 'interpretation' that does not resonate with the dogma of the established organisation. The views of Hastings and Sanneh fit properly within the context of the emergence of the *Gidan Addu'a*.

David Barrett's pioneering work, *Schism and Renewal in Africa,*[124] sees 'independency' as a manifestation of a 'vast movement for reform of the Christian community' in Africa.[125] The mission of new religious movements in Africa is renewal and reformation of Westernised

[120] Adrian Hastings, 'From Agbebi to Diangienda: Independency and Prophetism' in *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp.493-539.
[121] Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950,* pp.493-499, 528-9.
[122] Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950,* pp.499-527, 530-539. Prophet movements in Africa initially targeted mass conversion to Christianity, not secession from mission-founded churches. For example, William Wade Harris in Ivory Coast, Garrick Sokari Braide in Niger Delta, Nigeria and Simon Kimbangu in the Lower Congo, Zaire. Prophet movement was an offshoot of the *Aladura* (prayer people) movement which started as a revival at the 1918 influenza epidemic. It developed into prophet movement due to revelations received. The prophets later became charismatic lay leaders and prayer healers; for example, Moses Orimolade and Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon of Cherubim and Seraphim; Joseph Shadare, Isaac Akinyele and Joseph A. Babatope of Christ Apostolic Church (the main body of *Aladura*). Prophet movement centres on dreams, visions and faith-healing through traditional religion.
[123] Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, pp.168-209.
[124] David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968).
[125] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa,* p.186.

Christianity.[126] But foreign missions lacked adequate understanding of traditional African society – culture and spirituality – and so attacked it. Barrett developed eighteen (18) background factors of 'Tribal *zeitgeist*'[127] for measuring religious tensions within ethnic units. Drawing from this theory, he asserted that dissatisfaction either favours or discourages the formation of NRMs.[128] He traces the 'common root cause' of NRMs as socio-political, that is, a 'reaction' against the European missions who mounted an attack against African traditional worldview and culture.[129] They failed to understand 'Africanism' and were unable to distinguish the good elements in African religion and culture from the bad ones.[130] The reformation is indigenously African.[131] African Christians had seen discrepancies between what the missionaries taught and the position of the Bible. Barrett, therefore, perceives independency and movements within the churches as socio-political protests in an attempt to create a genuine indigenous Christianity on African soil.[132] Ayegboyin and Ishola share Barrett's belief that the emergence of NRMs is a reaction to European missions because of their desire to indigenise Christianity and to exercise gifts of leadership.[133] Similarly, Pobee and Isitelu observe that NRMs is a protest movement, protesting against 'North Atlantic and Western captivity of the gospel as represented by the historic churches'.[134] My problem with Barrett is that he gives the impression that NRMs is generally a protesting or resistance movement reacting to Western missionary churches and colonialism. He seems to have thought of the 'Ethiopian' and 'African' churches that broke away from mission-founded churches as exemplifying the generality of NRMs. If Barrett were writing today, he would have revised that view to observe that there are NRMs that have neither a connection with the mission-founded churches nor seceded from them.

[126] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, p.7.
[127] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.108-115, 264-278.
[128] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.59, 108-109.
[129] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.116,154, 184.
[130] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.154-157.
[131] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.161-162, 173-174.
[132] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.7, 161-195.
[133] Deji Ayegboyin & S. Ademola Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective* (Logos: Greater Heights Publications, 1997), pp.24-26.
[134] Pobee & Ositelu, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, p.3.

Although Harold Turner[135] acknowledges Sundkler's classic studies on new religious movements in South Africa, he develops his own scholarship in relation to Nigeria. He typifies African religious movements according to their emphases and tendencies, namely, neo-pagan, Hebraist and Christian movements. The first (neo-pagan) type emerged partly as a reaction to the great changes to African life due to contact with Western culture and religion. Neo-pagan has several faces: revivalist, returned to primal religion; nativist, sought to eliminate foreign influences; vitalistic, borrowed some Western elements but remained traditional; syncretic, incorporated selected elements from both Western and primal religions.[136] Second, the Hebraist emerged to break with primal religion, but upheld the God of the Old Testament (OT). The Hebraist is sub-divided into Israelitish and Judaistic. The former rejects idolatry, believing that the God of the OT is loving and helpful, speaking to the community through its prophets.[137] The Judaistic movements go beyond the Israelitish to emphasise the unwavering keeping of the OT laws, rituals and taboos. They are hostile to the white race and expect a 'Black Messiah' who will bring justice to the suffering Africans, the people of God.[138] Turner categorises neo-pagan and Hebraist as non-Christian. Third, the Christian movements are the African Independent Churches (AICs), especially Zionist churches in South Africa, *Aladura* churches in Nigeria, and 'Spiritual' churches in Ghana.[139]

