

Appendix

to

**The Making of an African Clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi with
special focus on the Election of Bishops 1898-1996**

by Henry Mbaya

Interviews

Interviewee: Father David D. Banda
Retired priest
Liwaladzi, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya
30th January 1996,

Age: 72

HM: Father, it has been a long time since we last saw one another, probably five years have lapsed. I come here to ask you if you can help me to try to know what actually was happening with the training of the African leadership in our church in the years gone by. I am particularly interested in the training of the African clergy under the missionaries. With your experience am sure you will be able to share some of what you know with me as a student of the University of Natal.

DB: I will try where I can for I have been outside active ministry for a long time now.

HM: What were most important areas that the missionaries stressed in the training of the Africans as clergy?

DB: Emphasis was on the esteem of the priesthood as "kingship". The position and status of a priest was approximated to that of a local chief. A priest was a teacher, leader and judge of cases in his local society. He was a teacher of morals. He was on the same par as a local chief to some extent even greater. In some cases this would provoke rivalry between the two. For example Fr. Leonard Kamungu was poisoned by the chief.

Another important emphasis was on family leadership with strong emphasis on moral leadership and strength of character one displayed in his family with respect to discipline vis-a-vis children. It was assumed that if a prospective priest is incapable of exercising his family leadership, how he would be able

to lead many. The early missionary medium of instructions at Msumba and Likoma was the vernacular language, *Chinyanja* and *Chikhobwe*. The reason behind this was that the men who were available then were men of low standards. However, there was also another dimension. The missionaries were very selfish politically. They did not want Anglicans to have higher education quickly.

HM: How? What do you mean?

DB: When a missionary priest noticed that an African was very clever at standard 2, mind you in those days very few would reach standard 4, those who reached it were destined to become teachers. Some clever ones, promising pupils in standard 4 could be blocked by encouraging them to become teachers as a first step towards the priesthood. Promotion meant being raised from a teacher to the priesthood. They were very tricky.

Before the Province of Central Africa was established in 1955, training was being conducted in various Theological institutions in different dioceses. In Zambia, it was at Chipili mission, those guys were like lay readers. In the diocese of Nyasaland, it was Likoma. In 1955 with the establishment of the Province of Central Africa that brought together students from diocese of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. Even these early priests at St. Johns were taught in the vernacular. Bishop Nyanja, Fr Joel Bai came to the college in 1957.

HM: May I take you back to the issue of requirements far early into the priesthood. What did you say was the basic criteria?

DB: The whole congregation had to give a strong recommendation. It was the congregation, which had to take the initiative. Yes I remember, at St John's College, it was in 1960 when English was made the official medium of instruction. Between 1958 and 1960 the syllabus for the Seminary changed. English became dominant. I went to College in 1962, then Mr. Aipa was the youngest, but very clever but also childish. In those days, recommendation for ministry came from the whole congregation. It was some people in the whole congregation who had to approach the parish priest and recommend that we believe this particular boy to be called. Then the priest or bishop would have discussions with the person concerned and to find out from him whether he feel called to the ministry. The theology behind this is is that it is God through his church who calls his people.

Today it is almost the opposite. It is the aspirant who first approaches the priest (after the congregation, he would consent or decline. In those earlier days, the matter would be put back to the people. If he agreed to go to the Seminary, before he left, a *-si quis-* that is a public inquiry into the life and their opinion as to his suitability would be sought. The announcement would be made three times. The congregation would be

asked to consent or not depending on how they knew his life as a person. Similarly, before ordination, just like the time awaiting to go to Seminary, as *si quis* would be proclaimed three times. It was like marriage. The whole idea behind this was that the priesthood was like marriage, once married there was no going or looking back.

HM: How long did training at St John's last?

DB: Training at St John's took four years. After second year, an ordinand was made deacon. Then followed a period of six months or one year of pastoral work. After the pastoral period you returned to the Seminary. This was unlike St. Andrews when the college was at Msumba and Likoma, you had to serve the diaconate for one year, but if you were still shaky or showed signs of immaturity, your diaconate would be prolonged for more years.

HM: What subjects were taught at St John's College? How did they help to try to form into the students the trade and spirit of the priesthood?

DB: We were taught philosophy, psychology, sociology, and off course theology. In the course of our training particular stress was laid on forming attitudes and habits. We were made to believe that there was a distinction between the secular world and the church. We had to think of the secular world as in conflict with sacred world, the church. That was why the college was located outside the centre of town outside the worldly life. We were always made to think that as seminarians we were different from the others. We had to live a life that was meant to be so different from the others. We were supposed to be prayerful people.

HM: Were you conditioned?

DB: Yes, conditioned. We were conditioned and molded into the priesthood through habits of prayer. When you sat or were talking as we are you had to be conscious at the back of your mind that you were at prayer. Prayer was the backbone of our life. We were conditioned to believe that when we were outside the college premises people were watching us what we were doing or saying.

HM: Who was the warden of the college during your time?

DB: It was Fr Rees Philips, who later on was succeeded by Fr Weller. Fr Rees was an all-round priest. He was an expert almost in every subject, whether, pastoralia, ethics, theology, you name it. Weller was very good in pastoral studies and practical work. Priesthood was a highly esteemed profession. I remember on ordination day, a lawyer was present. You had to swear in his presence. Moreover, the lawyer to sign certain documents pertaining to your ordination. By virtue of your ordination you also became a

commissioner of oath so much so that henceforth you had legal authority for which you could act as a commissioner in all civil matters. Since by virtue of ordination you become a commissioner of oath you are under no obligation to swear in matters where civil cases were being held.

HM: I once had an interview with Fr Rodney Hunter in where he referred to the strike that took place at St John's seminary.

DB: Do you know what that? It concerned students who were apparently not happy when Fr Hunter joined the students' table in the dinning hall. We staged a strike in 1963. That was exciting. Let me tell you about it. You know, I am telling you all this because you are my son. If it were somebody, I would require a fee for all this because I know this will help you as a student to write your Ph. D.

HM: Thank you father for your kindness, Father.

DB: Yes in 1963, all sorts of things were taking place. It was the time that earn nationalist leaders like Kanda were fiercely challenging colonial authority in Central Africa was very high. Anyway, in 1963 the strike was about the Bible which was in the Library. This bible portrayed all black people as unworthy to enter the kingdom of God. It had pictures which told stories that all black people would never enter the kingdom of God. There was especially another page where it was made plain that the kingdom of God was not for black people.

HM: In particular how did it convey this message?

DB: There was writing in black ink on the inside covers of the Bible which depicted blacks as snakes having tails while the whites like angels. Under the angels were blacks in hell. Not only these pictures but there was also some comments which portrayed the whites as better than the Africans.

HM: How did you come across this bible. I was the librarian. One day, I was going through books and I came across this bible. Having read it, I kept on passing it to friends in the college. That's how it begun. we all started getting worked up. You know when you are a student you become radical and there is a sense in which you want something, a sense of adventure. We, Loyd Chikoko, myself and Mushambi started to argue that the bible should be burned. Our question was, "If Africans are not going to enter the kingdom of God, why are we here?" We bought petrol and burned the bible in the presents of Archbishop Olivier.

HM: Was the archbishop's residence close to the college. It was not far, just like from here my house to where you packed your car. You mean about 150 metres. Yes: Anyway we burned the bible while Archbishop Oliver was watching. Oh yes! I remembered quite clearly now, the strike started because of

plates, blankets. Especially plate, these were very bad in very poor condition there were soiled and there condition could not even improved by washing them with soap. Students made demands; such as rooms must be renovated, good beds and plates. We also demanded the improvement of the poor diet. We also complained about the long distance. We had to go to the hospital since we had no transport. As a result of the strike plates were bought, a car for our transport was bought within a short time.

HM: In your opinion, how did it happen that such a bible ended up in the seminary library? Did not the warden staff know something about this?

DB: The Bible came as a gift from South Africa. The warden knew about all books that came in the college library. He must have known about this one. We told the warden that for us to stay we must burn the bible and we did it.

HM: But when did the strike of which Fr Hunter was connected will take place?

DB: I think that look place during the time of Fr Mkoweka or Sauli.

HM: In the official history of the U.M.C.A especially the one by Blood, the missionaries asserted that their objective was to raise an African Church that was rooted in the soil. How do you react this assertion?

HM: But in their mission they seemed to have had indigenisation in mind.

DB: I was sent to the Roman Catholic Church college in Kenya. Catholics were the very first to do that in Africa. Since the UMCA came here in 1861 they never adapted even one custom in the African liturgy, while three Catholics were doing that. We have grown up into the Western kind of worship. The relationship between the African and the missionary was something like a horse and a rider. A European would ride a horse while an African had to be satisfied. The missionaries looked upon the African horse had no freedom of choice.

HM: Can you remember the ways in which this attitude between the white and Africans was shown?

DB: At Chiphyla, Likoma, the Africans had their own dinning room separated from those of the Europeans. Even at Msoro, Zambia a white priest had a servant while an African had none.

HM: Did you go to Msoro?

DB: I was selected by the people of Msoro to go to college and not by the Church in Malawi. I was not selected by the Church in Malawi.

HM: How can you describe the relationship between the white priest and the African brother? can you recall of the situations when conflicts arose?

DB: White clergy and laity considered themselves as if they knew everything. When you argued with him, you were called a bad man. I myself had rough time with Fr Hadow who was the Archdeacon of Likoma when I was a student. I beat him up.

HM: How did it begin?

DB: It happen that I got a message in Zambia, that my mother was very sick at Likoma and it had been recommended that she has to go to the hospital in Blantyre. When I reported to Bishop Oliver, he gave me money about K200. He sent the money to my Bishop who sent it to Fr. Hadow to give it to my mother. However, Fr. Hadow just gave that money to one of our relatives who misused the money. After sometime, I myself went to Likoma form school.

I arrived at Likoma in the morning when Fr Hadow was coming from the dinning room after breakfast, immediately he saw me, he started shouting at me: why have you left the Seminary. What are you doing here? I was very furious with his arrogant behaviour. I punched him with my fist and I got the better of him. At once he fell down. I beat him very hard. After that I left to see my mother. Later on Fr Hadow reported what I have done. Bishop Oliver asked him one question; how did it all begin, He had the problem in handling this. Eventually, Fr Hadow and I became very good friends and buried our past.

HM: Earlier you said something about the padre and the church.

DB: Yes, in the earliest time the church was the padre (priest), padre' meant church. Nothing could take place in the church without authorisation of the priest. Everything was done by the priest only. Shared ministry only came in 1957.

HM: Thanks so much, one last question, why did Bishop Nyanja's intention to move the church headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe generate conflict?

DB: No, it was Bishop Mtekatika who had begun it all. It was during Bishop Mtekatika's time when the church in America started raising money for the project. However, Bishop Nyanja took it upon himself to pose as if he was the one who was initiating the move.

HM: How was Bishop Nyanja elected?

DB: The circumstances surrounding the election of Bishop Nyanja were unfortunate. There were a number of candidates who contended for his position. One was Henry Mikaya, the other one was Fr. Lunda. As far as I can remember, Bishop Nyanja was never elected by a majority vote. I strongly believe that late Fr. Malewezi as a training chaplain at Malosa who was very close to Bishop Arden at Malosa had some influence in it. Oh yes I remember that Fr. Mikaya had returned from Kenya and it was found out that he had proved too expensive. Immediately after this episode, recommended names were sent to Archbishop Arden. I strongly believe that the presence of Fr. Malewezi as the training chaplain close to Donald Arden played an important part.

HM: In what way can you say that Bishop Nyanja's episcopate has been influenced by his training background?

DB: Bishop Nyanja went to a theological college in Tanzania. During his time in the seminary he seemed to be a prayerful man. You know as a priest he was a good man. He was quite powerful. However, some of us have seen him change as a bishop. He is too slow to forgive his colleagues and has a vengeful spirit. He rarely forgets the faults of other people. Him and I have never come to an agreement. He has grown to be selfish.

HM: Thank you so much Father for your time. I really appreciate what you have shared with me.

DB: You are welcome

Interviewee: Bishop Peter Nathaniel Nyanja
Bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi (1978-2004)
Bishop's Residence, Lilongwe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya
22nd November 1996

HM: My Lord bishop, I thank you so much for granting me this opportunity to talk to you asking you to share part of your life, your past experience with me. I know it is not always easy for people like you who are busy to share your time with others. For this I am more than grateful.

PN: Well, I am happy to see you, Henry and I wish all the best in your studies.

HM: Bishop Nyanja when were you born?

PN: In the year 1939, in 10th June in Madanjala parish, in Ntchisi district.

HM: How did you eventually become a Christian?

First I began school in the church however, it so happened that when I was attending class it so happened that when I received the cross, I suffered a lot in our family, got so sick and people lost hope. I was then 12 years. People were so concerned about me. The day that people were expecting that I would leave this world, a catechist came and baptised me, and that time I was in the old standard five.

HM: When was that?

PN: It was in 1962.

HM: After getting well what happened in terms of your spiritual life?

PN: That time I was a young boy and I continued going to school. I went to what was called in those days Buzi Central School. Then at that stage I was confirmed by Bishop Frank Thorne.

HM: When was that?

PN: I cannot remember now.

HM: Now after your confirmation how was your Christian life like?

PN: I went ahead but you know the priesthood of those days and to day is different. During the missionary days you had to start as a teacher first before you became a priest.

HM: Who inspired you to become a priest?

PN: It was Fr. Mbiza.

HM: Who was Fr. Mbiza?

PN: Fr. Mbiza was a priest-in-charge. In those days Fr. Mbiza was covering the whole Ntchisi district, Dowa, Kasungu and Lilongwe districts. He used to stay in Kasungu.

I worked at Chalundu then at Mkanile. When I was at Chalundu I did a lot of work then Fr. Msonthi asked me if I could serve in the ministry. Then I went to teach in Nkhotakota, that is where I was interviewed by Fr. Malewezi, who was also the chaplain of Bishop Donald Arden. I did not go to train for priesthood straight away I was sent to Mindolo training Centre in Zambia for some training which was in a form of testing.

HM: Why were you tested?

PN: In those old missionary days testing was seen as an important part as process towards the training for the priesthood. So that a person must work hard as I told you I was serving under Canon Msonthi who told Bishop Donald Arden who was not satisfied. However, then he explained to me the reasons for the priesthood asking me if I was prepared. I then did not go for training but I went to Kanyenda from there its when I went for the priesthood in 1968.

HM: How did one qualify or start training as a teacher?

PN: For me I think they wanted to see me how prepared I was.

HM: What interested you in church life?

PN: What attracted most in the life of the church was the dedicated services of the clergy. We were also encouraging each other that we need to serve since the field is large while the servants are few as it is written in the Bible. Donald Arden told me that there were problems in the ministry as the pay of a priest is so little but if God has called one everything is under God.

HM: Tell me during your time in the years gone by what procedures were followed for those who wanted to become priests?

PN: No the procedure was the same. I recall myself. There were three of us.

HM: Who were these?

PN: One of them is now late, the other one has just recently passed away.

HM: Now why were you selected from the teaching profession to the priesthood?

PN: They knew that the teaching profession is not far from church work. Let us say the teacher prays and also preaches so the idea was that by taking these responsibilities as a teacher he would then feel comfortable to do the same things by the time he becomes a priest.

HM: Now do I hear you saying that one had to be interviewed before being admitted for training as a teacher?

PN: Yes indeed, there was an interview. Having gone through the interview one would then be selected to train for the priesthood as we had to go for training in Tanzania in 1969.

HM: When did you leave Tanzania?

PN: We had spent only two years then we left Tanzania in 1971 and went to Zambia.

HM: When did you leave Zambia?

PN: In 1971 we were in Zambia training at St. John's Seminary.

HM: How did you train in Tanzania? I mean what was it like?

PN: The training standard in Tanzania was of very high standard than at St. John's Seminary. When we left Tanzania for Zambia there at St. John's we were promoted we were ahead of the others. Tanzania was a much better place as far as training was concerned.

HM: In what manner?

It was not easy to study there.

HM: What was stressed in the training curricula for training priests in Tanzania?

PN: The emphasis was on spirituality, the life of a priest.

HM: Who are the lecturers that you remember now?

PN: In Tanzania there was Fr. James Potts, in Malawi there were four of us, Bishop Malango, Fr. Henry Mikaya with his family, Fr. Nanganga and Fr. Luwe Yeppe and his family and myself.

HM: What aspects of training really touched you?

PN: It was the Christian life, worshipping life, there was also sacrificial life, devotion and dedication, life centred in Christianity. However, our life was hard one. We had to grow our own food.

HM: Was it a sort of preparation for the priesthood?

PN: Yes, for I remember we were not given enough allowance but then we were able to survive.

HM: Lord bishop, will you remind me when did you go to Zambia for training?

PN: In 1971.

HM: How long did you stay in Zambia?

PN: You know there in Zambia they realised that our studies in Tanzania were of a high standard because of this we only had to do three years instead of four, so we finished our training at the end of 1971 when we returned home.

HM: Who was the Warden at St. John's Seminary in Zambia?

PN: One was John Weller and there was another teacher who was very strict.

HM: In what aspects was this teacher strict?

PN: This was especially in the area of church discipline especially in terms of worship, liturgy.

HM: What happened after you finished your training at St. John's?

PN: St. John's Seminary was closed.

HM: Why was it closed?

PN: The three of us were ordained priests, Henry Mikaya, Bishop Malango and myself and the one who ordained me was Bishop Mtekateka and not Bishop Frank Thorne because Bishop Arden was now a bishop.

HM: Since Bishop Frank Thorne confirmed you what sort of person was he?

PN: During the time of Bishop Frank Thorne things were quite difficult because of his influence. We used to meet Bishop Frank Thorne in Tanzania. He was in Lindi. He still remembered Malawi, he still remembers *Chambo* fish from Lake Malawi. However, in his spirituality, Bishop Frank was different from Arden. Bishop Frank Thorne was a very prayerful man, spending long hours in church.

HM: Thank you so much my Lord Bishop for all what you have shared with me.

PN: It is a pleasure. I hope I have been of assistance to you.

HM: Indeed, you have been. Thanks so much. I really appreciate what you have done for me.

PN: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Canon Rodney Hunter
Matamangwe Anglican Church, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

18th December 1996

HM: Father, I want to thank you for giving me the opportunity to come and talk to you. I am conscious that you are busy. Despite of your busy schedule you have made room in your day programme to fit me in.

Thank you so much.

RH: You are welcome.

HM: My research subject is the training of the Anglican clergy during the missionary era. I know that you have spent almost your entire life so far training the clergy for the church in Central Africa, so you must be in a better position to assist me. I understand that you taught the present bishop of this diocese, Peter Nyanja, Bishop Malango in Zambia, Bishop Aipa and other bishops and clergy both in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

RH: Yes.

HM: I would like us first to go back to the 60s and 70s and perhaps to the 80s. Where were you at that time? I mean what were you doing?

RH: I was in Zambia at St. John's Seminary, the provincial college for the Anglican Church in Central Africa.

HM: As a provincial seminary you received students from Malawi and other countries. What criteria did the dioceses use, if you remember, to select the candidates?

RH: Certainly not much, there would have been very little because of the situation then. Politically we were in a different situation.

HM: Do you think the political developments in the region affected the recruitment and training system?

RH: I think so, yes, the great expectations coming from independence, I don't think there is anything controversial.

Yes I mean it was all over in the region of Southern Africa, Central Africa. Yes it was so, now it aimed at higher academic standards that's why it was different from the others in Tanzania and the training for pastoral ministry was probably similar.

I cannot remember any systematic selection in Zambia. People were taken very easily when they offered themselves. The bishop would have the final say. But it was very easy to get in and that isn't only in the church. That was the time when doors opened. A lot of people were recruited. You will probably find that the same occurred in government, the same in the civil service.

HM: Yes, yes, you are right, certainly you are right.

RH: Now that's my problem off ...

HM: I mean the departure of the missionaries actually necessitated that

RH: Yes, it is and I think a problem is with your thing here, that is not broad enough that you should take in what's happening in the whole country, what happened in the church is very much connected with what was happening in the secular world, government.

HM: Are you saying, I mean I should go beyond the confines of the church?

RH: yes or just to think of that in the background. What was happening you see people went there for job opportunities and those perhaps who failed in the civil service. You see we have got... in the church. Ah! Ah! Ah! (laughing) very quite straight forward.

RH: I think it's true isn't it?

HM: You are certainly right if you read the background. I mean I have had several interviews with clergy who had not said exactly that but others have said something like that about them.

RH: Yes, yes, and I think that is it. So the procedures, that is the strength and the weaknesses of the procedures. They were always non-existent, but I think they would not have helped because the right people were not offering. I think that is the main thing and I think too often we put too much emphasis on training. What training they would have had would not have made much difference if their hearts were not in the ministry. And I think they were ambitious people, they had failed in some other direction and were then disappointed that I didn't offer them what they wanted.

HM: I was looking at it from this angle that the church was offering more opportunities than perhaps in the civil world.

RH: No I think what it is that the church was offering easier terms- Junior Certificate of Education (J.C.E) instead of Malawi Senior Certificate of Education. Ah! ah! Ah! (laughing) Because of the gap that was there.

Yes, you see there were plenty of opportunities everywhere and so if the church got with full Secondary Education they thought that one was too good for St. John's Seminary. Is it clear.

HM: You are right.

RH: Don't look too negative that's the problem that procedures can only help if you have got ten people and you want to provide two, but if you take the only two you have got. Is it any clear.

HM: That's right. How equipped was St. Johns to train church leadership?

RH: As I said, it was never really tried as the right people didn't come. I think it could have done.

HM: How related is the performance of the present leadership in which the training was required.

RH: I don't think it would have made a great difference because the candidates didn't matter much use of what was an offer so I think it had been difference. Now

HM: What was the entry qualification for St. John's Seminary?

RH: It was only Junior Certificate.

RH: Everybody was talking about the break down in discipline.

HM: What contributed to that? What I mean is, why did discipline break down?

RH: I think it was difference in expectations and I think it was a time when they thought that they would move into top jobs and they were there they were receiving 22 Kwacha a month the cost of their boarding which was an immense amount of money in those days and there were allowances but far more than any students. They had high expectations and this didn't want to give much and again that was a time when people, people were being promoted far too easily and too quickly, because you have got an abdication, not only in church, an abdication in missionaries and people were being promoted into jobs.

HM: Yes, let me say its very interesting. What you say is very interesting. Could all this have had a bearing on the present leadership?

RH: It has to, and the trouble is- if I found a student drunk while giving a lesson nothing was done. It was the time when the students were always right.

HM: How did the seminary overcome that?

RH: The situation was such that very little could have been done. That was the period when everybody was taking chances, people did what they felt was right for them. In those circumstances, there was nothing much that the college could have done.

HM: Thank you Father. You have been helpful, very helpful to me. I really appreciate your contribution. Thank you.

RH: You are welcome. I wish you all the best for your studies.

HM: Thank you.

**Interviewee: Mr. A. Mkoko
Mtundu, Malindi**

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

18th December 1996

HM: I am Henry Mbaya, a priest, a son in-law of Mr. Charles Stanford Jabu. I am studying and working in South Africa at the moment but I come from Nkhotakota.

AM: I am happy to meet you Father Mbaya.

HM: At present I am doing some research on the formation of the African clergy in our church here in Malawi. This is why I came to see you because I believe you can share your experience in the church with me. I am also looking at the life of the missionary bishops in relation to the Malawian clergy and bishops.

AM: Oh I see, but I was never a priest myself. But you may have had contacts with the missionaries and the African clergy.

AM: Yes, to a certain degree.

HM: Let us begin with Bishop Frank Thorne who you must have known.

AM: Yes, he was our bishop, a good man who liked the African people.

HM: What do you remember about Thorne or what do people remember about Thorne?

AM: He sold the steamer, the church steamer.

HM: Was that a problem?

AM: Oh! Yes, it was a problem because the steamer belonged to the mission, it was the property of the church.

HM: How did the people perceive that the steamer would help them? What was it like for them?

AM: Because from the beginning when the whites came here the Africans had nothing, there were using the canoes. When Christianity began the missionaries had no property.

HM: How did they perceive the steamer?

AM: The people argued with Thorne that he did not buy the steamer with his own money, it was bought by the missionary priests. They told him that it had been made in Glasgow in Scotland through the financial contributions of the Christians and that he himself had made no contributions towards the purchase. So why do you rule that the steamer should be sold?

HM: In what way would have the presence of the steamer contributed to the Faith of the people?

AM: Because from the beginning the steamer served as a training ground. People were being taught the word of God. From the steamer those trained were being dispatched to different places. The steamer also served as a place of worship, services were held in the steamer. So the people argued why are you selling the steamer that you found here and it never came with you? The bad thing was that when leaving the country Carleton talked bad about the African people here.

HM: Which year did he fail? Then what did he do?

AM: He left this country and went to Zanzibar but in Zanzibar he also never became archbishop. He was assisting the other bishops.

HM: How was Father Chipembere like?

AM: He was a good priest, nevertheless, he was too stubborn. He would not listen what the Christians say, he could not take any advice from anybody. He applied old rules.

HM: What aspects of his ministry or life do people still remember Fr. Chipembere today?

AM: He was a stubborn priest, a man of his own word. He laid down the rules and he could not allow the others to argue against him.

HM: Why was he like that?

AM: Because he was stubborn.

HM: Who could have shaped him to be like that?

AM: He learnt that from his father, Mr. Chipembere. His father fought with the Portuguese at Chiwanga. Others say that the old missionaries were difficult characters such as Fr. Winspear. No the whites came to persuade people to become Christians. Archdeacon Winspear was from Likoma, Archdeacon Johnson was a very good person. Archdeacon Eyre was a nice man.

HM: In what ways was Eyre a good man?

AM: He allowed people to hold their conference here.

HM: How did people become priests during the time of the missionaries?

AM: At the very beginning an African could not become a priest but a white man from England.

HM: Why was that the case?

AM: We don't know what the missionaries were thinking in relation to the Africans becoming priests. However, gradually we saw things changing, seeing people like Chipembere becoming a priest, Fr. Lundu, Fr. Polera. However, even with respect to these men, if one had even a minor fault they would not be made priest.

HM: Why was it like that?

AM: A person who could not agree with the people and an immoral person was not ordained priest.

HM: Who made the decision that so and so be made a priest?

AM: These things were decided in the conference. Archdeacon Munby of Nkhotakota, Hicks of Nkope, a Brother from Mpondas, Father Lazaro from here at Malindi, so the whole conference of archdeacons would spend a night here. When they met here what actually happened? They were running the affairs of the church, so the white people would confer that the Africans must not become priests.

HM: In what specific aspects did the missionaries resolve that the Africans should not become priests?

AM: This kind of priesthood started during the emergence of the Federation. For the Federation to come here there was a commission sent by Queen Elizabeth. People asked before the two Second World Wars what then are you going to give us after the War. We want our land and then it was agreed that the Africans could also enter.

HM: In what respects did the missionaries make the priesthood hard for the Africans to enter?

AM: The Africans cannot manage to be priests because they do not have good morals, they like marriage priesthood. The priesthood was too much associated with the celibate life.

HM: What kind of a priest was Fr. Augustine Ambali?

AM: Originally Fr. Augustine Ambali came from Tanzania. I did not see him but my uncle saw him.

HM: What kind of a person was he?

AM: Fr. Ambali was from Zanzibar, he was a quiet man.

HM: Why did he serve his priesthood here and not Tanzania?

AM: It was where our Faith "dini" came from, our Anglican Faith came from Zanzibar.

HM: In the olden days to be a priest one had to be a teacher, what next step followed after being a teacher?

AM: After becoming a teacher one became a reader, then became a deacon finally a priest.

HM: Why was this structure necessary?

AM: The missionaries knew best.

HM: Did the white missionaries also had to go through the same process?

AM: I don't know. The missionaries came to Malawi as priests already. It was rare to hear that a white man was being ordained. I suppose they never went through the same process. The system was for the African people.

HM: When was this system stopped in Malawi?

AM: It must have been when the missionaries left.

HM: Thank you so much Mr. Mkoko for the time that you shared with us.

AM: You are welcome.

**Interviewee: Mr. Skeva Jab
Mbewe, Malindi**

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

21st December 1996

HM: I am grateful for the opportunity to come and talk to you. I am doing some studies in the history of the church here in Malawi. In particular, I seek to know more about the manner in which the old Malawian priests were being recruited and trained. Do you if I begin with a personal question?

SJ: No, you may go ahead.

HM: In which year were you born?

SJ: I was born in 1911 and I went to school in 1917 at Likoma and in 1920 I went back home.

HM: When were you confirmed?

SJ: Bishop Fisher confirmed me in St. Martin's Church in Malindi.

HM: What sort of a bishop was he in terms of his life and especially relationship with the others?

SJ: Bishop Fisher was stout in his physical stature. When Fisher arrived in Malindi people would welcome him with great respect, ceremony and pomp, ululating for him and then conduct him into his residence. There was a great distance between the bishop and us and we saw him from afar.

HM: How, please give an example.

SJ: Because he used to live in Likoma and that he ordered clergy saying this one or that one must go and stay here or there. He ruled the diocese.

HM: What things did people used to complain about the bishop?

SJ: Bishop Fisher was a kind of a man whose behaviour was not good, even his fellow white priests were not happy with him. He was racist and too proud of himself. Fisher had very high regard of himself even his fellow whites were aware of this.

HM: How did the African clergy relate to Bishop Fisher?

SJ: Fisher was very cruel to the African clergy. For instance, if the Bishop instructed an African clergyman to go to a certain place and the priest happened to complain, without considering his side of the story Fisher would just suspend him there and then.

HM: Like who? Will you recall who had that experience?

SJ: I have just forgotten but there was another priest who was going to a funeral at Namwera when Fisher ordered him not to go. Any way he left for Namwera but then he got sick there and he died there and was buried. This shows that the bishop was not good.

HM: When did this happen?

SJ: I think this happened between 1930 and 1931.

HM: So you said that

SJ: It seems that he was forced to become a bishop, it wasn't like that he willingly to become a bishop.

HM: Now who were ordained priest by Frank?

There were many, like Chipembele, Mtekateka and Mseka. They became priests during the time of Frank.

During your time when you were growing up, how did one become a clergyman please explain to me?

SJ: During the time of the Europeans the Europeans did not want us to become priests but only to train as teachers For a man to become a priest you had to be a teacher first. You had to do the initial training for three years. Then after that you were chosen to become a reader, however, at other times you served as a reader until your death because training for the priesthood was a very long process but also sometimes because of not exemplary behaviour.

HM: Like who?

SJ: Like Mr. Kasinja he was not ordained priest. This was because Mr. Kasinja liked women and also because his children were in the habit of marrying outside the church. In this instance, so it was said Mr. Kasinja could not become a priest. You have said that if a person progresses from the position of a teacher to reader then to become a deacon. So how did one become a teacher? How did one start the process?

SJ: If it was noted that one was intelligent so he was chosen to be come a teacher.

HM: Who was responsible for this process?

SJ: It was the bishop or sometimes the priest. However, first a question was raised if the person could become a teacher, if the question was answered in the affirmative then he was chosen.

