

**INTERPRETING THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT THROUGH THE
EXPERIENCES OF ANGLICANS IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA
AND BURUNDI, 1877 - 1961**

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Abstract

Interpreting the Work of the Holy Spirit Through the Experiences of Anglicans in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, 1877-1961 is a qualitative, library-based mystical theological study that explores the role of the Holy Spirit in the spiritual journeys of Anglican Christians. The study examines the significance of the Holy Spirit within the Church, which in 1961 was formally recognized by the Archbishop of Canterbury as the independent Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, with Bishop Leslie Brown as its first Archbishop. Although the Holy Spirit has often been neglected in theological discussions, this research seeks to contribute to existing scholarship by interpreting the experiences of Anglican Christians in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, arguing that the Holy Spirit was instrumental in missionary efforts to indigenize Anglican worship in East Africa from 1877 to 1961.

The research reviews the historical development of the Anglican Church until it became an established province and examines the contributions of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, New Testament, and early Church. Through qualitative library research, the study analyzes spiritual experiences that shaped the growth of the Church from 1877 to 1961. Findings indicate that the Holy Spirit empowered missionaries with courage and wisdom, enabled the translation of theological materials into local languages, and fostered community resilience amidst socio-political challenges, including religious conflicts. The Holy Spirit also facilitated the establishment and expansion of Anglicanism under British colonial influence and played a central role in the East African Revival Movement, promoting spiritual renewal among Anglicans. Ultimately, the study concludes that a deeper understanding of the diverse roles of the Holy Spirit enhances believers' appreciation of His continuing work in their lives.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this is my original work, and it has not been submitted to any other institution for any award.

Name: Katugugu Raymond

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Raymond', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Signature:

Date: 24th July 2025

Approval

This is to certify that this research titled, “INTERPRETING THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT THROUGH THE EXPERIENCES OF ANGLICANS IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI, 1877 - 1961” has been done under my supervision and is now ready for submission.

Name of the supervisor: Professor Edison Muhindo Kalengyo

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Edison Kalengyo'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'E'.

Date: 24th July 2025

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my Children. I hope this will inspire you to work upon your salvation with fear and trembling (Philippians 2:12).

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank God for my life, for the calling He has placed upon me, for my education, and for guiding me in this research through the power of the Holy Spirit. It is only by His grace that I have come this far. As Nelson Mandela once said, “If I see far, it is because I am standing on the shoulders of giants.” I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to my late father, Rev. John Mwesigwa Katugugu, to whom I was born during his final year of theological training at Bishop Tucker Theological College in 1980. I am deeply grateful to my uncle J. K. Muhwezi for his financial support in my father’s absence, and to Uncle Steven and Auntie Peace Rwanga, who lovingly stood in the gap as my guardians. I also honor my grandfathers, the late Bishop Festo Kivengere and the late Rev. Canon Samuel Katugugu, both great revivalists whose faith and ministry have been my lifelong inspiration.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Declaration.....	iii
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
Abbreviations.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	1
1.2 Historical background to the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi	2
1.3 Research problem.....	3
1.4 Research objectives	3
1.5 Research questions	4
1.6 Theoretical framework.....	4
1.7 Preliminary literature review.....	5
1.8 Methodology.....	12
1.8.1 Limitations	12
1.8.2 Summary.....	13
CHAPTER TWO	14
THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, NEW TESTAMENT AND THE EARLY CHURCH	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Pneumatology	14
2.3 The work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament	15
2.4 The work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament	17
2.5 The work of the Holy Spirit in the early Church.....	18
2.6 Summary	20
CHAPTER THREE.....	20
THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES OF ANGLICAN CHRISTIANS IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI (1877-1961).....	20
3.1 Introduction	20
3.2 The Anglican Missionaries to Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.....	20
3.3 The Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi	22

3.4	Indigenous Church Leaders	23
3.5	The East African Revival Movement.....	25
3.6	Summary	27
CHAPTER FOUR.....		28
THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI (1877 - 1961)		28
4.1	Introduction	28
4.2	Empowerment in Persecution and Martyrdom on mission	29
4.3	Translation and Literacy	30
4.4	Evangelistic Expansion	30
4.5	The East African Revival Movement.....	31
4.6	Spiritual Gifts and Fruit.....	33
4.7	Revitalization of Worship and Fellowship	33
4.8	Rise of Indigenous Leadership	34
4.9	Summary	35
Bibliography		42

Abbreviations

CMS	Church Missionary Society
COU	Church of Uganda
EARM	East African Revival Movement
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
KJV	King James Version
MA	Master of Arts
MTh	Master of Theology
NIV	New International Version
n. d.	Not dated
PA	Provincial Assembly

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This dissertation is a mystical theological study of the work of the Holy Spirit, focusing on the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961. It seeks to demonstrate how the Holy Spirit worked among them during this formative period. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) initiated the establishment of the province of Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in the late 19th century as part of the wider Anglican Communion. Founded in 1799 to send missionaries to Africa and the East, the CMS operated under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, though it was not officially an Anglican Church body.¹ When the CMS missionaries arrived in Buganda, they encountered a society rich in indigenous religious practices and beliefs, which became fertile ground for the work of the Holy Spirit through missionary efforts to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ. The cultural, social, and political dynamics that shaped the Baganda's reception and later transmission of the faith significantly influenced the identity of the Church of Uganda.²

The missionaries' arrival also paved the way for British colonial rule, which transformed Uganda into a British protectorate. Colonial administrators supported the spread of Anglican Christianity, as it aligned with their so-called "civilizing mission." Anglican Christianity quickly took root, and indigenous leaders and revival movements emerged to shape its development. This dissertation argues that the power and presence of the Holy Spirit was central in enabling missionaries and indigenous Christians alike to indigenize Anglican worship and embed it within the local context. To explore this, the study examines the historical background of the Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, New Testament, and the early Church. The spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians within the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, and the spiritual experiences that contributed to the development and growth of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961.

¹ Pirouet Louise, *Uganda Christian University Archives, A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda* (1969), 23.

² David Zac Niringiye, *The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda, 1962-1992* (Langham Creative Projects, 2016), 26.

1.2 Historical background to the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi

In 1876, six missionaries under the leadership of Shergold Smith left Britain for Buganda and arrived at the Kabaka's Palace in 1877³. Their mission was a response to a letter written by the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, published in the Daily Telegraph of 15th November 1875, which urged Christian England to evangelize Buganda. The letter deeply influenced the CMS to send missionaries. The early years of the Uganda mission attracted gifted missionaries, especially those with linguistic and literary skills. They developed a substantial body of missionary Luganda literature that became central to the indigenization of Anglican worship.⁴ Their primary strategy was to teach literacy to those in the Kabaka's court, thereby laying a foundation for spreading the faith. Chiefs hosted small communities of believers in their homes where they fellowshipped together regularly, and Alexander Mackay contributed significantly by translating hymns and gospels into Swahili and Luganda, enabling deeper understanding of Christianity.⁵

However, missionary presence also provoked resistance among the local population. Arab traders maligned the missionaries, traditional chiefs opposed Christianity, Lubaale priests and priestesses were hostile, and conflicts soon arose between Protestants and Roman Catholics.⁶ When Kabaka Muteesa I died in 1884, his successor, Kabaka Mwanga II, did not understand how to maintain harmony between these groups and perceived Christianity as a threat to his authority. He executed Christians who resisted his orders, most notably burning alive palace pages who refused to submit to his commands as an example.⁷ Mwanga also ordered the killing of Bishop James Hannington, who was consecrated at Lambeth on 24th January 1884 as the first Bishop of East Equatorial Africa to oversee the regions around Mombasa and Lake Victoria. Fearing foreign encroachment, Mwanga had Hannington murdered at Luba's on 29th October 1885 after hearing that he was advancing through Busoga.⁸

The martyrdom of the pages (1885-1886) and Bishop Hannington intensified political and religious conflict. In 1892, hostilities between Protestants and Roman Catholics culminated in war, with

³ Ruyendo Medard, *A Handbook of African Church History* (Zapf Chancery, 2012), 64.

⁴ Louise, *Uganda Christian University Archives, A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda*, 23.

⁵ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 35.

⁶ James Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, First edition (James Katarikawe, 2015), 2.

⁷ J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Africa* (Bethany Fellowship, 1975), 89.

⁸ Louise, *Uganda Christian University Archives, A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda*, 33.

Protestants assisted by Captain Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) emerging victorious.⁹ Ironically, these conflicts consolidated the Anglican Church's prominence. After Alexander Mackay's death, Alfred Tucker was appointed bishop in 1890, steering the mission through turbulent times until relative peace returned in 1893.¹⁰ In 1894, Buganda became a British protectorate. The Protestant Church used this colonial partnership to expand into neighboring kingdoms and peripheral regions such as Acholi, Lango, Teso, Bukedi, Karamoja, Kigezi, and West Nile. By 1961, the Archbishop of Canterbury formally granted eight dioceses in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi authority to form the independent Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, with Bishop Leslie Brown as its first Archbishop.¹¹

1.3 Research problem

The role of the Holy Spirit in the establishment and development of the Anglican Church in East Africa particularly within Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961 remains underexplored in theological scholarship. While the Holy Spirit profoundly shaped spiritual experiences and practices during this period, existing literature often marginalizes or overlooks His contribution.

This gap obscures an understanding of how the Holy Spirit empowered missionaries, guided the indigenization of Anglican worship, and sustained the Church amid political turmoil and cultural complexity. This study addresses that gap by offering a qualitative theological analysis of Anglican Christians' spiritual experiences, thereby illuminating the transformative role of the Holy Spirit in their journeys of faith and in the broader mission of the Church in East Africa.

1.4 Research objectives

1. To analyze the work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, New Testament and the early Church.
2. To examine the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi between 1877 and 1961.
3. To assess the spiritual experiences that contributed to the development and growth of the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi from 1877 to 1961.

⁹ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 38.

¹⁰ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Africa*, 89.

¹¹ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 1–2.

1.5 Research questions

1. What was the work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, New Testament, and the early Church?
2. What were the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians in the Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi from 1877 to 1961?
3. What spiritual experiences contributed to the development and growth of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961?

1.6 Theoretical framework

The researcher employed an analytical framework grounded in mystical theology, particularly within pneumatology, to analyze historical documents, theological writings, and firsthand accounts of Anglican Christians in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961. Mystical theology emphasizes the work of God in the transformation of the believer, and it supports the notion of revelation. Christian theologians such as Thomas Aquinas and John Calvin affirmed the necessity of divine revelation beyond natural knowledge of God, but they also insisted that it requires supplementation by supernatural divine revelation from Scripture.¹² A Carmelite nun Teresa of Avila who was known for this approach to theology participated in the great Spanish Spiritual revival of the 16th century. For Teresa, theology is about a transformed personal relationship with God, that cannot be fully expressed in human words.¹³ She uses the imagery of a progressive journey through seven mansions to describe the believer's spiritual journey as a progressive ascent toward union with God illuminating and transforming the life of the believer. This framework illuminates the experiential dimension of faith emphasized in movements like the East African Revival.

Similarly, Karl Barth highlighted revelation as central to theology, particularly within the doctrine of the Trinity. Mystical theology resonates with Barth's view that God speaks in revelation, and the task of theology is to find out what this revelation means.¹⁴ They both stress the transformative encounter with God through revelation. For Anglicans in East Africa, such encounters paralleled the

¹² Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 4th ed (Blackwell Pub, 2007), 164.