Ogbu Kalu in *African Pentecostalism*[140] argues that the African Pentecostalism movement is not loaned from the Western world. This is because of Africans' daily experiences of the supernatural. Kalu shares with Walls that most contemporary Charismatic movements adopt traditional African techniques, but give them new symbols and names. He maintains that African cosmology and the NT cosmology are similar because of the fear of the 'mystical power' which the Western theology ignores.

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[135] The followings are just a few: Harold W. Turner, 'Problems in the Study of African independent Churches', *Numen*, Vol.13, Fasc.1 (January 1966), pp.27-42; Harold W. Turner, 'A Methodology for Modern African Religious Movements', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (April 1966), pp.281-294; Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (1) The Churches of the Lord (Aladura)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Harold W. Turner, *History of African Independent Church (I1)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Harold W. Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol.1, Fasc.1 (1967), pp.1-34; Harold W. Turner, 'The place of Independent Religious Movement in the Modernization of Africa', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 2, Fasc.1 (1969), pp.43-63; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*; Harold W. Turner, 'New Studies of New Movements: Some Publications on African Independent Churches since 1973', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol.11, Fasc. 2 (1980), pp.137-153.

[136] Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', pp.6-7.

[137] Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', p.8.

[138] Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', p.9.

[139] Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', pp.10-21, 23-31.

[140] Ogbu O. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Matthews A. Ojo[141] asserts that the modern Charismatic movements emerged in the 1970s in the Nigerian Universities.[142] The 1970s was a period of rapid, although uneven, economic expansion based on oil revenues. In 1981, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced following the fall in oil prices. There were cases of unemployment, retrenchment and devastating price increases. The Charismatic churches were responding to socio-economic stresses and strains, as well as political crises in the 1980s.[143] They stressed that Jesus was the solution to all adverse life experiences because He has power to deal with spiritual causations.

Philip Jenkins in *The Next Christendom*[144] notes that African Christianity shares with the NT the phenomena of mystical powers and spiritual encounter.[145] AICs and Charismatic churches appreciate the reality of the spirit world ignored by Western Christianity. In his second work,[146] he stresses that Christianity in Africa and Asia emphasises belief in spirits and witchcraft as in OT and NT times. He explicitly notes that African Christianity takes seriously supernatural causation such as demons, possession, exorcism and spiritual healing. These are pertinent problems that Western Christianity with its ignorance of 'spirit cosmology' cannot address, while Africans, who have a strong belief in spirit cosmology, as they experience it in daily life, are better equipped to do. This is why Africans often try to interpret socio-economic, politico-religious and ethno-religious challenges within a spiritual framework. This is a challenge to Western Christianity with its clear frontier between the physical and the spiritual.

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[141] Matthews A. Ojo, 'The Church in the African State: The Charismatic/Pentecostal Experience in Nigeria', *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1998), pp. 25-32. See details in Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2006).

[142] Ojo, 'The Church in the African State', p.28. This later attracted foreign televangelist and health and wealth [prosperity] preachers, for instance, Kenneth Hagin, Oral Roberts, Copeland et al.

[143] Ojo, 'The Church in the African State', p.29. However, some went into obvious religious practices, using objects such as anointing oil and handkerchief for their gain. Others sought extraordinary powers from traditional priests and diviners in secret. More emphases were placed on exorcism, deification of the Charismatic leaders, among others. This situation then linked heavily to the demonstration of miracle charisma and/or the propensity of such, which sometimes created an aura of self expression.

[144] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford, 2002); cf., Walbert Buhlmann, *The Coming of the Third Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis books, 1977); David B. Barrett, 'AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa', *International Review of Mission*, Vol. 59 (1970), pp.39-54; David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian and Todd M. John (eds.), *World Christian Encyclopaedia: A Comparative survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern* World, Vol.1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in Transformation of Faith* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996); Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2002).

[145] Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p.13.