HM: Who was asking who?

SJ: The bishop asked the priest.

HM: How did the priest know that the man was the right candidate?

SJ: The priest would then ask the church elders.

HM: Now suppose one was found that he would become a teacher how did the process go?

SJ: They were enrolled and were then sent to Likoma that is where they were being trained.

HM: Now at Likoma what were they being taught?

SJ: At first they were taught the Bible. If they did not understand the Bible then they were taught in the local language.

HM: How many years was the teacher trained?

SJ: It was 2 years.

HM: What other things did they study?

SJ: English and history of the Bible and Arithmetic. If a person did not understand the Bible he failed.

HM: What happened upon finishing the training as a teacher?

SJ: He then became a teacher teaching school pupils. If he taught at least several years then he became a reader.

HM: What happened next?

SJ: If he taught for some years then he became a reader.

HM: What was the difference between being a teacher and reader?

SJ: Being a reader was a higher office, being a teacher was a lesser position. One was promoted from being a teacher to being reader then you had to go back to Likoma to learn to become a reader.

HM: How many years did one train as a reader?

SJ: Two years.

HM: What followed after becoming a reader?

SJ: One then had to go through a period of observation before consideration to become a deacon. One had to be observed at least for 3 years before becoming a deacon.

HM: Like which priest was observed during a long observation.

SJ: I can recall like Mr. Liponda and Mr. Kanyema. Many people thought of Mr. Kanyema as a witch involved in witchcraft and so he was sent to Bishop Frank Thorne and so he died as a deacon. He was never elevated to the priesthood.

HM: How many years did one serve as a deacon before promotion?

SJ: It depended on one's behaviour. If one was good he would not serve for two long. There was no fixed years it all depended on one's behaviour.

HM: What happened when one was being ordained priest?

SJ: From the stage of the priesthood he went to the main station, from there he went to serve under another priest in another station and from there he had also to go to another station to serve under another priest.

HM: How many years?

SJ: Two years.

HM: I would like to thank you so much for all what you have shared with me. I am so grateful for this. Thank you so much.

SJ: Well I have done my best and I hope that what I have shared with you will be of use.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Father Maurice Malasa
Mpinganjira Parish, Mabgochi

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

23rd January 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali research assistant to Father Mbaya. Can you introduce yourself?

MM: I am Father Maurice Malasa, I am an assistant priest at Mpondas Parish but also working as a bible translator at the Bible Society, translating the Bible in Yao language. So the Yao project is based here in Mangochi.

BB: Father when were you ordained as a parish priest in the diocese?

MM: I was in 1987, 25th August. That's when I was ordained as a priest at St. Paul's Cathedral, in Blantyre. I was fortunate enough that I was ordained deacon and priest the same year since we had no bishop- the time when I was on probation as deacon and priest.

BB: Who was the bishop?

MM: The bishop was Bishop Nathaniel Aipa. The same year after his consecration we were the first to be ordained by him.

BB: So Bishop Aipa was consecrated in 1986. Is it?

MM: No he was consecrated in 1987, January and thereafter he solicited to ordain us.

BB: I think you being the first lot ordained by him, you must be very knowledgeable about his all background. What qualities appeared to the people for them to elect him as a bishop of this diocese?

MM: This man before he was trained as a priest, he was a teacher. He then decided to resign from teaching profession and then he joined the ministry. He was trained in Lusaka where we had an Anglican Theological College called St. John's and thereafter he then came back here in Malawi where he was ordained as deacon and then as a priest.

You know this man is intelligent, and in him we, people saw or found out that he had qualities of leadership. He was chosen because by then, by the time when Bishop Ainani was here, he was Vicar-General, which means whenever the bishop was out, he was presiding over the diocese, there is where the people saw that he could manage to run the diocese.

BB: What do you think influence him to go to the seminary?

MM: For all that I can't know very much because that time he was teaching at Mpinganjira, he only taught for 1 year so I don't know who really influenced him perhaps the missionaries who were at Malindi were his home mates probably they are the ones who influenced him.

BB: Where is Mpinganjira?

MM: Mpinganjira is southern part of Mangochi - as we take Blantyre road, it's about 7 kilometres from here. That's where Mpinganjira parish is.

BB: Who is the priest working there at the moment?

MM: At the moment Fr. Ananias Kalimbe is the one who is presiding over that Parish now.

BB: What can say about the mode of leadership of Bishop Aipa? Was he democratic or autocratic, or was he a dictator or a disciplinarian? A democrat, I mean somebody who whenever he was making a decision he would involve everybody and I think its very much a great pleasure to have you because I understand you were one of the archdeacons or you were an archdeacon if am not mistaken. And somebody who was very much concerned about the welfare of his priests at the same time the Christians and authoritarian or dictatorship, I mean somebody who would simply impose on others what he wanted.

MM: To say about Bishop Aipa, in the beginning he was democratic. He tried to involve many people or he could delegate other people to do the work but I don't know what made him to allow other people to say or criticise him. Wherever I felt he went wrong was one of the archdeacons and when I usually went to see him trying to criticise wherever I felt he went wrong. He could shout at me say why are you trying to undermine my administration?

And yet it was not in that way but I was looking at him as my leader and the leader of the church and diocese and the leader of the entire of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Southern Malawi, but I didn't have that have in mind. He was a dictator, and you see in the end, he ended badly just because he couldn't accept some others advice. That's the problem he had.

BB: You say that at the very beginning he was democratic. Can you cite at least two examples in which he showed that he was really undemocratic?

MM: Two points which I can really remember now. One you know the diocese is being run by a bishop and it's a hierarchical system which we have a person above to delegate and for example. I have mentioned that because I was archdeacon, that means, he gave an area. I was taking care of and I could whatever problems and what good things I had, I was answerable to him. I was looking after Chiradzulu, Chiradzulu Blantyre, Nsanje, Chikwawa, these areas were under myself so you see that he was really democratic.

Zomba area was given to another man. He was taking care of Zomba and I remember that was Fr. Ndomondo, he was looking after Zomba, Likwenu, Namalomba, Balaka, Ntcheu so you can see that area was under Canon Ndomondo and Chilipa was under was under Canon Mchakama. He was looking after

Mwanza, Matope, Chilipa and the area at Sekam'mwamba like that, so you can see that his diocese was divided into minor regions which were under some other people and those for example myself had also five parishes that means that I had some parishes under me. So I could take care look after them and report to the bishop. That was really democratic but in the end he was to snatch us up all these responsibilities and everything was in his hands.

He could pop up in our dignity wherever he wanted a thing which wasn't good at all because whenever he wanted to go to such area, he was supposed to report to the archdeacon, then archdeacon tells him where he bishop should go to but he didn't follow that way as it supposed to be, so he became a dictator. Anytime he wanted to go to a parish he could go and shout the priest in public, criticising him that you know I ordained this man myself and he is under me, I can sack him anytime, a thing which a priest or a bishop is not supposed to do. This came in the end but in the beginning he was really democratic because he could delegate other people even in the meetings, to other church organisations, but in the end he was going below, a thing which was not really good.

BB: What can you say was his style of leadership? Was he a teacher-like or a boss or a judge-like?

MM: Well it's very difficult to weigh him actually because he was like a chameleon. One time or far you could see him as a teacher, sometimes you see him as a soldier dictating. It was very difficult because he was like a chameleon he could change. You couldn't tell in what mood he is. He could work according to what came to his mind so it was very difficult to say what sort of a man he was because of his changing of his style of leadership. He didn't have one, and it was very difficult to know what are his goals, and he was not a man who could plan things. But whatever came in his mind was to be utilised and you couldn't criticise him.

BB: How close was he to the former bishop, Arden?

MM: During the time of Bishop Arden, he was first a mere priest. He was a priest at Mponda's in Mangochi. He wasn't very close with him but you know Bishop Arden was very close with Bishop Ainani. He was the one who recommended Ainani to become a bishop when Ainani was a priest.

BB: How did he conduct himself as a priest in the time of Bishop Arden?

MM: What I can remember is that in the time of Bishop Arden, Ainani was really a strong priest.

BB: Thank you so much Father for al what you have shared with me. Thank you, Father.

MM: No mention. God Bless.

BB: Thank you.

Interviewee: Mrs. Anonymous M
Malindi, Magochi

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

15th February 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali the research assistant to Fr. Mbaya. I am assisting Fr. Mbaya to collect information on the training of clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi.

A: In fact there were two allegations, there were two topics. Firstly they said, the diocesan secretary accused him of misusing the money and secondly of immoral behaviour. I'm not sure of the moral behaviour, it could be true because there was a big chance, and there was article in the news paper on this one. I am not very sure because we did read about him and we saw a photograph of a girl and her child. On the point of money, even though I personally never saw him using excessive money however, the way he was moving, and the way he was getting the money we congregations started feeling it could be true that he was misusing money. Of course in the end the diocese had no money in the bank.

BB: On that point I understand the priests were elected and their effect was expense in the sense that some of the priest could not get there typing at the end of the month. What can you say about that one?

A: Because I was in the Diocese also. I was not a worker. I was serving on voluntary capacity as a chair lady for the Mothers' Union but I could hear the priests worrying about their salaries at the end of the month. Sometimes they could go up to the other two weeks of the other month before they got paid and it was taking this money for salaries for the priest that I think for the true statement.

BB: Some had said that at least for the first three years, Bishop Aipa was wonderful but after the third year things began to change. You being at Malosa did you take note of this change?

A: Yes, I think we were working together. He was quite settled when he began his work as a bishop. He settled down, however, after the third year when we reached the fourth year we started wondering what was happening because he could make trips, he could go out without notice and sometimes we could not even know where this journey is taking him to.

BB: What do you think might have influenced him to go this way?

A: Ah! In this case I don't see anyone behind this but I just still perhaps his position. If he had friends then those were his private friends but because perhaps he had a lot of donations, a lot of money, and the diocese was in his hands, so perhaps he felt happy and free.

BB: Were the donation sent in his name?

A: The donations some of them came in his name, some came in the diocese's name but because he is the supreme person, he was supposed to sign most of the documents.

BB: Those that were sent in his name, were they meant for him or for the diocese?

Q: Sometimes donors do make mistakes because they only deal with one supreme man in the diocese or in that organisation. They can make mistakes to channel money or donation in one's name as the boss. So we feel perhaps some of the money which was sent in his name was not exactly for him to use in his family but was supposed to be used for the problems of the diocese.

BB: What evidence was brought towards against him for the misuse of money, do you remember any?

A: I don't remember any in a written form but we just heard that he was accused of misusing the money almost K3 million because the diocese was bankrupt, the diocese had no money so that was the accusation.

BB: I understand that he had been in office for ten years and the good behaviour of him was only for three years. How come he took so long for him to stay in the office throughout his six years that a priest coming out would know its high time he must retire or you must be off the office.

A: In this case I think the priest knew that the diocese was not functioning well. May be he feared to be the first ones for that the Bishop was not doing well may be they knew but they did not want to show that the bishop did not want to come out encourage the public to dislike him.

BB: How did the news come to emerge?

A: I think this all came out because of the bankruptcy of the diocese. Because when the diocese became bankrupt the bank knew the office was not functioning well, that they had no money. There was nothing in the bank, so that now they started digging out, they started seeing that and started communicating with the public that the diocese was not functioned well.

BB: How came that at the very beginning only few priest signed the letter that they were three but at the end whose priest signed the letter. Why did this happen?

A: If we were talking about the letter of the bishop's behaviour, yes at the first time they were priests who signed the letter. At the Diocesan Standing Committee meeting some of the priests did not want to sign

because they feared in the end they might be mentioned or they might create bad relationship with the bishop.

Now they called the clergy conference where the clergy were present and that is the second letter everybody signed after discussing the matter.

BB: Now when the news came out, how did the Christians react?

A: I don't remember any Christian who was sorry apart from the relatives but the main congregation. I am well relieved to say they might see the change every body was unhappy with the leadership.

BB: Because the news was out, so the people must have known what was ever going ahead with it, how did the people react to the behaviour of the bishop? I mean the Christians.

A: They did not like the behaviour, only that they did not have a way of mentioning that to the public even before the letters were signed, they did not like how he behaved.

BB: I understand after the first priest had signed the first letter, nothing happened for some time who prevented the action from being taken from their knowledge?

A: I think because the letter was signed by one man or it is a signed by a few people, a few priest it seems perhaps, I did not carry much.

BB: I understand when the case were brought against him in the court (the church court) they were some case where he was acquitted, do you remember any?

A: It was just to me saying that the case which was acquitted was about the misusing of the diocese fund but the other one at first was still at large but they said about the diocese money there was no enough documents or enough documents.

BB: As soon as Father Aipa was elected as bishop of this diocese. Did the people refuse that they had elected a man of their choice?

A: There was a difference in reaction, others were happy while the other group was not satisfied because from the beginning. They did not want him to be elected.

BB: Why was that so?

A: Because they knew that one day was not going to make the good leadership according to the previous records.

BB: What were these records?

A: When he was a priest he was behaving in many discouraging ways, mostly is when they started drinking heavily and sometimes even going around in public places showing behaviour which is not good for his spiritual father.

BB: What can you say about the attendants of Christians at Malindi before and after the allegations, has there been any chance?

A: Before the allegations the attendants were quite alright after the allegation, it was the little normal but the taking and the exchange of statements on him was the major talk in the church.

BB: What were they talking about really?

A: The people were worried because Nathaniel is a local man, born in Malindi so people were not happy because he wasted ten years ah! ah! in the end he was coming back miserably and not in dismissed way.

BB: About the Sunday collection were they still normal, or he had a decrease or increase?

A: At that time Sunday collections were all right. Because he had never before had worked in Malindi, St Martins, the Sunday collections were not affected by this talk since he was not a leader at Malindi. He was not a parish priest there but he just attended services and after his term he was not in-charge of anything, so the Sunday collection are not very much affected with his coming.

BB: Now for you what are the qualities for someone to be a leader?

A: As we are talking about leadership in church, I think a leader in the church must really be an example of good behaviour since most of his time he spends on the word of God. He is like a shepherd, he must be number one, loving, ready to accept his mistakes, and change if he is advised by people and also he must be concerned about the day to day life of the Christians.

BB: Mrs. M I am very much grateful for the contribution you have made toward this paper. I took you by surprise, yet you welcomed me and I have spend a long time with you but you have been patient with me for that I am very much grateful.

A: Well thank you very much Mr. Binali for the appreciation, I also thank you very much and I thank the one who has introduced you to me because I feel you have confidence that have give him some reliable information, I welcome you any time if you want to come back for other infomiation, I welcome ready to discuss any thing with you. I am really very happy you're a stranger to me but this time we have spent together, I am enjoyed with what ever have talked to me very much. I wish you a happy stay in Mangochii.

Interviewee: Father Barnabas Salaka
Chancellor College, Zomba, University of Malawi

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

12th May 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali doing some research work for the Reverend Father Mbaya. I am very grateful to you Father for giving me this opportunity to talk to you today. Would you please introduce yourself?

BS: I am Barnabas Salaka a priest in the diocese of Southern Malawi working in the Building Department and an assistant priest of the Church of Ascension here at Malosa.

And what was it intended for?

BB: How did this lady in Germany become aware that funds were not being used in the right manner in Malawi or the Southern Diocese?

BS: At first she didn't know about that but they came to Malawi as a visiting team to see what the diocese was like so their correspondence began. This lady and the then Mothers' Union Worker, Mrs. Chilinkhwambe arranged that they should come and some of the projects which they were funding from Germany.

BB: Now when it was known that funds were being misappropriated in this way. How did the clergy react to that?

BS: All the clergy were not happy because they had been hearing the rumours and so this seemed to be a confirmation.

BB: How did they try to solve the problem?

BS: In fact it was not the clergy who were handling the issue at that time because it then got into the hands of the diocesan board of finance then to the Diocesan Standing Committee because the DSC normally meets between synods to discuss the affairs of the diocese. So this time the issue was under the DSC which was trying to investigate this misappropriation of funds.

BB: Who were the members of the Board of Finance at that time?

BS: I remember the chairman was Mr. Matthews Chinthiti and there was also Mr. Thom Kanyuka and Mr. James Mchakama and in addition to that late Mr. Magi and one of the diocesan Secretary of the Diocese of Southern Malawi, was also a member of the Board of Finance.

BB: Where is Mr. Kanyuka at the moment?

BS: Mr. Kanyuka works for Lonrho in Limbe.

BB: What is the name of this secretary who was the member of the Board of Finance?

BS: Any Diocesan Secretary who was present at that time was the member of the Board of Finance. At the time of inquiry at first I was working at the Diocesan office, Diocesan Secretary's so I used to attend the meetings of the Board of Finance but after I had left to Mr. Msosa who came in as the Diocesan Secretary.

BB: Where is Mr. Msosa at the moment?

BS: Mr. Msosa is temporary out on a 10 weeks course in Kenya.

BB: Now, you have said the main problem with Bishop Aipa that led to his downfall was the issue of the money; misappropriation of the funds. And the issue of the lady was simply bought is to make sure that the person was out. Do you want to tell me that the issue wasn't really true? To what extent was it true?

BS: It was true because I knew I mean I saw the lady and also the time when she was at. I was present at one of the DSC meeting when they were asking the Board how she has been going about with this lady and also there was a time when I was at Malosa as I said earlier on that there was this Mr. Manjere who had been sent to negotiate with the brother of the lady so I know that the issue was true.

BB: Now how did the clergy or the Christians who were holding the financial issue come to discover about this lady?

BS: There was a letter which was written first, I think some Christians from Zomba Parish who had been investigating about the lady. They had written a letter which they wanted people to get it signed, to endorse the issue because I remember at that time I was doing my third year at Chancellor College. When they approached me with that letter, because they wanted some signatures and then I understand they sent people to investigate at the home of the lady but I personally didn't for personal reasons - because I was related to the bishop's wife so I felt if I signed I would be courting some kind of enmity between the family and me.

BB: Okay, but am very much interested how did those who were investigating the case of this lady come to discover about this particular case of this lady concerning Bishop Aipa?

BS: The case of the lady came from around Liwonde area and then those people sent from Zomba parish, for example, a certain Dr. Paul Kishindo who know about this lady. So he knew the lady because she is one of those girls from parents from Likoma.

BB: Now when this issue was brought to the court, I understand these issues were brought to the court. How were the proceedings in the court?

BS: Well, I didn't attend proceedings because they behind closed doors.

BS: Do you mean the court, the DSC, or the court which was held by the Archbishop?

BB: The one held by the Archbishop.

BS: Well, I wasn't present because I understand it was held at Chichiri and it was under closed doors, so I didn't know what happened at the court.

BB: As you have mentioned, the first letter was signed by three priests. And the rest of the clergy did not sign. You have given your own reason why you didn't sign but how about the other clergy? What was their reason for not signing this first letter?

BS: In fact not all the clergy were given the chance of signing this letter because according to the rules and regulations, the allegations could be proved to carry more weight, if it bore the signatures of at least 3 or 4 people so these were two members of the laity and two members of the clergy so at that time, since the

letter originated from Zomba and these who signed at that time were in Zomba and both of them were at Chancellor College doing the same course as I was doing.

BB: I understand as soon as this letter got to the Archbishop in Botswana nothing was done. Why do you think nothing was done?

BS: May be the bishop didn't take seriously but may be he thought it was one of those allegations came out of him because may be some people

BB: How did it happen that in the end the rest of the clergy signed the letter?

BS: In fact the letter which the rest of the clergy signed was that after these allegations were put forward you know they appeared in one of the newspapers. There was the clergy conference. The clergy felt that since it had come to that level the best thing was to ask the bishop to step down so that the issue could come to an end.

That's why after agreeing that the bishop had just to step down. A letter was written. It asked the bishop to step down. It was presented to all the clergy and was signed by all the clergy including his own son (Benson) who was by then doing his theological training at Zomba Theological College, but we were merely asking him to step down from the seat.

Now, I should say after this event had happened were there any decrease in the numbers of the Christians in the churches from your experience. Well, those notable decrease only that I can say there wasn't much because those people who were talking ill of the Anglican Church some said that you know we were ashamed of what the bishop has done. However, I don't think there was a decrease in the numbers of the Christians in the churches. I felt that was a personal issue as opposed to one involving the church as such.

BB: You were by then in Zomba, did you see any change?

BS: Well, there wasn't much change. What we could notice was that people were keeping away from going to church because of the issue. Only that in Zomba of course there were two parties. There were some who felt that the bishop was in the wrong and wanted to publish that and there were those who sympathised with him. They felt that although he had done that, I think the people were taking it further than they should have done. So there were that type of people.

However, both of these groups were coming to church. Only that in Zomba of course there two parties. There were those who felt that that the bishop was on the wrong and wanted to go public with the matter

and those who sympathised with him. This group felt that even though the bishop had done wrong things the people were taking things further than they should have done. However, both these groups were coming to church.

BB: I would like to bring you back to the time of the elections. Some people from Soche have spoken that oh! we didn't elect him and if we go to the northern part of this diocese people also say similar kind of things. How can we understand such things?

BS: I think some of them are trying to dissociate themselves from what has happened. However, personally I feel he was not elected from Soche. I was at Soche that time. But what were meant to him to understand that he had won most of his votes from. He has been elected mostly from the northern part of the diocese. I think those people are trying to dissociate themselves from him because they feel they had chosen a wrong person because they are trying to get over the problem.

BB: In what way would you say that they began to feel that they had chosen a wrong person?

BS: Because after what they had done may be they felt that he didn't live up to what they expected in the end they began to feel that they had chosen a wrong person that's why even they are trying to dissociate themselves from him and saying that they didn't elect him while they elected him in the first place.

BB: What is it that they expected from him that which he didn't do?

BS: May be he didn't give a good picture of what a bishop is supposed to behave like. Because in the past they had other bishops of course. There was Bishop Ainani who was apart from the reports he had, at least he didn't go to the extent of bringing a bad name to the diocese as the late Bishop Aipa did.

BB: After pointing out secrecy, could you say that Bishop Aipa was a man who could keep secrecy?

BS: Well I didn't know in that area. I don't know what type of secrecy you are referring to.

BB: For example the case of transfers, I understand they are meant to be secret.

BS: Of course transfers are meant to be secret because they are decided in the pastoral committee which comprises the bishop and the archdeacons and if there is any rural dean or diocesan secretary and other representatives from Mothers' Union and other people serving at Chilema as the representatives of the church there. So normally, these people who make decisions as to first for the transfers, once they no longer mean as secret because they got to be notified to the parishes.

BS: What do you mean by “fearing”? Can you elaborate?

BB: There were some young men who were coming up, well educated and him in the way being lower in education he felt that they were in the way, or to overthrow him and he was trying to put them down. What can you say about that?

BS: Well if they didn't notice that one because normally what happened was that as I was doing my first three years while he was doing a good job doing confirmations, visiting parishes and whatever was expected of him but later on its when he started to make infrequent visits to parishes as it was expected and then a number of confirmations went down started doing things which were not expected of him as a bishop. I think there was anything connected to the up coming of young men because I don't think he was doing anything to press the people who were coming up at that time. All what I mean is that his life was not what was expected of him after the first three years.

BB: Don't you think this change in behaviour of the bishop was due to the money that he was letting that part of manner and to do whatever he wanted.

BS: It could be possible but may be after the first three years then started coming is may be he had ideas with the money could be. That could have affected him of course because when you have got money and you think money can control you, you can't perform properly especially on the duties of leading the people of God in church. The money is not supposed to be our controlling factor.

BB: From your experience in the Southern diocese are you satisfied with the procedures followed in electing a bishop?

BS: Well am satisfied because the chance is given to all the parishes to send the names of their candidates to the Elective Assembly and after the names have been sent there the members will elect from those names which have been sent. I feel, am very satisfied because each and every parish is given a chance to elect whoever they think can be a bishop and I think they give the Elective Assembly the chance of selecting which one they think can make a good bishop amongst the nominations from the different parishes.

BB: It has been commented that sometimes parishioners could sometimes be simply act as involved in the matter while in actual fact they are not involved. Those involved are members of the Elective Assembly. What can you say about that?

BS: In fact the parishes are involved because the names which were elected by the Elective Assembly

through the parish church councils. So you can't say that they are not involved because the names are picked from the parishes and the names are sent to the Elective Assembly only that the final sitting depend on the Elective Assembly because they are taking depends on how many parishes presented the names. Out of the names which were elected it's when the Elective Assembly will sit down and try to look for the qualities of the people who have been elected whether they could make a good bishop.

BB: According to your view, for one to be a bishop what qualities should he have?

BS: Well for one to be a bishop, I think he needs qualities of good leadership. He must be a mature person who will not look only at money side of the diocese but also at the spiritual life. However, knowing to manage the finances is also important as it has to supplement the spiritual welfare of the diocese. So the diocese needs a man with spiritual as well as material know-how.

BB: What is the system of electing young men for the priesthood in the Anglican Church? Are you satisfied with this system?

BS: Normally what happens is that one applies for training as a priest to the training chaplain. Then some people are invited for interviews for selection to go to the theological college. I am not particularly very happy because at least the number of people who are called I don't know how they determine the because there are some people who feel that even they apply they are not replied to say that they have been unsuccessful or successful. So I felt it could have been proper to indicate if somebody hasn't qualified because of the moment they also look at how much you got your MSCE.

Because there are some qualifications which are rejected by Zomba Theological College, so I would have liked at least that there was a board which would be scrutinising all the qualifications and give the right responses to whoever applied because I feel it's a job that is left to one man as training chaplain and someone to determine which candidates to interview.

I remember the interviews which were carried out this year there was one of the candidates was invited to Malosa who happened to be related to one of the clergy. Before he went for training this man was involved in the embezzlement of funds. If this man has been involved in stealing money you can expect the same thing when he is working in the field.

BB: Today we have a new bishop, James Tengtenga. He is a young man. Don't you think that he is easily going to be misled by the young generation in the diocese?

BS: There can be an element of that and you know I have known Bishop James for a short time just he was

a lecturer at Zomba Theological College but I feel it couldn't be easy to cheat him as such. He is mature in thinking because of his educational background.

BB: I understand you changed the ministry during the leadership of the indigenous but you have some knowledge of the former leadership, the leadership of the whites. Today can you say that we have to be lead again by the whites or the indigenous leadership to go on?

BS: I personally wouldn't like to go back to be led by white men, having a white bishop. Some people feel that not because they want the spiritual growth of the diocese but because they are thinking in money terms but as I said we should not only look at money. We should look at the spiritual life of the people and I feel to get the right leader we must choose somebody who come from here, because he knows our problems, who after working at our problems, he will need to find ways of solving them because he will be aware of the customs, and our beliefs. Therefore, I think going back to the white man leadership I think personally it's not a good decision.

BB: Why not?

BS: Because it would almost mean that we as Malawians have failed which is not true at all. We cannot say we have failed because of the problems that one person has faced. There are many clergy put there who can manage to do things in the right way.

BB: Thank you so much for the time that we have spent together. I really appreciate your consideration of my request to come and speak to you. Thank you.

BS: Mr. Binali, it was also nice for me meeting you. I hope what I have shared with you will be useful to Father Mbaya.

BB: I am certain it will be. Thank you.

BS: It's a pleasure

Interviewee: Father Ernest Mphaya
Katema Parish, Diocese of Southern Malawi

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

26th July, 1998

BB: My name is Benedict Binali. I am assisting Father Mbaya in conducting interviews on the formation of the Anglican clergy but focussing on the election of the Anglican bishops. Will you please introduce yourself?

EM: I am Reverend Father Ernest Mphaya, a priest at Katema here.

I was suspended

EM: When I stayed like this I then went to my home village during that the whole of the time I stayed there I was not paid. But because it was so painful then I went on during those months, then they tried to find out as to where I was. Then they sent Fr. Mpinganjira, 'who had been at Chilipa, sorry, he was at Chinseu Parish.

After finding out where I was I was called to his office and started charging me why I was outside the parish for six months, and that you have even gone beyond that, why. I gave you this punishment, I did not abandon you but to teach you that you may never again do what you did as a priest. At the end of our conversation, he gave me the parish that was in 1983, in December when I started working.

BB: What sort of model of leadership did Bishop Ainani show, was he a teacher-like or as a boss or a sort of judge-like?

EM: Bishop Ainani portrayed his life as a teacher, teaching his flock as I explained earlier on that when a clergy man did something wrong he would call him aside and then admonish him. So if a person shows this sort of spirit we can then say he is a teacher or a counsellor.

BB: When Bishop Ainani was being elected bishop, do you remember who was in the Elective Assembly?

EM: I can not say with authority, no because when Bishop Ainani was a priest I was then training for the ministry therefore I cannot say how the Elective Assembly did elect Ainani.

BB: How is a bishop elected?

EM: When electing a bishop the procedure is that the names for possible candidates are then called from the parishes. Then each parish sometimes is given the opportunity of sending perhaps three people. Then when those names have been submitted then there is the Elective Assembly which elects a bishop. Then according to those nominations, finally, one name is chosen after discussions and voting. When the names have been presented to the parishes they are scrutinised and the people are guided, they are told as to the right qualifications for the position of a bishop but this is not always the case.

We the Christians know that this is a high position, so when we elect we ought to consider what kind of behaviour has this one, is the way he is behaving qualify him to be a bishop? So even before election we know in advance that this one according to his behaviour won't be right, this is how one is elected bishop.

BB: I am not sure in the Elective Assembly when those names have been submitted, do they consider the votes of an individual or is it the reasons given for particular candidates suitability?

EM: When the names reach the Elective Assembly, there are two things. Yes, they consider the numbers of the votes but also they look critically look at the behaviour of the individuals. However, according to my observation, it does not so much matter as to what kind of behaviour one has. Sometimes, it so happens that a person will be elected who after the elections people wonder why such a person was elected in the first place. So what I can say is this that on the parish level a person is nominated because of his good behaviour but then on the Elective Assembly one is elected simply because one has scored the largest number of vote, perhaps his behaviour is not right, this is how I see this.

BB: On this point there are others who have informed me that the needs of the people in the parish are not considered or respected by the Elective Assembly. It seems that the people have a feeling that they are cheated that their opinion matters in the Elective Assembly when in fact it is the Elective Assembly that actually elect a bishop. What can you say about this?

EM: This is really true that there is a difference between what people do on the parish level by nominating and that what happens whenever the names get to the Elective Assembly. What I know is this, in most cases when people hear about elections these days people always associate it with the manner in which

political elections are conducted involving campaign, saying oh! elect me, elect me, and sometimes others even give money. Others even go to the extent to make promises that if you elect me I will do this and this for you. Therefore, because of such practices certain people who should not have been elected in the first place get elected despite their bad behaviour.

BB: In your opinion this campaign that you talk about is it a good thing in the church?

EM: In terms of positions, I feel it is not right if you want to elect a person because the election of a person must come from God by the power of the Holy Spirit. If God the Holy Spirit allows that you elect so and so, it is that person that ought to be bishop. However, if the motives arise from people because the election of somebody they want to benefit certain material things then this is how things go wrong.

