

# The appropriation by a Congolese Pentecostal Church of the legacy of the vision and practices of a Norwegian Pentecostal Mission<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This article identifies some major aspects of the missionary vision and practices of the Norwegian Pentecostal Mission. We summarize them in the triad pneumatology (the central role attributed to the Holy Spirit), church-centred mission and the importance of education and training. We then show how this has been contextually appropriated by the Congolese Christians, thus showing their contributions to the work of the Norwegian missionaries until 1960 and some later implications of that legacy in the independent denomination that emerged from the Norwegian mission under the present name of *Communauté des Églises libres de Pentecôte en Afrique* (Association of Free Pentecostal Churches in Africa) in the Democratic Republic of Congo. An important part of that legacy is the missionary expansion to other parts of Congo and to other countries in Africa.

*Keywords:* Mission – Church – Norway – Congo – Pentecostalism

## Introduction

Mission is God's. Yet, on the historical level many scholars affirm that classical Pentecostalism has its origin in North America and that many pioneers elsewhere came from there. They formed mission associations and spread all over the world with a certain focus on the working-class. Norway was one of the European countries where the Pentecostal movement experienced a remarkable growth from 1906 and an early international expansion. One of the missionary fields was the Kivu province of the former Belgian Congo where the work began in 1922 under the name of *Mission libre norvégienne*, MLN (the Norwegian Free Mission)<sup>2</sup>. Out of that mission work a Congolese denomination now called *Communauté des Églises libres de Pentecôte en Afrique* (CELPA) was formed in 1960. In this article we will focus on some characteristics of the missionary vision and practices of MLN and how they were appropriated and contextualized by the Congolese Christians, thus showing their contributions to MLN until 1960 and some later implications of that legacy in CELPA in the Democratic Republic of Congo.<sup>3</sup>

As a study in the field of mission history this article also borders to African Church history. It is based on available archival material in Norway, Sweden and Congo as well as published articles and books. It will emphasize the role both of Norwegian and Congolese actors and include some reflection on the missiological dimension of the process from the work of a Pentecostal mission to the missionary vision in a Congolese Pentecostal denomination.

In this study we have been inspired by the American Pentecostal historian Augustus Cerillo's four complementary approaches to the study of Pentecostal origins in the USA: the providential approach (taking into account the role of the «providence», the supernatural), the historical roots approach (taking into account the continuity with the preceding social and religious developments), the approach of multicultural considerations (taking into account the role of ethnical and racial minorities) and the so-called functional or utilitarian approach (taking into account the interaction with the social and psychological context in attracting people to Pentecostalism).<sup>4</sup>

This article is divided into three sections. In the first we will present some main aspects of the missionary vision and practices of MLN. The second section will briefly introduce some important contributions from Congolese actors in appropriating this vision and these practices 1922-1960. In the third section we will exemplify some implications of this legacy in the later work of CELPA.

### Some major aspects of the missionary vision and practices of the Norwegian Pentecostal Mission

The initiator and founder of Norwegian Pentecostalism was Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940) from a Methodist family of British origin. As such he was influential in regard to its missionary work in general. The key person in regard to the mission work in the specific context of Congo was Gunnerius Tollefsen (1888-1966). The contribution of these persons and the early phase of the mission in Congo has been treated in detail by the American scholar David Bundy.<sup>5</sup> Here we will mention some for this article relevant facts.

Barratt got involved in Church work and became a Methodist minister. As such he was moulded by the revival heritage with an emphasis on conversion, holiness and mission. He also showed an interest in the social needs of his audience. As a consequence of this, he became involved in urban mission work in Kristiania/Oslo from 1902. He later travelled to England and to the USA to raise funds for this work within the Methodist Church but without great success. In New York, rather discouraged and preparing to return to Norway, he got in contact with some people telling him about

the Pentecostal revival at Azusa Street in Los Angeles. This led him to an experience of the power of the Holy Spirit in November 1906. Back home this gave the urban mission a new direction and gave an impetus to the Pentecostal revival in Norway. He later left the Methodist Church and a long process of structuring a missionary work started, based in the Filadelfia Congregation in Oslo.