[146] See Philip Jenkins, *The New Faces of Christianity – Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

In contrast to Turner's phenomenological and theological approach to the *Aladura,* J.D.Y. Peel's work, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba,*[147]is a sociological study of two Independent Churches – the Christ Apostolic Church and the Cherubim and Seraphim – among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria. Although Peel virtually set the pace for the study of new religious movements in Nigeria, he focuses on the sociological approach rather than the phenomenological and theological, like Harold Turner. Peel's contribution is the idea that the study of a new religious movement must begin with a careful consideration of its doctrines and beliefs, and then move on to analyse the social situation to which the movement is responding. He particularly stresses that the infliction of the influenza, 'the Great Pandemic' of 1918, demanded Christian interpretation. For traditional religion could neither explain nor relieve it, and so Christianity was used.[148] However, he indicates that the Independent churches in Yorubaland 'did not attempt to synthesise any indigenous religious beliefs with Christianity'.[149] This is the vacuum addressed by the *Gidan Addu'a* movement. It uses the Bible to legitimise its beliefs and practice of synthesising biblical and traditional worldviews.

Mark J Cartledge in *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives,*[150] argues that the contribution of practical theology is to address the concrete life experiences of people. Employing the 'pastoral cycle model,'[151] he stresses that one needs to identify a practice, analyse the perception based on the biblical injunction, engage in the history and the beliefs, and then gradually draw a conclusion. This work suggests that a thorough study of the movement is necessary before determining its inherent tendencies and emphases.

[147] J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).
[148] Peel, *Aladura,* p.292.
[149] Peel, *Aladura,* p.56.
[150] Mark J. Cartledge, *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2003).
[151] This has four phases: first, *identify* certain set of practices: New Testament theology and history. Secondly, *Analyse* social, behavioural and cultural tools, especially language, social life and mind-set. Thirdly, *engage* with Christian theological tradition: Scripture, history and doctrinal sources and norms to enable reflection on the analyses. And finally, *act* where there is accumulative understanding. Pull the steps together and proffer some suggestions for renewed theological practice informed by the different perspectives. See also Emmanuel Lartey, 'Practical Theology as a Theological Form' in D. Willows, & J. Swinton, (eds.), *Spiritual Dimension of Pastoral Care: Practical Theology in a Multidisciplinary Context* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2000), pp.72-77; cf. James Woodward & Stephen Pattison (eds.), *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp.128-134; cf., Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, pp.17-31.

1.10.3 New Religious Movements: Discourse on Classification and Tendency

Western observers attempted to classify NRMs based on characteristics which distinguished them from others. Sundkler expresses circumspection on how such a classification could be used without importing Western tools in the interpretation of NRMs emerging in Africa.[152] He classifies NRMs into 'Ethiopian and Zionist'.[153] Harold Turner cautions against the categorisation of NRMs in Africa by social anthropologists. This is because they draw their hypothesis from the Western culture and religion, and its Western imposition. Adrian Hastings and Allan Anderson also share this view.[154] J.D.Y. Peel pointedly notes that 'we cannot treat religious movements as species of the same genus and necessarily compare with one another in all ways. The variables are so complex'[155] and idiosyncratic. Turner therefore concludes that the typology should be based on 'tendencies and emphases' because classifications are often synthetic and not analytical. He rather prefers an analytical and dynamic approach to classification.[156] He divides NRMs in Africa into three categories: Neo-pagan, Hebraists and African Independent Churches.[157] He describes the first two as non-Christian, while the third as truly Christian. Within the Christian category, he subdivides them as 'Ethiopian' or 'prophet-healing'. He views the prophet-healing as messianic, revelatory, or therapeutic. James Fernandez[158] develops further from Sundkler and Turner. He maintains that the motive of NRMs is revitalization due to cultural distortion. He sees these movements as reactions with the aim of providing therapy. He classifies the movements as prophetism, faith-healing, Bible church, Ethiopian, Zionist, messianic, millenarian, separatist, contra-acculturative, independent, syncretist and nativist.[159] Still, he further reduces the