I can say that at the moment we have our bishop, James Tengatenga. The time that he wanted to be bishop it was a very sad thing that we clergy when we gathered at Malosa when his name came out in the run up to the elections, we priests we were writing letters to each other privately saying that elect me, because if you elect me you will see this and this, elect me. This was very disappointing because everybody wanted their names to be considered for the position of bishop.

BB: Amongst the fore-going leaders, Ainani, Aipa, Tengatenga did any of these do this sort of campaign that you think about?

EM: Amongst these bishops, there were others in the past. We have now Bishop Tengatenga in our time. Let us say something little that the bishop who preceded Tengatenga (Aipa) he left us having done some campaign because I remember when visiting the parishes he used to say "elect well, think about us". This was a sign to us that this person aspires for this position.

Now seeing the way that person was speaking, we saw that he became a bishop it is because of this that I may say that may be he became a bishop because of campaign. However, when we talk about the first bishop, Ainani, there was nothing, even Tengatenga there was nothing of that sort. So in terms of your question, yes, it is true the others do campaign even though they left may they forgive me but because that time I was already a priest.

BB: In what state did Bishop Ainani leave the church, was it strong or weak?

EM: By the time he was leaving the church, he left it very strong. The thing that I must mention or what I used to see this time is that there is childishness in the diocese, when one went to the diocese you really felt oh! Things have really changed, there was no respect, you really wondered, oh! were things really like this

in the previous years?

However, during the time of Ainani you really wondered whether you would visit the diocesan headquarters. You would even see that the people who were working in the office were respectable people. So I think this had to do with the manner in which Bishop Ainani ran the diocese or his administration. Therefore, when Bishop Ainani left the diocese was in a much stronger position, it was a diocese you would point a finger at, and it was a highly respected institution, even we clergy we were respectful because of his leadership as I said that he was that sort of a person that when he saw things were wrong he would not hesitate to call that person to correct or give advice. So in this way one becomes straight or you leave those things saying to yourself oh! let me leave this wrong thing. In this manner the diocese seemed to be stable. However, when he had just left gradually the good image of the diocese started fading.

BB: Amongst the priest serving today who can you say in conduct or administration is like Bishop Ainani?

EM: I may mention Fr. Msusa, Fr. Amanze and Fr. Masano.

BB: When Bishop Ainani retired who followed him?

EM: It was Bishop Aipa.

BB: When Aipa was a candidate, what qualities did he have in him which people thought would have made him to be a good bishop?

EM: There were quite a number of qualities but I will just mention a few. The first thing is that he did not have good behaviour because when staying in a place he did not have a settled mind but he was also used to admire women, cheating (fooling with) women. I can say these things if you can allow me to say so. My home is Chiradzulo, and I can say that I am the first, the founder (Malawian priest) of the Anglican Church in that area.

I took the first steps that I should return to Magomero, it is when I began to approach Ainani when he was at Chilipa as a priest and at this time he accepted that the church should return to Chiradzulo and he sent me to Fr. Aipa at Chichiri and then he came home to inaugurate the church but it was very sad that during this time he also started proposing women there which got me involved in a case. The husband of the woman got me into a case saying that your priest has done this, and this. At that time the case also involved many others, there was also Fr. Ndomondo, late Fr. Maputwa, Mr. Zingani he was not a priest then but he used to run evangelism department, he also ran Sunday School department, Fr. Malango was a priest. Then it was found that he was at the woman's place, then coming from Blantyre, the husband caught him with his wife.

Then the husband divorced his wife. Then I thought that he had this weak behaviour and I know that it was not the behaviour for a priest.

BB: Why did the other priest get involved in that situation?

EM: The others were not involved as such. They had gone with Fr. Aipa accompanying him since Chiradzulo was the area that fell under his authority as archdeacon. They went there only by invitation to teach people there. They themselves did not have any problems whatsoever, that's why when things got hot we found the right place for them to stay. So these other people did not have any problem they went there because they were visitors.

BB: Where is Mr. Zingani now?

EM: Mr. Zingani is now in the area of Monkey Bay but I don't really know the precise place.

BB: During that time when Bishop Aipa was being elected bishop, do you know who was in the Elective Assembly?

EM: Canon Mandota.

BB: Where is Canon Mandota now?

EM: At the present moment Canon Mandota is at his home. He is assisting at Nchenga parish at Makawa.

BB: How did you see Bishop Aipa's style, was he democratic or dictatorial or something like of a judge?

EM: I don't really know about his style of administration whether he was democratic or dictator? He was a bishop who would not hesitate to do what he felt was right for him regardless of what other people thought or said. Because what he used to do, we would just hear that the Diocesan Standing Committee is meeting and have resolved this and that, but at times things would be changed and could see that things which had been agreed upon people in the meeting, he has done his own way, unilaterally. Even though I do not attend the DSC but the members from there would say ah! what is happening there is really surprising but why were we being called to be at a meeting, may be it is better that he must meet alone in the DSC. So as you have asked me this question I can say that he was really a person who could do things his own way, alone.

BB: How about as a leader, was he behaving like a boss giving instructions or a teacher or a judge?

EM: In his leadership the way I see he was like a person who just gave directives, like a judge, let me say so. Not that he was like a teacher, no, because displaying the image of a teacher requires one to be exemplary, leading the way by doing the right things for the others to follow. He was really like a director who gives commands to be obeyed.

BB: As a long serving priest in this diocese you know very well the life of Bishop Aipa before he went to the Seminary at St. John's what he used to do.

EM: The way I know about Bishop Aipa before he went for the priesthood or to train at St. John's he was a teacher.

BB: What really influenced Bishop Aipa to go to the Seminary or influenced his life?

EM: I can't really say but what I know is that he became a teacher then the time came for him to go for training as a priest.

BB: When Bishop Aipa was a priest, what kind of relationship prevailed with his bishop, Arden?

EM: The kind of relationship that prevailed with Arden was not so good because when Arden was the bishop of this diocese and Archbishop of Central Africa, Bishop Aipa had the opportunity to look after the diocese on behalf of Arden with the position of Vicar General. It was very sad that sometimes he would destroy that diocese.

On his return Arden would be very disappointed, so the way I see things is that even when Bishop was leaving he had a very bad image of Bishop Aipa that he was not the right man to be bishop because of his behaviour of messing up things when Arden was away, so there was no real relationship. I remember one time when he messed up when Arden was away. I remember the other time Bishop Arden was away on leave to England and Aipa was the Vicar General on his return the car that Arden was using the Peugeot had broken down and some money had been misused and this must have been the years 1974 and 1975.

BB: How did the car get broken down and where was this?

EM: Where the car had break down I fail to mention but what was transpiring was that he used to drive the car almost anywhere sometimes driving it in the night to the pubs to drink beers, using it carrying women and so on. So it was is not that the car was involved in the accident, no, but the manner in which it was being handled not like the owner did. In the case of the people who are drunk they would just drive in any way, being careless, not that it was involved in an accident.

BB: How about you yourself when the story about that girl surfaced did you believe it or not?

EM: In my case I can say that according to what I saw of his behaviour, and I stayed with him for a long time, I did not doubt that the story was true, I believed that this must be the truth. As I said earlier on that he was in the habit of frequently coming to this parish because I have been in this parish almost for ten years and that he must have a woman. He never even brought his wife even for a day for that matter. So in this case I did not doubt at all, I believe that this must be true.

BB: But I hear that when the three priests signed the letter there were also others who did not sign. Why did the others not sign?

EM: The reason why they did not sign the first letter was that they needed to have time to investigate the rumours before they could sign. Our church law authorises the Diocesan Standing Committee to investigate on such matters so that they can get the correct information. This is why that after the investigation they then sat down and decided to write the latter. And they also wrote to the Archbishop informing him what was happening.

BB: Who actually informed the Archbishop?

EM: It was when he had read about this in the newspapers it is that he took the steps to find out if what he was hearing in the news was the truth.

BB: As I hear you saying now that at the earliest stage of his time in office Bishop Aipa there was good relationship with the bishop with his priests or that the priests were free with the bishop but the other priests I have talked to also say that Bishop Aipa was never free with his clergy but rather he was free with his lay people his parishioners especially women. What can you say about this?

EM: I think at the very beginning I explained that Bishop Aipa was free to address us his clergy whenever he had some issue relating to the life of the clergy and he was also free to address the other people, the laity when he was addressing them on the relevant matter. Yes indeed, Bishop Aipa was free with his clergy but not always. He used to be free and happy when he was in the presence of women or the lay people.

BB: Thank you so much Father Mphaya for all what you have shared with me. I really appreciate, thank you.

EM: You are welcome my friend.

Interviewee: Father A. D. Chizito
Parish priest, Balaka Parish

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

27th July 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali who is conducting the research for the Reverend Henry Mbaya. Would you please introduce yourself.

AC: I am Canon A. D. Chizito who works currently working in this parish here at Balaka in the Diocese of Southern Malawi

BB: Father when did you start your priesthood?

AC: On 18th September 1978 in Balaka parish.

BB: Where did you train to be a priest?

AC: I trained at Chilema during the time when the diocese was experiencing the shortage of clergy, I became a priest within a short time.

BB: How many were you in training during the time when the diocese was experiencing the shortage of priests?

AC: There were three of us in the Anglican Church, there were also three in the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian and there were two from the Churches of Christ.

BB: When was Chilema established?

AC: I have forgotten but with me in training were Fr. Kalino, late Chipala and the others.

BB: Who opened this place?

AC: It was Bishop Donald Arden, and he asked the CCAP to join the Anglicans.

BB: What were you learning during your training?

AC: History, the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the preaching of Jesus and also being a faithful leader in the congregation.

BB: What specific areas were you taught?

AC: Especially life as a person, humanity, courage, a brave person and the one who is willing to listen to the problems of the other people.

BB: How long did this training take you at Chilema?

AC: It was a six months' training course. These months were divided one month one half to go to assist the parish priest. For instance, I used to go to Mponda's parish in Mangochi to assist Fr. Canon Kennedy Chipanda.

BB: You have mentioned something about leadership. During the time you were training what help did you find about leadership training?

AC: These lessons were important because through them I got strengthened especially teaching to be not discriminatory or being biased, courageous. In 1978 I was given a parish of Balaka, that was my first appointment. I stayed well with the people and when the time came to be transferred the Christians of that parish did not want me to leave. However, I had to leave because I had to obey the instructions from the Lord Bishop.

BB: Do you remember when Bishop Ainani became bishop?

AC: I have forgotten the year but there was a gathering that was electing the bishops at that time.

BB: Did you say that you were with the gathering when the bishop was being elected?

AC: Yes.

BB: What qualities did you see in Ainani which you believed would have qualified him to be the bishop and lead the diocese?

AC: The one who was chosen was a courageous man, dedicated and could understand people. He was a brave person, firm on money, was not discriminatory, to be a leader it is not good to be a lover of money, going out to pubs or bars. Bishop Ainani did not do such things.

BB: You have said that Bishop Ainani was a courageous man. Would you give a specific example whereby he showed this behaviour?

AC: There was another time when Bishop Arden sent Fr. Ainani to Chilipa parish a parish seen in the diocese as a place where priests are sent to be punished, a very difficult place, it was a dead parish, people did not know how to support the Church/. When Bishop Ainani went there he raised the parish and even today it is strong and this shows that he is a brave man.

BB: You also mentioned something about money can you say something about the way money was handled during the time of Bishop Ainani.

AC: On the point of money Bishop Ainani used to pay us every months, every other month and when you had no money he would then allow you to get an advance salary because there was a lot of money then.

BB: Where did Bishop Ainani get this money from?

AC: Bishop Ainani used to ask for these moneys from friends in Colorado and America.

BB: Why did Bishop Ainani become suffragan bishop before he was elected diocesan bishop?

AC: Donald saw that the diocese was too large for him alone, too large to administer alone and he did not want to divide it, and he could not travel in all the places so a second bishop had to be elected.

BB: Are you telling me that during that time it was larger than the present size?

AC: That time it was larger because there was enough money that's why a suffragan bishop had to be elected.

BB: What kind of a leader was Bishop Ainani?

AC: Bishop Ainani was an understanding person. If he wanted to do something he would not take a unilateral decision but he used to consult his advisors who used to guide him. The Archdeacons would

argue with him and he would listen and ponder what he had been told that is why he was a good leader. Once he made up his mind he never retreated, he was kind. If one did something wrong he would call you then he would counsel you, advising you that don't do this or that and if you were obedient you would refrain.

BB: Can you give one instance of a person who disagreed with Bishop Ainani in a situation whereby this person may have said to the bishop oh! this is not right to the extent that the bishop would agree with him.

AC: There was an occasion when the church at Chingwenya at Namwera parish had its roof destroyed. People sent messages to him to go to Namwera. Ainani ignored that, then other priests criticised him after which he apologised to the priests asking for pardon.

BB: What style of leadership did Ainani show? Would you say he was like a teacher, teaching his flock or boss-like?

AC: Bishop Ainani did not see himself as the dictator or something else. He was a man who used to work with people. If he saw people making bricks, he would then take off his cassock, fold his trousers and help. For instance, he build the church at Namalomba at Liwonde, Traditional Authority Malembo. Bishop Ainani used to go down into the pit helping those who were working while other bishops cannot even visit you when you are sick. However, Bishop Ainani used to do these things to help the people.

BB: What kind of image was Ainani portraying to the people as a leader?

AC: Bishop Ainani was a humble person and people would welcome him very much when he visited them. One thing that Bishop Ainani didn't like were people telling lies, gossiping about the others. Because of this many people used to like him.

BB: Are you able to give me two instances whereby Bishop Ainani did not tolerate gossip or lies?

AC: For instance, sometimes people would report to him that a certain priest, so and so, is drinking alcohol and is not doing his pastoral work. Bishop Ainani would then ask the people to come later on after he had investigated as to get to the truth. The fact that the bishop would not listen or act on hearsay the people, this earned him respect from the priests would respect him a lot, because Ainani did not like gossips and lies.

BB: By the time Bishop Ainani left the diocese was it in a stronger or weaker position?

AC: He left the diocese in a much stronger position, with a lot of money.

BB: As a human being, he may have his weaknesses. What are the weak points?

AC: I do not know that Bishop Ainani was weak because I did not notice any weakness.

BB: Father Chizito I would like to thank you so much for allowing me to come and to talk with you. I really appreciate your kindness. Thank you.

AC: You are welcome Mr. Binali.

BB: Thank you.

Interviewee: Canon G. S. Mbaya

Makuta Village, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

30th July 1998

BB: In which year were you born?

GSM: I was born on 9th September in 1927 at Chande village here in Nkhotakota.

BB: How did you come to become a Christian?

GSM: First I was baptised in 1938 from that period I have always been a Christian.

BB: Who confirmed you, which priest baptised you?

GSM: The priest who baptised me was Thomas Harlod Hicks. He as a Canon and priest-in-charge.

BB: What kind of a priest was Fr. Hicks?

GSM: He was a good man who liked his parishioners, he also liked putting up Church buildings, he liked visiting his Christians, he liked to visit Chididi, Sani, Lozi, Thiwi, Liwaladzi. He liked places like those to build Churches.

BB: How long did he stay at All Saints?

GSM: I cannot clearly remember but it must have been not less than ten years.

BB: Who came after him?

GSM: The one who came after him I remember was Fr. Carlton.

BB: What kind of a priest was he?

GSM: Like the other priests, Carlton also liked his Christians by visiting them. He was like an administrator. He used to administrate the mission station. He used to like the affairs of his station.

BB: When were you confirmed?

GSM: I was confirmed in 1941, I remember it was Bishop Frank Thorne.

BB: What was Bishop Thorne like in terms of his life and as a pastor?

GSM: The way I used to see him was that he used to like the Christians but not only that he himself used to show us that he was a very prayerful person because he used to pray even before the Christians arrived in Church almost the whole hour before the Christians came to Church.

BB: How did Bishop Frank Thorne live as a man?

GSM: The other thing that is apart from his deep prayer life was that he was very fond of visiting the Christians in their homes, doing pastoral work.

BB: Now which other priest do you remember either African or European?

GSM: The one who I remember apart from Fr. Hicks who baptised me, or Father Guy Carleton who followed Hicks, I still remember there was another priest by the name of Cedric Frank, I don't know whether Cedric Frank was the surname but I know there was Cedric Frank.

BB: Now, what sort of a priest was this priest, Cedric Frank?

GSM: I cannot say much about Frank but just like the others he was also fond of visiting the Christians in the villages. However, Fr. Frank did not stay long enough as the other priests.

BB: How did you become a priest?

GSM: My attraction to the priesthood began when I used to have frequent dreams, I remember I used to have a dream that I was in church receiving collection like a priest. I used to have dreams. Yes I remember one of those dreams I was holding a collection plate and passing it on to the people in the pews.

The other day I dreamt that I was being called by the unknown voice. My name is George Samuel. The other day when I was sleeping my wife called the name Samuel and not George. Samuel, Samuel, so I responded and she said the Lord is calling. Then at that time I saw that there was no roof on my house but I was still on my bed. Still on my bed in my sleep I just said that Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be you name.

When I had just said that prayer, my bed rose, then also went down, like that, until when I finished Our Lords' prayer I was awake and realised that I was on my bed. I kept all these things in my heart I had another dream I was with another young man, the two of us in church wearing white clothes. Then wearing white garments like that we were in front but not at the very front then we were just praying that we were wearing the white garments until the service was over.

Since that time I realised that my dreams were about my vocation because one day in 1970, it was the 19th of December when we were in church in Lilongwe with the late Bishop Mtekatika who said: Are you still in Lilongwe. And I said, "Yes, I am still in Lilongwe." When you come to Nkhosakota I would like to have a word with you." So I was surprised that what is it that such a reverent person would say to me. Anyway, luckily in 1971 I went to Nkhosakota, I came back home here. So when I came here I received a letter, I

staid 3 weeks then I received the letter that time I was working at the government hospital, I received a letter that I was called at the mission.

When I went to the mission I found Bishop Mtekatoka and Mr. Alexander Kangati and also Father Liwewe, who was priest-in-charge and archdeacon. Then I was asked if I could start helping in church as a lay minister administering the chalice. I did not argue, I said I could do that since I had been requested to do it. I said, oh! I don't know how to do it, but they said oh! We shall teach you how to do it come tomorrow that was Saturday, come tomorrow and start work.

Yes indeed the next day I was they started teaching me then and finally I then started administering the communion chalice. Since that time I had the mind to serve. Bishop Mtekatoka had wished that I could go to train at St. John's Seminary in Lusaka but because I was close to retirement in government service it was difficult. Then the bishop advised me to train for the voluntary ministry. Fr. Bernard Sharp became my tutor who was also the priest-in-charge. I trained for 3 years. After three years I was ordained. I was with Fr. Stanley Mandala. Now I know that the dream that I had showing that I was with another young man in front of the people but not at the altar was about being a priest.

BB: How was Bishop Mtekatoka as a bishop?

GSM: Bishop Mtekatoka was a bishop who loved his flock like Bishop Frank Thorne. Even though he was an African he tried to live like an Englishman knowing administration, and knowing his job, he was not jealousy and he liked his members of staff very much. Particularly, he liked his members of staff who were keen to work. He was also a very prayerful man and was busy with his work.

BB: Can you tell me about the election of Bishop Nyanja for I hear that before he was elected Fr. Henry Mikaya was elected Suffragan bishop but somehow things did not go well, he never became bishop. How did things go? I must emphasise that I cannot explain that well since I was not in the Elective Assembly. I was not a member of the Elective Assembly but according to what I heard it is said that there were two candidates, Fr., Henry Mikaya and the late Fr. James Lunda. So I don't know how it came that Fr. Mikaya and Fr. Lunda came to contend for the position. I think this matter could have been known by the members of the Elective Assembly.

Now before Fr. Nyanja became a bishop he had been working in one of the parishes in Ntchisi then somehow the two priests Mikaya and Lunda none of them succeeded to be Suffragan bishop, I don't know how. But I heard that Fr. Mikaya had been suffragan bishop but I don't know how things did not work out for him. Then it so happened that after all this Fr. Lunda died but his death had nothing to do with their quarrels. His was a death not connected to all these matters.

Now before Fr. Nyanja became a bishop things happened in this way. We were asked to give our consent that Fr. Nyanja be bishop. We gave our consent in each parish that Nyanja become a bishop, all the parishes I don't know whether Bishop Nyanja was elected because of the parishioners votes or it was an arrangement of the Elective Commission. However, we also contributed our votes that Nyanja should become a bishop so that our votes should not mix with those of the others so that Nyanja should become a bishop.

BB: How do you assess Bishop Nyanja as a bishop?

GSM: In his work as a bishop, Nyanja has done well because he has been a bishop not just for his own interest but he thinks for his own priests. He is concerned that he has very few priests in the diocese, he is concerned with his staff.

BB: In 1978 the story of the transference of the diocesan headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe what actually happened. Why was it controversial?

GSM: The year 1978 was the year which brought problems to the people of Nkhotakota, because Bishop Peter Nyanja removed his Church headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe. However, the way I saw things and the way I see things it was not wrong at all to remove the head office from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe.

BB: What was the problem then? The main problem was that people were cross with the headquarters, because of that people were angry.

GSM: What was the main reason why people were cross. For instance, one can rightly get cross if the other person stamp on your swollen sore, why did the people of Nkhotakota get cross?

The head office at first was at Likoma then moved to Malosa, then Bishop Mtekateka did not want to live in Likoma and he wanted headquarters to be in Nkhotakota and so it happened.

BB: Why did he not want to stay in Likoma?

GSM: He alone must have had a reason for that. The people of Nkhotakota were happy that they had the headquarters and were too cross when it was moved to Lilongwe. They thought that the diocese was going to Lilongwe. The story of the diocese was the one that made the people of Nkhotakota get annoyed.

BB: But how and why did they get so cross for what reason?

GSM: As you know that here in Nkhotakota there are two religions, Islam and Christianity which have been here for a long time, people have always been used to the idea. Before the headquarters came to Nkhotakota the Moslems and the Christians all knew that it was at Likoma they could put up with that but then the headquarters came to Nkhotakota, then it was removed to Lilongwe, people, the Christians and the Moslems got too cross.

BB: May be we should say that perhaps people were taking the diocese as if it was their property especially in their life as Christians, is it not the case? The problem is that many people have been asking this question they are not straight-forward; they do not convince me.

GSM: The removal of the diocese to Lilongwe was like a person who has always worn his jacket which has been keeping him warm – then suddenly he loses it which he will never see again.

BB: Other people whom I have approached on this matter have not been explicit. If there had been others explaining helped me a lot.

GSM: When these things were happening I was one of the temporary members of staff the diocese - being a priest but working in the office - as religious adviser. I knew what was going on. The bishops' intention was not to change the headquarters as such but that the offices only must go to the capital city of Malawi- so that we Anglicans also have a part there. How did the people show their disappointment about this action. When they saw that all the diocese property was gone, houses remained as fixed assets, all the money had been taken. How did the people express their anger? Their reaction was so bad that they almost beat the bishop.

BB: Thank you so much for allowing me to talk to you. I am so grateful for this opportunity.

Interviewee: Father Joel Lewis Malanda
Parish Priest, All Saints Church, Ntcheu
Archdeacon of Upper Shire, Diocese of Southern Malawi

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

8th August 1998

BB: Father, my name is Benedict and my surname is Binali. I am doing some research for Father Henry Mbaya. Would you please introduce yourself?

I am Father Joel Malanda, a priest-in-charge of the parish of Ntcheu.

BB: With regard to his retirement as a Bishop I understand that at the very beginning that only three priests signed the letter and the others did not sign, why?

JM: The only three priests who signed were Fr. Mgani, Fr. Kachiwanda and Fr. Mapundula. The reason was that our constitution and the canons which means the laws of the Church say that for a bishop or bishop to be convicted, indeed, as he did this for the Archbishop to take it seriously the three priests had to sign and the two ladies, and already Dr. Kishindo and Mr. Chilambo signed making it five.

BB: In the course of the whole story I understand that someone else was not for the idea that the bishop should be out of the house or office and that he should stay but that in the end even the others were for the idea, why was it like that?

JM: Of course some failed you know, not all Christians in the diocese felt that the bishop should leave or get out of the office and most of them even sympathised with him and some were even worried why these people published the bishop's stories in the papers, this is a family affair, we Anglicans must sit down we must discuss, we finish everything so it seems in the end the issue came out hard then people felt that well since things have dropped as we say in our proverb when water has spilled you cannot get it back into the plate. So they felt that they must just make him go back home.

Then the Archbishop came here to meet the DSC that is the Diocesan Standing Committee. This is a committee where the clergy and laity meet while pastoral is only for the clergy. The DSC suggested that if possible why can't Bishop Aipa as a member of the board of finance that instead of going directly to his home village in Malindi why cant he go to the Church cottage at Kapiridzinja the lake cottage at Nkope. However, the DSC recommended that he had to go to his home village of Malindi.

BB: I understand the bishop is surrounded by numerous canons such that it is very difficult to push him out of office, how did the clergy succeed to push him out of the office?

JM: Yes, those canons are there to protect the bishop, however, there was a sort of tag of war because the archbishop and his provincial court. On one hand, the Provincial court tried to back the bishop with the canons, also the laity and the other clergy with the canons there especially with the money issue. Now when it came to the issue of sexual immorality those who backed him were very weak but those who finished him were very powerful. You know that money wise they were very powerful and those who felt that he should vacate the office were very weak.

BB: Can you tell me which of those canons that were very strong in finishing him?

JM: They say for example, if a priest or a bishop, because priests have their canons, and bishops have theirs. It is said that, if a bishop has committed adultery there should be evidence, say the woman plus the parents or exact relations, and real evidence before you and not just speculate. If a priest or bishop has given pregnancy the church won't find him guilty unless there should be evidence from the one who make this accusation be it a girl or a woman.

In this case, the girl was there before the Archbishop and his fellow bishops but the provincial court said that there was no evidence since the child had died. If this girl has died this is why he was going to leave the office but this girl was there and of course she declared, she signed that he gave me pregnancy. Can you prove it? We went to Kapiridzinja so, so, so with a driver and we spent the whole night at Mawuwa discovery lodge and because of this evidence.

BB: Who is this girl? Because some said these are just rumours, fabricated stories so that to convince these people now since the canons said the real evidence should be from the one impregnated or the child they test blood to see if it is his child, so this girl testifies it is true.

JM: What they want is genuine evidence, the girl or the woman should testify in the right way that is why the official chancellor from the others in Zimbabwe and South Africa heard from this girl and they heard from her parents. The driver's case was taking place in Blantyre and the driver had since then died that time and he has left elementary evidence so it is like that.

BB: It is said that Bishop Aipa is now dead but what can you say first about the proceedings, how was the funeral ceremony?

JM: Since as I have said that those people who were in the enquiry of the commission were not clergymen

now the former bishop of this diocese indeed diocese buried him honourably and the coffin was brought by the diocese, transports and all other Anglicans institutions bought by the diocese and I should say three quarters of clergy went there those who were folded and I should say from different parishes of the diocese Blantyre went there. I should say it was a dignified funeral.

BB: I understand there was no commentator what can you say about this.

JM: Commentator on what?

BB: Somebody was responsible for the organisation of the ceremony amongst the clergy?

JM: Since this funeral service was being taken place in Malindi parish. It means the parish priest of that particular parish Archdeacon John Chilombe was responsible but the problem I saw in management we say a good manager is someone who delegates, Archdeacon Chilombe had two funerals yesterday of the bishop and Mr. Chikonda there even organising at the Church at the funeral house and at the Bishop's house, since the Vice president was there so he could see moving up and down but he never delegated that was the problem. He never delegated to anybody else so that's why people said from clergy it was the problems of the parish priest who never felt to delegate.

BB: For you father, what do you believe are the qualities of a good leader?

JM: When we choose leaders, one I feel we should look into it that the man we see and look into it that the man we are choosing to be our leader should be a man of vision because I can't see or know or acknowledge that vision is with me, some people can see the way I see I can handle matters. When I stay with them the way I speak I deliver my message is to them they can see that this man has vision or this man has no vision, so the first thing a good leader should have vision without vision no leadership in vision on everything is locked there you can't manage a good admirable family if a leader is the head of that particular family is without vision seeing forward not today you should focus.

If I said my child is now a year, I think I should send her to a nursery school from nursery school I should send him or her to the primary school. It means I'm trying to see why I'm doing this I want him in the future what he should be so we have leadership in this earthly world or religious leadership or spiritual leadership without vision so for a good leader we should see that vision is with them.

BB: The centre of this research is the development of the indigenous clergy leadership today after having known as having experience of the former African bishops and knowing on having experience of white bishops are you off the mind, that we as Africans should continue leading ourselves or the whites should

come again and continue leading us again.

JM: No, thank you very much for the information, thank you you have stated this morning. You know when I was serving my suspension and with Bishop Aipa's problems there were people who knew that they were leaving the office. Many people in the diocese wanted a white person, they felt that a white bishop could deliver goods but when Bishop Jack Biggers began in the Northern Diocese, he wanted me there.

He told me tell your friends in the Southern Diocese being white does not mean white bishops do not have their own problems and their weaknesses. This is what Bishop Jack Biggers of the Northern Diocese told me. He is an American. He said that whites have their own problems and weaknesses, so to me one saying we should have a white bishop and so forth and the only reason people want white Bishop is not to lead them spiritually you know, they want money. If you ask anybody why they do want a white bishop they will tell you that he is going to build schools, churches and so forth.

However, even an indigenous bishop who is a Malawian can perform wonders than a white bishop. So to me I feel we should have our indigenous bishops. For your information, I am very influential politically, spiritually. What I feel is that even Bishop Tengatenga was there and he knows very well I was very influential that he should be elected. He knows because I started in 1995 when I was serving my suspension.

Every time I went to his house between 1995, 1996 and 1997, I was telling him he would be a bishop and I will be one of the people to push you up and before I did that even Dr. James Amanze I said what to do. Do you think it will be your first priority in the diocese education is not there, Aipa never exposed anybody else to education what do you feel as James said what I feel the way I see with this bishop there will be development. There will be projects like building things, studying opportunities, education like that. That's development, building up good morality of clergy...that's development.

BB: There is one thing I have forgotten to mention to ask you about the issue of mill here at Ntcheu. What can you say about the issue of the mill here at Ntcheu.

JM: Thank you very much. You know Fr. James Mnjeru, the one who was appointed here first before I came here. He was the one who applied for the maize mill. The mill did not come from the diocese but rather from the American Embassy. It was their donation. It was not meant for the Anglican Church or Anglican women here in Ntcheu as these things were. It belonged to Mphate women here especially.

Mphate women met around this area from the bus stop to Kasinje turn-off all women here especially those

who are under privileged of course under the supervision of the Anglican priest here who instead the whole thing that's why even now. I know what people say in their ideas that he wanted this maize mill to be his so they reacted and the American Embassy David telling the priest here that this maize mill will be for the Mphate women. For your information, the mill was reduced by the embassy itself from Fr. Mnjeru to Mphate women but they came again when Father Mnjeru left this parish of course after the problem was here the maize meal was under the chairman of Fr. Msusa, a retired priest who is in Ndirande now.