¹³ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 4th ed, 141.

¹⁴ Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Inter-Varsity Press [u.a.], 1994), 474.

renewal practices of the Revival Movement, including prayer, self-examination, and confession which connect well with Barth's view that theology is a process of thinking afterwards concerning what God's self-revelation contains. It is our Job to investigate how our knowledge of God relates with God's nature and his being.¹⁵

Since pneumatology is the study of the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Trinity, this framework situates the Spirit's work within the larger plan of the Triune God. From creation, we have evidence that the Holy Spirit works to complete what God the Father has planned and to sustain what God the Son has begun.¹⁶ This is why the Spanish Spiritual experiences that Teresa of Avila witnessed in the 16th Century Revival are consistent with those that missionaries like Alexander Mackay who played a part in propagating Anglican Christianity in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi experienced in the English Revival of the 1860's and they connect well with those of the Anglican Christians of the East African Revival Movement because Mystical theology emphasizes the unique and deep intimate relationship of transformed people with God that we cannot explain fully in human words.

1.7 Preliminary literature review

Acts 2:2-4 says, "Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them."¹⁷ The Bible is key to this research especially the book of Acts because the tongues of fire was a mystical experience and Acts 2:2-4 marked the beginning of spiritual experiences among believers in the early Church that were interpreted as the work of the Holy Spirit in all who believed in the New Testament.

Grudem says, "The work of the Holy Spirit is to manifest the active presence of God in the world, and especially in the Church. This definition indicates that the Holy Spirit is the member of the Trinity whom the Scripture most often represents as being present to do God's work in the world."¹⁸ Grudem uses few pages in his entire work to explain what the work of the Holy Spirit is. Although it is brief, it offers reliable theological details on the topic of pneumatology which supports this

¹⁵ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 474.

¹⁶ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 635.

¹⁷ Acts 2:2-4 (NIV).

¹⁸ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 634.

research especially chapter two because it shows that the Holy Spirit is present and doing God's work in the Church and the world.

According to Alister, "'God is spirit" (John 4:24). But what does this tell us about God? The English language uses at least three words - "wind," "breath," and "spirit" - to translate a single Hebrew term, ruach."¹⁹ This is good evidence that the Holy Spirit is a life force, inner power and an invisible guide. This justifies the researcher's preposition that the Holy Spirit was the one at work in the missionary efforts to indigenize Anglican worship in Buganda. Alister E. McGrath, however, briefly explains who the Holy Spirit is within the topic of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. She does not write much on the person and work of the Holy Spirit although the researcher can find detailed biblical understanding of the Holy Spirit which is very helpful in chapter two.

According to Louise, "Kabaka Mwanga was already antagonistic to the Christians and fearful of outside powers encroaching on Buganda. ...when he changed his mind and was heard to be advancing through Busoga, his fate was sealed. He was murdered at Luba's on 29th October 1885 on Mwanga's orders."²⁰ Louise Pirouet did a detailed write up on the history and genesis of Anglican Christianity in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi which the researcher finds key for its Historical background although she does not give credit to the Holy Spirit for having anything to do with these historical events. The researcher will use her work to understand how God was working through different individuals and events to spread the gospel.

According to Orr, "Converts of the Christian missions refused to submit to Mwanga's practice of sodomy. So, the Kabaka roasted three martyrs slowly to death, and burned alive thirty-two young men in one funeral pyre."²¹ J. Edwin Orr also doesn't directly give credit to the Holy Spirit for the historic events he documents but his work is key for the historical facts of this research and it is confirmational of what others have also written which makes data reliable.

Professor Byaruhanga highlights the neglect of the Holy Spirit in theological discussions saying, "In theological discussions, the Spirit has often been the neglected dimension of the reality of God, and as such the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has not received the attention given to other doctrines of the Christian faith."²² His insights affirm the importance of this dissertation in filling a scholarly

¹⁹ Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 5th ed, with ebrary, Inc (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 344.

²⁰ Louise, *Uganda Christian University Archives, A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda*, 33.

²¹ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Africa*, 89.

²² Christopher Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, First edition (Wavah Books Ltd, 2005), 96.

gap although he gives brief notes on the person and the work of the Holy Spirit too.

Rev. Ruyendo reports that, “Mwanga precipitated a showdown in May by ordering the converts to choose between their new faith, and complete obedience to his orders. Those unwilling to renounce their new faith would be subject to death.”²³ Although Ruyendo does not directly link this to the Holy Spirit, his accounts of social dynamics allow the researcher to interpret the transformative work of the Holy Spirit among Anglican converts.

Katarikawe says, “by the end of 1893, many missionaries were showing a deep concern over the spiritual state of the Church. Both immorality and drunkenness were very prevalent among those professed to be Christians and worse still no one seemed to have the assurance of salvation.”²⁴ Katarikawe alludes to the work of the Holy Spirit among Anglican Christians in the East African Revival movement, but he does not give all the credit to the Lord Holy Spirit for the EARM and its outcomes. The firsthand testimonies he documented of how the Holy Spirit used different indigenous and foreign individuals in the East African Revival movement is very reliable for chapter three and four of this research.

Kevin and Emma say, “Conversion was an overwhelming experience of brokenness at the Cross, which provoked a public confession of sin. Previous Christian experience apart from this event was not recognized as 'kulokoka' - the state of being saved.”²⁵ Kevin writes more about the fruit of the Holy Spirit through the East African Revival movement and the different Spiritual experiences thereof which the researcher finds very authentic and key to this research.

Osborn says Nsibambi later wrote, “For a whole year I gave myself to the study of the Scriptural materials with prayer. The reading of my Bible led me to complete commitment, and God filled me with the Holy Spirit.”²⁶ Osborn’s work gives helpful detailed accounts and firsthand testimonies of the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of different indigenous individuals that raised into leadership as pioneers of the Church of Uganda and the East African Revival movement. His work helps the researcher to see the invisible hand of God in the lives of these people like Nsibambi, Nagenda, Kinuka and many others although Osborn doesn’t use these testimonies to give total credit to the Holy Spirit for the work they did.

²³ Medard, *A Handbook of African Church History*, 72–73.

²⁴ James Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, First edition (Kampala: James Katarikawe, 2015), 2-3.

²⁵ Kevin Ward and Emma Wild-Wood, eds., *The East African Revival: History and Legacies* (Routledge, 2016), 4.

²⁶ H. H. Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival* (Apologia Publications, 2000), 17.

Robbins said, “Their theology is explicitly orthodox, Biblical and Christocentric. Their emphasis on the necessity of a conversion experience, following the evangelical paradigm of intense guilt relieved by open confession and 'acceptance of Jesus as personal savior,' is largely consistent with Anglo-American Protestantism and with the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, in whose traditions the movement is historically rooted.”²⁷ This supports the view that the Spiritual experiences of the Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda were consistent with those of other Spiritual movements that has occurred in other places globally. Robbins’ work has unmatched details on tribes, clans, language and terminologies the indigenous people used. she offers an in-depth look at people’s beliefs, cultural settings and how they received missionaries. Robbins doesn’t write about the person and work of the Holy Spirit, but the researcher can find areas and situations where only the intervention of the Holy Spirit helped during the propagation of Christianity among the locals at the time.

John E. Church says, “...the East African Revival began primarily as a small group fellowship meeting of the revival team in homes and villages, in which all participants freely shared their testimony of “Spirit-filling” experience and desire for the higher Christian life.”²⁸ This testimony brings out the different aspects that were key to the life of Anglican Christians in EARM. Aspects like fellowship meetings in homes and villages, free sharing of testimonies publicly, and life transformation to desire a higher Christian life. This supports this research on the spiritual experiences that are interpreted to show the work of the Holy Spirit among Anglican Christians in Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi although John Church does not mention them as aspects that are inspired by the Holy Spirit sometimes.

According to Niringiye, “A community of believers was thus established, meeting regularly at Nateete and in various homesteads of converted or sympathetic chiefs, learning and sharing their faith. The facility of Mackay's Swahili and Luganda translations of hymns and gospels catalyzed the understanding of the new faith”²⁹ Bishop Zac’s work is only key for chapter one and two of this research because he did not write about the Holy Spirit, but he did a very good job of putting together the history of the Church of Uganda with detailed information backed by years and dates of events. His research can only help in relating the work of the Holy Spirit to the Church and its

²⁷ Catherine Robbins, “TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA,” 1975, 8, The Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 8.

²⁸ J. E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival* (Paternoster Press, 1981).

²⁹ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 35.

foundation.

According to Ndyabahika, “Festo Kivengere, spokesman of the Balokole Revival, gave a fitting description when he stated that a revival is not technique. It is a movement that cannot be contained, a renewal within renewal.”³⁰ Ndyabahika tried to write about the work of the Holy Spirit among Anglican Christians in the East African Revival movement. His work is very key to this research as it gives some information regarding the work of the Holy Spirit in the East African Revival movement, but it is not explicitly and entirely written about the Holy Spirit. After carefully weighing in on other writers, it is good to give all credit to the Holy Spirit.

According to Müller, “The presence of the pneuma cannot be captured by doctrinal statements. Instead, we find approximations to it in such forms of symbolic interaction as prayer, song, ritual and sacrament. Encounters with the divine pneuma are beyond analysis and categorization. They are testified to, narrated, announced and disclosed.”³¹ Geiko offers explanations on how to understand the person of the Holy Spirit and His work that supports chapter two of this research. It is important to share into his perspective on the Holy Spirit in comparison to other writers in this research focusing on Anglican Christianity.

Ryle says, “there are three things necessary to our salvation - justification, regeneration and sanctification. For a person to lack any one of these three means that in God's sight they are not true believers. The Spirit works through the Scripture to separate believers from a natural love of sin and worldliness and to make them Christ-like in daily life.”³² Ryle cuts across all chapters of this research because he focuses more on the work of the Holy Spirit, and it's helpful to share in his view of seeing the hand of the Holy Spirit in everything.

Jeff Doles highlights the diverse ways the Holy Spirit operates within the Church, from the working of miracles to the distribution of various spiritual gifts among believers. He emphasizes that “these gifts are not meant to inspire mere fascination with extraordinary events but to foster genuine faith and communal edification. True engagement with the Spirit involves more than belief in miraculous stories; it requires active participation in the life of the church, expressing devotion

³⁰ James Ndyabahika, *The Revival Movement in Uganda: An Evaluation*. *African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 12(1) (1993): 19.

³¹ Geiko Müller-Fahrenheit, *God's Spirit: Transforming a World in Crisis* (Continuum ; WCC Publications, 1995), 6.

³² J. C. Ryle, *Aspects of Holiness: An Abridged and Rewritten Version of Holiness, Its Nature, Hinderences, Difficulties, and Roots* (Grace Publications Trust, 1999), 2.

and applying spiritual gifts for the benefit of others.”³³ Doles’ account underscores the dual purpose of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit: confirming divine power and nurturing a living, participatory faith within the community of believers.

Larry Keefauver emphasizes that some of the most powerful signs in Church history, such as the outpouring of fiery tongues, were given to edify and strengthen the believer spiritually. He highlights that, “Prophetic tongues along with the accompanying gift of interpretation, serve not merely as extraordinary phenomena but as instruments for instruction, encouragement, and communal building. These gifts make the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit tangible, providing believers with both personal spiritual growth and a means to contribute to the edification of the broader faith community.”³⁴ Keefauver’s perspective underscores the dual purpose of spiritual manifestations: revealing divine power while nurturing the spiritual maturity and cohesion of the Church.