[152] Sundkler, *Zulu Zionist and some Swazi Zionist*, pp.306-308.
[153] The Ethiopian movements retain many of the mission-founded churches' doctrines and practices, but are independent from mission support and control. On the other hand, Zionists emphasise prophecy, faith healing and more African forms of worship. In Nigeria, they are called *Aladura*, in South Africa, prophet-healing movements, in Ghana 'Spirit' movements. Turner, Anderson, Isichei and Sanneh, among others give us details about these movements. See Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*; Anderson, *African Reformation*; Anderson, *African reformation;* Elizabeth A. Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995); Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact,* (London: Hurst and Company, 1983).
[154] Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, pp. 80-82; Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 69; Anderson, *African Reformation*, pp.12-15.
[155] Peel, *Aladura,* p.6.
[156] Harold W. Turner, 'African Independent Churches and Education', *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol.13, No. 2 (June 1975), pp.295-308; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, pp.80-82.
[157] Turner, 'New Religious Movements in Primal Societies', pp.7-10; Turner, 'A Typology for African Religious Movements', pp.6-31.
[158] James W. Fernandez, 'African Religious Movements-Types and Dynamics', *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1964), pp.531-549.
[159] Fernandez, 'African Religious Movements', p.534.

classification to four major fields: separatist, nativist, reformative, and messianic. The typologies are based on regions and their specific historical contexts. According to him,[160] though all the NRMs could be located within these four broad categories, there seems to be no frontier. They therefore cross and re-cross one another. The typologies of tendencies and emphases overlap each other.

It is difficult to uphold the rigid classification of NRMs attempted by social anthropologists. It is better to be flexible while focusing on the emphases and inherent tendencies. This is because some indigenously created NRMs may have external impulses resulting in their dynamism.[161] Andrew Walls rightly notes the difficulty in the classification as he says 'sometimes the movements develop towards a classical type of Christian affirmation, sometimes away from it'.[162]

1.10.4 New Religious Movements: Conversion or Adhesion

The NRMs are unique because of their reconstructions and expressions. The proponent of the NRM would try to synthesise both the old and new orders, and in the endeavour to strike a balance, draws from both the old and the new faiths.[163] Drawing from ancient Egypt, and especially from its military skills and conquests, the conquered brought their religions, retained them and blended them with the religions of the conquerors, the Egyptians. The latter 'incorporated the deities and rites of the conquered into their own system'.[164] A similar blending of old and new religions took place in the 4th century BCE, during Alexander's Hellenistic conquests; the Greeks identified with foreign religions in the course of their trade pursuits in the diaspora. They returned with various deities which they worshiped alongside

[160] Fernandez, 'African Religious Movements', pp.538-542.
[161] Rosalind I.J. Hackett did much study about Efik-Ibibio, South-Eastern Nigeria. She asserts that an African new religious movement is indigenously influenced by local forces, but uses global resources. Hence, in her words, an African new religious movement is 'an indigenously created religious organisation stemming from social and religious encounter, selecting and combining local and exogenous elements in diverse and dynamic ways'. See Rosalind I.J. Hackett, 'Enigma Variations: the New Religious Movements in Nigeria Today', in Andrew F. Walls & Wilbert R. Shank (eds.), *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner* (Elkhart, Indiana: Mission Focus, 1990), pp.131-142 (p.140).
[162] Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), p.113.
[163] A.D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. vii-viii.
[164] Nock, *Conversion*, p.6.

their local gods.[165] Some of the gods/deities acquired an important position among the official cults of the city. Sometimes they felt that their local cults were outworn and ineffective; unable to protect them in their immense new universe, and unable to protect them against the universal power of fate or the capriciousness of the future.[166] There were 'give and take' transactions, resulting in borrowing on both sides. This led to fusion and new developments.[167] It then became culturally possible to accept the new worship forms as useful supplements and not as substitutes. This is called 'adhesion' in contradistinction to conversion. Adhesion to the old religion would hardly give room for conversion.[168] Conversion is 're-orientation … a deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right'.[169] Walls puts it even more succinctly: 'Conversion doesn't substitute something new for something old but redirects toward Christ what is already there'.[170]

The history of modern Christianity takes two forms: first, the turning back to a tradition generally held and characteristic of society as a whole, a tradition in which the convert was himself reared but which he has left in scepticism…; and second the turning away to an unfamiliar form of piety either from a familiar form or from indifference.[171] Psychologically, the convert returns to the old with enthusiasm feeling that he has never before fully grasped the import of the old faith. Hence, the 'bottles are old but the wine is new'.[172] In this case, the convert in spite of professing belief in new faith will resort to the old faith for satisfaction of needs which seemed not to be found in the new.