Barratt – and the emerging local churches that associated themselves with that of Kristiania under his leadership – highlighted the importance of the personal conversion, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the witness of the Gospel to everyone everywhere and the central role of the local church in this. Based on these fundamentals, the movement became missionary and its missionaries implanted churches that became large denominations in different parts of the world. Barratt was convinced that the spiritual power enabling this mission did not come from the USA but from heaven.<sup>6</sup> Very early he embraced the conviction that the mission should be accomplished all over the world in order to precipitate the return of Christ.

Barratt's vision was transposed into the organizational process of the emergent mission branch of the Norwegian Pentecostal Movement in 1915.<sup>7</sup> This loosely organised but controversial body was discontinued in 1930 and a new order established, which was more suitable to the radical congregationalism of this movement.<sup>8</sup>

The man who brought this mission to Congo was Gunnerius Tollefsen (1888-1966).<sup>9</sup> Converted 1905 in a holiness congregation he soon experienced a call to be missionary. After a year of itinerant evangelism and three years of studies at Glasgow Bible Institute and the University of Edinburgh his interest was directed towards Africa. He was then recruited by Alma Doering, representative of the newly founded Congo Inland Mission (CIM), for mission work in the province of Kasai.<sup>10</sup> CIM was formed in the USA with a basis mainly among Mennonite holiness groups. Doering had been invited to speak at a conference in Norway by Barratt on the suggestion of the Swedish Baptist leader of the Örebro Mission, John Ongman. Together with Swedish and North American colleagues he worked in Kasai in the period 1915-1919 where he had increasing contact and involvement with the nearby American Presbyterian Mission. He was impressed by its solid church-planting and social work, by its vision of the autonomy of the emerging African Church as well as by the fact that this mission had at least one black African American among its missionaries. And Tollefsen saw the advantage of close collaboration between missions.

Back in Norway he supported a memorandum of intention between Barratt and the Swedish Pentecostal leader Lewi Pethrus done in 1920 preparing the way for a collaborative effort in Eastern Congo from 1921 in which Tollefsen was the leading pioneer. The emergent collaboration included for example a division of the working fields: the Swedish Free Mission (SFM) working among the Fulero people and MLN among the Bashi people, a common process of Bible translation and publishing of edification books in local languages, and working together in the setting up and management of schools. He also showed his conviction of the collaboration principle by taking part in the *International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa* which took place in Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926.<sup>11</sup>

In establishing the first site of MLN, Kaziba in south Kivu, in September 1922, Tollefsen showed ability and sensitivity in the contact with the local chiefs and in getting the confidence of village children. Another example which aroused positive reactions among the Congolese is the fact that he and his wife Oddbjørg adopted Emanuel Minos, born in Congo of a Greek father and an African mother. Back in Norway, Tollefsen took up in 1946 the position as General Secretary of the missionary branch of the Filadelfia Church in Oslo.

Another early missionary was John Brynhildsen (1902-1981) who with his wife Marie built up the second missionary station in Muganga-Kakwende-Burhinyi in

1928. He is known in Congo for having established a rotation credit system of cows with inspiration from an old cultural pattern. A family could get a cow on the condition that the first-born of that cow was given to another family in need etc. This example of a social alliance system helped many in Kivu, especially linked to the churches and schools of MLN and the emergent CELPA, to provide for their living. In fact, the system later enabled for example the first Congolese pastor in MLN, Jean Zahinda Zaluke, ordained in 1935, and others to support Norwegian missionaries who were cut off from their base in Norway during the Second World War.<sup>12</sup>

This system helped to promote a financial autonomy not only of a growing number of families but also of the local churches and to enable them to evangelize among other people-groups in Kivu, as the pioneer missionaries encouraged them to do. Very early those who went to neighbouring or more distant localities and people groups with the Gospel message were considered and called «missionaries».

The two pioneers Tollefsen and Brynhildsen became legal representative and deputy legal representative when their missionary structure was able to sign a document of legal person with the Belgian colonial government the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1929.

The medical doctor Oswald Orlien (1912-1998) developed the existing embryonic health services and established a hospital in Kaziba from 1958. He had served as elder of the church in Oslo under Barratt who designated him as his successor as pastor in 1940. This double identity as medical doctor and pastor later introduced an important dimension in the work of MLN, joining medical work and the proclamation of the Gospel to meet different needs of the local population. His bi-vocational approach, coming to Congo with the Bible in one hand and the lancet in the other,<sup>13</sup> attracted the sympathy of the local population and other people-groups in south Kivu and was an important factor in the expansion of the Church coming out of MLN.