David Wilkinson explores the dynamic nature of God’s action in the world, challenging the notion that God merely creates and then withdraws from creation. He presents God as actively embodied in Jesus, “the God of signs and wonders, of death and resurrection, whose activity continues to have relevance for individuals and local churches today.”³⁵ By drawing connections from biblical narratives, such as the wedding at Cana, to contemporary contexts and even scientific frameworks like quantum theory, Wilkinson argues that God’s interventions cannot be reduced to simplistic models. The biblical portrayal of a God who acts in history, manifests miraculous signs, and sustains creation underscores a theology in which divine action is both tangible and transformative, engaging believers in a reality that transcends purely naturalistic explanation.

John Cowper Granbery emphasizes that, “the Holy Spirit operates according to divine will through signs, wonders, manifold powers, and gifts bestowed upon believers. These extraordinary manifestations serve as tangible evidence of God’s active presence and purpose within the church.”³⁶ Granbery identifies two principal branches of internal evidence: the inherent wisdom, purity, and loftiness of the gospel, and the spiritual power that confirms its truth through observable, Spirit-driven acts. Together, these elements reinforce the credibility of Christian teaching, demonstrating both the ethical excellence and the supernatural endorsement of the faith

³³ Jeff Doles, *Miracles & Manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the History of the Church* (Walking Barefoot Ministries, 2008), 56.

³⁴ Larry Keefauver, *Experiencing the Holy Spirit: Transformed by His Presence* (T. Nelson, 2000), 218.

³⁵ David Wilkinson, *How Does God Act in the World?: Science, Miracle, and Mission* (Cascade Books, 2025), 68.

³⁶ JOHN COWPER GRANBERRY, *EXPERIENCE: The Crowning Evidence of the Christian Religion* (NABU PRESS, 2011), 15.

in a manner that engages both intellect and experience.

Christine Mangala Frost highlights how Elder Paisios exemplified a remarkable balance between humility and the exercise of extraordinary spiritual gifts saying, “While regarded as a “holy man,” Paisios exercised careful, low-key stewardship of his gifts, using them to aid and guide countless individuals. Dionysios Farasiotis recounts numerous episodes from his own turbulent life in which the elder’s interventions, both subtle and miraculous, provided guidance, healing, and spiritual insight.”³⁷ Frost’s account underscores the interplay between personal holiness and the responsible exercise of spiritual endowments, illustrating how extraordinary gifts can be integrated into everyday pastoral care and the broader life of a faith community.

Perry Stone examines the continuity of spiritual manifestations and gifts throughout biblical history, particularly around the time the New Testament canon was completed. He notes that, “signs, wonders, and miracles, including healings, served as both divine interventions and confirmations of God’s work among His people. From the mass healings experienced by the Hebrews during the Exodus to the miraculous events recorded in the New Testament, these manifestations illustrate a consistent pattern of God’s active presence.”³⁸ Stone highlights that such gifts were not isolated phenomena but integral components of God’s ongoing interaction with humanity, demonstrating God’s power and providential care across generations.

From Akin’s perspective, the Holy Spirit is the divine agent of the Christian life, central to both individual believers and the church. He says, “Drawing on Luke’s language in Luke, Acts, the Spirit is portrayed as filling believers with power, guiding them in decisions and mission, and performing signs and wonders to confirm the gospel.”³⁹ These manifestations are not ends in themselves but serve the greater purpose of glorifying Christ, advancing God’s kingdom, and transforming believers into His likeness. Through conversion, sanctification, and empowerment for witness, the Spirit equips the church to live faithfully and participate in God’s redemptive mission in the world.

Philip Edgcumbe Hughes observes that the extraordinary evidence of God’s power in the early church was complemented by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as exemplified in 1 Corinthians 1:5,7. These spiritual gifts, ranging from prophecy and wisdom to miracles and healing, functioned as

³⁷ Christine Mangala Frost, *The Human Icon: A Comparative Study of Hindu and Orthodox Christian Beliefs* (James Clarke & Co, 2017), 271.

³⁸ Perry F. Stone, *The Code of the Holy Spirit*, First edition (Charisma House, 2013), 111.

³⁹ Daniel L. Akin et al., *A Theology for the Church* (B & H Publishing Group, 2014), 505.

tangible demonstrations of divine presence and favor. Hughes notes that, “similar to the experience of the Galatians, the continual supply of the Spirit enabled the faithful not only to witness miraculous works but also to sustain the vitality of their communities.”⁴⁰ The interplay between the Spirit’s endowments and the working of miracles underscores a theological principle: that spiritual gifts both authenticate the message of the gospel and provide the practical means through which God’s power is made manifest among believers.

These sources illustrate that although many writers give limited attention to the Holy Spirit, their accounts provide valuable insights into the historical, cultural, and theological development of Anglicanism in East Africa. With careful analysis, their works allow this study to interpret events and experiences as evidence of the Spirit’s hand, affirming Psalm 19:1 that “*the heavens declare the glory of God; the skies proclaim the work of his hands.*” because everything, is the work of God’s hands. No matter how marvelous these works are, they do not merit any kind of honor in themselves, as if they were divine.

1.8 Methodology

The researcher employed qualitative library-based research focusing on Mystical theology within pneumatology. The researcher drew upon the Bible, peer-reviewed literature, historical documents, theological texts, alongside reliable online sources that preserve firsthand accounts of Anglican Christians in the Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961.

The study relied primarily on textual analysis to interpret how the Holy Spirit worked through missionary efforts, indigenous leadership, and revival movements. Emphasis was placed on examining both theological interpretations and historical records to provide a balanced understanding of the Spirit’s role in shaping the Church during this period.

1.8.1 Limitations

The findings are restricted to the availability and reliability of historical documents concerning the Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi during the period 1877-1961. Oral traditions, though significant in African Christianity, fall outside the scope of this study due to methodological constraints.

⁴⁰ Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (PublishDrive, 2024), 81.

This study is confined to the theological framework of the Church of Uganda. Broader ecumenical or interfaith perspectives were not pursued, as they would have introduced divergent interpretations of the Holy Spirit inconsistent with the Anglican context.

1.8.2 Summary

This chapter has introduced the study as a mystical theological exploration of the role of the Holy Spirit in the Anglican Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi from 1877 to 1961. It traced the historical background of the Church, beginning with the CMS missionaries' arrival in Buganda, through its entanglement with colonial structures, to its establishment as a Province in 1961.

The research problem was identified as the neglect of the role of the Holy Spirit in existing theological scholarship on the Church in East Africa, which has often been overshadowed by more traditional theological discussions. The study aims to document and interpret the spiritual experiences and contributions of the Holy Spirit within this context. Key research objectives include analyzing the work of the Holy Spirit in Biblical history, examining the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians between 1877 and 1961, and assessing how these experiences contributed to the Church's growth.

The theoretical framework grounded in mystical theology and pneumatology was explained, supported by insights from theologians such as Teresa of Avila, Karl Barth, and Anglican revivalists. A literature review highlighted both theological and historical sources, noting their contributions and limitations in addressing pneumatology. The methodology was presented as qualitative, library-based research, acknowledging its limitations while affirming its suitability for interpreting historical and theological sources. This chapter sets the groundwork for exploring the transformative role of the Holy Spirit in the Anglican tradition within East Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, NEW TESTAMENT AND THE EARLY CHURCH

2.1 Introduction

The Holy Spirit manifests the active presence of God in both the world and the Church. Scripture consistently presents the Spirit as the member of the Trinity who carries out God's work in creation, revelation, redemption, and sanctification.⁴¹ From Genesis 1:2, where the Spirit brings order out of chaos, to the New Testament accounts of the Spirit empowering the Church, the Holy Spirit is revealed as God's dynamic presence. In the early Church, the complete understanding of God was expressed through the biblical symbol of the Father. His aspect of relation was expressed through the symbol of the Son while His presence was expressed through the symbol of the Holy Spirit.⁴² Therefore, understanding the work of the Spirit requires not only the study of pneumatology but also engagement with the doctrines of God, Christ, and the Church.

2.2 Pneumatology

Pneumatology is the theological study of the Holy Spirit. The Council of Constantinople (381 AD) affirmed the Spirit as "the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, and is worshiped and glorified with the Father and the Son."⁴³ Anglican Christians recognizes the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Trinity, emphasizing His role in biblical teaching, church tradition, and contemporary Christian experience. As Irenaeus said, the actions of the trinity are evident in the entire process of salvation. The different but related roles of God the father, son and Holy Spirit

⁴¹ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 634.

⁴² Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 88.

⁴³ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 421.

can be seen in the history of how God orders the salvation of humanity.⁴⁴ Anglican Christians believe in having a personal encounter with the Holy Spirit and experiencing a deep conversion and Spiritual regeneration. Didymus the Blind likewise described the role of the Holy Spirit as creating, renewing, and sanctifying God's creatures.⁴⁵

The Holy Spirit sanctifies believers by continually shaping and molding them into the likeness of Jesus Christ, manifesting in both spiritual fruit (Galatians 5:22-23) and spiritual gifts (1 Corinthians 12:8-10). The Holy Spirit manifests the presence of God actively in the world, and in the church. He is the present member of the Trinity to do the work of God in the world.⁴⁶ The work that the Holy Spirit does is eschatological in the Anglican Church because Anglican Christians engage in mission and evangelism with a sense of urgency in anticipation of the eventual return of Christ and the fulfillment of God's promises. To Anglican Christians, Salvation means that something has happened, but it also means that something is happening among Christians now and something more is yet to happen.⁴⁷

2.3 The work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament

In the Old Testament, the Spirit is presented as the giver and sustainer of life. When God breathed into Adam, he became a living being (Genesis 2:7) because the Holy Spirit is the very breath that gives life to sustain every living creature of God. The Hebrew word *ruach*—translated as “breath,” “wind,” or “spirit”—captures this life-giving force (cf. John 4:24).⁴⁸ In Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ezekiel 37:1-14), the Spirit restores life, symbolizing both divine power and Israel's renewal. *Ruach* is the breath of life and the life force of human beings. It is the unseen power which makes people alive, and which vanishes when the breath is gone. We can say the Holy Spirit is directly related to life. When a person was given *Ruach* he or she would live.⁴⁹

The Holy Spirit was also the charism that guided, empowered, and inspired God's people for various purposes in the Old Testament. Charism is the ability of an individual to perform tasks that would otherwise be impossible without the enablement of the spirit of God. The spirit of God is the

⁴⁴ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 90.

⁴⁵ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 421.

⁴⁶ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 634.

⁴⁷ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 578.

⁴⁸ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 5th ed, 344.

⁴⁹ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 97.

active, effective power and presence of God at work in the world and in human life.⁵⁰ The Spirit of the Lord came powerfully upon Samson, he tore the lion as if he was tiring a young goat apart with his bare hands in Judges 14:6. The Spirit of the Lord came upon David powerfully when Prophet Samuel anointed him king in 1 Samuel 16:13. In Exodus 31:3, the Spirit of God equipped Bezalel with the necessary skills and abilities of craftsmanship for the construction of the tabernacle. The Holy Spirit served as the primary agent of empowerment and guidance for the prophets, Judges and others who were chosen by God for special purpose in the Old Testament.