As already noted in the literature review above, NRMs emerged as a result of 'secession from mainline mission churches' or they are 'independent creations' which 'offered alternative forms of Christianity... to that of the mainline churches'.[173] There have been widespread NRMs in Africa since the 20th century, and numerous professionals – anthropologists, church

[165] Nock, *Conversion*, pp.33-47.
[166] Nock, *Conversion*, pp.64-65.
[167] Nock, *Conversion*, p.7.
[168] Nock, *Conversion*, p.138.
[169] Nock, *Conversion*, p.7.
[170] Andrew F. Walls, 'Old Athens and a New Jerusalem: Some Signposts for Scholarship in the Early History of Mission Studies', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research,* Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 1997), pp.146-153 (148).
[171] Nock, *Conversion*, p.7.
[172] Nock, *Conversion*, p.7.
[173] Aylward Shorter & Joseph N. Njiru, *New Religious Movements in Africa* (Nairobi, Kenya: Pauline's Publications Africa, 2001), p.14.

historians, sociologists, political scientists, and Christian theologians – both expatriates and Africans across the African continent (South Africa, West Africa, East Africa and Central Africa) have documented them.[174] Social anthropologists have done most of the documentation on NRMs in Africa and other parts of the world. Some also made several attempts to classify NRMs using Western methodologies to gain worldwide validity.[175] An analysis of some of the documentation suggests that some of the NRMs emerged as a 'reaction' against colonialism and mission-founded churches,[176] especially the 'Ethiopian' in South Africa and 'African' movements in Nigeria. Others emerged due to a desire to indigenise Christianity, which the mission-founded churches were unable to do,[177] and as a result of the interaction between the primal religious consciousness and Christianity.

Evolving difficulties in studying NRMs in Africa have to do, first, with the identification of the trends in NRMs, since various human sciences are studying them independently. In other words, professionals from various disciplines study them according to the methodology of their disciplines. Second, each NRM arose in response to unique problems within a local, regional or continental context. Each of them has its peculiar cause or combination of causes. Third, religion involves a relationship between human and divine beings, that is, a personal experience with the divine. The relationship is experiential but with physical expression. An academic study of NRMs is confined to examining the outward expressions, because there is no scientific tool to determine it. The expressions, which are also dynamic and not easily deciphered, may be ways in which practitioners want to woo people for their own ends.

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[174] The following are just a few: Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*; Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists*; Christian G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some 'Spiritual' Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1962); Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (1)*; Gerhardus C. Oosthuizen, *Post-Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1968); Peel, *Aladura*; Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*; John S. Pobee (ed.), *Religion in a Pluralistic Society: Essays Presented to Professor C.G. Baëta* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); Rosalind I.J. Hackett (ed.), *New Religious Movements in Nigeria* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987).

[175] See, Marian W. Smith, 'Towards a Classification of Cult Movements', *Man,* Vol. 59, Article 2 (1959), pp.8-12; R.J.F. Kö bben, 'Prophetic Movements as an Expression of Social Protest', *International Archives of Ethnography*, Vol. 49, No.1 (1960), pp.117-164; Fernandez, 'African Religious Movements', pp.531-549.

[176] Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, pp.116, 154-157, 184; Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp.493-499, 527-533; F.B. Welbourn & B.A. Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Ayegboyin & Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches*, pp.22-23.

[177] Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, pp. 499-527, 531, 533-539; Ayegboyin & Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches*, pp.24-26; Pobee & Ositelu, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, pp.3, 34; Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of South African People* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp.165-166, 172,175-176, 191; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, p.18; Simon S. Maimela, 'Salvation in African Traditional Religion', *Missionalia,* Vol.13, No. 2 (1987), pp.63-77 (71).

Fourth, participatory observation in an attempt to decipher the inner workings of NRMs still has its idiosyncrasies.

It can be deduced from the above that an academic study of faith movements should therefore focus on understanding the phenomena through observation and the objective analysis of their practices or expressions.

1.10.5 New Religious Movements: Healing Pursuits

In the 20th century, there was a vast proliferation of NRMs with a focus on healing. By 'healing', I mean 'general wellbeing'. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu defines healing in African Christianity as 'encompassing spiritual, social, communal and material well-being'.[178] Asamoah-Gyadu here shares the thought of John Mbiti and Emmanuel Milingo. According to Mbiti, healing in the African context is 'divine intervention in human life experiences'.[179] Milingo expatiates on this by saying that 'healing means taking away from a person a disturbance in life which acts as a deprivation of self-fulfilment and which is considered as unwanted parasite…. [it] means to heal the whole person'.[180] According to Harold Turner,[181] the proliferation may be attributable to the disillusionment Africans experienced after political independence, for example, sickness, malnutrition, insecurity, the gap between the poor and the rich, confusion and frustration. NRMs therefore emerged with the basic concern to bring healing to every aspect of people's lives: psychological, emotional, physical, social, and spiritual. The reconstruction of healing adopted by the NRMs, which this study seeks to discuss, is a mixture of confusion and ambiguity in their attempt to adequately convert – interpret and apply – indigenous categories. Healing that takes seriously all areas of life has been part of the church's mission. Yet this seems, on the whole, to have been neglected by the mission-founded churches. The conventional health service established by evangelical churches dealt with just one dimension: physical healing. The one-dimensional approach to healing does not however take into consideration the African consciousness of 'spiritual powers' within and around. Although Africans believe in the natural causes of ill health, there is an overriding belief in supernatural causality.