This parish took the maize meal as theirs and of course the maize meal started operating last year February is when I involved he was the Americans from the Embassy came here you will report to us how progress goes on. You have reported for bad mill then I told him I don't know that you donated the maize mill here. I was never told that I should be involved for he was involved in this project because I told him that the priest should not be involved and then he said who told you and I said so and so don't you keep the firewood and I said the firewood is here this person who signed here unfortunately died on Wednesday and we buried her on Thursday.

She said indeed, maize meal started operating last July but unfortunately the priest was always told you said he is not concerned and we men we don't know how funds are being managed and very interesting me and the Americans went to Mr. Chikumbe and Chisoni asking him we have come can you tell us the progress report of the maize meal? He said, "well it is going on well. Is this committee for the maize mill?" Yes, then he said, you are a liar.

We have visited women who appeared to be committee members and they have said you have never met and they said they don't know how the maize mill operated, who looks after the funds and so forth, where is the house of the maize mill because the American Embassy also donated money to accommodate the maize mill itself. Mr. Jumbe said sorry the priest was here. He has managed the money and so forth, you see.

Then they said how did he manage these funds because in the file we can see that you said you Mr. Jumbe, your wife and the priest bought the iron sheets and he said, yes, they bought in the shop here and he failed to answer, so they said , ok, Mr Jumbe, we are.. but can you tell us how much money and he said, ah! just come here, you know, well we will send you report then they went but they told him we will come back to retrieve the maize mill and we want the women themselves to manage this one.

Now the problem was this, still this maize mill the people here in Ntcheu feel is for Anglican but it's not for the Anglican thing. It is for Mphate women that is why they call it Mphate Women Maize Mill. You know, so on the 28th March of this year I received a letter from the embassy saying we are coming to retreat the maize mill and immediately I announced this in the Church Mr. Jumbe had to convince the

meeting letting new office bearers for the maize mill from his house up there but I would not mind and its sad, something very shameful that on the 1st April the American came to retreat the maize mill and as I am saying now the maize mill is in Lilongwe.

They delegated men to find a house somewhere where electricity is nearby, so that they we can start the project. However, I was afraid because this group threatened me. Some people said that though the Embassy likes you, where you are the buildings for maize mill is concerned. I don't answer correspondence to their letters because I feel I will be threatened since Mr. Jumbe tells me that his mill caused to vacate from his premises so this is how I can tell you if you want to see letters I have got them, if you have questions you can ask them.

BB: Thank you very much Fr. Malanda. I think we have said a lot and discussed a lot so we have to break for now. I am very much grateful for the discussions we have had. I came really surprised and as you began to reject me at the beginning it was very easy for you to say no appointment and they like but you welcomed me and we had wonderful discussions. I am very much grateful. Should there be any other questions in the future you will see coning again.

JM: Yes, you are most welcome as well.

Interviewee: Canon John Parslow
Retired priest serving at Chichiri parish, Blantyre

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

27th August, 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali. I am a research assistant to Father Mbaya. I am assisting him in researching on the formation of the African clergy and the election of Malawian bishops in the Anglican Church. I am very much grateful that you have given me the opportunity to come and speak to you.

JP: It is a pleasure for me.

BB: You don't mind if I begin with a personal question. Do you?

JP: No, not, at all. Go ahead.

BB: When were you ordained priest in the Anglican Church?

JP: In 1951.

BB: Where was that?

JP: In England, Worcestershire.

BB: When did you come to Malawi?

JP: In 1960.

BB: Who was the bishop of the diocese when you were coming to Malawi.?

JP: Bishop Frank Thorne.

BB: I understand Chilema was established during the time of Bishop Arden. What was the intention.?

JP: A lay training centre to train lay people in all sorts of departments.

BB: I understand it is in a way ecumenical. How did it come about to be ecumenical?

JP: As it is in the Presbyterian Church and as it is in the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the Churches of Christ come together and I think they put some finance to put up the buildings. It started as an Ecumenical centre for many churches.

BB: Were they pouring these financial sources?

JP: We have got to say the Anglican Church has got money from England of course the other where they get money, I didn't know.

BB: Looking at Chilema today from the time it began, would you call it development or not?

JP: Well I think it has reached its peak in many ways. I think we've been overtaken by economics the expenses of running courses today are tremendous and there are limited programmes that much. But it still operates for conferences, consultations and it is a very general public and secondary too, for it has many dormitories and residential place.

BB: Those that have been trained there are they still being trained in various parishes today?

JP: Oh! I think so, yes, we've clergy conference every year and have special courses for clergy there and we have learnt a lot being together at Chilema and lay people have been trained in the courses as far as I know still working in the parishes as we haven't died but because many years now probably 30 years.

BB: You have said that you are the parish priest of this parish, what other posts in the church have you held in Malawi?

JP: When I came to Malawi in 1960 I was part of the team ministry in Blantyre which cared for the

Anglicans in Zomba, Mulanje Thyolo and Blantyre-Limbe. And we used to travel to these places once in a month to take services. Wvwhen Bishop Arden was coming we had a new idea to give to these places or to other priests who lived in Zomba and Thyolo. In this way we worked a lot. We found that these places could support them and we are able to flop if you like. We also of course decided to make our commitment to nearer to homes. We had our stations at Chilema, Thyolo, Chapananga, Chiradzulo and Nikula Falls. We had stations there which we ministrered to from Blantyre.

In 1967 Archdeacon Lacey died and chose someone else to become our Archdeacon of Blantyre which I did and cared for the whole area, Matope as far as Likwenu and diocese and we might have a new archdeacon to care for the big area. I only covered the urban area and a few backward districts I was archdeacon for 17 years as well as the Vicar general of the diocese as I was also priest in-charge of St. Paul's. Later when Bishop Aipa was in power, been in the office rather, we decided to change St. Paul's into the Pro-Cathedral, so we had to extend using the funds from the United States and I became the Dean of the new Cathedral that was in 1983 or 1984.

In 1985, I retired officially but I still kept on working on a pay role putting on a pension from England. Then the bishop asked me to go and help at Malindi and I went there for 3 years and then he asked me to come down here at Chichiri because there was shortage of priests and I came here in 1989. I have been here for 9 years now really and decided to build the Church hall on the site here which we opened last Sunday on the 20th.

The bishop and the new bishop came to open it so we have a huge crowd of people to celebrate at the great achievement of this hall which we are very proud of because it is the only self help project and self financed. We didn't have any money from abroad for this. It was all done by thew local people themselves and I say it cost half a million because a lot of materials like cement, transport were given freely by the Christians. It was difficult but how we spent I do not know because I was clerk of the works, we spent over thousand Kwacha in cash from the parish which they themselves raised.

BB: As you were coming up at the very beginning of the church, you were only white priests, there were no local priests, I think in the diocese,. How did you begin to gather the local people for the priesthood?

JP: There were many local priests when I came, many of them. There was a priest from Matope, a priest at Matope, Likwenu, a priest at Soche, there was no priest at Thyolo. I suppose there must have been at least a half dozen of the local clergy when I came and especially when I was at Likoma. There were four priests there. They were elderly priests of course who had been ordained many years, people like Canon Chipembele, Canon Polera, Canon Mwenda, Archdeacon Chikoko, Archdeacon Chipanda, there were quite a lot of local clergy around us.

BB: From your knowledge what principles were being followed to to gather these men into the priesthood?

JP: The Gospel. They were attracted by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and were attracted into his ministry. They were selected by the Selection Board and they were approved as suitable. Education of course was not very advanced because there were not many facilities. Most of them were very good men at hearts, devoted men and the church was built on people that has great faith. Be it clergy education but great faith, that's all that matters that the disciples faced in Jesus, they were not feeling as educated people. But today of course most of our clergy have MSCE and some who have got degrees from University, we are upgrading them all the time when they are studying. We have done a lot to TEEM, Theological Education by Extension in Malawi. TEEM offers diplomas in Theology. This is also true of the lay people. I know of several lay people who have a diploma and use it in the church.

BB: I am sure during your arrival some young people might have expressed their wish to join the priesthood. How did you scrutinise it to say well I recommend you to join the ministry of the church?

JP: Well first they must come to church and they must do something, perhaps as a Sunday school teacher or some other function that tell us that someone believe. Whenever take people who haven't done this sort of thing, but they must be acceptable by the church council. I must know their way of life. Education is not all that important at the start because we can always educate them later but originally they must be members of the church, working in the church, doing something like Sunday school or something else and must have a quality of life acceptable to the people.

I am happy to say at least 3 people. I do know have passed through my influence over the years and are priests. I am glad that they are doing so well but originally they start as choir members or servers. I think one of them I can point out is Bishop Malango in Zambia. He was one of my servers in Zomba many years ago and he has educated himself and he has done very well and now he is a bishop in Zambia. There are other people too I hope I have influenced like Archdeacon Mapundula who is now archdeacon of Mwanza. He was one of my choir members at St. Paul's many years ago. He is a first class priest, and I am very proud of his ministry that he is doing in Mwanza.

BB: Do you remember somebody who was assisting Bishop Arden in the selection of young men for the priesthood?

JP: Well he had people to advise usually the archdeacon, he also had a training chaplain he was living with him at Malosa, people had to go before the Selection Committee before they were accepted for training.

BB: Ok, after Bishop Arden it was the time for the local bishop Ainani. What qualities appealed to the

people to choose Ainani as the leader for the diocese?

JP: He was an assistant bishop for sometime and he learned a lot from Bishop Arden at the time when he was with him. It seemed he was the obvious candidate for the job and I think they were pleased that he was elected. Every body realised that he was a very good parish priest. I was an archdeacon for several years and when I was the Vicar general. I could see what was going on when the bishop was there in the diocese. I had a lot of time to watch Bishop Ainani as a very good priest.

BB: After his election did people feel satisfied that they had chosen the man that they wanted?

JP: Well I think so, but not everybody is satisfied because some people want an archangel, they want somebody perfect, what is perfect in this world? Once somebody is elected by the Church accept him. The office of the bishop is very important and accept him as the church, accept him. Whatever I must feel in person but I am sure I never heard criticism for Bishop Ainani at all. Not adverse criticism. I found him conscientious in his job

BB: What was the model of his leadership?

JP: I think he was a caring man. The office of a bishop in the Anglican Church is strange. It appears to someone to be very authoritarian or democratic because what the bishop says goes as a rule but a lot of clergy could think the bishop is not democratic but as a leader you need to say yes or no and lead without a democratic process of showing it or up but we had committees. As a committee which he could listen to and he had of course to respect them and I think he was a man in many ways like us he liked his ways and I think he was quite successful.

BB: How about his style of leadership. Would you say that he was in a way of a teacher, or a sort of master or a judge?

JP: He must be a master I think but with the type of work he had to do he didn't have much time to teach and teaching for example. In that way he was successful. His life was without criticism and people saw that he did a good job. He wouldn't mind of his sheep. I don't delegate very much to people which I think. It is right to delegate more work to people, to let people who are competent to do it. There is tremendous work to the bishop because of the system. Today if I was asked to describe the work of a diocesan secretary, one of the things in it is called a coordinating officer, a lay man, who is able to help the bishop to coordinate the projects, different needs of the parish.

We also need someone who could enable people to be helped in the parishes who could listen to the

problems because the bishop is too busy to listen to the details and as one person he cant possibly remember everything so we need people to help the bishop. As the bishop is chairman and head of departments can help in the parishes around. This is what I could do. For instance in the Anglican Church the bishop has to know everything that is happening and no one man can do that something is bound to escape him and people can take advantage on that.

Spotting things, and not everyone is good at finance, some people are better than others, and our bishops need to be knowledgeable about that. He has to check the income and expenditure but I think if he can find a good lay man, perhaps if that person is retired, he could use that one. We have the finance committee but they are usually not highly qualified people willing to do it. We've lots of property in the church but there is no one responsible for it.

As far as I can see it needs someone to go around checking all that property, preparing it and advising on the finance on how to use but at the moment we don't have such a staff because we can't afford to pay them. If you want qualified people you have to pay qualified rates. This is such a big load on the bishop. It's far heavier and he has so much to do, letters coming all the time. You are required to being here and there, the transport costs are enormous if he has to fulfil all these things which comes at a time when the church needs more and more qualified staff to become fully dependent.

BB: What was the religious image that Bishop Ainani was giving to the clergy and the laity of the diocese?

JP: That's a very difficult question. He was faithful in God and he was shepherd and then and then a leader and his job was all very good. That's the impression I caught.

BB: Among the clergy today to whom so you compare Ainani with?

JP: It is a difficult question because you cannot compare Bishop Ainani who is sixties with a young men in the forties.

BB: As Bishop Ainani was living the Church did he leave it strong or weaker?

JP: I think mainly it was stronger, all congregations and several churches have been built while he was a bishop. So you have got an image of a man who was doing his best for the Church, certainly not weak or smaller. So I think it was stronger because he built strong congregations since he was a good shepherd. However, it is difficult to make out a good question like that knowing more details of the diocese. On a whole I think he left it in a good state.

BB: Bishop Ainani was succeeded by the late Bishop Aipa. Do you remember when Bishop Aipa was elected as bishop of the diocese?

JP: Yes I was the chairman of the Electoral College.

BB: What were the qualities that appealed to the people for them to elect him as the bishop of the diocese?

JP: He was very friendly, sociable, a very attractive man, very popular.

BB: Do you remember other qualities in the elective assembly?

JP: He was very educated, he had been abroad to Germany and Britain and I think he went to Switzerland, Geneva and he was educated in Zambia at St. John's Seminary. He was the most educated priest at the time. So in the mind of many people that was a big qualification.

BB: Before he joined the ministry or he went to St. John's Seminary what was he really doing?

JP: I think he was a student, I think. After finishing Secondary School, he went to train for 3 years in Lusaka. So that was his work after he left secondary school.

BB: I am sure you being an old priest in the diocese what kind of student did you hear he was at St. John's Seminary?

JP: I never heard any about him.

BB: Who were the other colleagues with you in the Elective Assembly during the time of Bishop Aipa?

JP: I can't remember now it's too long ago. Local clergy of course were involved, Mothers' Union of course were represented and the lay people but I can't remember them. It's too many years ago.

BB: During the elections, from which parish did he get the most support?

JP: I didn't know because I didn't have time to assess that. The only support he could get is from the actual college where he was voted for the candidate portfolio. There might be a shortest list of 3 people and he came out with the most points.

BB: Who do you think must have been very influential in his life for him to join the ministry in the Anglican Church?

JP: Well, he came from a well Christian family in Malindi. His father was a member of the church, a church elder and I think that must have influenced him. Of course he went to Malosa. He was at Malosa Secondary School and he passed well. But every where he went he was very in touch with the clergy in the Anglican Church and I think he got interested very much.

BB: When he became a priest or when he was ordained as a priest, do you remember the first priest he lived with?

JP: I think he must have come to meet me. I think I knew him as a friend sometime at Chilema Training Centre but it wasn't very long and I remember he went to Soche as a priest there and then he went to Mponda's for where he was a priest at Mpondas, yes, but these details are so blurred.

BB: Do you remember the priests he served with as an assistant priest in those parishes?

JP: Oh! I can't recall them now.

BB: During the time of Bishop Arden, how did the late Bishop Aipa then as a priest conduct himself?

JP: Well coming.

BB: How did he do in the time of Bishop Ainani?

JP: He was best.

BB: When people had elected Bishop Aipa as the bishop of this diocese, did they feel satisfied that they had chosen the man they wanted?

JP: I don't know what people think but as I said the Electoral College got the name and people accepted the decision of the Electoral College. They all represent the parishes since he was a Malawian. The election was taking place so the Archbishop as the chairman and I as the Vicar General was second in command, so I knew what was going on but the Archbishop was there chairing and accepted the consequences of it.

BB: When he was being elected as bishop, where were you serving during that time?

JP: I was at St. Paul's. No! I was at Malindi. That is right, I was as Malindi while he was at St. Paul's. He was Dean at St. Paul's.

BB: Thank you so much Father Parslow. I am really grateful for your assistance. I know you are very busy person but then you shared some of your time with me. Thank you so much.

JP: It is a pleasure. You are welcome.

Interviewee: Father Patrick Mapundula
Parish priest, Mwanza Anglican Church

Interviewer: Benedict Binali

10th October 1998

BB: I am Benedict Binali research assistant to the Reverend Mbaya.

PM: Can you introduce yourself?

PM: I have said I am Father Patrick Mapundula. I come from the parish of Mwanza and it's a new parish.

BB: I understand in the election of the bishop many parishes are involved, they have to send names to the Elective Assembly who they want to be the bishop of the diocese. Do you remember who was chosen from this parish as a bishop to be?

PM: From Mwanza in fact I don't exactly know because I have just been posted to Mwanza. I have been here only for a month now. BB: How about Chilomoni itself whom did they vote for the post of bishop?

PM: Yes, for the Chilomoni parish where I was in fact, people had elected Bishop Tengtenga.

BB: From which parish did Bishop Aipa get his most votes from?

PM: Bishop Aipa got his most votes from the parish of Soche where he has stayed for many years.

BB: Why do you think many from Soche voted for him?

PM: May be the reason could be that since he had stayed for many years, many people nominated him.

BB: How did Bishop Aipa relate to the clergy in the diocese?

PM: Bishop Aipa related to the clergy in such a manner that most of the clergy were complaining saying

that each time he was visiting them he used to spend most of his time with a lady and not the clergy.

PM: So in this way we can say that Bishop Aipa was very much on ladies rather than clergy, isn't it?

BB: Yes, you can say that, it is very true.

BB: On that point I understand even amongst clergy themselves he was very much close to women for example if at all women were cooking, he could go where women were cooking and crack a lot of jokes. What can you say about that?

PM: Yes, that could be very true and that let him not to be popular amongst the clergy and you remember the case that followed it was also a case that involved a woman.

BB: Do you remember Bishop Aipa how close was he to Bishop Donald Arden? Do you have any idea?

PM: Well Bishop Aipa, some say he was very close but others say he wasn't that close?

BB: How about the Archbishop in Botswana?

PM: People say that there was some close relationship between Bishop Aipa and the Archbishop in Botswana because of the way in which he handled his case. There were a lot of delays in handling that case.

BB: How did the priests react to the way he handled them?

PM: In fact the priest reacted very badly towards the end of leadership, you remember there were others amongst the people who actually signed that letter following canon 24 of Church law.

BB: Father, I understand you have talked about this serious matter they are priests who advise the Bishop, the Archdeacons.

PM: Yes, in fact deacons are supposed to be the advisors of the Bishops. At that time I hear that you were still advising but may be we could say he was a bit stubborn, he couldn't listen to criticism.

BB: Other people have commented that Bishop Aipa was good for the first three years but then after the tenth year he began to Church. What do you believe changed him?

PM: Yes, the first three years he was good but after that he began to change, yes, that's very true and the contributing factor was that he got for the love of women and love for money and of course love for position.

BB: Before his elections some people have commented that he was very weak as far as women were concerned at the same time he was also good at drinking but the question in which they hoped he was going to change. What can you say about that?

PM: Yes, in fact the time of his elections people knew that he had a lot weaknesses, but maybe others thought he was going to change, but because in the course of time this didn't happen in that way, because as you know when a person is used to a particular thing he is learning, you know it is very difficult to change especially when he is old.

BB: I understand that some people from his homeland didn't vote for him as bishop. Why didn't they vote for him?

PM: I know just a few reasons. The major one could be that here is a person who is up there, the person they knew better.

BB: What do you say about the model of leadership of Bishop Aipa? Was he a dictator or democratic in the sense that whenever he was making decisions he would consult with his Archdeacons or that he was authoritarian in the sense that he would simply impose his ideas on the clergy?

PM: Yes the model of Aipa's leadership was not democratic at all. To give an example, the pastoral committee with his consent had resolved that I be transferred to Monkey-bay but then you know soon after that evening even before I got my transfer letter, he changed his mind and he transferred me to Masuku. My appointment to Masuku was a form of a punishment. So you can see he could do away with the decision of the majority.

BB: On the point of transfers you have reminded me of one thing. Was Bishop Aipa a man who could keep secrets?

PM: Yah! On the point of transfers he was not the man who could keep secrets at all because the pastoral committee with him could decide that such a clergyman go to such a place but within a short time you would hear someone telling you that I met the bishop on the road and he said you are going to such and such a place even before you had received a transfer letter.

BB: I understand that places such as Katema, Masuku, Matope are places where priests are sent to be punished. Should I conclude that by sending you to that particular place was a sort of a punishment?

PM: Yes, in the Diocese of Southern Malawi places you have mentioned are places associated with the punishment of the clergy. As I said earlier on, it is because when I received the letter I refused to go and that time I had already signed a letter against the bishop that I saw this as his revenge against me.

BB: How would you characterise his model of leadership. Was he teacher-like teaching the clergy or Christians or was he some sort of a boss?

PM: Yes he was a sort of a boss and not a teacher.

BB: Can you cite an instance of your claim?

PM: What I said earlier on with respect to the manner in which he handled my transfer to Masuku you know originally I was supposed to go to Monkey bay and yet here is just one single man over looking the resolution of majority so here I can say he looked to be the boss.

BB: In as far as spirituality is concerned what can you say about Bishop Aipa?

PM: In as far as his spirituality was concerned it was very low, it was really low because most of the time he was spending his time at the lake and not only along the lake but he was involved in a lot of scandals over there.

BB: On which days was he along the Lake?

PM: Mostly over the weekends and even during the week. Most of the time he was spending his time over there.

BB: So he could miss church services, isn't it?

PM: Yes, it was very rare to hear that the bishop was conducting his service in his real parish on Sunday, very rare.

BB: What can you say about the effect of his life on the priests or Christians the diocese?

PM: Yah! his conduct affected a lot of priests in the diocese in such that most of them copying his way of living, I can say that whether when I was at Zomba Theological College some Anglican students were also behaving in the similar manner the bishop used to behave. You know each time a college leader came up with instructions he could actually give the examples of the bishop. They could even go to the extent of saying that you can not chase us from the college after all they were portraying the behaviour of the leader you know they portray.

BB: What sort of behaviour were his fellow colleagues saying about in the first to the bishop?

PM: They were drinking heavily, drunkardness.

BB: How about the parish life itself. Was it affected by the life of the bishop in the whole southern diocese?

PM: The parish life in the most places of the Diocese of Southern Malawi was affected by the life style of the Bishop. Most of the people especially men were all drinking heavily, even right now they are drinking heavily. I know with the coming of the new bishop things will change for the better.

BB: You have just mentioned the new bishop, James Tengtenga. I understand Tengtenga is a young man, don't you think he could easily be influenced by the young men in the diocese like yourself?

PM: Yah In fact we have the new bishop, he is quite young. I don't think that he is affected by the rise of the youth in the diocese. He could copy the bad life of the youth in the diocese why this is that even before he was selected as bishop his spirituality was high and I doubt if the life of the youth in the Diocese of Southern Malawi would change him.

BB: I understand he is a born again. Is a born again allowed in the diocese?

PM: Yah! May be one of the reasons is that make the Bishop not to copy the life of the diocese like the youth because he was a born again before he was being elected bishop. And to talk about born again in the Diocese of Southern Malawi, this is not accepted as compared in the Diocese of Northern Malawi. Other people accept it but the youth believe in born again because this is according to the Word of God.

BB: What can you say about the allegations of Bishop Aipa in 1996?

PM: The allegations of Bishop Aipa were true and I say this is why I was one of the priests who signed the letter demanding that Bishop Aipa leave the house.

BB: What evidence do you have to say that there were true?

PM: Is that you know had it been that one of the Bishop's charge I never signed for I got some evidence with me right now, some documents written by one of the women that he himself used to meet along the lake and so on and so on. This is Lucy Ambali.

BB: You haven't mentioned about the main issues that were involved. Can you mention the main issues that were levelled against the bishop.

PM: The main issue involved sexual immorality and the misuse of diocesan funds.

BB: How did the misuse of the funds come about?

PM: The misuse of the diocesan funds came up because as I have said late4r on here the leader we used most of the diocese funds without the consent of other superiors and since he used to spend most of the time out, so he contributed to the misuse of the funds.

BB: You have mentioned without the concern of others, superiors. Who are these other superiors?

PM: We have in the Diocese of Southern Malawi the board of finance and the diocesan treasurer.

BB: How was the bishop getting the funds?

PM: I think since he had a lot of powers, he was abusing his position, he was more of a boss, a dictator, so you know what I mean, you know how dictators are like, you can do any by commands.

BB: When did this behaviour start?

PM: In fact it started three years after his election.

BB: When the issues surfaced six years later, why did it take so long for you the clergy to bring up the issue six years later?

PM: The issues started sometime back yes but they took also a lot of time may be ten years for this case to surface. I know there are other reasons contributing to that but the major onre is that he was more as a dictator, people were afraid so they turned silent, they was the board of finance, yes, but they were also

afraid, they were other people like Archdeacons, yes, they used to advise him but because he was more of a dictator one could frighten them, he could say this today and that tomorrow. You know, they were also afraid.

BB: Are the members of the board of finance clergy or simple lay people?

PM: Most of the members of the board of finance are lay with the exception of a few living like the Vicar General Fr. Kaswaya.

BB: You have spoken of him as a boss and as such he could command whatever he wanted to do. Do you want to tell em that he used to copy the whole cashier was and demanded for some money?

PM: Yah! he was more of a boss, it was easy for me to go even the accountant command to be given some money and the accountant could not object to that because may be he was afraid to loose his job, There were other people who lost their jobs during his leadership.

BB: Do you remember any who lost their jobs?

PM: I remember there was a person like Henry Ferguson, he lost his job and the others I have forgotten.

BB: Where is this guy?

PM: This guy now he might be in the U.K.

BB: Apart from the issue of the lady how did begin to surface?

PM: About the issue of this lady so called by the name of Lucy Ambali, the issue began to surface when she actually wrote a letter to the same chancellor who is Justice Kalaile.

BB: For what reason was she writing a letter?

PM: The lady, Lucy Ambali decided to write a letter to the chancellor Kalaile just to seek some help.

BB: What sort of advice was she looking for?

PM: She was seeking for advice as how to go about the case, may be to the courts, even the Church courts

or the other courts.

BB: What really led her to think about the court?

PM: May be she saw that she was not being assisted by the civil court.

BB: How did Justice Kalaile help her?

PM: In fact, the chancellor, Mr. Kalaile, got this letter from the lady, Lucy Ambali. She then sat down with some people just to seek some advice, well, and then after Church law, they had now to approach some of us the clergy to be the signatory of the Church.

BB: Did you sign the letter?

PM: Yes, off course.

BB: And then what happened?

PM: It was at this juncture that the officials, such as the archbishop that began to act.

BB: What was the result?

PM: It is now history. Bishop Aipa had to be forced to resign.

BB: Thank you so much Father Mapundula for all what you have shared with me. I am so much grateful for all this.

PM: You are welcome.

BB: Thank you.

Interviewee: Mr. Dunstan O. Mzokomera
Former Master of Works, Building Department, Diocese of Southern Malawi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

7th February 1999

Age 63

HM: Would you please introduce yourself.

DM: I am D. O. Mzokomera. I come from Kamkuzi village, T. A. Malenga Chanzi, Nkhotakota district. I started my work on 2nd February, 1961 at Nkhotakota and I staid only two months, February and March in April I went to Lilongwe to build St. Peter's hall. I did not finish with them, then I was transferred to Monkeybay to build a primary school, a Church building and the house for the priest-in-charge. When I just finished this work it was when I came here to Chilema.

HM: What kind of a person was Bishop Donald?

DM: I had not known Donald by the time when we started building the headquarters here with the assistance of the prisoners from Domasi.

HM: Which year was that?

DM: It was in 1963.

HM: Where was he staying during that time?

DM: He was staying in Mulanje. What things did Donald change? He changed many things but the first thing he started changing the church buildings to be concrete, replacing mud houses for the priests with burnt brick houses, removing grass thatched roofs with iron sheets. The third change concerned the hospital and the health centres, there were ten health centres. Even though there were already other health centres, he wanted the modern buildings for instance Mposa Health Centre. Other health centres such as Gawanani, Nkope, Mpondas, Lulanga and Malindi ere in the South and Central Region.

HM: What about St. Luke's?

DM: No St. Luke's is a full hospital. His other side of life was also that our areas, living premises must also be healthy. But he was also very keen to improve church schools and teachers' houses. As a person he was also keen to see that people knew well enough their job. He made sure that a person knew the job well enough. Though Donald and his wife appeared to be cruel but his life showed that he really wanted a person to know a job well enough. He did not want a lazy person, he was very serious with punctuality, he was very keen to follow the administration of the finances. He would go through all the books checking finance details as he was very good with the books so no one would cheat him. It might appear that for a bishop doing that was sort of cruelty but then it was the only way in which one knew his job. He wanted people to be accountable.

The same also applied to his wife. I have worked with these people for twelve years until the time when Ainani came. Ainani also developed other places especially the places which had not yet been developed by Arden. The second thing is that he was also very keen to explore the potential financial donors. They were also accountable people because at other times they would take the books together with the accountant and ask him to make sure that the money that was being spent on what had been authorised. He did not want that the accountant use the money that had not been authorised.

HM: What kind of development work did Aipa initiate? I don't see any development. People build the Churches on their own and use the iron sheets left by Ainani before he left. Ainani left a heap of iron sheets. When people ask Bishop Aipa for iron sheets to assist them in roofing their Churches Aipa just takes from the existing stock those which had been bought by Ainani.

HM: Arden used to cooperate with the other churches?

DM: That is correct, as the training Centre was jointly the Anglicans with the Presbyterians and today there also the members of the Churches of Christ from Gowa. Ainani had also a good reputation for composing hymns. A lot, even the hymns that we are singing today. He used to like singing a lot as well as praying. He also started many committees such as forestry, works and plan and so forth. He also used to encourage cooperation between different departments and helping share common problems. A lot of administration he took from Arden. But see when Aipa came eh! things were not well. Even if you saw his priests there were divided.

HM: Aah! aah! aah! even the clergy were divided?

DM: Some of them were not even happy. Had they been happy they would not have signed this paper, no!

(that is a document forcing Bishop Aipa to resign).

DM: Aah! aah! aah! even photocopying!

HM: Yes indeed, since I am now learning. I am not stealing information but am learning. This came out in the newspapers. I read the stories in the papers. The letter written to archbishop, even Salaka signed it. I thought Salaka was his relative?

DM: Then you must know that things were not good at all. They were hot and sour. Fr. Mgeni, Kachiwanda, Fr. Mapundula, Fr. Mapundula was even threatened to be sacked and be sent to the rural. Fr. Mapundula reacted very strongly. How did he react very strongly? You cannot transfer me into the rural area. I know it is because of the letter, this letter was written by the girl.

HM: What about this other letter? It was written by the chancellor during the time when he was gathering information to establish the truth about the matter. That's how the whole issue started. So mjomba, will you photocopy these documents for me.