The Holy Spirit worked powerfully through different individuals that God chose to be His prophets in the Old Testament. God evidently took some of the power of the Spirit that was on Moses in Numbers 11:25-29, put it on the seventy elders and they prophesied. The calling of a prophet was for those who had the gift of the Holy Spirit and His power which made their prophetic message of the prophet authentic as the word of the Lord.⁵¹ This is seen in Isaiah 61:1, Ezekiel 2:1-2, Micah 3:8, and Zechariah 7:12 as the Holy Spirit enabled the prophets to convey God's messages and revelations to His people in the Old Testament effectively.

In the Old Testament the Holy Spirit was a source of security for the people of God and He was the power that protected them in different ways. In the book of Judges in the Old Testament, the Holy Spirit often empowered different people for special service. The Spirit of the Lord empowered leaders such as Othniel, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson to Judge and deliver Israel from their oppressors. In Num. 27:18 and Deut. 34:9 Joshua was given power, skills and wisdom to lead and deliver Israel from their enemies.⁵² The Holy Spirit provided them with courage, strength, and wisdom to carry out their roles as deliverers and judges of Israel. When Saul's men wanted to capture David in 1 Sam. 19:20, the Holy Spirit intervened powerfully and protected David by causing Saul's men to prophesy when they met a group of prophets which defeated Saul's plan. Instead of cursing Israel in Numbers 24:2, Balaam spoke blessings upon Israel when the Spirit of God came upon him in protection of God's people because it pleased the Lord.

The presence of the Holy Spirit among God's people in the Old Testament always gave them assurance that God is pleased with their faithfulness and obedience, but calamity was viewed as a sign of God's displeasure with His people due to their sins that caused the departure of the Holy

⁵⁰ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 98.

⁵¹ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 5th ed, 344–45.

⁵² Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 636.

Spirit. The chosen people of God were encouraged by prophets to obey God's commands for the presence of the Holy Spirit to remain among them and bring abundant blessings of peace, security from enemies and fruitfulness from God. King David often invoked the Spirit of God for guidance, strength, and renewal. He prayed for a clean heart and a steadfast spirit in Psalms 51:10-12.

2.4 The work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament

First-century Palestine anticipated the coming Messiah, described in Joel 2:28-32 as bearing the Spirit and bringing salvation.⁵³ In the New Testament, the Spirit is present from the beginning of Jesus' life: Mary conceived by the Spirit (Luke 1:35; Matthew 1:18); at His baptism the Spirit descended as a dove (John 1:32); and He was led into the wilderness "full of the Holy Spirit" (Luke 4:1). Jesus Himself declared: "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*" (Luke 4:18-19). The guidance of the Holy Spirit was evident in the life and strategic leadership decisions that Jesus made in His ministry. These events marked the beginning of Jesus' life and earthly ministry, which is characterized by the presence and work of the Holy Spirit.

In the New Testament, the Holy Spirit was God's agent of revelation. The Christian tradition has generally understood the work of the Holy Spirit to fall in three areas namely, revelation, salvation, and the Christian life.⁵⁴ Revelation is the work of the Holy Spirit to make people know God and His will through Scripture. 2 Timothy 3:16 tells us that all scripture is God breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting, and training in righteousness. The Bible is the word of God but without the help of the Holy Spirit, it remains a mere book to the reader. As Karl Barth says, God speaks in revelation, and it is the job of theology to investigate what it means.⁵⁵ Jesus told His disciples that the Holy Spirit will guide them into all the truth in John 16:13-15. The Holy Spirit speaks only what he hears and tells what is yet to come. The Holy Spirit glorifies Jesus because it is from Him that the Holy Spirit receives what he makes known to believers. Therefore, the Holy Spirit was God's agent that revealed God's truth in every word that Jesus spoke and everything that Jesus did in the New Testament.

The Holy Spirit convicted people of their sin and helped them to respond with faith to the revelation of God's truth for their salvation. The Spirit of God made believers aware of sin in their

⁵³ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 557.

⁵⁴ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 103.

⁵⁵ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 474.

life and the goodness of God to wipe it away through Jesus Christ. The Spirit works through scripture to separate believers from loving sin and worldliness making them like Christ daily.⁵⁶ John 16:8 says that when he (Holy Spirit) comes, he will convict the world of guilt regarding sin, righteousness and judgement. When a person accepts Jesus Christ as his or her personal savior and is baptized in the name of the father, the son and the Holy Spirit, then, this believer receives a new birth into righteousness through baptism. Jesus teaches Nicodemus that one must be born of water and the Spirit to enter the kingdom of God in John 3:5-8, because flesh gives birth to flesh, but the Spirit gives birth to spirit. The new birth by the Spirit is like wind which blows wherever it pleases. The Holy Spirit was responsible for working out Salvation in the lives of believers in the New Testament.

The work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament was to sanctify believers. The Apostle Paul tells believers in Corinth that we were washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor. 6:11). Sanctification is a result of regeneration because when one is born again, he or she becomes a new creature living a new life. Rebirth brings holy life and regeneration brings sanctification.⁵⁷ Through sanctification by the Holy Spirit, a believer becomes a child of God. The Holy Spirit was the agent of regeneration and renewal that enhances Christian life among believers in the New Testament. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to bring about spiritual rebirth and make a believer a child of God. In Titus 3:5 Paul emphasizes that God saved us by His mercy, gave us rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit.

2.5 The work of the Holy Spirit in the early Church

When Jesus was departing from His disciples before ascending into heaven, He promised them that He would ask the Father, to give them another advocate to help them and be with them forever in John 14:16-17 and that is the Holy Spirit. Jesus told the disciples that they would receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon them, empowering them to be His witnesses to the ends of the earth. This promise was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon them in form of tongues of fire, empowering them to speak in other languages and boldly proclaim the gospel as recorded in Acts 2:1-4. This was also a fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel 2:28-32 where God promised to pour out His Spirit on all people, leading to signs and wonders. This outpouring of the Holy Spirit holds profound significance for the early Church, its mission and

⁵⁶ Ryle, *Aspects of Holiness*, 21–22.

⁵⁷ Ryle, *Aspects of Holiness*, 21–22.

growth because it marked a crucial turning point for them. It was the beginning of the last days in which the Holy Spirit teaches and reminds believers everything that Jesus said to discern the will of God for their lives.

Since creation, the work of the Holy Spirit is to complete what God the Father has planned and to sustain what God the Son has begun.⁵⁸ When the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and other believers in the early Church, He gave them direct revelation through the gospel of Jesus. This was a new phase of revelation that is universal in nature because the Holy Spirit was to no longer work through an individual prophet like it was in the Old Testament but rather use the gospel of Jesus to reveal God's will directly from God to believers. The Father was preached openly in the Old Testament, but the son was revealed in the New Testament. We got a hint on the divinity of the Holy Spirit who has been revealed to us more clearly and who dwells in us today.⁵⁹ The Holy Spirit was poured out and He filled believers of the early Church causing them to perform miraculous signs and wonders as was promised in Joel 2:28-32 hence the expansion of God's mission to the ends of the world.

As the Apostle Paul confirms to believers in 2 Corinthians 3:18, the Holy Spirit transforms us into the same image with Christ Jesus from glory to glory whereby we produce a profound moral and spiritual transformation that enables us to live in holiness and obedience to the word of God. Paul also writes to the Romans saying that this same Spirit dwells in believers and He will give them new life of righteousness because he was able to raise Jesus from the dead (Romans 8:11). This transformation and empowerment are evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit in bringing about salvation in the lives of believers. Paul highlights qualities of spiritual life such as love, peace, joy, faithfulness, kindness, gentleness, goodness, patience, and self-control in Galatians 5:22-23 to be the fruit of the work of the Holy Spirit in a believer's life after being transformed.

The Holy Spirit fostered unity and fellowship among believers in the early Church when they devoted themselves to the apostles' teachings in Acts 2:42, breaking bread together in fellowship and prayer. In 1 Corinthians 12:8-10 the Apostle Paul compares the Church to a body, with each member having different gifts from the Spirit and using them to benefit everyone to show that the Holy Spirit is the one who unites and edifies believers. I agree with Augustine that the Spirit is the uniting factor between Father and Son, he is also the bond between God and believers. The Spirit is

⁵⁸ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 635.

⁵⁹ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 5th ed, 348.

a gift of God, who unites believers to God and to one another. The church depends on the bond of unity that the Holy Spirit forges between believers to stay alive.⁶⁰

2.6 Summary

Pneumatology affirms the Spirit as the active presence of God in the world and in the Church. In the Old Testament, the Spirit was the breath of life (*ruach*), the charism empowering leaders, prophets, and craftsmen, and the protector of God's people. In the New Testament, the Spirit was revealed as the agent of revelation, salvation, and sanctification, central to Jesus' life and ministry, and poured out universally on the Church. In the early Church, the Spirit brought transformation, empowerment, unity, and mission. For Anglican Christians, this Trinitarian understanding of the Spirit continues to shape theology and practice. The Spirit is not only the breath of life but also the power enabling believers to accomplish what is otherwise impossible.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES OF ANGLICAN CHRISTIANS IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI (1877-1961)

3.1 Introduction

The Holy Spirit played a pivotal role in shaping the mission of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) during its introduction of Christianity to Buganda in the late 19th century. This marked a decisive turning point in the area that would later become the Christian Nation Uganda. Six missionaries led by Shergold Smith arrived at the Kabaka's palace in 1877 from Britain. By the end of the year, they had begun to teach some of the people at the Palace how to read and write. Alexander Mackay joined them in June 1878.⁶¹ They all came in response to Stanley's letter which appeared in the Daily Telegraph of 15th November 1875 and embarked on establishing a strong Anglican Christian mission because they saw themselves as instruments of divine guidance, believing that they were led by the Holy Spirit to spread the message of Christianity in Buganda.

3.2 The Anglican Missionaries to Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi

Missionary work in East Africa was demanding. The pioneers faced hostile environments, language barriers, and cultural resistance. Like the Apostles in Acts 13:2-4, who were set apart and sent by

⁶⁰ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 5th ed, 349.

⁶¹ Medard, *A Handbook of African Church History*, 64.

the Holy Spirit, CMS trusted the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their selection and commissioning of their first missionaries to Buganda. Their arrival symbolized the dawn of a new era in Buganda, provoking both interest and opposition because the Light had come, and things could never be the same again.

The Arab traders maligned them, chiefs resisted the new faith, traditional Lubaale priests were openly hostile, and tensions grew between Protestants and Roman Catholics. All these had enough charge ready to explode any time.⁶² Yet, through courage and perseverance, qualities reminiscent of Acts 4:31, the missionaries endured revealing the guidance and empowerment of the Holy Spirit them to live according to God's will and overcome challenges. By 1890, Bishop Alfred Tucker found the Church growing, sustained by believers whose faith had been tested in persecution. Empowered by the Spirit, they preached with boldness despite threats.⁶³ The Holy Spirit also equipped the missionaries with gifts of discernment to navigate unfamiliar territories and establish connections with the natives.