[178] J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'On the "Mountain" of the Lord': Healing in Ghanaian Christianity', *Exchange*, Vol. 36 (2007), pp.65-86 (67-68).
[179] John S. Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), p.75.
[180] Emmanuel Milingo, *The World in Between* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1984), pp.24-25.
[181] Harold W. Turner, 'New Religious Movements in Primal Societies', p.327.

Many members of early mission-founded churches believed that healing was confined to the apostolic age, saying it was meant to elicit faith leading to conversion, to attest and authenticate the gospel proclamation and its proclaimers, and to prepare for the canonisation of the Bible and the institution of the church.[182] After the close of the divine intervention through signs and wonders, the only available and genuine healing was biomedical. On the contrary, African Christians see limitations in the biomedical system because it addresses only the physical (health) to the exclusion of the spiritual (wellbeing). This makes some African Christians revert to traditional diviners for diagnosis of the cause of their condition and to address their daily problems. The Charismatic movements share the African view on the spiritual causation of illness which interprets reality based on African mystical psychology. This further developed, for example, when the Nigerian Charismatic movement, led by Benson Idahosa, a faith-healer, came on the scene in the 1970s.[183] The African primal view was used as a fertile soil for planting the Christian faith very fast. This affirms Turner's observation that African religious movements were employing the indigenous categories in addressing deep-seated African Christian problems. According to him, 'New religious movements in primal societies [are] in interaction with dominant cultures'.[184] Therefore, healing in African Christianity developed from primal healing techniques, with AICs focusing on the whole person, and not exclusively on the sickness.

1.10.6 Conclusion

From documents accessed, it is obvious that NRMs have their historical contexts, and each one tries to solve immediate or perennial problems in the society. In African Christianity, the pre-Christian worldview is seen as a pointer to the Christian present. This is why almost all crises or problems are linked to fragmentation, infringement or disharmony between the physical and the spiritual. The Pentecostal and Charismatic movements that emerged in

[182] See Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953), pp.177-178; Abraham Kuyper, Sr., *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1900; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1979), pp.184-188.
[183] See Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.157-159, 220-223; Peel, *Aladura*, pp.63-70, 105-113; Matthews A. Ojo, 'The Contextual Significance of the Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (1988), pp.175-192.
[184] Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, p.18.

Wukari and its environs in the 1970s through the 1990s attempted to give spiritual meaning to elements of traditional African religion in Christian terms using new symbols and names.

Many sources written by both Africans and expatriates show that African Christianity appeals to primal healing models and always tries to accommodate innovations in the primal religious worldview. Moreover, all the new religious movements in Africa are dynamic, having undergone change in phases due to the context and the situation they are addressing. Their stance, belief and expressions are all motivated by circumstances. The misunderstanding between the conservative Evangelicals and later NRMs, especially the AICs, Charismatic groups and newer religious movements, results in conflicts based on doctrinal expressions. The conservative Evangelicals draw from dominant Western Christianity, while the NRMs share the primal worldview. Therefore, a practical theology needs to identify beliefs and practices, analyse them, and engage in the history of the beliefs before moving to classify or indicate the inherent tendencies of the movement. There is the need for careful and progressive engagement in analysing a movement.

The *Gidan Addu'a* is consciously or unconsciously emulating the older NRMs, that is, the AICs, anti-witchcraft movements and Charismatic movements of the 1970s and 1990s. The CRCN considers as extremist the use of the method of the primal religion. In order to understand the division between the CRCN and *Gidan Addu'a,* we need to delve into the worldview of the Jukun society and the SUM-CRC (Chapter Two) from which the CRCN is hewn. This will then open the way for us to trace the origin of the *Gidan Addu'a* and to discuss its beliefs and expressions in Chapters Three to Eight.