A later Norwegian missionary who represents important aspects of the MLN work is Werner Haugen (1932-2003) with his wife Unni. He was a missionary kid and came back as missionary in the 1950'ies. He responded favourably to an invitation to support the mission work of pastor Stéphane M'Kyoku among the Bembe at Itombwe which was a new venture for MLN. In this period of unrest and tension within the colonial framework he humbly worked alongside M'Kyoku and supported him. An important factor here was the common experience of the power of the Holy Spirit, so congenial in a Pentecostal setting. Having himself pursued further training in different periods at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Oslo, he was involved in teaching at Bible schools and was director of that in Kakwende. Later he engaged himself in new pioneer work in Maniema, in the Eastern Province and finally in Kinshasa where he helped CELPA to be established in the capital. He was instrumental in constructing church buildings and housing for pastors and in establishing social and educational work among children. Another aspect of his activities was the initiative to establish a theological training institute (ISTEMI, Institut supérieur de théologie évangélique de la mission). For all this, he was continually raising the necessary funds.<sup>14</sup>

To summarize: From Barratt we retain especially his world-wide vision of mission and his emphasis on the autonomy of the local church; from Tollefsen his emphasis on collaboration in mission and on the importance to consider the cultural aspects in order to have the Gospel take root in the local milieu; from Brynhildsen his openness to apply a cultural element to a new system in order to facilitate the economical up-lifting of the church members; from Orlien his holistic integration of «the Bible and the lancet», of evangelism and social action; from Haugen his emphasis on education and his strategical promotion of expansion to new areas and especially of the denomination's establishment in the capital Kinshasa.

## The missionary models of the Norwegian Pentecostal Mission in Congo

The German missiologist Peter Beyerhaus refer to four missionary models or motifs<sup>15</sup> which were more or less all present in the MLN missionary enterprise. *The soteriological motif* was foundational as with most of the Christian missions in that era. The Norwegian missionaries felt called to proclaim the Gospel of God's salvation through Jesus Christ where it was not yet known. This was coupled with *the eschatological motif*, so common in revival circles during the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, especially expressed in Barratt's conviction that churches should be planted among all peoples in order to precipitate the return of Christ. *The antagonistic motif* can be seen in the fact that the missionaries in preaching and evangelism invited people to leave the traditional religious beliefs and practices and embrace the new belief and life in the church, based on the Christian Gospel. There were also instances of spiritual confrontation. Common to the approach of all the missionaries was the strong pneumatological component, the conviction that the Holy Spirit empowers and guides them for mission in the local environment as well as far away. This conviction helped them to surmount barriers imposed by the colonial system and by the predominance of the Catholic mission, often supported by the colonial administration.<sup>16</sup> This Pentecostal focus on the Spirit also contributes to worship characteristics which approaches *the doxological motif* in the Beyerhaus scheme.

One important factor, already mentioned, was the close collaboration, especially in the first phase, between the Swedish and the Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries. They also published together the journal *Shahidi la Kweli*, meaning in Swahili «Witness for the Truth», arranged common missionary conferences etc. There were however also some tensions between the two missions, for example regarding the management of the schools.<sup>17</sup>

The practices that the missionaries of MLN applied in their missionary work correspond essentially to the model of contextualization that the missiologist Stephen Bevans call *the Translation Model* which was the most common at that point of time. The Gospel message is understood as supra-cultural but needs to be communicated in a way that it could be appropriated within a culture which is different from that of the missionary.<sup>18</sup> That could lead the missionaries to change the focus of the communication of the Gospel, as was the case for the MLN early pioneers. They were prepared to focus on the proclamation of the name of Jesus, based on Acts 4.12, as the only «name» in which there is salvation, as the only way to God. However, they faced a population which was convinced that they were in contact with the Supreme Being through the spirits of the ancestors. Instead of developing a theological apologetics on this issue, the way forward became a slight shift of focus to the power of the name of Jesus. In the experience of power encounter the cultural and religious barrier was overcome and the Gospel embraced by a growing part of the local population.