The activities and teachings of the missionaries inspired conversions, demonstrating the convicting power of the Holy Spirit described in John 16:8. Just as Peter's Pentecost sermon brought thousands to faith (Acts 2:37-41), the message of missionaries resonated deeply, forming new Christian communities. As Niringiye notes, "A community of believers was thus established, meeting regularly at Nateete and in various homesteads of converted or sympathetic chiefs, learning and sharing their faith. The facility of Mackay's Swahili and Luganda translations of hymns and gospels catalyzed the understanding of the new faith."⁶⁴ This could not be possible without the help of the Holy Spirit because John 16:8 says that when he (Holy Spirit) comes, he will convict the world of guilt regarding sin, righteousness and judgement. It was a continuation of the fulfillment of Jesus' promise not only to the Apostles but to every other believer in Acts 1:8, where Jesus told the disciples that they would receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon them, empowering them to be His witnesses to the ends of the earth.

Medical missionaries such as Leonard Sharp and Algernon Stanley Smith further embodied Christ's earthly mission consistent with John 14:16-17. They combined evangelism with healthcare to pioneer missionary work among unevangelized peoples. They had a conviction that their medical

⁶² Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 2–3.

⁶³ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 2–3.

⁶⁴ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 35.

skills could contribute to gaining entry and acceptance in different regions.⁶⁵ Led by this conviction and empowered by the Spirit, they founded the Rwanda General and Medical Mission. Their hospital in Gahini became a hub of healing and witness. These two doctors soon became a Centre of attraction mostly through their stock of powerful medicines which seemed to cure every disease. Buildings began to go up and within two years they had completed five main hospital blocks, holding 125 beds.⁶⁶ As in Acts 2:42-47, their acts of service revealed the Spirit at work, building trust and drawing people to the gospel.

3.3 The Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi

The power of the Holy Spirit was foundational to the narrative of Anglican Christian worship and its expansion in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi shaping both missionary strategies and the spiritual experiences of those who embraced Christianity. The Anglican Christians therein followed the evangelical paradigm of intense guilt characterized by open confession and acceptance of Jesus as their personal savior. Their theology was clearly orthodox, Bible based and centered on Christ. They emphasized the need for a conversion experience which was consistent with Anglo-American Protestantism and with the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church.⁶⁷ Christianity became increasingly integrated into the local society with time, fostering unity, resilience, and moral uprightness, influencing not only religious practices but also social, economic, and political structures within the growing Christian community.

The active power of the Holy Spirit was visible in the lifestyles of Anglican Christians, which was characterized the fruit of the Spirit (Galatians 5:22-23), producing unity, joy, and resilience. Their practices reflected the early Church's devotion to teaching, fellowship, breaking of bread, and prayer (Acts 2:42). The Holy Spirit is the one who unites and edifies believers as the Apostle Paul confirms in 1 Corinthians 12:8-10 where he compares the Church to a body, with each member having different gifts given by the Spirit for the common good. The transformative power of the Holy Spirit also freed many from oppressive traditions. As Orr notes, "Converts of the Christian missions refused to submit to Mwanga's practice of sodomy. So, the Kabaka roasted three martyrs slowly to death, and burned alive thirty-two young men in one funeral pyre."⁶⁸ Many embraced

⁶⁵ Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 12–13.

⁶⁶ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 22–23.

⁶⁷ Catherine Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 1975, 8, The Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 11-12.

⁶⁸ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Africa*, 89.

Christianity not only as a religious belief system but also as a means of social and cultural transformation, seeking liberation from traditional practices and beliefs perceived as oppressive or incompatible with Christian teachings. Such steadfastness reflected the Spirit's transformative power, enabling believers to endure suffering and remain faithful.

3.4 Indigenous Church Leaders

When Jesus returned into Galilee in the power of the Spirit, He began to make disciples (Luke 4:14). This is exactly what missionaries did when they identified several indigenous Anglican Christians to put in positions of leadership. These Anglican Christians stood out as spiritually gifted men with willing hearts to serve their fellow men and community. Men of outstanding character who included Apolo Kivebulaya, Yosiya Kinuka, Blasio Kigozi, Simeoni Nsibambi, Bishop Festo Kivengere and William Nagenda rose to become iconic indigenous leaders of the Church of Uganda in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The writer of Hebrews 11:14-16 writes about such men and women being people who seek a heavenly homeland which is a better country than the land they had gone out of in their speech.⁶⁹ These leaders were known for inspiring and mobilizing their communities in the spreading of Christianity that helped to strengthen the Church and its influence.

Apolo Kivebulaya was one of the pioneering missionaries and evangelists who spread the Gospel and planted churches in East Africa. He received Christ as his personal savior during the revival which broke out in 1893 and offered to go to Boga in the Congo in 1895. He is often referred to as the 'Apostle to the Pygmies because his heart was to go in the Congo forests seeking out those for whom his Lord had died.⁷⁰ Kivebulaya was a bold powerful preacher, resilient charismatic church leader with unwavering faith and a deep sense of spiritual authority committed to seeing lives transformed by the power of the Holy Spirit. He played a key role in spreading the Gospel, establishing Christian communities and inspiring many to embrace Christianity. His ability to connect with people on a spiritual level and to preach the Gospel in a way that resonated with his audience was evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit in his life and ministry. Kivebulaya's legacy lives on through the Churches he planted and the lives he impacted, inspiring future generations.

Yosiya Kinuka was another pioneering evangelist who played a significant role in spreading the

⁶⁹ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 10–11.

⁷⁰ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 10–11.

gospel and promoted Christianity in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Yosiya Kinuka was born in 1905 at Bwera in Katookyee. He demonstrated great zeal in the work he did in the hospital, church, evangelism and home.⁷¹ He possessed wisdom, discernment, boldness and other spiritual gifts necessary for quality leadership enabling him to effectively minister to different communities. Yosiya Kinuka was known for his fervent preaching and tireless efforts to reach remote communities with the Gospel contributing to the growth of the Church.

Blasio Kigozi was a young brother to Simeoni Nsibambi and he was one of the Africans who worked with Joe Church at Gahini hospital. The revival that began in the hearts of Joe Church and Simeoni Nsibambi spread through the entire staff of the Gahini hospital, culminating in the conversion of Yosiya Kinuka, who, along with Nsibambi's brother, Blasio Kigozi, formed one of the first evangelistic teams of the revival. With the formation of evangelistic teams, the revival spread from personal dedication to evangelistic zeal.⁷²

Simeoni Nsibambi was a prominent indigenous church leader in the Church of Uganda during this period too. He was known for his strong faith, leadership skills, and commitment to spreading the Gospel among his people. Simeoni Nsibambi was born in 1897. He was drafted into the army when the First World War 1914 to 1918 broke out. When the war ended, Nsibambi returned to Budo to complete his education in 1922 a period in which he found peace with God while engaged in studies.⁷³ Nsibambi was a respected pastor and educator known for powerful preaching, pastoral care, and community outreach. He played a key role in establishing schools and training centers to equip future leaders within the Church. In a quiet and unobtrusive way Nsibambi became well known for challenging those whom he felt were not living lives according to God's standards, particularly church members.⁷⁴ His emphasis on education and discipleship helped to strengthen the Church and lay a solid foundation for its growth bringing about spiritual renewal among believers.

William Nagenda was born in 1912, and he died in 1973, and his wife was Sala. He was a teacher in Gahini, Rwanda, who emerged as the most prominent and dynamic preacher during the revival.⁷⁵ He was known for his commitment to spreading the Gospel as an influential leader within the

⁷¹ Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, 191.

⁷² Chet & Phyllis Swearngen, "1936 East African Revival," [https://, BEAUTIFUL FEET](https://beautifulfeet.com/march-23-2020/http://romans105.com/tag/gahini-revival/), March 23, 2020, <http://romans105.com/tag/gahini-revival/>.

⁷³ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 35–36.

⁷⁴ Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, 18.

⁷⁵ Chet & Phyllis Swearngen, "1936 East African Revival."

Church during this period. Nagenda went to the then Bishop of Uganda, Bishop Cyril Stuart and offered himself for full-time service in the church. Seeing that he was a man of action, the bishop recognized his potential and planned for him to be trained for ordination.⁷⁶ He was actively involved in church planting and pastoral ministry as a dynamic leader with dedication to serving his community. His leadership and participation in organizing evangelistic campaigns played a crucial role in expanding the Church and nurturing a strong sense of community among believers. His passion for evangelism and his pastoral care for the communities he served left a lasting impact on the Church.

Bishop Festo Kivengere was born 1919 and died 1988. He was often referred to as the Billy Graham of Africa because he traveled with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association on several campaigns.⁷⁷ In his early years, he spent his childhood herding the cattle of his grandfather Makobore who was the king of Mpororo kingdom. At ten years of age, he joined a mission school established in his village and later joined Kigezi High School in 1935 on January first after traveling barefoot for fifty miles from home through the Kigezi mountains. This school educated some 100 boys drawn from all over Kigezi, many of them sons of Saza chiefs.⁷⁸ He excelled academically through higher education and returned to his village years later as a teacher. It was during this teaching time that he experienced a remarkable conversion which had been previously predicted by his sister who always prayed for his salvation. He left the teaching profession joined the team of revival preachers and eventually became an Anglican bishop of Kigezi. He became one of the most remarkable Christians of the twentieth century and probably the most famous evangelist to ever come out of Africa. He was very approachable with and a great team player.⁷⁹

3.5 The East African Revival Movement

Bishop Festo Kivengere described revival as a renewal not technique but rather a movement within renewal that cannot be contained.⁸⁰ The East African Revival, which began in Gahini in the early 1930s, was characterized by intense prayer, confession of sin, repentance, and a passionate pursuit of holiness. Joe Church and others began praying for many of the workers at the Gahini Hospital and witnessing to them because they were nominal Christians, by February 1932 Joe Church had seen Africans

⁷⁶ Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, 113.

⁷⁷ Chet & Phyllis Swearngen, "1936 East African Revival."

⁷⁸ Anne Coomes, *Festo Kivengere: A Biography* (Monarch, 1990), 66.

⁷⁹ Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 43.

⁸⁰ Ndyabahika, *The Revival Movement in Uganda: An Evaluation. African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 19.

truly saved and living really changed lives and the revival began to emerge in 1933 without any spectacular signs.⁸¹ However, Bishop Festo Kivengere says that in early 1935 when he began to study at Kigezi High School at sixteen years of age, there were no indications that Kabale was about to be impacted by the winds of revival. Yet he confirmed that the coming spiritual storm that would soon sweep across East Africa was still gathering momentum among the Christians of Gahini.⁸² Therefore, the Balokole Revival movement of Spiritual renewal and reform that was realized in 1936 among Protestants of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, originated among a small fundamentalist mission body and members of the Ruanda Mission in Gahini in the 1920s.⁸³

This movement was deeply influenced by the Holy Spirit, and it had a profound impact on the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Following the Kabale convention which was organized by the Rev, Lawrence Barham held from Sunday 22nd to Monday 30th September 1935 in which Dr Joe Church, Blasio Kigozi and, Yosiya Kinuka from Gahini were the speakers, Festo begun to hear stories of people beginning to weep unexpectedly, trembling under conviction, loudly crying because of sin, dreaming dreams of heaven and many other strange experiences were witnessed by individuals and others by whole gatherings a month after.⁸⁴ A great sense of breakthrough followed these events when one felt overwhelmed by the joy of being totally forgiven and saved by the love of Christ. The fire that the Gahini team left burning in Kabale continued to catch other areas until it was evident in 1936. Writing about the June 26th, 1936, Gahini account, Joe Church said that there were visitations of the Spirit in the school, in huts, in church, and hospital continuously in a way they had never seen before. People experienced visions, dreams, and falling in trances. The situation was worse when four girls in the Girls' School were convicted of their sins and began to cry aloud.⁸⁵

Many were transformed through the East African Revival movement by the power of the Holy Spirit. The Revival was a movement of reformation which awakened (Okuzukuka) the Church of Uganda spiritually.⁸⁶ Those who repented grew stronger spiritually; however, their conversion and public confession of sin was overwhelming with brokenness at the Cross. To be born again is to be born of

⁸¹ Chet & Phyllis Swearngen, "1936 East African Revival."