DM: The whole matter began in this way- a charge was made in the court, it was through the letter that had come from Miss Lucy Ambali. After two days she phoned to his office to say that we stayed the whole day we had sexual intercourse, the following day I left for Chilema. He phoned me again telling me that we should go to Zomba. After the course at Chilema, he told me that I should wait for him to pick me up at home.

He told the driver that we should go to Mlambe Motel, but on the way we met my sister, Mary Ambali. We went by using the vehicle with registration number plate BJ 3962. From there we went to Monkey-bay. After the church service in Monkey-bay we spent another day in Monkey-bay, and we had sexual intercourse. Please, lawyer, help me with the story that I have written. Bishop Aipa of the Diocese of Southern Malawi is responsible for disturbing my education because he has been responsible for my pregnancy.

HM: So what happened next?

DM: This started the ball rolling, a long process which eventually led to the retirement of Bishop Aipa.

HM: Did the Archbishop ask him to retire?

DM: No, under pressure from the clergy he had to retire. There was no way in which he could not have

retired. Things were not normal. It was tough and not easy at all. Eventually he lost the battle, he had to give in.

HM: Thank you so much for everything that you have shared with me.

DM: It's a pleasure.

Interviewee: Mr. G. Bondwe
Member of Parliament, Malawi Congress Party
Kazembe, Zomba

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th March 1999

HM: Mr. Bondwe, it is a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to see you today. For a long time I wished to see you as I know it was not easy for me just to communicate to you. That today you even came here at my house I am so grateful. My research subject is the election of bishops. One of the crucial questions I am posing is, how free were the elections of Malawian bishops?

HM: Were you in the elections that took place in 1977 and 1978?

GB: Yes.

HM: How did it go from the beginning?

GB: There were from each archdeaconry some representatives. I represented Nkhotakota archdeaconry.

HM: During the in 1977 and 1978 I understand that Fr. James Lunda, a very prominent clergyman that time stood. Why was he not elected?

GB: Take for example Fr. Lunda he was in Lilongwe as archdeacon. Fr. Liwewe did not like Fr. Lunda for his own personal grudge in that way. When people proposed Lunda's name, Liwewe did not like it. He liked Malewezi. That time Liwewe was the Vicar General.

HM: What actually happened in terms of the elections?

GB: We were in Lilongwe at Msamba Catholic Centre. What happened is that there was a sort of a tie in the elections. During the second round of elections when Nyanja was being elected there was still a tie. The reason is Fr. Liwewe did not like Fr. Lunda. Him as a Vicar General was responsible for Lunda not being elected.

HM: How free were people in the discussions during the Elective Assembly?

GB: We were free in the discussion but when people came for the elections Liwewe was influencing people.

HM: Are you saying that there was some caucassing? How?

GB: You could hear how they were responding to the nominations. You could feel the atmosphere how they were responding. There were giants in the Elective Assembly.

HM: What was the major weakness of that Elective Assembly?

GB: One of weaknesses was the one who welcomed the Elective Assembly was very influential in the election. I remember very well when Lunda was in Lilongwe we had a meal at his home. The name of

Henry Mikaya came but was rejected in the preliminaries.

HM: Was Fr. Sauli involved in the elections?

GB: Yes he was there.

HM: What role did he play?

GB: Yes, he if I can, well let me try to recollect, he had some special assignment which I cannot quite remember right now.

HM: Was he involved as a recording secretary? He told me that Arden was interfering, for example ordering him to remove the name of Fr. Lunda. Is this true?

GB: I can believe that one to be true because Lunda was not in good terms with Donald Arden. At meetings Lunda would always object to certain proposals brought by Arden. Some times Arden felt that Lunda was opposing some of his decisions. As far as popularity was concerned Lunda was more popular because Canon Liwewe thought once Lunda became bishop Liwewe would not be Vicar General, while Fr. Malewezi was a yes "boy" (bwana) to Donald Arden. Arden wanted yes boys around him. Arden did not want any of his subordinates to criticise him.

HM: Why in this context or the other?

GB: You priests swear to obey your bishop when you get ordain as priest and deacon. Being in that position you cannot criticise or question your bishop because otherwise you will be in trouble. Even lay people are not very free to criticise the bishop when he is doing wrong things. Everyone is scared and frozen before the bishop.

HM: What kind of a man was Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

GB: He was accessible to people and used to listen to other people's advice.

HM: In 1983 I remember there was a lot of quarrel and fight between the people of Nkhotakota and Bishop Peter Nyanja what was really happening?

GB: To begin with, Bishop Mtekateka had set up Nkhotakota as his headquarters. He had blessed that

place. When Bishop Nyanja took it away to Lilongwe it was as if he had stripped naked that land. The whole move was very sudden.

HM: I want to get back to the issue of the election in the Diocese of Lake Malawi. Before Peter Nyanja was elected bishop in 1978 Henry Mikaya was elected Coadjutor bishop. What actually happened?

GB: The other thing is that it was not Donald Arden who was running the diocese, it was his wife. Anything rejected by his wife it was not acceptable to his wife. However, it was the changes that Arden was introducing in liturgy and other things which made him unpopular. People wanted the old UMCA liturgy which Bishop Frank Thorne used. Arden was changing all these things. Lunda was one of the very prominent priests who opposed some of these changes. Arden did not like Lunda because he was not cooperating like John Malewezi who was cooperating with his policies.

HM: Was there any meaningful forum of discussion between Arden and his people?

GB: No such thing existed. Because of canonical obedience there is no democracy in the church. There is no accommodation to what people think in the church. When Arden was with the whites he would say something but when with the blacks he would say something different as well.

HM: Why was there such a gap between Arden and his flock?

GB: The potential young men in school were not encouraged to go forward with education. The highest one could go in the UMCA was the teaching profession, while Dr. Laws of the Livingstonia Mission did the opposite. The UMCA did not want the African to see the light. This is why the church is in such a mess today. The missionaries only started sending people to do higher education in England only after independence.

HM: What made the Anglicans not to give Africans higher education?

GB: The English were not as sympathetic as the Scottish people. The English were selfish, they despised an African, while the Scots somehow respected an African.

HM: But why should the two groups be like that?

GB: Well I cannot answer that well. May be it had to do with the background from which they came from.

HM: Mr. Bondwe I am very much aware that you are a very busy person. I want to thank you for your time

that you shared with me today. I wish you all the best in your honourable work.

GB: Well, I hope I have been helpful to you. Please if any other issues do arise do not hesitate to contact me.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Anonymous Doctor, Chancellor College, Zomba
Lecturer

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya
Chancellor College, Zomba
14th March 1999

Baba I am very grateful for that fact that you put your time aside for me to come and talk to you. I know that you are always busy and yet you were kind enough to accommodate me. Thank you.

AD: You are welcome. Feel free to ask me any question. I will certainly do my best to respond.

HM: Thank you. My subject is the Malawian priests and bishops in the Anglican Church. I want to begin with bishops. We are at the moment going through fairly unfortunate affairs with allegations that Bishop Aipa did certain wrong things and so on. In light of these circumstances how best do you compare the episcopate of Bishop Aipa and Bishop Ainani?

AD: There was an age gap. Bishop Ainani was elderly while Bishop Aipa was young. Aipa reflected the leadership of guidance. From what I know about him if something went wrong he would call that person to give him guidance. He discussed problems with the people concerned and he gave his advice. He was a very reconciliatory person. While Bishop Aipa didn't show maturity, several times, I came across making him happy in public places. In such case, it becomes difficult for a leader to control his subordinates.

Ainani's background was an ex-soldier and also an elderly man. He was also a very strong family man. As a soldier one is trained to be discipline, to give orders and to be followed. In the Church he had been doing well what he had been doing well in the army, that's why he was elected.

Fr Aipa taught at Mpinganjira. He didn't want to change his life even as a teacher, even when he became a bishop a lot of people advised him. I worked with Bishop Ainani very closely especially in the Upper Shire when we had no archdeacon. I was secretary of the archdeaconry, Bishop Aipa was a friendly clergyman but Ainani commanded more respect than Bishop Aipa. During the time of Aipa, the Church was in the age of uncertainty where are we going? What do other people say about us?, and is it true that people are saying about Bishop Aipa? Because there was doubt on the competency of Aipa as a leader not respecting the Church, the office of a bishop was not respected for people did not expect the bishop to be found in the wrong places.

HM: What in your opinion was the effect of these problems on the Anglican Church in Southern Malawi?

AD: The Church was going down. People lost faith in the leadership.

HM: How?

AD: You could pick up this in the conversations, people discussing, saying this and that.

HM: In your opinion, indeed according to what you know or understand, what was the fundamental problem that created a "crisis" in the church during the time Aipa was a bishop?

AD: I believe that there was a problem in the way people now perceived the Church compared to the passing decades. The respect associated with the office of a bishop was no longer there. Those of us who grew up to see Bishop Frank Thorne it was the question of image. It was so important. People, including me associated him with a heavenly image. For instance, when he came to Malindi mission, on his way approaching the mission, people seeing him would kneel to receive a blessing and would believe as if something was really falling from heaven. His personality was associated with a picture that was not from this earth.

As a bishop, he was perceived as if he was above this earthly life. This image had more or less been maintained in the Church even during the time of Arden. However, during the time of Ainani the changes were quite considerable but it became worse during the time of Aipa. Of course Aipa grew during the times things were changing which may have influenced even him as a priest. Bishop Frank Thorne was a "High mass" bishop while Arden was a "low-mass" bishop. Arden was more like a business man. Bishop Mtekateka imitated Frank Thorne.

HM: In your opinion what aspects of the Anglican Church needs transformation so as to develop or elect a suitable leadership? What are the problems that we are facing in the elections?

AD: We don't have criteria for the Electoral College. Somebody was campaigning. People who are on the Elective Assembly should know why they are electing bishop.

It must start from the bottom upwards. If things cannot be right on the bottom then the top will be destroyed.

HM: What do you mean?

AD: I simply mean preparing for elections from the parishes, then Synod through the Elective Assembly. If people on the parish level can do their work properly and the synod then we can at least be assured that we could have better election.

HM: Thank you so much Dr.

AD: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Anonymous KL, former missionary teacher

Limbe, Blanatyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

15th March 1999

HM: Father I am very grateful for giving me the opportunity to talk to you.

KL: It's a pleasure I hope I can be of use.

HM: When I asked one of my informants about the style of leadership of Archbishop Arden he said that he was colonial and dictatorial. Do you believe this was correct?

KL: I don't think so because of the former. No, but possibly for the latter. There was no racist tendencies in Bishop Arden at all. I knew him. He was no racist. Arden never understood the Malawians?

HM: Why?

KL: Arden thought in terms of concepts, not so much in terms of tribes or regionalism. If tribalism or regionalism existed amongst the clergy which certainly was a factor I think, Arden never thought in terms of that but as a clash of ideas or something like that. Arden was a man who didn't understand Malawians on many issues of culture and others. He thought he was consulting Malawians but he was not at all. I remember his style. In a meeting he would present his views about a certain issue or argue his position and then expect the people to disagree with him or not.

Having explained his position he would then ask if the people agreed with him. If the people were quite on the matter he just drew the conclusion that the people understood and agreed with him. But then a man of his position no one would have dared to disagree with except one or two, like Fr. Maputwa or Mkomawanthu. Knowing Malawians - who would dare argue, challenge or criticise a leader especially of the position of Arden? Donald thought he was consulting in reality that was never the case. He put issues before his clergy and they all went along with him. Sometimes he explained his ideas to his clergy in a manner which most of them could not even understand the issues at stake except himself alone.

HM: How about Ainani, what style of leadership did he show?

KL: Ainani was very abrasive. I remember one day asking Fr. Gerry Schnackenberg at a clergy conference- "why are you sitting on the table? Do you think we are monkeys?" I also remember after his consecration, L. made stoles for him, he asked her why there weren't more embroideries? Arden was a thinker and not so much a practical man as was his wife, Jane. His wife was a planner and doer, while Arden was a thinking tank. I think that Ainani was somewhat "promoted" by Arden as Archdeacon. It is that which in this context brought him into prominence and popularity which certainly could have given him advantage over the others.

HM: Another informant told me that while he was serving the missionaries at St. George's rectory he overheard Arden and the others discussing the appointment of Ainani as the Suffragan bishop of the diocese. What is your comment?

.KL: Oh yes, this is quite possible. I wouldn't be surprised by that at all. John Malewezi and the Ardens became bitter enemies in the end, as Jane referred to John Malewezi as a vicious snake.

HM: Yesterday I was talking to old Canon Micheal Zingani. In our discussion he remarked that one of the things he didn't like about Arden's attitude to elections was that before the elections were held no chance was given to the people to seek the power of the Holy Spirit to lead the people. Instead according to him, electing a bishop was like electing a political leader. It was not very much a spiritual matter.

KL: Fr. Zingani's observation was certainly not misplaced. He was not a very spiritual man. He liked to run things. He was a hard worker.

HM: What effect did Arden's style of leadership have on his Malawian successors?

KL: Most Malawians did not understand Malawians not even myself then, not even the Europeans for that matter.

HM: In what particular respects?

KL: For example in matters of finance. Arden conducted himself in such a way that people thought he was squandering money which he never did. He had no scruples with money. I think it may be as a result of a mistaken conception that his successors thought they could do like Arden.

HM: Father, I am sure you are aware that Fr. Henry Mikaya was elected coadjutor bishop and subsequently his position overturned in 1977.

KL: Yes, I did not participate in the election but I heard about it.

HM: In my reading in the archives the issue of the election of Fr. Henry Mikaya as coadjutor bishop and subsequently overturning it amidst controversial circumstances raises some problem of leadership in the context of transformation of Anglicanism in Malawi. I would like you to comment either in support or in contradiction to my view, my perspective of the situation in light of what I have read in the archive, the interviews and correspondence.

A letter in my possession from a missionary suggests that the problems that followed after the election arose because both Arden and Josiah “imposed” Mikaya as a coadjutor bishop. The archival sources at Malosa strongly indicate that he considered one of his fundamental responsibility the transformation of Anglicanism in Malawi virtually by changing the dominant Likoman tradition most critically leadership. Amongst other things this involved in thwarting the ascendancy of the Likoma element.

The problems that arose surrounding the election of Fr. Mikaya as a bishop seemed to have given a leeway to Arden to conveniently block Mikaya to be confirmed but even then as he himself admitted the allegations were questionable to be regarded as legitimate. In these circumstances, Mikaya’s candidature was only overturned on technical grounds that the period in which a coadjutor bishop was needed had effectively expired so that now there was no need to have one. He did this deadly against the advice offered by Bishop Josiah Mtekatika who argued about the validity of the election.

My conclusion is that the situation offered Arden with an opportunity to bring in a man with no connection to the Lakeshore areas, Nkhosakota or Likoma who could enhance his designs of reforming Likoma by shifting the focus of Anglicanism. Fr. Hunter who was apparently consulted on the name of Peter Nyanja subsequently wrote approvingly of Peter Nyanja as the right man coming from the mainland where Christianity was more lively than the Lakeshore area. This seem to suggest to me that Mikaya’s problems conveniently a pretext for Arden to bring in man who would fit in with his vision and plans for the Anglican Church in Malawi.

KL: I think it makes sense, but I must tell you that Arden never thought in terms of tribe or region but in terms of concepts, seeing the problem as a conflict of ideas, conservative versus liberal ideas. There was a huge social gap between him and the Malawians. Your observations and conclusions are not far fetched, they tend to reflect the tension in terms of different groups of Clergy. Arden had to transform Likoma’s thinking. I remember in the 1960s the Anglican Church in Malawi was still identified as *Chalichi cha aLikoma*, that is, Likoman Church. I remember when Fr. Christopher Lacey went there he was stoned by the Likoma people. Donald Arden had very difficult times with the Likomans.

HM: Thank you so much for your contribution.

Interviewee: Anonymous

Zomba Theological College

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

19th April 1999

HM: My name is Henry and I am a Ph. D student of the University of Natal, studying the history of the Church in Malawi. I am very grateful that you have given me the opportunity to talk to you about the Church in Malawi.

AN: You are welcome. I hope I can be of use to your subject.

HM: My subject is the training of the African clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi. Let me begin by asking you the position of the African clergy during the period when Bishop Arden came to Malawi. This was a transitional period when the Church was moving from the missionary to post-independent Malawi. What was the state of the clergy or the African Church?

AN: When Bishop Arden came into the diocese Donald Arden found the shortage of clergy so he intended clergy and his solution was to ordain as many catechists as was possible. Firstly, catechists were given six month training.

HM: What was the quality of training?

AN: The emphasis of this training was on the rituals and the ceremonies of the Church with the inadequate teaching. Ordinands had to learn to say mass. Some of the priests of this system had too many problems in adjusting themselves. They could not know what to do with the money. There was mal-administration. They could not just cope with parish administration because they were just mass priests; of course some of them were fortunate, they rose in the Church like David Onaika because he was a little bit more educated, he was clever and he became the diocesan religious adviser.

HM: What was the relationship between Arden and Seminary trained priest?

AN: Donald Arden was for the africanisation of the Church since the time was ripe for that to take place. He wanted Africans to take leading positions but only those kind of Africans who were yes Sir, "bwana" (sir). The type who could not criticise him or show any independence of mind were not encouraged. For example, he never liked people like Father Aipa who by then was the most highly educated or intelligent priest, nor Fr Likoleche, who at one time quarrelled with him.

I myself told him at one time after I had taken liquor. I told him that he was exploiting African Clergy. He said there was no money while he himself was having good time. Bishop Arden was selfish and dictatorial, he was typical a white man who could not share power especially with Africans. I will illustrate this. Donald Arden was consecrated bishop at Mponda's in Mangochi. He moved his headquarters to Malosa.

During his time, he opened the Building Department and put Mr. Rowlings as Master of Works. He invited him together with a whole team in during Mr. Mzokomera and the others. When Mr. Rowlings retired or died, he put his wife in charge of works department. Virtually the diocese was run by a family. He had Mr. Kishindo as his Diocese secretary, a very subservient and submissive servant. What I want you to know is that Bishop Arden was a type of white person who could not share power with Africans but was nevertheless forced by the social political climate of the period to Africanise.

HM: What was the relationship between Fr Aipa and Bishop Donald Arden?

AN: Donald never liked Aipa because of his miscellaneous behaviour. He could not have approved of Aipa's election. People who tell you that Donald Arden was liked and wanted Aipa are misleading you.

HM: But they say they were so close since Arden sent Aipa to other countries as gesture of good will to him.

AN: You must not forget that Aipa was the most educated person with Form Four (G.C.E) and could speak English quite well.

HM: What were the most characteristic qualities of his administration?

AN: Unlike Bishop Frank Thome who was very spiritual and ascetic, he would wake up at 4 a.m. praying in church, Bishop Arden was too business-like. Arden liked to put up structures, buildings, solicit funds and run the diocese like a big organisation. He was also an ecumenist. He favoured cooperation with the Presbyterians Blantyre Synod. We have Chilema Ecumenical Training center and Zoma his brain child of course team as well.

HM: I came across a letter in my archival research, a letter from Anglicans in Kabwe who were criticising and protesting what they saw as Donald's attempts to impose in their Diocese a candidate, Fr. Siyachitema whom they did not want. Do you think Donald was a dictator who did not want listen to the others?

AN: I told you Donald Arden never liked independent thinking. He ruled the Diocese with his wife from his house. He ended up by surrounding himself with men or women.

HM: What criteria could he have used to choose Fr Ainani?

AN: Donald Arden wanted to be succeeded by a man who could continue his work. The only man who could try that was Fr Ainani.

HM: Do you think he could have personal influence in his election?

AN: Obviously as the archbishop he would have chosen a man who could try to continue or pursue his interests.

HM: Did Bishop Ainani meet the expectations of the people?

AN: Bishop Ainani tried to but he could not really follow Donald Arden. I think because, he would look and remark, "Is this the issue you came to see the bishop for?"

HM: Thank you so much father for allowing me to talk to you

Interviewee: Father Jon C. Owambo (not practicing)

Klerksdorp, South Africa

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

4th July 1999

HM: Thank you for this opportunity granted to me. As you know I am doing research on the Anglican clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi. This forms the basis where the election of the Malawian bishops is the focal point. I believe that you have some experience of some clergy who have been serving in Malawi.

JO: Oh! well, yes, some experience.

HM: To begin with the subject of bishops. How can you describe or characterise Bishop Arden as a leader?

JO: Donald was a conservation man bearing in mind his origin as a British. **HM:** Are you saying that he was colonial in mentality?

JO: Yes, he had a colonial mentality to a certain extent. He could not believe that the natives could be good. I will give you the example. His wife was more or less the Diocesan Secretary. Though there was a diocesan secretary, his wife ran the Diocese jointly with the husband, the bishop. That to a certain extent being a colonialist, he was a racist too.

HM: How?

JO: For example, the parish of St George in Zomba had two services. There was one at 7.00 a.m. which Fr Jim Harris took for the whites, and the other one at 8.00 for blacks conducted by Fr Amanze. Donald had no interest in the local language, perhaps he was forced to learn just a greeting in Chichewa but he could not converse with the people in their language. During his leadership, the Church lost a lot of property he sold, such as the Chauncy Maples to the Government.

HM: What important things do you recall Arden did during his episcopate?

JO: He allowed the division of the diocese into Lake and Southern Malawi, Josiah was appointed as the bishop of the Diocese of Lake Malawi.

HM: What was the relationship between Donald Arden and Josiah Mtekaketa?

JO: If he had plans he would have developed young priests, train them in preparation for the position of Bishop, instead he kept on admitting old men into the ministry, for example, Fr Chimsan, Fr Chizito and Fr Yeppe. All that Donald looked for was loyalty more than the ability of the men. Arden never liked young priests. He had strong dislike for younger priests, that why people like Likkoleche could not take it. Fr Amanze was accepted due to the influence of Fr Jim Harris, otherwise Donald would not take Amanze.

Arden could not take advice from younger priests and in return he expected full and 100% canonical obedience and he could not accept change.

HM: In what sense would not accept change?

JO: In a sense that the times were changing and the priesthood would be entrusted to the younger people than older people.

HM: Yesterday you seem to have said something about Fr Aipa something concerning, something was it his suspension?

JO: Aipa was suspended due to immorality.

HM: What criteria did Arden use to recruit ordinands for the priesthood?

JO: Arden did not have standards for recruitment of ordinands into the ministry. He welcomed every volunteers who came in most of whom were elderly people who were useless, and job seekers and sometimes retired people wanting employment, for instance Fr Chimsanjo. One reason was that people were job seekers, they cared the less for the circumstances so long as they had income. Due to his self-centredness the Diocesan Secretary was a phantom, everybody who worked in the diocese feared the bishop.

HM: What made him to conduct himself like that?

JO: The political situation in Malawi made Arden what he was in a way because he could share the same table with President Banda and never criticised him because of the traditional Malawian loyalty to authority.

HM: Jon, I must say I am very grateful for your in put. God Bless. Thank you.

JO: It's a pleasure.

Interviewee: Mrs. Elizabeth Ngoma
Former Mothers' Union Worker
Bangwe location, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

24th July 1999

HM: Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak to you today just as you did last time when I came to see you. Unfortunately we never made any progress with the faulty tape recorder.

EN: You are welcome.

HM: Where do we begin? Ainani. what sort of a bishop was he?

EN: He was a director, able one for that matter. He was also sociable and interested in women's ministry. I remember when he invited a woman deacon from Zambia to Chilema in 1976.

EN: Ainani was a musician bishop. He liked to sing.

HM: How was Ainani elected bishop? What made people choose him, after all there were many priests?

EN: Before Arden retired, there was need to have his successor. So it was thought to elect a Suffragan bishop who could succeed him. During this time I remember, one of the very important was the age of a candidate. Th general feeling was that we needed to have an elderly man as a bishop and Ainani was a matured man.

HM: Why an elderly man than a young man?

EN: The thinking was that the elderly man would give respect to the position of bishop. He would not be childish and people would respect him for that matter. But also with an elderly man he would be a bishop for short time before he retires at the age of 65, in this way young upcoming clergymen would not have to wait for too long. For example, somebody said if this one becomes a bishop, you will have trouble with girl friends.

HM: When you say this one, who are you referring to?

EN: This referred to then Fr Aipa. There was an element of tribalism. This was with respect to Fr. Aipa.

HM: Bishop Ainani was elected Suffragan bishop, was it automatic that he had to be diocesan bishop?

EN: You know, bishop Ainani had been bishop for some time. This prepared him to be a diocesan bishop. HM: Who competed with Ainani and how did they fare in the elections? Where were the elections held?

EN: The elections were held at Chilema in 1978. Besides Ainani and along with Fr Aipa there was also Fr Mkomawanthu.

HM: What made Ainani prevail over the others?

EN: As a person, Ainani was more prominent than the others. Not only was he a courageous man but also a good public speaker. He was not afraid to correct things when they were wrong. He was quick at doing things, an active man. Bishop Arden trusted him. I do remember that some years ago we were at Malosa one day. It was during a conference of some sort or a meeting where as a diocese we had met. During the course of the long discussions, so it happened that there was a burning issue, which affected the diocese.

The bishop, Arden, asked a volunteer to come forward who could try to lead to sort out the problem. Fr. Ainani then went forward and gave his advice. It was really something very courageous for a priest to come forward to take up such a challenge. There was Ainani! It was amazing. I say this to show that Ainani was bold and a popular priest long before he became a bishop. He was also a good at evangelism. He was popular for this. He had long been in this. He travelled in the most rural areas, such as Phalombe. So Ainani was an evangelist, while Arden was a good administrator, accountability in finances. You can see that as a priest, Ainani exposed himself widely to the people through his evangelistic meetings, and he was able to mix the people freely. In this way he built the confidence among people.

HM: May we get back to the story about Bishop Ainani volunteering to come forward to advise, what impact did that have on his career in the church?

EN: It seemed to me that time Fr. Ainani became respectable and popular amongst the others.

HM: What kind of a bishop was Ainani when he became bishop?

EN: As a bishop he was very supportive of his clergy, he used to try to be sympathetic to them.

HM: What about the election of Fr Aipa as the bishop of Southern Malawi in 1986. Did you participate in the election?

EN: Yes.

HM: When I interviewed somebody else, they told me that he had been very much promoted by personal friends especially from the other diocese in the Province of Central Africa. Is that correct?

EN: I do remember that there were bishops from the other dioceses present, for instance, Bishop Hatendi and Shaba from Zambia. You know Shaba was every close friend of Bishop Aipa. I remember Hatendi said Fr Aipa is in the Province and is well known Bishop Shaba also spoke very favourably of Fr Aipa as a good man. He gets on well with the others.

HM: How do you remember that to have influenced the votes for Aipa?

EN: For two Bishops to speak favourably for a candidate was something which could be taken lightly. Certainly their comments positively influenced the electorate thinking. I for one I thought that if this man is better known by these big people who am I to doubt the credibility of this man? Why can't we try him?

HM: Now earlier on you wanted to say something, you almost said it when you began to say at this elective Assembly at Chilema the archbishop had said something like to the Assembly, Something like if you don't want a particular candidate you must not talk bad about his family. Do you mean to say that the Archbishop forbade a free discussion on the candidate?

EN: Well, the Archbishop's advice could have been interpreted in different ways by different people. Certainly for me, I felt that anything I would have to say I better watch out since the Archbishop was listening very carefully.

HM: So was that restraining for you?

EN: Yes, certainly for me the way I reacted to his speech. But you also need to understand that they were other people who were taking advantage to talk evil of Fr Aipa. The Archbishop intended to rectify that by asserting that the electors say something that would be constructive, that which would be helpful.

HM: In your experience as you can recall, in what ways could the outgoing bishop Ainani could have influenced or promoted the election of Aipa? Or shall I say did Bishop Ainani promote the election of Bishop Aipa?

EN: I think so. What I do know is that the two people were quite close to each other.

HM: What qualities did people see in Fr Aipa which they believed qualified him to be the bishop?

EN: He was a clever man who had travelled widely especially overseas. Well in spite of this there was a strong feeling that he was not mature enough. However, a general feeling was that once given the post he would grow into it. He will mature into the post. People were saying let's give him a chance, since during the last election we left him. Generally, the electors also liked him for his easily mixing with the people.

HM: I believe that as a long serving priest you might have had chance to elect a bishop at one time or the other to elect a bishop. What happens in the elective Assembly? Amed Bishop Aipa's last born son Dunstan. When Ainani was elected bishop, he appointed Fr Aipa as his Vicar General. That means Aipa was the chief advisor of the bishop. But I also think it was a diplomatic move.

By appointing him to that post, he meant to make him feel great since he had been competing with him. He did not want him to feel left out. He did not want Aipa to pose as a threat to his position or leadership. Similarly, the same scenario seemed to have been repeated when Aipa was elected bishop. It was Bishop Aipa who suggested that Fr. Malango be elected bishop for the Diocese of Central Zambia. By doing so Bishop Aipa was getting rid of a potential rival in his diocese.

HM: Mama Ngoma I would like to thank you so much for sharing with me so of your busy time. I appreciate all what you have done for me. I hope all this will contribute to writing of a history of the church in Malawi.

EN: You are welcome Father.

HM: Thank you, thank you so much.

Interviewee: Father Peter Chiweyo

Retired priest, Salima

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

19th April 1999

HM: What factors have influenced Bishop Nyanja's episcopate?

PC: The source as I understand it, is the teacher's training college. He was very ascetic at St.Micheal's. I remember, he was very fond of singing a certain hymn in the ancient hymn book called "Mcohat Wathu Yesu". He was also a very good sacristan, devout. He used to go to chapel very early morning long before the others were up. He was nicknamed "Mcohat". This was the old U.M.C.A hymn. He was very quite and ascetic like.

HM: How about the time when he was working as a teacher?

PC: The other factor was late Canon Msonthi whom he met early in his life and influenced him. He served Fr. Msonthi for a long time. For a long time he was under his supervision in Ntchisi district. It was Fr. Msonthi who influenced him to go to St John's Seminary.

HM: How about his life in the Seminary, what were important influential factors?

PC: At St John's he was also ascetic in character. At this stage he fell under the influence of Father John Weller. He played an important influence in his life. He and Fr Weller used to pray together more regularly. This time I remember Peter Nyanja was an introvert very much keeping to himself. Unlike Malango who was socialising well, Nyanja was a loner. He did not like going out. When students went out of the college, he would keep to him when he wanted something in town, he would rather ask somebody to buy for him.

HM: Was the situation too lax at St John's, allowing students to do all what they wanted?

PC: Yes, life at St John's was too free, there were no strict rules governing the conduct of the students. The lecturers would allow the students to go out for a drink without much problem that was not good for us. If

you asked permission to go out, that would be easily granted as long as you had to be back in time for prayers.

HM: What was the role to the bishops? Were they not strict about life at St Jon's?

PC: The bishops did not have direct influence in the college. If the four bishops had been too strict we would have been withdrawn. May be being a Provincial Anglican Seminary it was too relax on matters of drink. If an action could have been taken against the students to dismiss us then the bishops would have been disappointed.

HM: What role did St John's Seminary play in the shaping up the life of Bishop Aipa? Was the situation during his time also lax?