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### Some major contributions from Congolese actors to the MLN work until 1960

The Belgian Church historian E. M. Braekman notes that Congolese evangelists played important roles in the pioneer work and in establishing new mission sites. Those who were involved in setting up the station in Muganga-Kakwende in 1928 together with Brynhildsen were Salaya, Matini and Runyeruka, all from Kaziba.<sup>19</sup> The evangelist Lwishi from Kakwende or Burhinyi took up work among the Barega people. And so it went on.<sup>20</sup>

One aspect of this pioneer work which is often overlooked is the fact that several of these sites indicated by the local chiefs were traditional places for adoration of spirits and sacrifices.<sup>21</sup> The chiefs may have thought that the missionaries and the Congolese evangelists would soon leave those places and the region.<sup>22</sup> But for them the

challenge was understood in terms of a spiritual battle and they combated the spirits by the power of the name of Jesus-Christ and succeeded to establish most of the intended stations. This Pentecostal pioneer work thus used *the antagonistic model* as described by Beyerhaus. In this context, an important aspect was that new converts who were repudiated by their families were invited to live with Christians where they were protected and edified in their new faith.

People looking back to the MLN work in the 1920'ies and 1930'ies notice the spiritual revival as an important factor for the expansion. Inspired by the revival both missionaries and their local collaborators crossed borders between people groups in Kivu, in the first place, but also into Rwanda and Burundi. In this, not only evangelists but also other members («lay people») took an active and important part.<sup>23</sup> This link between pneumatology and mission, especially in empowering Christians to cross ethnical and other borders in witness for the Gospel is also noticed by Cerillo.<sup>24</sup>

Scholars have observed that the Pentecostal revival in general for quite long time did not consider ministerial training and theological reflection important, as the adherents gave priority to emotional experience and spiritual power and inspiration.<sup>25</sup> In Congo, this was somewhat attenuated due to the leadership of Tollefsen and his own experience of education in Scotland as well as of the medical doctor Orlien and later Haugen who pursued theological studies. The missionaries combined evangelism and church planting with biblical and general teaching which then developed into formal schools. The strategy was that each mission station should have a church school or a primary school. In the 1930'ies teachers were trained to teach in the schools and evangelists were trained to become church leaders and pastors. They often became appreciated leaders in the local communities and some of them, like Samuel Matabishi Chirindira, Jacques Mudidja and Silas Mugiriba, were later elected to positions as town councillors and provincial or national deputies.

Progressively the MLN churches forming a kind of denominational community took responsibility for the ongoing church planting, for mission into new regions and people groups and for establishing of schools in new villages and towns. From 1948, MLN received governmental subsidies for the schools. In 1951, MLN together with 25 other Protestant missions signed a schooling convention with the colonial government.<sup>26</sup> The year before, in 1950, MLN started together with the Swedish Free Mission a formal teacher training in Lemera. In 1956 the first Bible school on the denominational level was set up in Kakwende for a formal training of evangelists and pastors. All this resulted in an expansion of schools and churches into new localities.<sup>27</sup>

The Congolese Christians in Kivu thus appropriated the main vision and practices of the Norwegian missionaries which can be summarized in the triad pneumatology – ecclesio-centric mission – education and training. The pneumatological factor here correspond to Cerillo's providential approach to Pentecostal mission, focusing on the underlying essential conviction that the vision and the practices are based in the divine action of the Holy Spirit.

### **Some major aspects of the missionary vision and practices of CELPA after 1960**

The involvement of the Congolese collaborators and their contextual appropriation of the vision and practices of the Norwegian pioneers, as observed in this article, were still done in a context where the Norwegian missionaries had the responsibility of the management of MLN. In May 1960, just before the political independence and the following turmoil and civil war, a conference was held in Kalambi gathering missionaries and pastors as representatives of the eight local churches. A new name was adopted, *Association des Églises libres de Kivu* (Association of the Free Churches of Kivu)<sup>28</sup> as well as a resolution for the sharing of responsibilities between Norwegian

missionaries and Congolese pastors. Simon Lukeba, the first evangelist who studied to become a teacher and later became inspector in charge of all primary schools in the denomination, was designated as its legal representative.