⁸² Coomes, *Festo Kivengere*, 65.

⁸³ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 3.

⁸⁴ Coomes, *Festo Kivengere*, 68–69.

⁸⁵ Chet & Phyllis Swearngen, "1936 East African Revival."

⁸⁶ Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 22.

the Spirit with a new heart and a new nature and this rebirth is an inward change from above. Festo Kivengere, is a good example because he received Jesus Christ as his personal Savior when he was a drunkard. He received a new life and was rescued by the cross from being a notorious drunkard.⁸⁷ The Apostle Paul confirms that when we accept the Lordship of Jesus Christ, confess our sins in repentance and are reconciled with God, we begin to be transformed into the image of Christ with ever-increasing glory from the Holy Spirit in 2 Corinthians 3:18.

The East African Revival movement emphasized the need for spiritual renewal through repentance. It is Christ who makes the heart of the sinner hate sin, but apart from Christ there is nothing on earth that can make man hate his sin. He will see sin in other people and even condemn it, but he will not see his own sin, unless his eyes are opened by the Holy Spirit.⁸⁸ Anglican Christians were zealous for God and passionate about sharing their faith with others because they believed that they were set apart for God and Holiness was a central theme of the revival. Balokole were distinguished by a religious tradition of giving accounts of conversion that are deeply personal in form of testimony, with strong evangelistic overtones, on first meeting.⁸⁹

The East African Revival movement was a rich ground for unity and communal development. The Holy Spirit bound believers together with Spiritual gifts of love, peace and forgiveness which supported their Christian living and ministry. Faith in the East African Revival could only be sustained by regular meeting and fellowship in the community because it was not personal. An individual's experience could only make a difference if it was shared in the fellowship where faith was expressed. Fellowship meetings were central in the spirituality of the East African Revival Movement. Every revived Christian enjoyed fellowship with fellow believers regularly, sharing spiritual experiences together on a level of equality in the presence of Christ. This meeting did not replace ordinary Church services and meetings.⁹⁰ This revival led to spiritual renewal of not only the Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda but the East African region and beyond.

3.6 Summary

⁸⁷ Ndyabahika, *The Revival Movement in Uganda: An Evaluation*. *African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 30.

⁸⁸ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 14–15.

⁸⁹ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 6.

⁹⁰ STANLEY SMITH, *ROAD TO REVIVAL* (6 SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.c.4, n.d.), 143.

From 1877 to 1961, Anglican Christians in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi experienced the transformative power of the Holy Spirit in multiple ways. Missionaries, guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit, persevered through resistance and laid the Church's foundation. Converts embodied the fruit of the Spirit, demonstrating faithfulness even under persecution. Indigenous leaders rose as Spirit-filled pioneers, advancing Christianity in ways that resonated with African culture. The East African Revival Movement, inspired by the Holy Spirit, brought widespread renewal, emphasizing repentance, holiness, fellowship, and testimony. These experiences all together reveal that the growth of Anglicanism in East Africa was not merely a result of missionary strategy or colonial structures, but primarily the work of the Holy Spirit—empowering, renewing, and indigenizing the Church.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI (1877 - 1961)

4.1 Introduction

The growth of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi between 1877 and 1961 cannot be explained merely by missionary strategy, colonial influence, or social transformation. Its foundation and expansion were primarily the result of the work of the Holy Spirit through the spiritual experiences of both missionaries and indigenous Christians. This chapter explores those experiences that shaped the Anglican Church into a resilient and Spirit-filled community.

The religious conflicts and civil wars within Buganda kingdom that seemed hostile after the death of Kabaka Muteesa 1 in 1884 made the Anglican Church prominent with authority which entrenched

it as the established Church in Buganda. Bishop Tucker found a strong indigenous Church in 1890 with regular members whose faith in Christ had been tried and tested by fierce persecution, and who had given their lives to serve their Master for many years.⁹¹ Buganda entering into agreement to become a British protectorate in 1894 strengthened the position of the Anglican Church in Buganda and helped to expand its reach to the neighboring Kingdoms. This resulted into the quick growth and development that the Archbishop of Canterbury depended on to give the eight dioceses in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi formal authority in 1961, which marked the beginning of the Province of the Church of Uganda and Ruanda and Burundi with Bishop Leslie Brown as its first Archbishop.⁹² This milestone testified to the guidance of the Holy Spirit from the missionaries' arrival in 1877 to the establishment of an indigenous Anglican province.

4.2 Empowerment in Persecution and Martyrdom on mission

The persecution of early converts under Kabaka Mwanga revealed the strengthening presence of the Holy Spirit. When Mwanga ordered Christians to renounce their faith or face death, many chose martyrdom. As Ruyendo notes, "Mwanga precipitated a showdown in May by ordering the converts to choose between their new faith, and complete obedience to his orders. Those unwilling to renounce their new faith would be subject to death."⁹³ These believers demonstrated the power of The Holy Spirit to sustain faith under trial (Acts 7:55-56). Their courage, like that of Stephen the first martyr, inspired others. The Uganda Martyrs became a symbol of uncompromising discipleship, fueling the spread of Christianity in East Africa.

Martyrdom was not merely an end but a powerful witness. Bishop James Hannington's murder in 1885, followed by the execution of young pages between 1885-1886, shocked the world. Orr records that, "The Kabaka roasted three martyrs slowly to death and burned alive thirty-two young men in one funeral pyre."⁹⁴ Those who were Martyred by Kabaka Mwanga II were not acting out of human courage and knowledge because Romans 8:9 says that the Holy Spirit also indwells believers, taking up residence within them. The death of Bishop Hannington galvanized Anglican believers, leading to a deeper commitment to the faith despite persecution. Such brutality paradoxically strengthened the Church. Tertullian's ancient statement, "*the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church*," was visibly fulfilled. These events marked a turning point as they

⁹¹ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 2–3.

⁹² Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 1–2.

⁹³ Medard, *A Handbook of African Church History*, 72–73.

⁹⁴ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Africa*, 89.

solidified the church's identity as one willing to face persecution for the truth of the Gospel establishing a foothold for Christianity in Buganda laying the foundation for future missionary work in the region with dynamic growth. The Spirit transformed suffering into testimony, turning tragedy into a catalyst for growth.

4.3 Translation and Literacy

The translation of Scripture and hymns into local languages was another vital spiritual experience facilitated by the Holy Spirit. In the early years the Uganda mission attracted many gifted missionaries with outstanding linguistic and writing skills who helped to write considerable missionary Luganda literature that was inspirational.⁹⁵ The Church Missionary Society strategically aimed at indigenizing Anglican worship in Buganda by using their linguistic and writing skills to teach those who lived and worked in the Kabaka's palace how to read and write. Communities of converts soon began to meet in homes of chiefs to learn and share in faith together on a regular note which was foundational because Alexander Mackay's Luganda and Swahili translations allowed converts to encounter the gospel in their mother tongue. Niringiye observes, "The facility of Mackay's Swahili and Luganda translations of hymns and gospels catalyzed the understanding of the new faith."⁹⁶

Translation was not merely intellectual but spiritual, fulfilling Pentecost's vision of the gospel proclaimed in many tongues (Acts 2:6-11). Literacy classes in chiefs' homesteads and revival fellowships gave believers access to God's Word, nurturing growth in faith and discipleship. Congregations began to express their faith through local languages and cultural expressions of worship, which not only legitimized the church in the eyes of the local population but also led to a flourishing of indigenous worship practices. The role of the Holy Spirit in this translation work illustrates how divine inspiration can empower practical efforts that have lasting implications for worship and community identity.

4.4 Evangelistic Expansion

From its base in Buganda, Anglican Christianity spread to other regions driven not only by missionary planning but by Spirit-led evangelists, both foreign and indigenous. The approach of the

⁹⁵ Louise, *Uganda Christian University Archives, A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda*, 23.

⁹⁶ Niringiye, *The Church in the World*, 35.

Anglican missionaries to holistic evangelism, which addressed both spiritual and physical needs, can be exemplified by various initiatives to provide education, healthcare, and social-welfare support. The Church committed to holistic ministry and social transformation by engaging in social justice and community service activities reflecting the call of the Holy Spirit to serve and uplift those in need. Leonard Sharp and Algernon Stanley Smith successfully established the Rwanda General and Medical Mission as true witnesses of Jesus Christ inspired by the Holy Spirit as written in John 14:16-17. These two doctors were able to gain entry and become a Centre of attraction as they provided the seriously needed healthcare and curing most diseases. They established the hospital with five building blocks fully equipped with 125 beds within two years.⁹⁷ Medical missions such as the Rwanda General and Medical Mission at Gahini exemplified holistic evangelism, healing bodies and saving souls. Like the early Church in Acts 2:47, the Spirit added daily to the number of believers.

In African tradition, the community is important and usually helpful in defining individual identity as John Mbiti asserts in his popular statement, “I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am.”⁹⁸ Initiatives such as the establishment of schools and hospitals demonstrated the church’s commitment to the well-being of the community, reflecting the transformative work of the Holy Spirit in motivating believers to serve their neighbors. Dr. Stanley Smith gave a report of how he was encouraged by the immediate response when the great numbers of workmen was required which also offered a ready field of evangelism. They would invite evangelists to go to their villages and teach as they returned to their homes and so the light began to spread.⁹⁹ As the church engaged in social justice efforts, it gained credibility and respect within the communities it served. The interconnectedness of spiritual and social missions underscores how the Holy Spirit can inspire believers to pursue holistic development, leading to profound and lasting impacts on both individuals and society.

4.5 The East African Revival Movement

The East African Revival Movement (EARM), which began in Gahini in the 1930s, was perhaps the most significant spiritual force in shaping Anglican identity in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. Characterized by repentance, public confession, and deep fellowship, the Revival spread rapidly

⁹⁷ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 22–23.

⁹⁸ John Mbiti, *African Traditional Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heineman, (1969), 108–9.

⁹⁹ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 22–23.

across East Africa. The Holy Spirit worked through the East African revival movement to foster significant growth and development in the Anglican Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

The East African revival movement was transformative because Anglican Christians were led by the Holy Spirit into intense prayer, public confession, and a desire for holiness that produced vitality. Regeneration, justification, and sanctification are the three things necessary to a person's journey of salvation to become a true believer. To make believers Christ-like, The Spirit uses the Scripture to separate believers from naturally loving sin.¹⁰⁰ Titus 3:5 confirms that, upon belief in Jesus, the Holy Spirit regenerates, or gives new life, to believers, making them born again. The new converts of the East African Revival movement were required to give comprehensive details while confessing all the sins that they had previously committed. Kevin and Emma note that conversion during the Revival was "an overwhelming experience of brokenness at the Cross, which provoked a public confession of sin. Previous Christian experience apart from this event was not recognized as *kulokoka*—the state of being saved."¹⁰¹ This emphasis on being born again defined revival spirituality as the Holy Spirit worked in the hearts of believers giving them a deep sense of faith and zeal to pray and to spread the gospel bringing about spiritual renewal.