PC: The St. John's situation played an important role in the life of Bishop Aipa. Bishop Aipa was what he was largely for what he was life at St John's did not help him in his future career life as a Bishop.

HM: What were the main emphases of the school life at St John's?

PC: There was much stress on ascetic life. Everyone was encouraged to have a Rule of life and a retreat conductor. But discipline was also too loose maybe because of the ambivalent attitude of the Anglican towards discipline. There were no check ups in the hostel at night hence others were sleeping outside and were not warned.

HM: What precipitated the row of 1983 which forced Bishop Nyanja to move the church Headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe?

PC: The plan to move the diocese had began with Bishop Josiah Mtekateka while he was still in office. The project was being sponsored by the Church in America. However, the plans had matured only towards the end of his time in office. What I suspect is that the plan only matured by the he was about to leave the office. He did not initiate the move since he did not want to risk being planed for the unpopular move. He did not want to risk bad relations with the people. When the talk about the move started Bishop Nyanja himself was not open and transparent to the people about his intentions. When the late Fr Lunda asked him at the Synod (Church assembly) if he was really intending to move, he was not open enough to admit the issue. Fr Lunda asked to tell the people if he was really moving since the people were already hearing that diocesan staff houses were being built in Lilongwe.

The bishop replied that it was a lie, no such plans were in the pipeline. A few weeks later, the people were then shocked to hear that the bishop with Fr. Mkata had left Nkhotakota in the night. Worse still some of diocesan property had been transferred to Lilongwe. Then at this stage people went to report the bishop to the police that the bishop was running away with Church property and the people called on the police to freeze his money in the bank. The climax occurred when one Sunday, after the bishop had celebrated mass the bishop was made to sit in Church to answer questions from the congregation about his plans to move to Lilongwe. That day the Church was full, with people from Chombo, Likoma and Kasamba.

HM: Why would the people be so infuriated? What was the issue at stake?

PC: The move had created a sense of insecurity in the people who had the headquarters at Nkhotakota. Nkhotakota had been the second place to which the headquarters had moved to after Likoma, people believed it was unnecessary to do so. To quench the row the Minister of Central Region, Mr. Aaron Gadama had to come to Nkhotakota with the Police Mobile Force to stop the people from engaging in violence. Mr. Duncan Chibingwe had influenced the whole community to resist the bishop's plan to move the headquarters.

People had come to believe that all property of the Diocese such as the St Anne's hospital will go to Nkhotakota. You need to understand that it was employed which was an issue behind all the resistance. The matter was very explosive. People were singing "Lero muona a Nyanja" translating, "Today you will face it Nyanja." When the Bishop left Nkhotakota for Lilongwe the people declared that the Bishop must never come back to Nkhotakota.

HM: How did the Bishop defend himself from his accusers?

PC: In the church, the Bishop addressed the people that the plan to move to Lilongwe was an old one.

HM: In what way could the reaction to Bishop Nyanja have bearing on him personally or officially as a Bishop? Or do you think if a bishop was another person would people have reacted to him in the similar manner?

PC: The controversy that rose in 1978 has to be located within the context of Bishop Peter Nyanja's election. In the 1976 election Bishop Peter Nyanja's name was not available. It was not in the group of the candidates who were to be nominated for the Bishopric. The candidates were Late Fr. Lunda and Fr. Mikaya. Those were the main contenders. Nevertheless, Mikaya was duly elected. Subsequently, he was sent to St Paul's college, Limuru, Kenya.

He had borrowed the money that he had promised to return. Bishop Arden believed that he would not be a good bishop because the feeling was that if he begins like that now things would be worse in the future. Then a second round of elections were called. At this election, Mikaya's name was first which was followed by that of Lunda's.

During this time Canon Liwewe who was the Vicar General was very close to Canon Msonthi from Ntchisi. The two, Nyanja's name as bishop and he took Nyanja to show him to the President Kamuzu Banda as the bishop elect. This was the source of trouble and this is why trouble began, problems started emerging. Fr. Lunda who was very influential and popular had been left out. He had a lot of influence both amongst the Anglican Christians of Nkhotakota and the Muslim community in that district. Nevertheless, Bishop Nyanja made Canon Msonthi and Mr. Kalilangwe as his advisors when he became bishop.

HM: I am sorry that I keep on going back to the same issue: why was the issue of the headquarters so important advisors when he became bishop.

HM: I am sorry that I keep on going back to the same issue: why was the issue of the headquarters so important to the people of Nkhotakota?

PC: The people from Nkhotakota took the diocesan buildings as if it was their own property. They had been so accustomed to being given things like clothes by the missionaries, most notably, Fr Henry Munby. Certainly, this had a bearing on the whole drama. Thus, when the people heard that the Bishop was moving the headquarters they felt a loss perhaps more materially than spiritually or perhaps both. You know the way the people perceive the bishop is that he expresses their Christian life.

The people saw him as the one whose presence is important for their Christian life. He is closely related to the Christian life, so the absence of the bishop in Nkhotakota or his presence affected people's perception of Christianity. He was seen as the one who expresses the Christian life, hence, no Bishop no *dini*, that is Anglican Christian religion as a traditional cultic ritual, the core of religion. To the people, the bishop was the embodiment of *dini*. It was because the people saw the bishop as the one whose symbolic presence is connected to *dini* that it was believed that the bishop was necessary to the existence of the Diocesan headquarters at Nkhotakota.

HM: Who was the final and ultimate power in the decision that led one to go to the seminary?

PC: It was the bishop. His decision was final in spite of his working together with a committee. Finally he decided who could go and who could not go. I believe that Bishop Donald Arden did make some mistakes,

especially making unwise decisions by sending the wrong people to the college. I can not blame much because I think he did not really understand the Malawian situation.

HM: Will you be more specific by citing a situation that existed?

PC: I can only say something meaningfully about myself. During our time we went to the seminary selection procedures were quite loose. In my case there was no *-si quis-* read in church so that the people could be given the chance to voice out their opinion as to whether they saw me as suitable candidate. The Parish Church Council never discussed my situation or my application letter. Many others of dubious credentials were taken into the ministry in this way. As for myself I was selected through St Paul's Cathedral in Blantyre.

I was at that time working for the police. I remember that before I went to college when I was at St.Paul's Cathedral the Church leaders there wrote a letter to Canon Liwewe at my home Parish at All Saints in Nkhotakota inquiring about my conduct and my behaviour but it was never read in Church nor even discussed in the parish Church Council.

HM: What style of leadership did Bishop Aipa project? What do you recall about his leadership style?

PC: Bishop Aipa was nepotitious. He liked the people and clergy from his tribe at the expense of the others.

HM: How do you think Bishop Josiah Mtekateka fared as a bishop?

PC: Education must have been a hindrance in his ministry or episcopate. His secretary, Mr. Mazingaliwa used to take advantage of that sometimes by deceiving him.

HM: How does the episcopate of the two bishops compare?

PC: Bishop Josiah was a caring father, while with Bishop Peter Nyanja it's all poor leadership. I remember with Josiah there was one day when he came to counsel me. One day he came to see me at Kayoyo, in Ntchisi. I had a drinking problem. So one day he came to see me. He called me and my wife aside and said- I have heard this and he asked me and counselled me. That was good for a pastoral father. On the other hand with Bishop Peter Nyanja he would simply act. He was nepotitious. He had his advisors people from Ntchisi such as Fr Kayamba.

HM: I am also interested in the issue of appointments of canons. How do priests become canons? What are the conditions for conferment in the church?

PC: According to my observations and knowledge one is appointed if you have helped in the disputes and you are honoured by being given that position. There have been cases where I believe this honour has been granted simply to honour certain individual priests.

HM: Can you cite some concrete instances.

PC: In the case of Canon Bernard Mkonkholo. He was given the position because he had grown too powerful as a priest at Nkhotakota with some people there setting him in opposition to Bishop Peter. It was in those circumstances that he was given the title of canon and then transferred to Kasungu. Similarly, the case of Canon Misi who for a long time had been giving Bishop Peter tough time. Misi had for a long time been against the administration of Bishop Nyanja in the diocese that some of us strongly believe that he was honoured as such to try to silence him from his highly critical tendencies. In his administration, Bishop Peter has tended to surround himself with people who are yes bwanas (boss), people who are not willing to criticise him because they fear they will lose their friendship with him.

I relate a personal experience. When Bishop Mtekatela was still in office I was sent to St. Bede's College in Transkei to train as a training chaplain. By the time I came back, Bishop Peter was now in office. Bishop Peter instructed me to go to St Peters Parish to serve as a Parish Priest instead of taking up that post in the office. Fr James Lunda and the others questioned that move- why was it that after spending such a lot of money on training as a chaplain that I was not given the opportunity to practice what I had been trained for. There was tension in the Diocese. Then afterwards, he sent me St Barnabas College, Harare for training. When I came back, Fr Karima was now in the office as the training chaplain in my place. The only conclusion that I drew was that I had been sidelined because I did not come from his home district of Ntchisi.

HM: I would like to thank you so much Father for granting me the opportunity to see you. I do really appreciate your cooperation.

PC: May God bless you. Thanks so much.

Interviewee: Canon Andrew Chimsanjo

Retired priest, Mawira, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

23rd September 1999

HM: Canon Chimsanjo, I would like to express my appreciation for granting me the opportunity to see you. I am doing some research on the training of the clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi. I believe you have participated in some elections in the past. In particular, did you ever participate in the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Aipa?

AC: Yes, I did.

HM: What made him a successful candidate amongst all others?

AC: Jealousy was a big thing. People really wanted Malango to be bishop, while Khofi and the others wanted Aipa. We had four candidates besides Aipa; Kaswaya, Malango and Mpassou. Something happened about the election that I did not like. Father, you must understand that Fr Mikaya had married in Likoma, hence all the Likoma priests were behind him. In the final analysis Mikaya won.

HM: Then we all know that Fr Mikaya's election was not finally confirmed and in his place Fr Peter Nyanja was then elected bishop. What really happened?

AC: It was Fr. Hunter in collusion with Fr. Liwewe who nominated Fr Peter Nyanja. At this time Fr. Malewezi was the vicar general in the Diocese of Southern Malawi. During the process of election itself, Lunda and Nyanja tied two times before the matter was taken a mandate for appointment. Fr. Zingani and Fr. Malewezi sat down for consultation. Fr. Liwewe asked Fr. Hunter to nominate, who came up with the name of the Fr. Peter Nyanja. After the appointment of Nyanja, rumours started surfacing.

It was said that a certain group of clergy had put on pressure that none from Nkhotakota should be elected, since this group believed priests who originally come from Nkhotakota did not respect this group, while the majority of the people from Likoma and Nkhotakota supported the candidature of Lunda. I strongly suspect or yes I believe that there was a personal problem between Canon Liwewe and Fr Lunda. You must remember that at this time it was Canon Liwewe who was virtually running the diocese since bishop Josiah Mtekateka had retired.

HM: Reflecting on your experience what do you think is the most critical problem of the electoral process?

AC: I believe that the weakness of the house is that it is only people who are supposed to elect who enter it and not the people who know the candidates. The house is full of the representatives from the rest of the Province so much that to debate freely about the candidate one has to be very courageous enough. It is not easy because you have to convince many people. Certainly, it may help to speak to some individuals before the house meets.

HM: From what you may recall what were the decisive factors that settled the election of Aipa?

AC: One factor was tribalism and acquaintanceship. At the Assembly, there was a group of people who sought to promote the agenda of people whose parents or grandparents had originally come from Mozambique. But there were also some people like Mr. Khofi Phiri who was a very close friend to the Bishop. Khofi took a very strong stand to promote Bishop Aipa.

HM: Father when were you ordained?

AC: I was made deacon on 30th October 1977 and I was priested on 22nd December 1978.

HM: How free were people in discussing the candidates for instance, Aipa?

AC: There was no negative talk about Aipa. People spoke of his warm relations with the others, his openness. People were free to speak. There was no second voting.

HM: Who were the main movers, I mean the people who were too vocal and for whom?

AC: It was Khofi. He was too influential. He spoke too strongly for Aipa to be elected. Then Fr Chizito also spoke very much in favour of Aipa. But there were also other people who opposed Aipa.

HM: Were people really free on the Elective Assembly? I mean, were they free to discuss the candidates freely?

AC: It seemed to me people supported a candidate because they had a private motive. You could notice the manner by which they spoke. Some of them were not really honest about the life of a candidate like Aipa. There were no negative things said about Aipa.

HM: Why were people not honest enough about candidates?

AC: You know being in the Elective Assembly is an experience in itself. The presence of the Archbishop and his officials, other electors from other diocese from the Province makes a threatening experience which may be inhibiting, so much so that before one could speak you had to think through twice the matter you want to raise. For an individual to make their mark, one has to convince one or two people to get a following. People argue and if you don't have anything to say, it is better to keep quite.

HM: What was the relationship between Bishop Mtekateka and Fr. James Lunda like?

AC: I remember in the last days of Bishop Josiah before he retired. It happened at Nkhotakota when Bishop Josiah was bidding farewell to the people of Nkhotakota under fig-tree, near the church. He said I am transferring Lunda to Ntchisi. Archdeaconry to replace Liwewe. I like Lunda because he is a reliable person. Next year I am leaving my post as a bishop. I don't know who will replace me, however, the person I trust in my Diocese is Lunda as I am retiring next year. The chiefs liked Lunda because he was interested in the relationship between Islam and Christianity. On the other hand, the people of Lilongwe did not like Mikaya because he stole money.

HM: Why did Lunda not make it for the bishopric?

AM: The other problem was that the relationship between Bishop Donald Arden and Fr. Lunda was not cordial. I will cite one example. In 1974, Lunda was Archdeacon at All Saint's Church, Nkhotakota. One Sunday after Mass, Donald Arden remarked that, "at my home in Australia we do not regulate people who come for communion with a card system as you do here. People only know it in their hearts whether they have to go to communion or not". Fr. Lunda responded by saying, "That is not according to the Anglican tradition. Upon this, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka instructed Fr James Lunda to write a letter to Bishop Arden telling him that," not using the cards was contrary to the Anglican system."

HM: What made Fr. Mikaya to be a successful candidate?

AC: Mikaya and the Likoma clergy, who were then in the majority.

Interviewee: Father Arthur Bernard Mkoweka

Dean of the Cathedral of St. Peter's Likoma island

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

26th October 1999

HM: Father I must thank you so much for accepting my request to interview you. I am very conscious of the fact that you are such a busy person. I appreciate the fact that you have allowed me to share your precious time.

AM: Well, I feel I have an obligation to assist wherever I can. Please feel free to ask me any question. I will try my best to respond to your questions in the best possible manner.

HM: What influenced you to become a priest?

AM: I was interested in Church life from the time I was as a small boy at All Saints' Church at Nkhotakota. Fr. Oswald Chisa also inspired and encouraged me in my vocation to the priesthood. It was during the transitional period when there was tension between the Africans and the whites. Church life was at its low ebb. People were being barred to go to Church sometimes threatened since some of the highly politicised elements identified the church closely with the white minority colonial regime. People who went to church were labelled "sell-outs". In spite of all the political intimidation, I would still go to church without fear. I would assist in the best was possible.

HM: What was the relationship between Fr Chisa and his priest-in-charge, Archdeacon Guy Carleton?

AM: It was tense. In the context of the transfer of the political power from the whites to the Africans, Fr Chisa was aspiring to replace his superior as Archdeacon of Nkhotakota.

One day Fr Chisa asked me to volunteer for the priesthood. He asked me to write to Bishop Frank Thome. I got a reply. He wanted to see me in person. Later he came to visit me in my home village. He told me that he had been deported by would leave my letter in the file. Then Bishop Donald Arden succeeded Frank. He saw my letter. He replied to say that he wanted to see me in person since he had seen my letter in the ordinand's file.

Donald said he would put me in the hands of Fr. Carleton since I was too young at that moment to go to the Seminary. I was then handed over to Carleton who handed me over to Mr. Cutting at the Farmers Marketing Board for observation but also to me a chance to grow up. After one and half years, my application for training was approved. In 1963, I together with the others like John Masano, James Lunda

and Mr. Chitanda and the others, 60 in all sat for the Seminary selection test. Soon after that I received a letter that I was number one.

HM: What was the relationship like between the students like between the members of staff and the students?

AM: The relationship amongst us as students, Zambians, Zimbabweans and Malawians was quite good, however, we Malawians were looked down upon as poor. You know this was the time when Cooper was at its peak in Zambia. We were seen as poor people and therefore, spited. We were not happy at all. Even our tutors were training us like in collusion with the other students. Similarly, while the Zimbabweans and Zambians were given the opportunity to sit for the Diploma we were not offered that opportunity. In spite of that our performance in class was always first class.

HM: How did you seek to address the situation?

AM: We were helpless, we thought we could not do anything to change our situation. I wrote a Diploma Entrance Examination for Makerere University. I had the chance to do that because Bishop Donald Arden gave me that chance by ordering books from England for my study. I got a Diploma in Theology from RSA in 1970. By this time I was at Chingale and I was studying privately. From 1st January 1963 to 31st December, 1967 I served under canon Mattiya Msekawanthu.

HM: What kind of a leader was he?

AM: He knew his job very well especially on rituals, such as saying High Mass. He was also good at Pastoral work but he was also harsh and I felt he was also not caring. On the other hand, I am grateful that he was harsh, or though priest. Through such behaviour I learnt a lot. I believe he was the best teacher in whole Diocese.

HM: Why do you think he was that harsh?

AM: I think it was in their training, more particularly their Warden, Fr Maycock. He was a harsh person. He was a man not given to laughing very easily. I heard this. The attitudes were imitated by the students and in the course of time it became theirs. I was supposed to be with him for 2 years but I only served one and half years with him.

HM: What was the relationship between Bishop Josiah Mtekateka and Fr. James Lunda?

AM: The bishop really wanted James Lunda to be Bishop after him. It seemed to us James was a personal friend of the bishop.

HM: How did you notice that?

AM: James was a personal friend to me.

HM: What about the election of Fr. Mikaya?**AM:** It seems the election that elected Fr. Mikaya as Bishop was correct, fair and just.

HM: How long did you train at St John's?

AM: Training took four years but after two years we wrote the deacon's exams after which one was ordained after passing.

HM: Was Fr Hunter on the staff during your time?

AM: Yes.

HM: How did he relate with the students?

AM: He was not so good with the students. As a Boarding Master he would go to the extent of going to the rubbish pit to check what remains were dumped there so as to enable him whether to cut out the meals eaten by the students. He would even visit the dining hall to spy on the students. In class he would be too stingy with marks too. We Malawians never liked him because we saw that he favoured the Zambians and Rhodesians. John Weller was a very polite man and we used to like him. Rees Philips was a very harsh person. If you wanted to talk to him you had to think carefully of how to handle him, how you would go about it.

HM: How did that affect or influence the students?

AM: I see myself having been influenced by Fr Francis who was very reverent in the celebration of the Mass.

HM: How strict or how loose was life at St John's?

AM: There regulations in the Seminary we had to be in the Seminary at 6.00 p.m. or before that St John's was situated in the centre of the city in the busy environment.

HM: What style of leadership or image of leadership did Bishop Donald Arden display? 57

AM: Donald Arden was very much an office man and pastoral figure. He was not so much spiritual or pastoral but administrative bishop. He cut out prayers in the liturgy. HM: How can you characterise the spirituality of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

AM: Josiah Mtekateka was much closer to Bishop Frank Thome spiritually than Bishop Donald Arden.

HM: What happened at the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Northern Malawi?

AM: The Assembly was held at Msamba Catholic Centre. The people of Likoma strongly recommended Fr Biggers name and rejected Fr. Misi's name was rejected. When we got there Fr. Misi provoked the situation, there was a big noise trying to impose his name which had never appeared in the original list of nominations in the first place. He insisted that his name appear with that of Fr. Biggers. We argued against that and I told him that if that is the case we must postpone the election, go back to the people and then ask them to consider his name. That time Fr. Misi was the Vicar general. Anyway, for the sake of peace, finally we allowed his name to be amongst the candidates as a nominee.

HM: Tell me how was the leadership of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

AM: He was a good Bishop. I recall an incident that happened one day. You know I was supposed to be at Likoma, St Peter's Cathedral for two years. However, I had been there for one and half years when one day as I was at Mattins (Morning prayers) in the Cathedral, suddenly, I felt a heavy grip of a hand on the collar of my shirt. There he was, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka. He then whispered to me to follow him quickly. Outside the Cathedral he instructed me to go home quickly and start packing my belongings in preparation to go to Mlala parish to replace Fr. Augustine Chande who was in trouble with the local people there.

HM: What problems?

AM: There were allegations of immorality.

HM: I would like, if you don't mind we go back to the election in the Diocese of Northern Malawi. What made you elect white rather than an African Bishop?

AM: Biggers had been liked by the people because he had worked in Malawi as a missionary. Above all we believed that only a white Bishop with a strong financial backing would assist a young Diocese. As a white man he would be in a better position to use his influence amongst his fellow whites in Europe.

HM: I am hearing you saying that it was largely for financial purposes that you elected a white bishop?

AM: Yes but we also seriously thought that administratively he would be more capable. We trusted that he would not let us down. Electing a bishop was not a simple affair we struggled. I remember at the second ballot Archbishop Khotso saying if you fail to elect this, I will go back home and then send you the name of a bishop of my choice. We asked Zambians as to we could attain the two-third majority. They advised that you should do it yourself. We did that and finally we made it were elected Jack Biggers. Nevertheless, before we elected we had been under pressure especially from Bishop Elijah Masuko who tried to influence us. He tried to push Fr. Henry Mikaya by producing his impressive Curriculum Vitae.

HM: I heard from the other who were in the Assembly, namely Fr Chirwa and Chifisi that during the second ballot the Archbishop and the other bishops did inadvertently give the impression that they were not in favour of a white bishop. Instead they preferred a Malawian bishop. In respect they were in favour of Fr Henry Mikaya to be bishop. Do you agree with this?

AM: Well, certainly Bishop Elijah Masuko of Zimbabwe spoke strongly for Fr Mikaya. I think the rest of the bishops stood by him otherwise he would not have been suggested that we consider electing him.

HM: How did you react to this?

AM: Look personally, I think Fr. Mikaya is a good person. He was elected in 1976 as a Coadjutor bishop. However, I think had he been elected may be other people would have seen it as a right more remembering that some years ago he was stopped from being made bishop. It is in the historic past which perhaps would have made his episcopate uncomfortable.

HM: What about Josiah Mtekateka's relationship with his priests? What was his approach?

AM: You know his education was humble as such he tended to feel somewhat uncomfortable in the presence of younger priests who had better education.

HM: Thank you a lot for allowing me to speak to you.

AM: You are welcome. I hope I have done my best to respond to your questions. Shall you need further information do not hesitate to call on me.

HM: Thank you so much for all what you have shared with me.

Interviewee: Canon Barnaba Chipanda

Retired priest, Mpondas, Mangochi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th November 1999

HM: Father, I am so pleased to see you today. I can't remember when I last saw you, may be ten years have lapsed. I often wondered where you were. I was not aware that you are here in Mangochi hence I was delighted to know that there was a possibility that I would see you. I am doing some studies on the formation of the clergy in our Church focussing on the election of bishops. More importantly, I seek to inquire as to the most important factors that shaped the formation of clergy and the election of bishops. I want to try to determine as what factors shaped their ministry. I am sure you must have known the first Malawian bishop, Josiah Mtekateka.

BC: Yes. I knew him.

HM: What kind of a leader was he?

BC: He was a quiet man from the time he was a priest. Because of that and knowing thought that he would be the right bishop because that time when the diocese wanted an African Bishop, that is why Bishop Frank thought Josiah would be the right Bishop. Josiah's name was thought to be worthy. That time Josiah was the Archdeacon in Tanzania. **BC:** Bishop Donald wanted Nyanja because he saw that Lunda was not well known to Donald while people wanted Lunda, because of the few people who wanted Lunda. Nyanja's name was more popular when he seemed to have been more understanding.

HM: During Frank's time there was a system of priest in church and assistant working together. Donald thought to abolish that because he was that there was no good relationship set. People in Church and in many occasion there would be mainly believe that people in church and his assistant, relatives were so good. Assistant being replaced, So Donald achieved that an assistant will be given the area which later on would be created as a parish.

BC: The people in Church used to think that a new priest would be better loved and competition would ensue.

HM: In 1960, I went to stay with Fr Lunda. We knew his mark. When you went to Fr Lunda you would learn a lot other to be popular than him. I also knew other people but he did not want other priest name to be popular. He also wanted his assistant to know more things. The goodness that the old stock of priests knew their work thoroughly. Canon Mbiza knew his job, but he also liked his drink, he used to drink. Had Rashid lived in this time, he would have recommended that Aipa be made bishop.

Fr. Rashid used to like women, so too late Bishop Aipa. When together they used to allocate themselves women. They knew each other very well. This is why Bishop Aipa became worse. They were very good friends because of these things. It could happen that the two would talk about each other as friends. Fr. Rashid would refer to Fr. Aipa as a son.

What I want to stress is that the time that Fr. Aipa spent at Matope as an Assistant priest was the most crucial with respect to the future ministry of Fr. Aipa. It was during this period when Fr Aipa as a priest learnt a lot. You must understand that Fr. Rashid was a very popular priest, dynamic, who could draw people to him and his loyalty.

HM: Why was he so popular?

BC: Well, Fr Rashid's popularity sprang from his manner in which he sang the mass, his lovely singing voice, mannerisms, and charm, and charisma.

HM: Did you attend the elective Assembly that elected Bishop Ainani?

BC: Yes.

HM: What made Fr. Ainani successful?

BC: Bishop Arden and Canon Parslow were on the side of Ainani. People recommended Ainani because he was very courageous in speaking the truth amongst the peoples. Earlier on he had indicated that he did not want to forward his name but nevertheless, people still elected him.

HM: What relationship existed between Ainani and Arden?

BC: Ainani was not close to Arden because Arden knew administration while Ainani knew the work and he could not be cross for a very long time.

HM: What similarities existed between Aipa and Arden?

BC: I cannot say anything because Arden was a white man, he had money while Aipa didn't have money.

HM: I would like to thank you so much for making yourself available for this interview.

BC: You are welcome, Father.

Interviewee: Father Frank A.P. Mkomawanthu

Priest-in-charge, St Andrews' Church, Magochi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th November 1999

FM: When I was young and growing up at Malindi mission I used to see Canon Lundu as a very angry man. He seemed to have been a tough man. Fr Chipanda learnt a lot from him.

HM: What was the relationship like between Donald Arden and the African clergy? 60

FM: Not by design or to blame Arden, he was a fiddle and thread. Why I am I saying this? During the time of Donald Arden the African clergy were hampered by their low educational background. These clergy had the basic primary education and not secondary, perhaps just one or two could have G.C.E. Therefore there was a huge social and intellectual gap between the two, Arden and the African clergy. You can imagine

this scenario. The thinking was with Arden and the vision was with Arden, while some of us who could think and visualise with Arden met with opposition.

For instance, we could not meaningfully do the budget because the priests could not divulge their stipends (salaries), how much they were earning. This was the period between 1975 and 1980. There was no base upon which we could hold meaningful discussions. When we began to discuss in the meetings, our African clergy would say oh no leave this issue or that we will look to its resolution, and so our efforts were hampered.

HM: From what you say so it seems you were quite involved in the affairs of the Diocese.

FM: Yes, I was in most of the committees of the Diocese of South em Malawi, like D.S.C. and the elective Assembly.

HM: Were you involved in the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Aipa?

FM: Yes.

HM: In that Assembly or any others that you might have attended what weaknesses or problems existed which could not be in the interest of a fair and open manner of election?

FM: I will say something about the election that chose Nat. (Bishop Aipa). This election was quite unique especially for the considerable presence of some bishops and laity who had known Nat. I think from his years as a student at St John's Seminary or his involvement in the affairs of the Province. The people he had made friends with came from the other Diocese of the Province.

FM: The only problem was that they looked at Arden as Ambuye (Lord), their relationship was that of boss-servant. Nonetheless, during the very first years of Arden, he was a very relaxed person who was objective and very much himself. Later on he changed and began to settle in Malawian ways, Malawian manner of behaving, started to listen to too much gossip and he was spoiled for he became a victim of cliques of gossipers.

HM: And how was Ainani as a bishop? What was his style of episcopate?

FM: Like Arden, Ainani also tried to be development conscious. Ainani might have tried to be a bishop of his own. He too wanted to be friendly but there were occasions when he showed his real character. From what I gathered he had a strong hand, dictatorial in tendencies just like Donald Arden. He used to push his

ideas, for example, the move of old Mpondas mission from the old place to the new place. The move had to be done in spite of the people's refusal. He had a tendency of destroying things which existed. Nat. was a bishop in his own category, liturgically he was closer to Bishop Frank Thome. He was highly deep-rooted in high Anglicanism of the old era with an appetite for the old liturgy and services with which the younger generation of priests were struggling with, such as Good Friday, and Maundy Thursday.

HM: I can only say that growing a Malindi with priests like Canon Paul Lundu, and Chipembere, whose part of their training was partly done in East Africa who were high Anglicans. The Seminary had developed in them a life of a priest which made you look at them as some sort semi-golds. During this time Nat. and I were small boys serving at the altar. This was the most important period of our life. If you went to Malosa too you would be involved in serving at the altar. At Malosa one fell under the influence of Father Pocklington. He had a lot of influence on us as students. Pocklington had grown up as a monk. When he became a priest he still had that life in him. Fr Pocklington had a persuasive manner in which he would dissuade you from pursuing another profession other than the priesthood. He would speak very favourably about the life of a parish priest as compared to the other professions. In this way he would influence you in the direction of the priesthood. In those days life at Malosa School was almost seminarian in ethos. We had a round of prayers, punctuated with Angelus prayers at the designated hours.

HM: What was the working relationship like between Donald Arden and his clergy?

FM: As I said earlier on, Donald Arden led the way for all to follow. On the other hand, Donald Arden and his priests were thinking on different and divergent levels. He would put issues forward for discussion but eventually would do things no other way except the way he himself wanted them done.

HM: How was Bishop Aipa?

FM: Bishop Nat. did not really show his true colours. He would be cross at one moment then laugh at the next minute. He was childish in terms of his administration, he let things loose. Nat. also never took advice seriously, he would leave things in suspense. He was easy going, not really conscious of his position as a bishop. He looked at his position merely as a profession. I did not see him as a man could make a stick falling upon you as a bishop.

HM: Canon I thank you so much.

FM: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Canon Cyprian William Liwewe
Penama village, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

15th November 1999

HM: Father, you may not remember me. I am your grandson, Henry Mbaya, the son of Father George Mbaya, also the grandson of your old friend, Bernard Chimsalazo.

CL: Oh! oh! where is Bernard? Did you see him in South Africa? You must tell him if you see him, ask him this question "when are we going to pick up cashew nuts? I wish I had seen him. He must be as old as I am in South Africa.

HM: I am doing some studies on the training of the clergy in our Church especially missionary training clergy like you. The interviews form part of my Ph.d work. Do you mind if I begin by asking you a personal question?

CL: No my son, you may go ahead. No I don't mind that, please go on.