In 1962, a jubilee of the 40 years of the MLN was celebrated in the presence of the pioneer Tollefsen. In 1963 the full responsibility for the denomination was finally handed over to the Congolese. Bashi (Pierre) Totoro became new legal representative. The involvement of Norwegian missionaries in the work depended from that time on the invitation from CELPA. This whole process may be labelled a gradual integration.<sup>29</sup>

Even though there were some cross-cultural missionary work within Kivu, this movement was hindered to spread to other parts of the province and of course outside of Kivu by the principle of repartition of working fields among Protestant mission societies. This principle was proposed by the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh 1910 and applied to Belgian Congo by the creation of the Continuation Committee in a missionary conference at Bolenge in 1911. This committee intended to see to it that no mission work was accomplished outside the attributed working field.<sup>30</sup>

This practice changed gradually because of the interior migration of people between regions and provinces, but lost its legitimacy especially after the national independence in 1960. Between 1960 and 1975 the expansion of CELPA was however mainly within the province of Kivu. Even so, from 1969 a clearly cross-cultural move took place in Maniema, an Islamic sub-region of Kivu. A governmental decree No 72-195 of March 28, 1973 stated that the associations originating from Protestant missions had the right to work on the whole territory of the country. This opened up for new missionary ventures first within Kivu, in Bukavu situated in the area of the Swedish Free Mission, then in the Eastern Province (1979), in Katanga (1985), in the Equator province (1985) and in the capital Kinshasa (1987). In all these cases, CELPA evangelists, pastors, teachers, health workers and other members took the lead, sometimes supported by Norwegian missionaries, like Werner Haugen in Kinshasa. They thus showed that they had appropriated the mission vision of Barratt and the MLN and its holistic character, integrating evangelism, church planting and educational and social work.

### Critical and contextual appropriation of the legacy

A study of the period 1960-1995 shows however that the appropriation of the MLN legacy is critical and contextual, in the sense that CELPA understands that the strict congregationalism of Barratt will not work in Congo. The structures of CELPA were strengthened to support the expansion. CELPA was even forced by the Protestant ecumenical body «the Church of Christ in Congo» to adopt a kind of Presbyterian church order in 1973. But there is at the same time a kind of flexibility, allowing for individual initiatives of lay members of the Church to start work at new places.

The legacy of Barratt included however the global vision of mission to the whole world. This was also according to the words of Jesus in the Acts of the Apostles 1:8. CELPA leaders therefore envisaged mission enterprises outside Congo. The partnership with the new mission structure PYM (*De norske pinsemenigheters ytremisjon*, the Norwegian Pentecostal Churches Foreign Mission) in the Norwegian Pentecostal Movement was strengthened in this direction. In this context CELPA decided in 1985 to commit itself to intercessory prayer for Moslem countries in West Africa. This engagement was also tuned into the AD2000 initiative on the global scene to promote mission initiatives in the so-called 10/40 window<sup>31</sup>. In 1995 the name of the denomination was changed to include Africa in the name (instead of Zaïre/Congo). Practical preparations were set in motion for a first mission initiative in Niger: an exploratory field trip to Niger, recruitment and training of missionary candidates, etc. In September 1996 the first missionaries were selected and the necessary fund-raising took

place. The commission service of pastor Zacharie Mulenga with family took place in November 1998. Some days later the family started their itinerary to Niger. Like the sending service for Tollefsen and his co-missionaries in Oslo in 1921, this service in Kinshasa had a great impact on the own denomination and beyond. It was a great event not only for CELPA but for the Protestant Church in Congo.

The missionary work in Niger encountered however a cultural tension for which the missionaries were not prepared. They were prepared for the sharing of the Gospel in a Muslim context in general but they had not taken into account the cultural and ethnical diversity of the inhabitants of Niamey, the capital of Niger. This made it difficult for them to cope with some of the cultural aspects in general and with the diversity of local languages in particular and they experienced a kind of cultural choc. A longer period of adaptation to the context and of language training was therefore necessary before they could be fit for the work. We must conclude that in addition to a theological training for mission and a sentiment of dependence on the Holy Spirit it is necessary to see to the flexibility of the missionary candidates to cope with multiple cultural and religious realities and tensions on the field of work. On this point, maybe we can see a neglect on the part of CELPA to learn from the experience of early Norwegian missionaries.

One of the missionary candidates, pastor Meshak Rumbuguza, felt led by the Holy Spirit to move to Rwanda in 1999 and plant a CELPA church there. During this period, from 1996, an emerging church planting work had also taken place in Tanzania, first among Congolese refugees and later also among Tanzanians. Another church planting work of CELPA took place in the Central African Republic (CAR) as a fruit of the religious activity of Congolese migrants. They were not sent as missionaries and had no biblical training but felt guided by the Holy Spirit to witness in their new context. They were later open to more biblical training, used their homes as missionary milieus and collected funds to extend their mission to new parts of the capital Bangui and even in other provinces. In this process there is a kind of continuity with the missionary vision and practice of the early MLN. This extension to CAR is however not dependent on Norwegian support but is now essentially supported by local CELPA churches in Congo.