Many Anglican Christians were awakened from spiritual slumber because the East African Revival was a movement of reformation which awakened (*Okuzukuka*) the Church of Uganda spiritually.¹⁰² Those who repented grew stronger spiritually; however, their conversion and public confession of sin was overwhelming with brokenness at the Cross. To be born again is to be born of the Spirit with a new heart and a new nature. This rebirth is an inward change which comes when the Holy Spirit opens eyes of the sinner to see and hate his own sin. Festo Kivengere, is a good example because he received Jesus Christ as his personal Savior when he was a drunkard. He received a new life and was rescued by the cross from being a notorious drunkard.¹⁰³ Holiness was a central theme of the revival and the Apostle Paul confirms that when we accept the Lordship of Jesus Christ, confess our sins in repentance and are reconciled with God, we begin to be transformed into the image of Christ with ever-increasing glory from the Holy Spirit in 2 Corinthians 3:18. The Balokole were distinguished by a religious tradition of giving accounts of conversion that are deeply personal

¹⁰⁰ Ryle, *Aspects of Holiness*, 21.

¹⁰¹ Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 145.

¹⁰² Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 22.

¹⁰³ Ndyabahika, *The Revival Movement in Uganda: An Evaluation. African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 30.

in form of testimony, with strong evangelistic overtones, on first meeting.¹⁰⁴ These experiences were evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit among believers and the Revival not only deepened personal piety but also reshaped the wider Church, emphasizing lay leadership, accountability, and evangelism. It remains one of the most enduring spiritual legacies of Anglicanism in East Africa.

4.6 Spiritual Gifts and Fruit

The Holy Spirit empowered believers in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi with gifts for ministry and witness (Acts 1:8; 1 Cor. 12:7-11). The Holy Spirit was active from creation (Gen. 1:2) and throughout Israel's history (1 Sam. 11:6).¹⁰⁵ The Holy Spirit sanctified believers, shaping their character to reflect love, peace, joy, kindness, faithfulness, and self-control (Gal. 5:22-23; 2 Cor. 3:18). These life qualities are a product of the Holy Spirit, and they enabled Anglican Christians to preach, teach, evangelize, and offer pastoral care. They helped to foster unity, fellowship, and communal development among Anglican Christians. The Spirit is the uniting factor between Father and Son, he is also the bond between God and believers. The Spirit is a gift of God, who unites believers to God and to one another. The church depends on the bond of unity that the Holy Spirit forges between believers to stay alive.¹⁰⁶

The Holy Spirit guided Anglican Christians to put an emphasis on holiness, prayer, and discipleship enabling the Church to effectively reach out to communities, disciple new believers, and establish strong foundations for growth. Corinthians 3:18 confirms that, the Spirit also sanctifies believers, progressively conforming them to the image of Christ. Many embraced the transformative power of the Holy Spirit as a means of social and cultural transformation seeking liberation from traditional practices and beliefs perceived as oppressive or incompatible with Christian teachings. A renowned powerful witch-doctress, awoke in the middle of the night, claiming that she was converted through a vision,¹⁰⁷ hearing this, her previous followers converted and were totally transformed refusing to make compromises with the traditional spirituality or to engage in the idolatrous practices of the old religion ever again.

4.7 Revitalization of Worship and Fellowship

¹⁰⁴ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 6.

¹⁰⁵ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 98.

¹⁰⁶ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 5th ed, 349.

¹⁰⁷ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 119.

The Holy Spirit revitalized worship and deepened communal faith through fellowship meetings, which became central to the spirituality of Anglican Christians in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. In the East African Revival setting, one could only sustained faith by being part of a regular fellowship meeting where faith was expressed in a communally. Every revived Christian enjoyed fellowship with fellow believers regularly, sharing spiritual experiences together on a level of equality in the presence of Christ. This meeting did not replace ordinary Church services and meetings.¹⁰⁸ Christianity became integrated into local society, promoting unity, resilience, and moral renewal that influenced social, economic, and political life within the growing Christian community.

The Holy Spirit also inspired creative worship, shaping vibrant forms of music, dance, storytelling, and preaching that reflected East African culture. Indigenous expressions of faith enriched services with spontaneity in prayer, dynamism in preaching, and authenticity in worship. Revival leaders, empowered by the Spirit, boldly opposed witchcraft and destructive traditions by destroying ritual objects, demonstrating God's power over Nyabingi.¹⁰⁹ Their fearless witness reflected Paul's assurance that the Spirit who raised Jesus from the dead gives believers new life and courage (Rom. 8:11).

4.8 Rise of Indigenous Leadership

As persecution subsided and missionary work matured, the Holy Spirit guided Missionaries in establishing patterns of identifying and grooming indigenous Church leaders among Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi who led with boldness, courage, and spiritual insight. Men of outstanding character such as Apolo Kivebulaya, Yosiya Kinuka, Blasio Kigozi, Simeoni Nsibambi, William Nagenda, and Bishop Festo Kivengere carried the Church into new frontiers because they stood out as spiritually gifted men with willing hearts to serve their fellow men and community. The writer of Hebrews 11:14-16 writes about such men and women being people who seek a heavenly homeland which is a better country than the land they had gone out of in their speech.¹¹⁰ Their leadership demonstrated the indigenization of Anglicanism. Empowered by the Spirit, they preached in local languages, contextualized the gospel, and inspired

¹⁰⁸ SMITH, *ROAD TO REVIVAL*, 143.

¹⁰⁹ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 125–126.

¹¹⁰ Katarikawe, *The East African Revival*, 10–11.

revival. Their testimonies aligned with Joel 2:28, which promised that God's Spirit would be poured out on all people.

The indigenous leaders were able to connect, mobilize and guide their communities in embracing the Christian faith. They actively participating in the life of the church showcasing how the Holy Spirit can work through indigenous leaders to ensure that the Church remains grounded within the cultural context. Sharp and Stanley Smith constructed a hospital and sought contact with chiefs, following the pattern already established elsewhere in Africa, seeing that this approach was not working in Kigezi, they began to plan to build a school to educate sons of the local leaders of Bakiga instead.¹¹¹ This empowerment of local leadership fostered the growth and development of the Church that eventually became the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

The work of the Holy Spirit was evident in leadership development through theological education among Anglican Christians of Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. In the 1930s, the growing Church aimed at training saved clergy to spearhead the transformation of the new generation. They first encouraged the young Revivalists who had a higher level of education to go to Bishop Tucker College for ordination training rather than being mere catechists.¹¹² Spirit-led Anglicans were identified and trained to take up the crucial role of guiding the Church towards the right direction, providing wisdom and insight in decision making processes. The Holy Spirit guided academic trainers in theological institutions to incorporate courses that address social issues and promote justice in the academic curricula that is used to teach Church leaders especially in pastoral care. This led to a more dynamic, robust and contextually relevant ministry leadership that addresses both the spiritual and practical needs of the communities, contributing to the overall growth of the Church.

4.9 Summary

Between 1877 and 1961, the Anglican Church in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi grew through the

¹¹¹ Robins, "TUKUTENDEREZA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SECTARIAN WITHDRAWAL IN THE BALOKOLE REVIVAL OF UGANDA," 116.

¹¹² Ward and Wild-Wood, *The East African Revival*, 22.

work of the Holy Spirit in persecution, martyrdom, indigenous leadership, revival, translation, and evangelistic expansion. The courage of the martyrs, the rise of Spirit-filled African leaders, the transformative power of the East African Revival, and the accessibility of Scripture all testified to the active presence of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Church's growth was not simply historical or sociopolitical but profoundly spiritual. The Holy Spirit was the unseen architect, empowering missionaries, sustaining converts, raising indigenous leaders, and igniting revival. These experiences collectively shaped the Anglican identity in East Africa, leaving a legacy of faith that endures to this day. The (CMS) missionary strategies of spirit-filled work which included literature translation into local languages, were instrumental in the establishment of Christian communities in Buganda, ultimately leading to significant growth in Anglican worship in the region.

The East African Revival movement transformed many Anglican Christians leading to profound spiritual renewal characterized by intense prayer, confession, and a renewed commitment to holiness. This revival emphasized the importance of personal conversion and active participation in the church. Believers were empowered with spiritual gifts for service, fostering unity and social transformation. Innovative worship practices that incorporated local cultural elements, strengthening community ties and moral standards were also encouraged. There was Leadership development with indigenous leaders like Apolo Kivebulaya and Bishop Festo Kivengere rising to prominence. The Church equipped new generations of leaders capable of addressing both spiritual and social needs through its commitment to theological education. There was a dynamic interplay between spirituality, community building, and social justice within the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, underscoring the role of the Holy Spirit in inspiring, empowering, and guiding believers from 1877 to 1961. Understanding the Holy Spirit in these various roles enriches the believer's appreciation of His work and presence in their daily lives.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter synthesizes the findings of the preceding chapters and reflects on the contributions of this research to the understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit through the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians in the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi from 1877 to 1961. Each chapter has provided a unique perspective on the intersection of historical, theological, and experiential elements, all centered on the significant role of the Holy Spirit in shaping the Anglican Christian faith in this region at the time.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

Chapter One: Introduction

The researcher laid the foundation by giving details of the historical foundations to the province of the church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Findings indicate that in 1876, a group of six missionaries under Shergold Smith left Britain for Buganda and arrived at the Palace in 1877 in response to Stanley's letter which appeared in the Daily Telegraph of 15th November 1875 challenging Christian England to evangelize Uganda. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) established Anglican worship against the backdrop of indigenous beliefs and colonial influences. The Anglican Christians of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi followed the evangelical paradigm which is largely consistent with Anglo-American Protestantism and with the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church. They emphasized the necessity of a conversion experience characterized by intense guilt, open confession and acceptance of Jesus as personal savior which defined their theology as orthodox, Biblical and Christocentric.

A clear research problem was delineated, focusing on the neglect of the Holy Spirit in theological discussions. The Holy Spirit has not received enough attention compared to other doctrines of the Christian faith. The Holy Spirit has often been the neglected dimension in most theological discussions of the reality of God.¹¹³ Therefore, there is need to contribute to the already existing documentation of the work of the Holy Spirit by interpreting the work of the Holy Spirit through the experiences of Anglican Christians from 1877 to 1961. The research objectives and questions guided the study towards exploring the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians, identifying the work of the Holy Spirit in the mission and growth of the Church that eventually became the provincial church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in 1961.

¹¹³ Byaruhanga, *Christian Theology*, 96.

Chapter Two: The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, New Testament, and the Early Church

The researcher discussed an extensive overview of pneumatology by examining the identity and functions of the Holy Spirit in Biblical texts. The researcher analyzed the work of the Holy Spirit in the historical context. The presence of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, The active role of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament and the work of the Holy Spirit in the early church, and the theological implications therein. Findings show that, the Holy Spirit is a member of the Holy Trinity, and this Trinitarian understanding emphasizes the role and power of the Holy Spirit in Biblical teaching, ecclesiastical tradition, and Spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians. The Holy Spirit played a crucial role in creation. The Holy Spirit inspired prophets in the Old Testament, led Jesus in His ministry in the New Testament and worked through the Apostles of Jesus Christ in the early Church. Findings explain how the visible expression of faith through spiritual gifts by the believers in the early Church was a sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit working in their lives. This established a framework for understanding the Holy Spirit as a dynamic force that promotes faith, empowerment, and community transformation, setting the stage for the later exploration of His role in the Anglican context.