HM: When were you born?

CL: I was born in 1916.

HM: Which bishop confirmed you?

CL: Bishop Frank Thorne.

HM: How did you begin to train for the priesthood?

CL: I began as a teacher at Likoma.

HM: For how long did you train as a teacher?

CL: From 1932 to 1934.

HM: Where did you train as a teacher?

CL: At Likoma where there was a major training college. I was trained as a priest at Nkhwazi on Likoma Island. I did my training college at Makulawe. The teachers college was transferred to Likoma for the missionaries were running away from the Angoni warriors at Khobwe in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique).

HM: Who was the principal of the college?

CL: Father Hill.

HM: what followed after your work as a teacher?

CL: I started working as a teacher in 1935. I was transferred to Kayoyo in 1937. From Kayoyo I was then brought back here in Nkhotakota. After that I was trained for the priesthood.

HM: When you arrived in the college what happened?

CL: Firstly the missionaries observed your conduct very carefully and seriously, your moral behaviour. If you were a married person, they observed how your wife was looking after you and caring for the family. After doing well in all these things then you were sent for training for the priesthood.

HM: What sort of training did you receive? or shall I say what was it like?

CL: At college we were taught the whole Bible and were tested on the knowledge.

HM: What other aspects were being emphasised in your training?

CL: How to look after yourself morally, moral conduct was the major aspect of this training.

HM: H: How long were you trained for the priesthood?

CL: For three years.

HM: What followed when you finished your training?

CL: I was then ordained deacon.

HM: Which bishop ordained you?

CL: It was Bishop Leslie Stradling.

HM: Why were you not ordained by you Bishop, Frank Thorne?

CL: He had gone on leave to England, he then asked his friend to ordain us. I was ordained deacon in Liuli, Tanzania.

HM: Where were you ordained priest?

CL: Here at home.

HM: Did Bishop Frank ordain you?

CL: Yes.

HM: When you got ordain priest where did you begin your ministry?

CL: I began my ministry here, then Kayoyo and then Visaza (Ntchisi).

HM: Under which senior priests did you serve?

CL: Father Henry Munby.

HM: What kind of a priest was he?

CL: He was a very good person. He was a strong and courageous person, fond of walking everywhere, here up to Nkhata bay. He was a rich priest. His relatives in England used to support him generously. When going around in his big parish, Fr. Munby used to by things before hand, such as clothings and other items. He sent these items in advance to where he was going. During these rounds when he saw a needy

person walking he would give him some of these things. At Vinjenje village here in Nkhotakota he beat up a lion and not a dog.

HM: Which year did he beat up this dog?

CL: I can't remember because he was coming from his rounds so he met the animals during his rounds. Sometimes when Buwa River was full, flooding and full of crocodiles, he would cross himself and then the people following him. After the people had crossed as well as himself, the crocodiles would return. May be the people who used to carry his luggage would remember these things.

HM: Who amongst these are alive today?

CL: Someone is still alive.

CL: In those days we used to respect chiefs.

HM: What kind of teachings did Munby stress when you were serving under him.

CL: The priesthood.

CL: In Kayoyo I was with Fr. Msonthi and Fr. Machili.

HM: What sort of a priest was Hill?

CL: He was a good man. I also went to Kenya for training.

HM: When did you go to Kenya and what did you go to do in Kenya.

CL: It was like a seminary. The emphasis in our training was liturgy and worship.

HM: In your time how did one start the process towards becoming a priest?

CL: The church elders would submit the names or manes of the right candidates to the priest. The priest would discuss the name with the other priests and finally submit the name to the bishop.

HM: Did you become a priest in this manner?

CL: I just learned my name was out to go and train for the ministry.

HM: What kind of a bishop was Frank Thorne?

CL: He was a very good bishop, very fond of travelling, I mean walking in visiting his Christians. He knew his peoples' homes very well. He was an excellent pastor with his people's hearts in his heart.

HM: What sort of a bishop was Donald Arden?

CL: He was a nice man. He did not always hear cases with his clergy. Most cases were dealt by the elders except for the major ones.

HM: What was the core aspect of your training?

CL: The celebration of the liturgy, knowing and mastering rituals and ceremonies (dini), Fr. Hill taught us doctrine.

HM: In the beginning you trained as teacher, reader what about during the time of Donald Arden?

CL: When St. Andrew's College closed at Likoma, many were sent to train in Zambia, such as Fr. Mwase.

HM: I am very much interested to know why was there need for men to train as teacher, reader before actually becoming a priest?

CL: These things were planned in England.

HM: HM: What is the most important or striking thing that you can recall about Bishop Mtekate?

CL: An African bishop, it was during the conference when he was considered to be bishop he was still in Idunda, Tanzania that time.

HM: When Bishop Mtekateka was about to retire I understand that other people wanted to elect Fr. Henry Mikaya what happened?

CL: I don't know what happened, may be jealousy or childishness as Aipa is doing.

HM: Did you know Aipa when he was a young man?

CL: Yes.

HM: What sort of a man was he?

CL: He was a very clever young man and that time I was at Mponda's he used to work as an office boy for the missionaries. he used to sweep in the office.

HM: Do you know Aipa became a priest?

CL: I had already left Mponda's that time.

HM: How did Fr. Peter Nyanja become a bishop?

CL: The name Nyanja is of the royal family. It was me who elected Nyanja together with another white missionary who is now living at Malosa, together with Fr. Hunter we recommended his name.

HM: What is your assessment of Bishop Peter Nyanja's episcopate?

CL: I am not very close to him now so much that it is difficult for me to make any comment.

HM: Why did Father Lunda not get elected?

CL: I don't know why because everyone was saying let me the bishop and so on. May be had he not died sooner he would have been one. A letter that was written in Mzuzu stated that had there not be for Liwewe, that is, me, he would have been a bishop.

HM: Which bishop sold the Chauncy Maples vessel? Was it Frank or Donald?

CL: It must be Frank because its long time ago.

HM: May I ask you a personal question, if you don't mind.

CL: Please go ahead.

HM: When were you married?

CL: In 1935.

HM: Who married you?

CL: Fr. Edwin Munby.

HM: Where was Munby transferred to?

CL: He went to South Africa and never returned.

HM: Thank you Father for allowing me to take up your time. I am very grateful for all what you have shared with me, your wisdom, and your experience.

CL: I am also happy to have chatted with you and I wish you all the best for your work and your studies.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Canon Aidan Misi

Priest-in-Charge, St. Thomas Church

Area 18 Lilongwe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th January 2000

HM: Father I would like to express my appreciation for your kindness to accept my request to interview you. By the way, I have looked forward to this opportunity for a long time, in fact ever since I came across your name during the time I was reading in the archives at Malosa.

HM: When did you go to St John's College?

AM: It was on 28 January, in 1966

HM: Who else was with you at the college?

AM: I was the only Malawian, but later I was joined by the others like James Lunda, John Masano and Authur Mkweka.

HM: Who was the Warden in your time?

AM: I found Revd Rodney Hunter as the Sub-warden and Rev. John Weller as a the Warden and Fr Francis was the tutor. Mrs. Weller was the helper. In our third year came Fr Peter Hatendi.

HM: What was your relationship like with the members of staff? Could you mix with them freely?

AM: Mixing and socialising with teachers was really not effective, not much. Fr Francis used to do that with Fr Hatendi at least but not with Weller and Hunter.

HM: And how was the relationship amongst the students?

AM: We were divided. While Malawian and Zambian students were quite close, Zimbabweans were alone, they did not closely associate with the rest of us.

HM: From my reading in the Archives at Malosa, I came across correspondence which show that there was almost always conflict in the college amongst students. Am I right?

AM: When problems arose, the members of staff used to favour the Zimbabweans students against Malawian students.

HM: Why? What problems in particular?

AM: I remember there was a hot food issue that involved us students and Fr Hunter. He used to come to the Dinning Hall to eat with us. He was also responsible for buying kitchen food. Fr Hunter was always in the habit of buying bonny meat with scarcely on steak on it. It was in this situation that the students would complain a lot. One day, Arthur Mkweka and I collected the bones and put it on the door step of the Warden's office. Sometimes the nsima (stiff Porridge) was not properly prepared. When we lodged a complaint the staff would not take heed of it. Fr Hunter would always insist that our complaints were not genuine, the food was okay. Sometimes food items would miss in the kitchen and Malawian students would be blamed for that. It was normally the Zimbabwean informers amongst the Zimbabweans. All the three years that I started there I was always suspended for telling the truth except for two weeks. In my

third year things were so bad. That I finished I can only attribute that to God and the fact that I am a priest today.

This is what happened in my third year. One day the warden had written to all of us final years that we had been suspended and we were told to report at his office at 2 p.m. We all agreed to be there at 2 p.m. We all entered his office at the same time. The warden asked why we had all come at the same time. We told him that we had received the letter to come at that hour. At that moment he told us to leave his office, but we all refused. We refused to leave his office until we were told what was calling us for. This issue became hot so much so that the Board of Governors was called in to intervene. In the end the Board ruled that we could not be dismissed. We all finished our training. I was ordained that same year by Bishop Josiah Mtekatika.

HM: In my research at Malosa, I read that you yourself at one time, it must have been in 1969, You protested at the decision of the episcopal synod which ruled that students could only be ordained after their completion of their studies. Is that true?

AM: No we all protested at the decision of the synod. We all complained and argued against it.

HM: I heard that after that you were then suspended.

AM: No the suspension was meant for all of us and not me alone. The Board of Governors cautioned the teachers that none of us had to be expelled. They went further to ask that if you expel the students, even before they leave you yourselves will have to go because among these are future bishops, archdeacons. Bishop Elijah Masuko and I fought for everyone, and we all stayed at St John's.

HM: What were the successes of the college?

AM: Yes, successes were there, though there was no unity but persevering each other.

Elijah Masuko and I were responsible for sanitation and gardening in the seminary. We used to feed St John's were hardworking people. In spite of that Fr. Hunter was saying he was also living the African way of life. The problem is that if you are a foreigner- you have to impose your culture on others, this was his problem.

HM: Was there much socialising and mixing in the College?

AM: Weller didn't mix much with the other members of staff.

HM: What were the main problems that you faced at St John's College?

AM: There was mistrust and suspicions amongst us because others including Fr Hunter. As a Boarding Master, Fr Hunter used to buy us very unworthy and indeed useless food not even really good for our health. When he came to the Dining Room, he would even try to monitor things and so there was that rebellious spirit amongst us. We believed that he used to use the Dining Room, he found that students had gone out to drink.

HM: Father, when I interviewed Fr Hunter a few years ago about his time at St John's, I remember him remarking that it was a waste of time! Do you think or remember it was such? why should he have described it as such?

AM: He had the picture that Africans were nothing, he had no respect for us as African students. He was too strict over anything. Fr Hunter was himself not a helpful person, he wanted to impose his culture on us. Himself and other members of staff did not like Malawians, because we came from a poor country. In our time we fought hard against oppressive tendencies and attitudes. We tried hard, yes we fought hard. Because of our efforts, certificates were introduced to the graduating students. We forced the staff to do that and they yielded.

HM: During my reading at Malosa archive, one of the things I came to know about you was your sense of independent thinking and mind but also a fighting spirit.

AM: Yes even ever since I have been a priest, I have been fighting for the good of my Church. When we had just joined the ministry there was a lot we had to do to correct things. We had to fight against the attitudes amongst the old priests that we, St John's trained clergy we did not know anything and so we could not take up leading positions. One priest in particular was feared, Canon Msekawanthu. I fought hard to convince such kind of people that we were also deserving people.

HM: To what extent did barriers exist between the St John's and the old priests?

AM: It was a serious situation to such an extent that a workshop had to be organised at Chilema designed to break down barriers amongst us. Since that workshop barriers started fading. In Nkhotakota, I confronted Canon Mseka about the need to share positions in the church. I reasoned with him that it was necessary for us young ones to learn exercising authority in these positions so that by the time you old guys retire we would be in a position to proceed from where you left. He asked me do you want these positions? I said yes. As a result of this a way was paved for the first St. John's trained clergyman, James Lunda to become the archdeacon.

HM: What were the main trade characteristics of the old trained, clergy from Makulawe.

AM: Very devout men, saying their prayers, mattins, celebrating mass everyday. There were very conversant in the church traditions. They were very strict with these. However, I believe most of these guys did not entirely understand these traditions. Their religion was too much centres on these. These guys used to quote or refer to old European priests. Some of these priests were just too hard working. Like Canon Mbiza used to make rounds walking long distances, walking for miles and he served for 38 years.

HM: What happened at the 1976 Elective Assembly which elected Fr Mikaya who was subsequently not confirmed? What went wrong?

AM: You know, it is the panel who are responsible for scrutinising nominations who sometimes manipulates the process. People nominate certain candidates. It is their decision and their decision and their right, however, by the time the panel sits down, the whole thing starts changing. During the 1976 Election the name was James Lunda and not Mikaya's. He was a man who was very popular, who mixed with people very well, a friendly man. He came from Nkhotakota, the most important district apart from Likoma.

The people, Anglicans, of Nkhotakota were spread out in hand, Fr Mikaya was not really known. He had come from a different church background, a Presbyterian in spite of the fact that his wife came from Likoma and was related to Bishop Josiah Mtekateka. You know one of the weaknesses of our church in recent times is that the manner of choosing ordination candidates has not been satisfactory. There has been a lot of carelessness and lack of seriousness about the screening process.

Mikaya was one of the people who happened to have gone through the weak system unscathed. He was never really known enough. How he became an ordinand was mystery. At the time of his election not many people knew him and yet finally he was elected. Later on allegations about his marriage began to surface. It was known then that his current wife was not his original wife. The serious problem or weaknesses in our procedures is that people don't have enough time to know their candidates well enough. Secondly, the people who do the short -listing sometimes leave Elective.

Assembly, say about 4 people to scrutinising during the 1996. There was a lot of pressure from the people from Likoma. Election happened three times. I was Vicar General. Had failed that time there would have been appointment. One of the major problems is that in the panel of the Elective Assembly we focus on the place where the bishop comes from.

Interviewee: Canon George Mchakama

Retired priest, Diocesan Headquarter's Malosa, Zomba

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

24th February 2000

HM: Father Mchakama, at last I am so delighted to see you. I have been looking for you high and low. When I began this project you were one of the first people I thought about. I have been trying to locate you. I saw your son, James in Blantyre who actually told me that you are now in Liwonde. When I heard that I was filled with hope for I said now I will be able to tap the wisdom of the ages that rest in the big man. Father, oh its so nice to see you after such a long time. My subject is the training of the Malawian priests and the election of the Malawian bishops an area which I know you have experience of. GM: Yes.

HM: To begin with the election of the Malawian priests. Let us start from the basis, how does it go, I mean the processes?

GM: When a vacancy occurs, the Vicar General, who holds the seat after the bishop has retired or resigned he calls for nominations of the possible candidates from the parishes. The names go to the Elective Assembly. If the nominated member is present he is told to leave the Assembly. The master of ceremonies present the nominated names. Then he tells the electors to start debating on the names. Where did you know this person? How do you know him? Then discussion also centre on his family life and his educational background. We also discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the people.

HM: How free were the electors to discuss him?

GM: It does matter because the human element rather the religious matter take an upper hand. He was one of the people with low education but because people elected him because he was there were others who were free and others were not. When one wants a position who do not have the spirit to help or serve others for God's sake as Africans. Because even in government or companies we don't elect a person because we want services-like old Apostles that is why our image that is why the elections of bishops are not for service but to honour certain individuals so that they are respected. If we see the bishop he is a protector, servant, encourager who strengthens others in their spiritual life. He is a Father among priest, also among laity, the way I see. As I said we Africans take positions so that we are honoured.

HM: What expectations did people have during the elections that elected Bishop Ainani?

GM: Yes many people expected to be elected I can't remember all, except late Bishop Aipa, Fr Mkoamwanthu.

HM: Was Kaswaya there?

GM: I think so, or yes late Fr Malewezi this why other people commit themselves to worshipping the evil spirits because they want positions. After all Ainani was elected. Another time someone asked me if he could be elected he could then give me a higher post. Yes he asked if he could be a bishop, he said you please must elect me. I told him not with me even if I am in the Elective Assembly it must be the work of the Holy Spirit and not a person, I told him. This is why people become bishops because they want to rule. So when Bishop Ainani became bishop, people were very happy.

HM: What sort of a bishop was Bishop Ainani?

GM: What I saw about Bishop Ainani was that he was a courageous man who could rebuke when things were wrong. He would not delay in counselling a priest who was in the wrong. He would do it in a very fatherly manner call a priest or lay person aside and he tried to put himself in the shoes of the errant priest and then try to make the other person see the point. He was quick to help priests.

HM: Why was he like that?

GM: Mkomawanthu, Aipa, Malewezi dropped down while Kishindo told Malewezi that he was old and that he could not be a bishop. Arden trusted Ainani for his musical gifts.

HM: In 1986, Bishop Aipa was elected bishop. What qualities impressed people to elect him? 1. However, despite this

GM: He had a strong pastoral gift, a lot of influence amongst the people.

HM: Why had Aipa not succeeded to be elected bishop in the election which elected Ainani?

GM: Bishop Aipa was a childish person. HM: But why was he still elected?

GM: People thought that if he became bishop, he would not remain the same, he would change on the job.

HM: What do you think is the major weakness of the electoral system?

GM: One crucial weakness is that even top officials such as bishops or the archbishop seem to have a person in mind as to who can be a bishop even before elections are conducted. So it is not entirely left to God's will.

HM: How does that affect the election of the bishop?

GM: Sometimes one has a feeling in the Elective Assembly that certain people have been influenced before hand to speak strongly for a certain individual others speak the truth and are not swayed by the influence of the Archbishop or others. Even though I have not heard but those things happen- I am sure even in all these cases but as a result if things happen like that the end of such episcopate is terrible, it ends in a disaster. That is what happened in the Bible. God said, I did not elect Saul. If one was elected in the flesh, his episcopate will always end up in a disaster.

HM: What other problem have you experienced?

GM: Tribalism. People recommend an individual as a right man because he happens to belong to their tribe. To me we Africans have a problem. Europeans will elect a person because he is educationally qualified not a calling.

GM: Fr. Rees Philips was a very strong and reliable teacher.

HM: How reliable was he as a teacher?

GM: The way he was teaching, training future priests. The way he formed us. He used to formal us well as priests, not in the African nor European ways especially. He could alert us about weaknesses of priests, such as keeping of time. For instance, he would teach us to ring the Angelus bell exactly at 6.00 a.m. not even half a minute. They were self-centred, they went there to rule, to learn to rule, just as I said about their priesthood.

HM: If you say that those two people were many who went there to rule, does this not imply that the system which they went through as recruits was wrong. Is it not the fact?

GM: Yes. Other people became priests or bishops because they followed family tradition-following a relative who might have been a priest.

HM: Would you agree with me if I say that certain behaviour or attitudes of some members of staff such as Rees Philipps, Weller or Francis had an effect to mould some of the present day leadership? Look for instance, you know a quiet saintly perhaps, like Fr Weller influencing Peter Nyanja (Bishop) or perhaps Bishop Aipa having been influenced by Fr Francis who was reputed to have been childish.

GM: Yes, what I would like to say is that each individual student had his own identity, but it could be possible that certain priests came to copy or imitate behaviour or attitudes of the teachers. That might as well be possible. Weller left but in a way that you never became harsh but humble to put you down while Rees was authoritarian, given to anger. John Weller was a quiet man and humble man.

HM: Would you agree with me if I say that training at St. John's substantially influenced the formation of priesthood, but fundamentally it was the recruitment processes which were at fault? Now why I say this is that there is archival evidence at the headquarters the Diocese of Southern Malawi at Malosa, for instance, that some of the ordinands had their forms half filled or not fully completed. I cite here for example, late Fr Likoleche who was related to Bishop Mtekateka, I think he was a nephew or in the case of late Fr. Alford Zimba, a son in-law of the late Bishop Mtekateka.

GM: Yes, just as I said in connection with the election of bishops there are some people who come into the ministry because they want to be respected or for other reasons. I am not surprised at that look I knew Alford. He was not an exemplary priest he gave Donald Arden very tough time. He used to be a bad example of a priest.

HM: Certainly you have lived or might have worked under the old U.M.C.A, St Andrew's College trained clergy. What were their strengths or weaknesses?

GM: Fr. Edward Maycock was an angry man, abrasive and authoritative like Rees Philipps. He was very strict at the celebration of the mass. Serving at the altar you would be in trouble if you missed to turn to the right page at the right time for him during celebration. Fr Cedric Frank was very pompous. He used to boast of his degree and he used to despise others because of his degree. I heard he used to say at home in England you would not step on the grass if you possessed a degree.

HM: Father Mchakama thank you so much for this time that you have shared with me. I really appreciate this.

Interviewee: Mrs. Alice Chilinkhwambe

Former Mothers' Union Worker, Diocese of Southern Malawi (57)

Limbe, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

13th March 2000

HM: Mrs. Chilinkhwambe, I am happy that at least after a long time trying to see you I have finally succeeded. I am very grateful for this. It is almost a dream come true. I also thank Fr. Chisale for escorting me here, otherwise it would have been more difficult.

AC: I am also happy to see you Father. It was a long time ago since I last saw you. How is your family, your wife and children?

HM: Thank you, there are fine. My research subject is the missionary training of the African clergy. Perhaps, let me begin by asking you about Bishop Frank Thorne who could have confirmed you.

AC: Yes he confirmed me.

HM: What sort of person was he?

AC: When we were young growing up he saw him as a godly man. At confirmation, one would really feel that a certain power of God was upon you. He had that holy power with him.

HM: Why was it like that?

AC: His personality was such that. It came from within, that divine sense.

HM: What about Bishop Donald Arden?

AC: At the beginning I remember I did not have the same feeling I had with Thome. When I saw Donald Arden, he came across as a very authoritarian man and not so much as a holy man. He just appeared as an ordinary man not associated with any holy mystique as was the case with Thome. Whole Donald Arden was like a manager, very close to his wife who fitted in the role of a manager. Arden was too authoritarian as a leader.

HM: How did that influence his predecessors like Bishop Aipa?

AC: Arden played a great influence in the life of Aipa. One could see Arden's authoritarianism later on in Aipa. As a Bishop. Aipa was too fond of gossip just like Arden. This tendency on Aipa used to be disturbing. In cases when priests quarreled, Bishop Aipa would find it difficult to reconcile them because he too much relied on gossip like Donald Arden. This sort of things used to encourage hatred, disunity, disensions in the diocese.

This trend that had begun with Arden continued through Ainani's time until Aipa's period. But Ainani was very clever, he could not show hatred openly. For instance, I remember when Colorado visitors came in 1979 we received them, I received them in Blantyre. By then Bishop Ainani was a suffragan Bishop at Chichiri. Bishop Ainani was very pleased but what happened after that visit. When the visitors left for America, they requested that one lady, belonging to Mother's Union to go to America for the MU General meeting. It had been said that two ladies were required to go. However, at the meeting at Malosa, somehow a decision was made that only one must go. Then this woman left for USA. Frs. Kaswaya, Njakare and their wives were supposed to go but never went. We realised there was a problem. There had been some backbiting. Bishop Ainani did not show on his face that something had been taking place. He did not display any spirit of hatred. Unlike Bishop Aipa who would tell you in your face, he would show you that he hated you. You would see Ainani putting on a good face a that he was doing a good job. There was-a time even when the Archbishop Khotso Makhulu came, Bishop Ainani did not even seem to acknowledge his presence.

HM: What happened at the election of bishop Ainani? What was the crucial factor in the election of Bishop Ainani? Or shall I say what do you remember to have been the influential factor?

AC: The election of Bishop Ainani was imposed by Donald Arden just like the election of Aipa. For me Donald Arden had the tactic of divide and rule. He was well aware that if he took an educated man to succeed him as a bishop, he knew that by placing a poorly educated person, he would fail to run the diocese well, which would then give him the chance to return later in the event of some problems. Bishop Arden was a real colonial type of a bishop. He wanted to rule all the time. He imposed Dunstan Ainani as a bishop expecting he would fail. Although Ainani was a bishop, he was a convert from the other sects. Church Law forbids a person coming from the other sects to hold position of archbishop in the Church.

HM: What image or style of a bishop did Ainani project?

AC: He could not distinguish the life of a soldier to that of a bishop. He was too commandeering. He used to give commands. I remember one incident. He forced Fr. Kaswaya from a house in Ndirande to a ware house.

HM: What factor or factors were influential in the election of Ainani as a bishop?

AC: The bishop's influence was tremendous. There were also the priests who came from outside the country as well. Those from Lake Malawi were told to elect Ainani.

HM: What image or style of a bishop did Frank Thorne projects?

AC: He was a very good man who tried to be very close to the people. Nevertheless, his officers, such as Billy Towers were incompetent people.

HM: What factors influenced the election of Aipa?

AC: It was the same thing as Ainani, Aipa was imposed on the people. Before election, Arden influenced the people. However, Aipa was also well known man especially for his pastoral gifts. But later on he was misled by the others. As a priest he had created himself a reputation for hospital visits. He was popular amongst common people. However, people did not see the other side of his character- drinking. Before he was elected and particularly after he was elected as a bishop stories started surfacing that witchcraft had been involved in influencing his election.

A word went around that he had been using his Church warden at Soche Parish. He was a man who was feared and scared of. There was also an important factor. In spite of some of the negative things said about him there was a general feeling that once given the job he would turn out to be a very good bishop. Being a

bishop would somehow change him for the better. I myself said it that if he can be a bishop, he can be better.

HM: What made you think that the position would transform him?

AC: The position of a bishop is a godly one which would somehow make him feel that he was now a different man who had to behave accordingly.

HM: How widespread or common was this sentiment shared amongst the electors?

AC: This was a generally held opinion. A large number of people thought along side those lines. However, I for one did regret afterwards in prayer when I realised that Bishop Aipa was not meeting our expectations I had for him. The Church had also been spoiled because of gossip. I remember at the elective Assembly which elected Aipa. Many people believed Fr. Kaswaya was the best candidate to become a bishop and people had been really thinking that he was the right candidate but I cautioned the people that Kaswaya is still young they will harm him. Fr. George Ndomondo withdrew his name.

HM: Who do you remember to have had a lasting influence on Aipa?

AC: Partly it was the influence of Arden and partly Ainani.

HM: How free were you electors in the Elective Assembly?

AC: During the first election that elected Ainani I was very free. I deliberated freely. Nonetheless, what I realised was bad later on was that I realised afterwards that there had been some informers in that Assembly who had been spying on others. These were in the habit of going out to tell the nominated candidates outside what was going on in the Elective Assembly. In this case it was Fr Ainani.

I realised afterwards he had a grudge against me which arose from the Assembly. However, according to his character, he was not in a position to openly show it. Now, because of this first experience, when it came to the elective Assembly of 1986 which elected Aipa, I was more cautious of what to say and not what to say. So myself and some others who shared that bad experience felt intimidated, we could not speak freely

HM: How did you deal with this problem?

AC: There was nothing I could do except to learn that when one is in the Elective Assembly somehow information filter out.

HM: I must thank you so much for allowing me to talk to you on such a delicate matter. I am really grateful, thank you.

AC: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Mr. Frank Nicholas Kazembe

Chigumula, Limbe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

27th June 2000

Born, 23rd September 1922, educated at Malindi Primary School, then at Blantyre Secondary School, trained as a teacher at St Micheal's College. Subsequently, Mr Kazembe became a teacher and inspector of schools and then upgraded to the inspector of teachers' training colleges. In the 70's he was sent to work in the Embassy in York and Washington DC as a secretary. He came back to Malawi and worked in the office of the President and cabinet as senior administrative officer. He retired in 1975. After that he worked as a Provincial coordinator (i.e executive officer), resigned and joined ESCOM as a commission secretary. Subsequently, he worked for COGEFA, an external organisation as a Personnel Manager for three years.

HM: What was the difference between the style of Bishop Frank Thome and Bishop Donald Arden?

FK: Frank was very pastoral in style, while Donald Arden was absolutely pious.

HM: How could his piety be noticeable?

FK: He was so devoted to. Anyway I can only say he was very pious. In him you could see a man of God. Bishop Arden was a very good administrator and wanted to expand the Church. It is because of what that there are a number of Churches are springing up today. On the other hand, Bishop Thome loves to stay

with the people in the villages. He was able to mix freely with the people. He spoke the language of the people while Donald Arden was shy.

Both were approachable. However, with Frank you could easily recognise that he was a pious man when you were talking to him. With Arden you would say almost anything to him. What made Frank unpopular was that during the fight for national independence he seemed to have agreed with the allegation that there was a murder plot against the whites.

HM: Why was Mtekateka elected the first indigenous bishop of Malawi? What made him qualify for the post?

FK: Amongst the other factors, he was a great pastor. There was also the Likoma influence- that was why he was chosen bishop. There was a strong Likoma feeling, a need for a bishop from Likoma. He had worked in Malawi previously but then worked in Tanzania for a long time. In both these places his reputation was good. Nevertheless, his election was strongly determined by the fact that he came from Likoma. This played a very important role in him being accepted by the people.

HM: What was the relationship like between Bishop Arden and Bishop Mtekateka?

FK: Very good, they were getting on very well. We did not hear of any quarrels between them.

HM: In 1977 Fr Henry Mikaya was elected coadjutor Bishop but was never consecrated, what went wrong?

FK: I was never at the Elective Assembly but what I understood was that his behaviour was not good. There was also a tribal factor. In many ways he was not liked because he came from neither of the traditionally Anglican places, Likoma, Nkhotakota or Malindi. Acceptance as a priest or any other position very much depended on the identity of the person and especially whether they came from an Anglican traditional area or not.

HM: What important factor played a leading role in the election of Bishop Ainani?

FK: The people were divided. Others did not want him while others wanted him. His educational background was poor, very irritable and short-tempered. Bishop Ainani had some complex, he did not take any criticisms, while Josiah Mtekateka was open to criticism- he tended to think that people would look down upon him. Education is one of the essential things that ought to be considered to qualify one as a bishop.

HM: Did you ever attend the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Ainani?

FK: Yes.

HM: What shortcomings did you notice if any did the process have?

FK: Indeed there were some shortcomings, background was poor, very irritable and short-tempered. It seems to me that Bishop Ainani had some complex. He could not take any criticism.

HM: Thank you so much for sharing with me some of your life experience.

FK: It's a pleasure, please do come again if you need some assistance.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Agnes Mkoko

Mothers' Union Worker, Malosa, Zomba, Diocese of Southern Malawi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

5th June 2000

HM: Thank you for granting me the opportunity to talk to you today.

AM: It is a pleasure, Father.

HM: Did you ever have the opportunity to be one of the electors of a bishop in the diocese.?

AM: Yes.

HM: Who amongst the bishops that have been serving in the diocese?

AM: The election in 1986 that finally elected Bishop Aipa.

HM: Apart from you who others were members of the elective assembly?

AM: There was Archbishop Khotso Makhulu, the Registrar and from this diocese I can remember Fr. Mchakama, Fr. Kaswaya, Mr. Medi and Mrs Medi.