These missionary actions within and outside Congo took place in a period of great turmoil, incessant violence and military conflicts in the country and especially in the eastern part. The disastrous consequences for ordinary people forced CELPA to strengthen its social work in many ways and focused on peace and reconciliation, trauma therapy to war victims, as well as community development.<sup>32</sup>

In spite of certain adjustments and changes, CELPA stays at large with the MLN legacy of pneumatology, church-centred mission and education. The church-centred mission is understood in a more contextual way and is adjusted to circumstances in their own country. The education and training now include theological and other institutions on university level, but they still articulate a Pentecostal mission theology.

## Conclusion

In this article we have shown some major aspects of the missionary vision and practices of the Norwegian Free Mission in Congo focusing on the legacy of Barratt and the missionaries Tollefsen, Brynhildsen, Orlien and Haugen. They may be summarized in the triad pneumatology (the central role attributed to the Holy Spirit), church-centred mission and the importance of education and training. In reviewing some major contributions from Congolese actors in working them out in the MLN work until 1960 we have noticed an evident appropriation of the MLN vision and practices although with some contextual adjustments. After the church autonomy in the 1960'ies there is a major continuity with this legacy, especially in the missi-



onary vision of taking the Gospel from the local contexts to other people groups in the country and beyond in Africa, expanding the mission work into Niger, Rwanda, Tanzania and Central African Republic. Because of this the denominational name was changed to include Africa, instead of Zaïre/Congo. The contextual and historical circumstances also warranted a widening of the traditional social work of the Norwegian mission.

The approaches to the study of the Pentecostal beginnings in the USA as laid down by Augustus Cerillo have been relevant to deepen the understanding of the origin and development of an African Pentecostal Church like CELPA. This article also shows the importance and the fruitfulness for a Church to study its historical and theological roots and how it may contextually and critically appropriate them in the deployment of its missionary vision into the future.

## Noter

1. *This article is based on the author's doctoral dissertation at Bangui Evangelical School of Theology defended in January 2017. The title in French is De la Mission Libre Norvégienne aux Églises libres de Pentecôte en Afrique (1922-2007) : Une étude missiologique. The article has been translated and edited into the NTM format by Göran Janson from Örebro School of Theology in Sweden, who was associate supervisor to Yves Mulume.*
2. *The Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries started their mission work in the Belgian Congo under the name of Mission libre norvégienne (MLN), a parallel name to Mission libre suédoise used by the Swedish Pentecostal missionaries in a neighbouring area of Congo. At that time, in the 1920'ies, the name of the sending missionary structure in Norway was Norges Frie Evangeliske Hedningemission (Norwegian Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen). This structure was dissolved in 1930 and was later replaced on a congregationalist basis by De norske pinsemenigheters ytre misjon, PYM (The Foreign Mission of the Norwegian Pentecostal churches), now known as Pinsemisjonen with the name The Norwegian Pentecostal Mission in English. In the Congolese context the work of the Norwegian missionaries was generally known as MLN although the network of local churches took on the legal name Association des Églises libres de Norvège (AELN) in 1929 and until the church independence in 1960.*
3. *Since AELN was restructured in 1960 the new independent denomination has had different names according to its own development and that of the country: Association des Églises libres du Kivu (AELKi) 1960-1969; Association des Églises libres du Congo (AELC) 1969-1982; Communauté des Églises libres au Zaïre (CELZa) 1982-1995. For*
4. *the sake of convenience, in this article I will mainly use the present one, Communauté des Églises libres de pentecôte en Afrique (CELPA) 1995-.*
4. *Augustus Cerillo, «Interpretative Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins,» Pneuma 19, nr. 1, (1997), 29-52.*
5. *David Bundy, Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2009).*
6. *As quoted by Oddvar Nilsen, Ut i all verden: Pinsevennes ytre misjon i 75 år (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1984), 25.*
7. *The new structure got the name Norges Frie Evangeliske Missionsforbund (The Free Evangelical Missionary Association of Norway) until the name change in 1920 to Norges Frie Evangeliske Hedningemission (Norwegian Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen).*
8. *This process is summarized by Olav Uglem, Norsk Misjonshistorie (Oslo: Lunde Forlag, 1979/2002), 211-214.*
9. *Tollefsen has described his life and work in Congo in Gunnarius Tollefsen, Men Gud gav vekst: En pionermisjonær ser tilbake (Oslo: Korsets Seiers Forlag, 1934; Filadelfiaforlaget, 1963).*
10. *See Göran Janson, «Guds virvelvind» med «nöd för Kongo» Alma Doering (1878-1959) – med särskilt fokus på relationen till svensk kongomission (Örebro: ÖTH-rapport, 2003).*
11. *Edvin Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa. A Study based on the Work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926 (London: The International Missionary Council, 1926), 186.*