Chapter Three: The Spiritual Experiences of Anglican Christians

The researcher's focus shifted to the spiritual experiences of Anglican Christians from 1877 to 1961. The details of the missionary efforts of CMS in Buganda were given highlighting the challenges they faced, including resistance from local religious leaders and political figures. It also illustrated how the Holy Spirit worked through figures such as Alexander Mackay and the establishment of indigenous church leaders. Findings show that the life and mission of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi was a continuation of how the work of the Holy Spirit was understood by the early Church in the New Testament. Findings indicate that the origin and existence of the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi was the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit was the fundamental source of spiritual life, power, gifts, and guidance for Anglican Christians in the introduction of Anglican Christianity and in the historical development of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Findings show that the Holy Spirit worked through the Church Missionary Society and the East African Revival Movement to transform the life of the Church, fostering spiritual renewal, empowering evangelism, and promote social change. By recounting the experiences of early believers, this chapter emphasized the transformative power of the Holy Spirit

in establishing a resilient faith community amid adversity that grew to become the Province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi by 1961.

Chapter Four: Spiritual Experiences Leading to Development and Growth

The researcher explored the specific spiritual experiences that contributed to the development and growth of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. This included discussions on evangelism, empowerment through spiritual renewal, the manifestations of spiritual gifts, and the impact of the East African Revival Movement among others. The findings indicated that spiritual vibrancy, marked by communal engagement and theological education, played a crucial role in the proliferation and indigenization of Anglican Christianity in the region. The Holy Spirit was central in guiding missionary efforts, empowering leaders, facilitating cultural adaptation, and influencing the social impact of the Church. The Holy Spirit helped missionaries to overcome various challenges and obstacles that they faced, empowered their strategies and worked through unlikely events and people to establish Anglican Christianity. The Holy Spirit blessed missionaries with a lifestyle that worked well with the gospel that they effectively preached to inspire people like the pages who refused to renounce their faith in Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit used the British colonial incorporation to extend Anglicanism to other Kingdoms. It was evident that the Holy Spirit was a unifying force that fostered deep spiritual renewal and communal development among Anglicans.

5.2 Conclusion and Implications

The research concluded that the work of the Holy Spirit was pivotal in the establishment and growth of the Anglican Church which grew to become the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi by 1961. As explored throughout the chapters, the Holy Spirit was not just an abstract theological concept; rather, He was actively involved in the lives of believers, guiding missionaries, empowering indigenous leaders, and shaping the spiritual landscape of the church. As Mystical theology implies the invisible hand of God that makes all things possible which cannot be seen by mere human eyes was the “Ruach” the very breath of life and “Charism” the power that helped believers to do what would have rather been impossible. He worked through the missionaries from Church Missionary Society to end the old era and begin a new one in Buganda and the entire East African region.

The qualitative data gathered emphasized that the highlighted spiritual experiences and spiritual empowerment were foundational in the transition from foreign missionary efforts to a vibrant, indigenous church. Anglican Christianity became increasingly integrated into the local society with

time, fostering unity, resilience, and moral uprightness, influencing not only religious practices but also social, economic, and political structures. Christian communities mushroomed throughout the Buganda Kingdom, the neighboring kingdoms and the entire region leading to the establishment of the province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi by 1961.

This study also highlights the importance of recognizing the role of the Holy Spirit in contemporary theological discourse. The Holy Spirit worked through the East African Revival movement to lead the Anglican Christians into a deeper faith. He transformed, guided, strengthened, and provided Anglican Christians with spiritual gifts necessary for sustaining a fruitful spiritual life. He gave Anglican Christians a spiritual lifestyle that helped to foster unity, fellowship, and communal development. The work of the Holy Spirit among Anglican Christians of the Church of Uganda emphasizes both continuity with Biblical foundations and adaptation to traditional experiences of faith.

As emphasized, the neglect of the Holy Spirit in theological education and church practices must be addressed, encouraging believers to cultivate a deeper understanding and relationship with the Holy Spirit. By amplifying the supportive relationship of the Holy Spirit with believers, empowering them for effective living and service, the church can enhance spiritual renewal and foster greater unity and communal development within the body of Christ. Understanding the Holy Spirit in these various roles enriches the believer's appreciation of His work and presence in their daily lives.

5.3 Recommendations

1. Seminaries and theological institutions within the province of the Church of Uganda should incorporate comprehensive pneumatology courses that emphasize the practical work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of believers and the community. Theological institutions should encourage more research and writing on the person and work of the Holy Spirit. This will ensure that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is given equal attention as other doctrines in the province of the Church of Uganda.
2. The province of the Church of Uganda should implement programs that encourage personal and communal experiences of the Holy Spirit, fostering spiritual renewal, discipleship, and empowerment. Churches should encourage teachings and sermons on the person and work of the Holy Spirit in worship services so that believers embrace His presence in their lives more.

3. Further studies should explore the contributions of indigenous church leaders and their experiences, highlighting their roles in the growth of the church and the dynamics of power within the Anglican community.
4. The Anglican Church should seek to understand and incorporate the principles behind revival movements, such as the East African Revival, examining how they can inspire current spiritual renewal efforts. Church leaders should be equipped to embrace contemporary charismatic practices to enhance their ability to navigate and integrate diverse spiritual experiences in ministry while maintaining doctrinal integrity. The province of the Church of Uganda should encourage those who have special spiritual gifts to hold charismatic worship services within the Anglican Church of Uganda. This will ensure that spiritual practices and experiences are accepted as part of the Biblical teaching and the traditions of the Church.
5. The province of the Church of Uganda is encouraged to engage in community development projects that demonstrate the practical application of faith, nurturing the holistic well-being of congregants while relying on the Holy Spirit for guidance. Where there are theological disagreements on the person and work of the Holy Spirit, continuous dialogue, prayer and teaching should be facilitated to help address and maintain doctrinal purity within the Church of Uganda.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

While this dissertation has made significant contributions to understanding the work of the Holy Spirit in the life and mission of the Province of the Church of Uganda, there is a great need for more research to highlight the work of the Holy Spirit in the light of the new developments in the Province of the Church of Uganda. The following are some of the topics to consider for further research.

- 1 The Role of the Holy Spirit in Conflict Resolution.
- 2 Investigate the socio-political and cultural circumstances that shaped the establishment and growth of Anglicanism in Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.
- 3 Explore how interactions with other religious traditions influenced the understanding and interpretation of the Holy Spirit in Anglican spirituality.
- 4 Study any theological conflicts or controversies within the Anglican Church regarding the Holy Spirit's role, particularly in relation to the emergence of new spiritual movements.
- 5 Explore how the understanding of the Holy Spirit has evolved in the post-colonial context of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, influenced by historical experiences from the colonial period.

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EXAMINATION

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Name of Candidate: **KATUGUGU RAYMOND** Reg.No: **M22/M04/011**

Date: 30th September 2025

Title of Dissertation: **INTERPRETING THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT THROUGH THE EXPERIENCES OF ANGLICANS IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI, 1877 – 1961**

S/N	COMMENTS BY EXTERNAL EXAMINER	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1	<p>While there is a wealth of literature on this subject, the candidate has not fully utilized it.</p> <p>There is need also to synthesize the presentation appropriately to bring out the envisaged impact of the thesis.</p> <p>Work on grammatical construction in the discussions as there are numerous anomalies noted.</p>	<p>More literature was utilized</p> <p>Chapter one was synthesized</p> <p>Corrected</p>	<p>Page 5 to page 12</p> <p>Page 12 to 13</p> <p>Page 1 to 40</p>
2	<p>Broaden the scope of the literature beyond what was utilized in chapter two with more clarity on the measure of the work on the HS in believer's lives giving specific cases of the Spirit's manifestation through signs and wonders beyond mere statements to make the section stronger.</p> <p>Engage more current sources and highlight some contemporary understanding of how the HS was involved in the foundational</p>	<p>The scope of literature was broadened and improved</p> <p>The whole chapter was improved and cases that continue to evolve were captured from EARM.</p>	<p>Page 14 to 19</p>

	period of the establishment of the church in Uganda. Consider Specific cases in the EAR movement particularly. Highlight the perspectives that continue to evolve		
3	The specific illustration cases to validate the thesis is rather vague, making the argument rather weak. In Chapter four	The illustration cases to validate the thesis were improved making the argument stronger throughout chapter four	Page 28 to 35
4	There is need to be more focused in discussing the implications of the findings especially as it relates to the Anglican church of Uganda beyond the historical period covered. Did this work of the HS have lasting effect, and can that be adduced to beyond 1977?	The implications of the findings were improved and made more focused in the discussion	Page 36 to 40
5	The chapter is rather short and should have brought out more clearly the impact that the findings portend for the Anglican Church of Uganda today.	The whole chapter was improved	Page 36 to 40

S/N	COMMENTS BY INTERNALEXAMINER	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1	<p>The title and period are too wide e.g. 100 years (1877-1977)</p> <p>On the face page Bishop Tucker is not a faculty but a school</p> <p>The dissertation is not owned because the candidate's signature is missing</p> <p>There is a mix up between the Declaration, Acknowledgement, Table of Contents etc. These need to be corrected.</p> <p>The gap is not clear, so it needs to be refined.</p> <p>The study objectives and questions are too wide. They need to be specific with clarity.</p> <p>The related literature was well reviewed apart from areas e.g. on page 7 Professor Byaruhanga and Ruyendo should be corrected</p>	<p>The title and period were revised</p> <p>Faculty was replaced with School</p> <p>The candidate's signature was appended</p> <p>Declaration, Acknowledgement, Table of Contents etc. were re-arranged</p> <p>The gap was made clear</p> <p>The study objectives and questions were revised</p> <p>Literature was edited</p>	<p>Cover page</p> <p>Cover page</p> <p>Page III</p> <p>Page III, IV, V, VII, VIII</p> <p>Page 3</p> <p>Page 4</p> <p>Page 6</p>
2	<p>Each chapter should come on a new page. There are also several overlaps and repetitions especially running from chapter 1 to chapter 4. Check on use of "I" in research it should be replaced with the researcher or reported in the third person.</p> <p>There is need to check on language flow and grammar thorough the entire work</p>	<p>Revised</p> <p>Edited</p>	<p>Page 1 to 35</p>
3	<p>The researcher's voice is not strong throughout the dissertation analyzing the holy spirit work in the Church of Uganda</p> <p>More recommendations and suggested areas for further research should be added</p>	<p>Improved</p>	<p>Page 1 to 40</p> <p>Page 39 to 40</p>

S/N	COMMENTS BY VIVA VOCE PANEL	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1	The conceptualization of your work is the interpretation of the spiritual experiences of Anglicans to show the work of the Holy Spirit. So, edit the topic from being an analysis to interpretation.	The topic was edited	Cover page

	There is need to qualify the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of God, not God	Qualified	Page 1 to 40
2	You keep using is and was, yet your work is historical	Edited	Page 1 to 40
3	Your time scope runs from 1877 to 1977, yet your work seems to not exceed 1961.	I edited the time to limit it up to 1961	Cover page and page 1 to 40
4	You refer to the province of the Church of Uganda but the church of the time you research about was called 'The province of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.	It was edited to the province of the church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi	Cover page and from page 1 to 40

Candidate's Name

KATUGUGU RAYMOND

Signature



Supervisor's Name/Signature

Kalsengyo
Erickson Mulindo Kalsengyo

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