12. Eikeland, Ingeborg, «L'œuvre missionnaire de la MLN au Congo de 1922-2007». Mail to legal representative of CELPA, Zacharie Lwamira, 03.06.2007.
13. Cf. Oswald Orlén, *I Kongo med Bibel og operationskniv* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1962).
14. Collection of archival documents on Werner and Unni Haugen, put together by Yves Mulume in Kinshasa 2005.
15. As rendered by Hannes Wiher in *Bible et mission : Vers une théologie évangélique de la mission* (Charols : Excelsis, 2011), 145-146.
16. See Bengt Sundkler & Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Uppsala: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 768-770
17. Interview with the Swedish missionary Daniel Halldorf in Gothenburg 27.03.2017.
18. Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2002), 37. Bruce Nicholls, «Towards a Theology of Gospel and Culture», *Gospel and Culture: The Papers of a Consultation on the Gospel and Culture*, ed John Stott and Robert Coote (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1979), 70.
19. E. M. Braekman, *Histoire du protestantisme au Congo* (Brussels, 1961), 214.
20. Cf. Wateraninwa Miango Katutas, «La genèse de l'Église de la CELZa Kalambi/Kahoyou», *Shahidi la Kweli 1* (1981): 1-2, et *Archives de Bruxelles Vol 17 : 47 : 2 Correspondence 1947-1955 MLN 1947-1954*, lettre 31.10.1949. See also the archives of CELPA.
21. For the link between the chiefs and the places for traditional worship, see Isidore Ndaywel *Histoire Générale du Congo: De l'héritage ancien à la République Démocratique* (Brussels: Afrique-Éditions, 1998), 62-64.
22. Interview with Josué Baguma in Bukavu 14.02.2014. B. is a relative to one of these chiefs.
23. See Bashi B. Totoro, *Histoire ya makanisa ya CELZ 1922-1987* (Bukavu: Shahidi Presse, 1990). Cf. also the general comment on spiritual revivals as cradles for progress in mission in Samuel Escobar, *La mission à l'heure de la mondialisation* (Marne-la-Vallée: Farel, 2006), 103.
24. Cerillo, *Interpretative Approaches*, 38-39.
25. See J. P. Willaime, «Pentecôtisme: contours et paradoxes d'un protestantisme émotionnel», *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, January-March 1999, 13-14.
26. *Archives de Bruxelles 17:52 Correspondence 1947-1955; MNL 1947-1954*.
27. Gunilla N. Oskarsson, *Le mouvement pentecôtiste. Une communauté alternative au sud du Burundi 1935-1960* (Uppsala: The Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 2004), 223-224. Nilsen, *Ut i all verden*, 15.
28. Cf. note 3.
29. Göran Janzon, 'La seconde conversion': D'une mission suédoise à des Églises africaines sur le champ de travail de la Mission d'Örebro en Afrique centrale 1914-1962 (Örebro: Votum, 2008/2012), 396.
30. Gösta Stenström, *Les Archives de Bruxelles/The Brussels Archives 1922-1968* (Missio No 27, Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, Uppsala; Falköping: Editions Kim-pese, 2009), 38.
31. This term has been used for mission strategy purposes to describe a rectangular-shaped window 10 degrees by forty degrees north of the equator, including around 60 countries from West Africa to East Asia, where the majority of the so-called unreached peoples live, those who have not heard the Gospel and/or who are not within reach of churches of their own people. Cf. Scott Moreau (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), 938.
32. See CELPA, «Présentation de l'oeuvre de la CELPA».