HM: As you can recall what was the atmosphere like? Or shall I be more specific, were people very free to discuss the candidates, I mean were their frank and open discussions?

AM: Yes, somehow yes, people were quite free. They were able to talk, though there was also a spirit of holding. Somehow one felt there was some sort of restraint.

HM: On what specific issues?

AM: In discussing personalities, the candidates whether they were suitable, there was a feeling, I certainly felt that if one said any negative things about a candidate may be in the aftermath of the election such things could be used against you. There was a feeling being victimised once the election was over. I can only recall of my own personal experience. For example when we came to discuss personal life of Bishop Aipa, Mr. Medi remarked that Fr. Aipa was fond of visiting wrong places, bars. The archbishop, Khotso Makhulu, asked: "Where do you want your priest found? Would you not want him to be found in a shebeen? The Registrar asked, "Did you really see him in the wrong place?"

HM: How did Mr. Medi respond to the situation?

AM: He seemed to have been put on the spotlight, cornered. He felt embarrassed and uncomfortable by the confrontation.

HM: How did you know that he felt uncomfortable?

AM: By his look on the face and emotions, you could see it was all over him.

HM: What other issues were discussed about the candidate?

AM: Family life about the candidates. It was asked about whether his family life was exemplary then somebody whom I cannot remember responded in the positive.

HM: Did they also discuss family life of the other candidates?

AM: Yes.

HM: What did they say?

AM: Nothing really negative.

HM: To return to the issue of the shebeen, what bearing did the archbishop and the registrar' response have on the general atmosphere of the deliberations in the Elective Assembly?

AM: It seemed the archbishop was backing the life style of that particular candidate. There was a feeling among the people that it was useless to raise objections to his election since he had powerful supporters.

HM: What did they say about the other candidates?

AM: For Fr. Kaswaya not much was said. Even though there was some discussions on him, there was a general feeling that he was too young to be a bishop, a much older person was needed. Besides, I remember, at one time, he himself seemed to have almost withdrawn. Somehow, he seemed no longer keen. I remember him standing up at a later stage saying something like- Fr. Aipa has taught me to be a priest and is more experienced than me.

HM: What other factors can you recall which might have influenced the election in favour of Bishop Aipa?

AM: To be frank with you, it seemed Aipa had the most support even though we know for sure that there were others also who really wanted Fr Kaswaya. There were also personal friends who played an important role in the elections.

HM: Who were these friends and what did they do?

AM: There was Mr. Khofi and Mr. Stak Banda. Mr Khofi was very influential, very vocal and out-speaking in support of Aipa.

HM: In what ways? How?

AM: He spoke very well of Fr. Aipa. He tried his best to convince the people that Aipa was the best candidate.

HM: Can you tell me how did the process towards the election proceed? May be I should have began in that way. We have come quite a long way, when we should have began with the first step. Where did it begin and how?

AM: Short-listing of names was done at Chilema Training Centre at Malosa, Zomba. Fr. John Parslow led the proceedings. He was the Vicar General at the time. The candidates were Frs. Mchakama, Mkomawanthu, Ndomondo, Kaswaya, Aipa and Malango. We short-listed to two names, Aipa and Kaswaya.

HM: Then what followed?

AM: The next stage was the Elective Assembly at St. Paul's Cathedral in Blantyre.

HM: Oh, yes we are back where we started from when were discussing the candidates.

AM: Yes, I was actually saying that besides the archbishop and the registrar there were also others who spoke strongly for Aipa, like Mr Khofi.

HM: Yes, you mentioned about Mr. Banda. What was his influence?

AM: Mr Banda supported Fr. Aipa strongly. I remember when somebody else raised an objection against Aipa on his personal moral life, Mr. Banda said, "kunyenga sivuto" meaning "proposing women is not a problem." It really appeared as if some of the members had come to the Assembly well knowing that they were going to elect Fr Aipa. I could not understand because not much chance was given to discuss the others as well. It seemed they had made up their minds even before they had sat in the Assembly.

HM: Why do you think such could have happened?

AM: Because of the comments, listening to their arguments they seemed to be supporting each other's arguments strongly. Similarly when others stressed the weaknesses of the candidates, the officials quickly responded saying who has no weaknesses? It was strongly suggested that he had to be given his chance this time after not making it in the last Elections and that whatever weaknesses he might have had he would grow out of them once he became a bishop.

HM: Thank you so much Mrs. Mkoko for your time with me allowing me to get into your life. I am very grateful indeed.

AM: I hope I have been of use to you, and that this may be helpful to you. You are welcome anytime you want to come back to me.

HM: Thanks.

Interviewee: Anonymous

Zomba Theological College

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

19th April 1999

HM: My name is Henry and I am a Ph. D student of the University of Natal, studying the history of the church in Malawi. I am very grateful that you have given me the opportunity to talk to you about the church in Malawi.

AN: You are welcome. I hope I can be of use to your subject.

HM: My subject is the training of the African clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi. Let me begin by asking you the position of the African clergy during the period when Bishop Arden came to Malawi. This was a transitional period when the church was moving from the missionary to post-independent Malawi. What was the state of the clergy or the African Church?

AN: When Bishop Arden came into the diocese Donald Arden found the shortage of clergy so he intended to ordain as many catechists as was possible. Firstly, catechists were given six months' training.

HM: What was the quality of training?

AN: The emphasis of this training was on the rituals and the ceremonies of the church with the inadequate teaching. Ordinands had to learn to say mass. Some of the priests of this system had too many problems in adjusting themselves. They could not know what to do with the money. There was mal-administration. They could not just cope with parish administration because they were just mass priests; of course some of them were fortunate, they rose in the church like David Onaika because he was a little bit more educated, he was clever and he became the diocesan religious adviser.

HM: What was the relationship between Arden and Seminary trained priest?

AN: Donald Arden was for the africanisation of the church since the time was ripe for that to take place. He wanted Africans to take leading positions but only those kind of Africans who were yes Sir, *bwana* (sir). The type who could not criticise him or show any independence of mind were not encouraged. For example, he never liked people like Father Aipa who by then was the most highly educated or intelligent priest, nor Fr Likoleche, who at one time quarrelled with him. I myself told him at one time after I had taken liquor.

I told him that he was exploiting African clergy. He said there was no money while he himself was having good time. Bishop Arden was selfish and dictatorial, he was typical a white man who could not share power especially with Africans. I will illustrate this. Donald Arden was consecrated bishop at Mponda's in Mangochi. He moved his headquarters to Malosa.

During his time, he opened the Building Department and put Mr. Rowlings as Master of Works. He invited him together with a whole team in during Mr. Mzokomera and the others. When Mr. Rowlings retired or died, he put his wife in charge of works department. Virtually the diocese was run by a family. He had Mr. Kishindo as his Diocese secretary, a very subservient and submissive servant. What I want you to know is that Bishop Arden was a type of white person who could not share power with Africans but was nevertheless forced by the social political climate of the period to Africanise.

HM: What was the relationship between Fr Aipa and Bishop Donald Arden?

AN: Donald never liked Aipa because of his miscellaneous behaviour. He could not have approved of Aipa's election. People who tell you that Donald Arden was liked and wanted Aipa are misleading you.

HM: But they say they were so close since Arden sent Aipa to other countries as gesture of good will to him.

AN: You must not forget that Aipa was the most educated person with Form Four (G.C.E) and could speak English quite well.

HM: What were the most characteristic qualities of his administration?

AN: Unlike Bishop Frank Thome who was very spiritual and ascetic, he would wake up at 4 a.m. praying in Church, Bishop Arden was too business-like. Arden liked to put up structures, buildings, solicit funds and run the diocese like a big organisation. He was also an ecumenist. He favoured cooperation with the Presbyterians Blantyre Synod. We have Chilema Ecumenical Training center and Zoma his brain child of course team as well.

HM: I came across a letter in my archival research, a letter from Anglicans in Kabwe who were criticising and protesting what they saw as Donald's attempts to impose in their Diocese a candidate, Fr. Siyachitema whom they did not want. Do you think Donald was a dictator who did not want listen to the others?

AN: I told you Donald Arden never liked independent thinking. He ruled the Diocese with his wife from his house. He ended up by surrounding himself with men or women.

HM: What criteria could he have used to choose Fr Ainani?

AN: Donald Arden wanted to be succeeded by a man who could continue his work. The only man who could try that was Fr Ainani.

HM: Do you think he could have personal influence in his election?

AN: Obviously as the archbishop he would have chosen a man who could try to continue or pursue his interests.

HM: Did Bishop Ainani meet the expectations of the people?

AN: Bishop Ainani tried to but he could not really follow Donald Arden. I think because, he would look and remark, "Is this the issue you came to see the bishop for?"

HM: Thank you so much father for allowing me to talk to you

AN: Well, it was nice to see you. I wish you God's blessings in what you are doing.

BB: Thank you father.

Interviewee: Father Jon C. Owambo (not practicing)

Klerksdorp, South Africa

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

4th July 1999

HM: Thank you for this opportunity granted to me. As you know I am doing research on the Anglican clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi. This forms the basis where the election of the Malawian bishops is the focal point. I believe that you have some experience of some clergy who have been serving in Malawi.

JO: Oh! well, yes, some experience.

HM: To begin with the subject of bishops. How can you describe or characterise Bishop Arden as a leader?

JO: Donald was a conservation man bearing in mind his origin as a British. HM: Are you saying that he was colonial in mentality?

JO: Yes, he had a colonial mentality to a certain extent. He could not believe that the natives could be good. I will give you the example. His wife was more or less the Diocesan Secretary. Though there was a diocesan secretary, his wife ran the Diocese jointly with the husband, the bishop. That to a certain extent being a colonialist, he was a racist too.

HM: How?

JO: For example, the Parish of St George in Zomba had two services. There was one at 7.00 a.m. which Fr Jim Harris took for the whites, and the other one at 8.00 for blacks conducted by Fr Amanze. Donald had no interest in the local language, perhaps he was forced to learn just a greeting in Chichewa but he could not converse with the people in their language. During his leadership, the Church lost a lot of property he sold, such as the Chauncy Maples to the Government.

HM: What important things do you recall Arden did during his episcopate?

JO: He allowed the division of the diocese into Lake and Southern Malawi, Josiah was appointed as the bishop of the Diocese of Lake Malawi.

HM: What was the relationship between Donald Arden and Josiah Mtekaketa?

JO: If he had plans he would have developed young priests, train them in preparation for the position of Bishop, instead he kept on admitting old men into the ministry, for example, Fr Chimsan, Fr Chizito and Fr Yeppe. All that Donald looked for was loyalty more than the ability of the men. Arden never liked young priests. He had strong dislike for younger priests, that why people like Likkoleche could not take it. Fr Amanze was accepted due to the influence of Fr Jim Harris, otherwise Donald would not take Amanze.

Arden could not take advice from younger priests and in return he expected full and 100% canonical obedience and he could not accept change.

HM: In what sense would not accept change?

JO: In a sense that the times were changing and the priesthood would be entrusted to the younger people than older people.

HM: Yesterday you seem to have said something about Fr Aipa something concerning, something was it his suspension?

JO: Aipa was suspended due to immorality.

HM: What criteria did Arden use to recruit ordinands for the priesthood?

JO: Arden did not have standards for recruitment of ordinands into the ministry. He welcomed every volunteers who came in most of whom were elderly people who were useless, and job seekers and sometimes retired people wanting employment, for instance Fr Chimsanjo. One reason was that people were job seekers, they cared the less for the circumstances so long as they had income. Due to his self-centredness the Diocesan Secretary was a phantom, everybody who worked in the diocese feared the bishop.

HM: What made him to conduct himself like that?

JO: The political situation in Malawi made Arden what he was in a way because he could share the same table with President Banda and never criticised him because of the traditional Malawian loyalty to authority.

HM: Jon, I must say I am very grateful for your in put. God Bless. Thank you.

JO: It's a pleasure.

Interviewee: Mrs. Elizabeth Ngoma

Former Mothers' Union Worker

Bangwe location, Limbe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

24th July 1999

HM: Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak to you today just as you did last time when I came to see you. Unfortunately we never made any progress with the faulty tape recorder.

EN: You are welcome.

HM: Where do we begin? Ainani. what sort of a bishop was he?

EN: He was a director, able one for that matter. He was also sociable and interested in women's ministry. I remember when he invited a woman deacon from Zambia to Chilema in 1976.

EN: Ainani was a musician bishop. He liked to sing.

HM: How was Ainani elected bishop? What made people choose him, after all there were many priests?

EN: Before Arden retired, there was need to have his successor. So it was thought to elect a Suffragan bishop who could succeed him. During this time I remember, one of the very important was the age of a candidate. Th general feeling was that we needed to have an elderly man as a bishop and Ainani was a matured man.

HM: Why an elderly man than a young man?

EN: The thinking was that the elderly man would give respect to the position of bishop. He would not be childish and people would respect him for that matter. But also with an elderly man he would be a bishop for short time before he retires at the age of 65, in this way young upcoming clergymen would not have to wait for too long. For example, somebody said if this one becomes a bishop, you will have trouble with girl friends.

HM: When you say this one, who are you referring to?

EN: This referred to then Fr Aipa. There was an element of tribalism. This was with respect to Fr. Aipa.

HM: Bishop Ainani was elected Suffragan bishop, was it automatic that he had to be diocesan bishop?

EN: You know, bishop Ainani had been bishop for some time. This prepared him to be a diocesan bishop.

HM: Who competed with Ainani and how did they fare in the elections? Where were the elections held?

EN: The elections were held at Chilema in 1978. Besides Ainani and along with Fr Aipa there was also Fr Mkomawanthu.

HM: What made Ainani prevail over the others?

EN: As a person, Ainani was more prominent than the others. Not only was he a courageous man but also a good public speaker. He was not afraid to correct things when they were wrong. He was quick at doing things, an active man. Bishop Arden trusted him. I do remember that some years ago we were at Malosa one day. It was during a conference of some sort or a meeting where as a diocese we had met. During the course of the long discussions, so it happened that there was a burning issue, which affected the diocese.

The bishop, Arden, asked a volunteer to come forward who could try to lead to sort out the problem. Fr. Ainani then went forward and gave his advice. It was really something very courageous for a priest to come forward to take up such a challenge. There was Ainani! It was amazing. I say this to show that Ainani was bold and a popular priest long before he became a bishop. He was also a good at evangelism. He was popular for this. He had long been in this. He travelled in the most rural areas, such as Phalombe. So Ainani was an evangelist, while Arden was a good administrator, accountability in finances. You can see that as a priest, Ainani exposed himself widely to the people through his evangelistic meetings, and he was able to mix the people freely. In this way he built the confidence among people.

HM: May we get back to the story about Bishop Ainani volunteering to come forward to advise, what impact did that have on his career in the church?

EN: It seemed to me that time Fr. Ainani became respectable and popular amongst the others.

HM: What kind of a bishop was Ainani when he became bishop?

EN: As a bishop he was very supportive of his clergy, he used to try to be sympathetic to them.

HM: What about the election of Fr Aipa as the bishop of Southern Malawi in 1986. Did you participate in the election?

EN: Yes.

HM: When I interviewed somebody else, they told me that he had been very much promoted by personal friends especially from the other diocese in the Province of Central Africa. Is that correct?

EN: I do remember that there were bishops from the other dioceses present, for instance, Bishop Hatendi and Shaba from Zambia. You know Shaba was every close friend of Bishop Aipa. I remember Hatendi said Fr Aipa is in the Province and is well known Bishop Shaba also spoke very favourably of Fr Aipa as a good man. He gets on well with the others.

HM: How do you remember that to have influenced the votes for Aipa?

EN: For two Bishops to speak favourably for a candidate was something which could be taken lightly. Certainly their comments positively influenced the electorate thinking. I for one I thought that if this man is better known by these big people who am I to doubt the credibility of this man? Why can't we try him?

HM: Now earlier on you wanted to say something, you almost said it when you began to say at this elective Assembly at Chilema the archbishop had said something like to the Assembly, Something like if you don't want a particular candidate you must not talk bad about his family. Do you mean to say that the Archbishop forbade a free discussion on the candidate?

EN: Well, the Archbishop's advice could have been interpreted in different ways by different people. Certainly for me, I felt that anything I would have to say I better watch out since the Archbishop was listening very carefully.

HM: So was that restraining for you?

EN: Yes, certainly for me the way I reacted to his speech. But you also need to understand that they were other people who were taking advantage to talk evil of Fr Aipa. The Archbishop intended to rectify that by asserting that the electors say something that would be constructive, that which would be helpful.

HM: In your experience as you can recall, in what ways could the out going bishop Ainani could have influenced or promoted the election of Aipa? Or shall I say did Bishop Ainani promote the election of Bishop Aipa?

EN: I think so. What I do know is that the two people were quite close to each other.

HM: What qualities did people seen in Fr Aipa which they believed qualified him to be the bishop?

EN: He was a clever man who had travelled widely especially overseas. Well in spite of this there was a strong feeling that he was not mature enough. However, a general feeling was that once given the post he would grow into it. He will mature into the post. People were saying lets give him a chance, since during the last election we left him. Generally, the electors also liked him for his easily mixing with the people.

HM: I believe that as a long serving priest you might have had chance to elect a bishop at one time or the other to elect a bishop. What happens in the elective Assembly? Amed Bishop Aipa's last born son Dunstan. When Ainani was elected bishop, he appointed Fr Aipa as his Vicar General. That means Aipa was the chief advisor of the bishop. But I also think it was a diplomatic move.

By appointing him to that post, he meant to make him feel great since he had been competing with him. He did not want him to feel left out. He did not want Aipa to pose as a threat to his position or leadership. Similarly, the same scenario seemed to have been repeated when Aipa was elected bishop. It was Bishop Aipa who suggested that Fr. Malango be elected bishop for the Diocese of Central Zambia. By doing so Bishop Aipa was getting rid of a potential rival in his Diocese.

HM: Mama Ngoma I would like to thank you so much for sharing with me so of your busy time. I appreciate all what you have done for me. I hope all this will contribute to writing of a history of the Church in Malawi.

EN: You are welcome Father.

HM: Thank you, thank you so much.

Interviewee: Canon Andrew Chimsanjo

Retired priest, Mawira, Nkhotakota

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

23rd September 1999

HM: Canon Chimsanjo, I would like to express my appreciation for granting me the opportunity to see you. I am doing some research on the training of the clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican

Church in Malawi. I believe you have participated in some elections in the past. In particular, did you ever participate in the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Aipa?

AC: Yes, I did.

HM: What made him a successful candidate amongst all others?

AC: Jealousy was a big thing. People really wanted Malango to be bishop, while Khofi and the others wanted Aipa. We had four candidates besides Aipa; Kaswaya, Malango and Mpassou. Something happened about the election that I did not like. Father, you must understand that Fr Mikaya had married in Likoma, hence all the Likoma priests were behind him. In the final analysis Mikaya won.

HM: Then we all know that Fr Mikaya's election was not finally confirmed and in his place Fr Peter Nyanja was then elected bishop. What really happened?

AC: It was Fr. Hunter in collusion with Fr. Liwewe who nominated Fr Peter Nyanja. At this time Fr. Malewezi was the vicar General in the Diocese of Southern Malawi. During the process of election itself, Lunda and Nyanja tied two times before the matter was taken a mandate for appointment. Fr. Zingani and Fr. Malewezi sat down for consultation. Fr. Liwewe asked Fr. Hunter to nominate, who came up with the name of the Fr. Peter Nyanja. After the appointment of Nyanja, rumours started surfacing.

It was said that a certain group of clergy had put on pressure that none from Nkhotakota should be elected, since this group believed priests who originally come from Nkhotakota did not respect this group, while the majority of the people from Likoma and Nkhotakota supported the candidature of Lunda. I strongly suspect or yes I believe that there was a personal problem between Canon Liwewe and Fr Lunda. You must remember that at this time it was Canon Liwewe who was virtually running the diocese since bishop Josiah Mtekatoka had retired.

HM: Reflecting on your experience what do you think is the most critical problem of the electoral process?

AC: I believe that the weakness of the house is that it is only people who are supposed to elect who enter it and not the people who know the candidates. The house is full of the representatives from the rest of the Province so much that to debate freely about the candidate one has to be very courageous enough. It is not easy because you have to convince many people. Certainly, it may help to speak to some individuals before the house meets.

HM: From what you may recall what were the decisive factors that settled the election of Aipa?

AC: One factor was tribalism and acquaintanceship. At the Assembly, there was a group of people who sought to promote the agenda of people whose parents or grandparents had originally come from Mozambique. But there were also some people like Mr. Khofi Phiri who was a very close friend to the Bishop. Khofi took a very strong stand to promote Bishop Aipa.

HM: Father when were you ordained?

AC: I was made deacon on 30th October 1977 and I was priested on 22nd December 1978.

HM: How free were people in discussing the candidates for instance, Aipa?

AC: There was no negative talk about Aipa. People spoke of his warm relations with the others, his openness. People were free to speak. There was no second voting.

HM: Who were the main movers, I mean the people who were too vocal and for whom?

AC: It was Khofi. He was too influential. He spoke too strongly for Aipa to be elected. Then Fr Chizito also spoke very much in favour of Aipa. But there were also other people who opposed Aipa.

HM: Were people really free on the Elective Assembly? I mean, were they free to discuss the candidates freely?

AC: It seemed to me people supported a candidate because they had a private motive. You could notice the manner by which they spoke. Some of them were not really honest about the life of a candidate like Aipa. There were no negative things said about Aipa.

HM: Why were people not honest enough about candidates?

AC: You know being in the Elective Assembly is an experience in itself. The presence of the Archbishop and his officials, other electors from other diocese from the Province makes a threatening experience which may be inhibiting, so much so that before one could speak you had to think through twice the matter you want to raise. For an individual to make their mark, one has to convince one or two people to get a following. People argue and if you don't have anything to say, it is better to keep quite.

HM: What was the relationship between Bishop Mtekatoka and Fr. James Lunda like?

AC: I remember in the last days of Bishop Josiah before he retired. It happened at Nkhotakota when Bishop Josiah was bidding farewell to the people of Nkhotakota under fig-tree, near the Church. He said I am transferring Lunda to Ntchisi. Archdeaconry to replace Liwewe. I like Lunda because he is a reliable person. Next year I am leaving my post as a bishop. I don't know who will replace me, however, the person I trust in my Diocese is Lunda as I am retiring next year. The chiefs liked Lunda because he was interested in the relationship between Islam and Christianity. On the other hand, the people of Lilongwe did not like Mikaya because he stole money.

HM: Why did Lunda not make it for the bishopric?

AM: The other problem was that the relationship between Bishop Donald Arden and Fr. Lunda was not cordial. I will cite one example. In 1974, Lunda was Archdeacon at All Saint's Church, Nkhotakota. One Sunday after Mass, Donald Arden remarked that, "at my home in Australia we do not regulate people who come for communion with a card system as you do here. People only know it in their hearts whether they have to go to communion or not". Fr. Lunda responded by saying, "That is not according to the Anglican tradition. Upon this, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka instructed Fr James Lunda to write a letter to Bishop Arden telling him that," not using the cards was contrary to the Anglican system."

HM: What made Fr. Mikaya to be a successful candidate?

AC: Mikaya and the Likoma clergy, who were then in the majority.

Interviewee: Father Arthur Bernard Mkoweka

Dean of the Cathedral of St. Peter's Likoma island

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

26th October 1999

HM: Father I must thank you so much for accepting my request to interview you. I am very conscious of the fact that you are such a busy person. I appreciate the fact that you have allowed me to share your precious time.

AM: Well, I feel I have an obligation to assist wherever I can. Please feel free to ask me any question. I will try my best to respond to your questions in the best possible manner.

HM: What influenced you to become a priest?

AM: I was interested in Church life from the time I was as a small boy at All Saints' Church at Nkhotakota. Fr. Oswald Chisa also inspired and encouraged me in my vocation to the priesthood. It was during the transitional period when there was tension between the Africans and the whites. Church life was at its low ebb. People were being barred to go to Church sometimes threatened since some of the highly politicised elements identified the church closely with the white minority colonial regime. People who went to church were labelled "sell-outs". In spite of all the political intimidation, I would still go to church without fear. I would assist in the best was possible.

HM: What was the relationship between Fr Chisa and his priest-in-charge, Archdeacon Guy Carleton?

AM: It was tense. In the context of the transfer of the political power from the whites to the Africans, Fr Chisa was aspiring to replace his superior as Archdeacon of Nkhotakota.

One day Fr Chisa asked me to volunteer for the priesthood. He asked me to write to Bishop Frank Thome. I got a reply. He wanted to see me in person. Later he came to visit me in my home village. He told me that he had been deported by would leave my letter in the file. Then Bishop. Donald Arden succeeded Frank. He saw my letter. He replied to say that he wanted to see me in person since he had seen my letter in the ordinand's file. Donald said he would put me in the hands of Fr. Carleton since I was too young at that moment to go to the Seminary.

I was then handed over to Carleton who handed me over to Mr. Cutting at the Farmers Marketing Board for observation but also to me a chance to grow up. After one and half years, my application for training was approved. In 1963, I together with the others like John Masano, James Lunda and Mr. Chitanda and the others, 60 in all sat for the Seminary selection test. Soon after that I received a letter that I was number one.

HM: What was the relationship like between the students like between the members of staff and the students?

The relationship amongst us as students, Zambians, Zimbabweans and Malawians was quite good, however, we Malawians were looked down upon as poor. You know this was the time when Cooper was at its peak in Zambia. We were seen as poor people and therefore, spited. We were not happy at all. Even our

tutors were training us like in collusion with the other students. Similarly, while the Zimbabweans and Zambians were given the opportunity to sit for the Diploma we were not offered that opportunity. In spite of that our performance in class was always first class.

HM: How did you seek to address the situation?

AM: We were helpless, we thought we could not do anything to change our situation. I wrote a Diploma Entrance Examination for Makerere University. I had the chance to do that because Bishop Donald Arden gave me that chance by ordering books from England for my study. I got a Diploma in Theology from RSA in 1970. By this time I was at Chingale and I was studying privately. From 1st January 1963 to 31st December, 1967 I served under canon Mattiya Msekawanthu.

HM: What kind of a leader was he?

AM: He knew his job very well especially on rituals, such as saying High Mass. He was also good at Pastoral work but he was also harsh and I felt he was also not caring. On the other hand, I am grateful that he was harsh, or though priest. Through such behaviour I learnt a lot. I believe he was the best teacher in whole Diocese.

HM: Why do you think he was that harsh?

AM: I think it was in their training, more particularly their warden, Fr Maycock. He was a harsh person. He was a man not given to laughing very easily. I heard this. The attitudes were imitated by the students and in the course of time it became theirs. I was supposed to be with him for 2 years but I only served one and half years with him.

HM: What was the relationship between Bishop Josiah Mtekateka and Fr. James Lunda?

AM: The bishop really wanted James Lunda to be Bishop after him. It seemed to us James was a personal friend of the bishop.

HM: How did you notice that?

AM: James was a personal friend to me.

HM: What about the election of Fr. Mikaya?

AM: It seems the election that elected Fr. Mikaya as Bishop was correct, fair and just.

HM: How long did you train at St John's?

AM: Training took four years but after two years we wrote the deacon's exams after which one was ordained after passing.

HM: Was Fr Hunter on the staff during your time?

AM: Yes.

HM: How did he relate with the students?

AM: He was not so good with the students. As a Boarding Master he would go to the extent of going to the rubbish pit to check what remains were dumped there so as to enable him whether to cut out the meals eaten by the students. He would even visit the dining hall to spy on the students. In class he would be too stingy with marks too. We Malawians never liked him because we saw that he favoured the Zambians and Rhodesians. John Weller was a very polite man and we used to like him. Rees Philips was a very harsh person. If you wanted to talk to him you had to think carefully of how to handle him, how you would go about it.

HM: How did that affect or influence the students?

AM: I see myself having been influenced by Fr Francis who was very reverent in the celebration of the Mass.

HM: How strict or how loose was life at St John's?

AM: There regulations in the Seminary we had to be in the Seminary at 6.00 p.m. or before that St John's was situated in the centre of the city in the busy environment.

HM: What style of leadership or image of leadership did Bishop Donald Arden display? 57

AM: Donald Arden was very much an office man and pastoral figure. He was not so much spiritual or pastoral but administrative bishop. He cut out prayers in the liturgy. **HM:** How can you characterise the spirituality of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

AM: Josiah Mtekateka was much closer to Bishop Frank Thome spiritually than Bishop Donald Arden.

HM: What happened at the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Northern Malawi?

AM: The Assembly was held at Msamba Catholic Centre. The people of Likoma strongly recommended Fr Biggers name and rejected Fr. Misi's name was rejected. When we got there Fr. Misi provoked the situation, there was a big noise trying to impose his name which had never appeared in the original list of nominations in the first place. He insisted that his name appear with that of Fr. Biggers. We argued against that and I told him that if that is the case we must postpone the election, go back to the people and then ask them to consider his name. That time Fr. Misi was the Vicar general. Anyway, for the sake of peace, finally we allowed his name to be amongst the candidates as a nominee.

HM: Tell me how was the leadership of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

AM: He was a good Bishop. I recall an incident that happened one day. You know I was supposed to be at Likoma, St Peter's Cathedral for two years. However, I had been there for one and half years when one day as I was at Mattins (Morning prayers) in the Cathedral, suddenly, I felt a heavy grip of a hand on the collar of my shirt. There he was, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka. He then whispered to me follow him quickly. Outside the Cathedral he instructed me to go home quickly and start packing my belongings in preparation to go to Mlala parish to replace Fr. Augustine Chande who was in trouble with the local people there.

HM: What problems?

AM: There were allegations of immorality.

HM: I would like, if you don't mind we go back to the election in the Diocese of Northern Malawi. What made you elect white rather than an African Bishop?

AM: Biggers had been liked by the people because he had worked in Malawi as a missionary. Above all we believed that only a white Bishop with a strong financial backing would assist a young Diocese. As a white man he would be in a better position to use his influence amongst his fellow whites in Europe.

HM: I am hearing you saying that it was largely for financial purposes that you elected a white bishop?

AM: Yes but we also seriously thought that administratively he would be more capable. We trusted that he would not let us down. Electing a bishop was not a simple affair we struggled. I remember at the second ballot Archbishop Khotso saying if you fail to elect this, I will go back home and then send you the name

of a bishop of my choice. We asked Zambians as to we could attain the two-third majority. They advised that you should do it yourself. We did that and finally we made it were elected Jack Biggers. Nevertheless, before we elected we had been under pressure especially from Bishop Elijah Masuko who tried to influence us. He tried to push Fr. Henry Mikaya by producing his impressive Curriculum Vitae.

HM: I heard from the other who were in the Assembly, namely Fr Chirwa and Chifisi that during the second ballot the Archbishop and the other bishops did inadvertently give the impression that they were not in favour of a white bishop. Instead they preferred a Malawian bishop. In respect they were in favour of Fr Henry Mikaya to be bishop. Do you agree with this?

AM: Well, certainly Bishop Elijah Masuko of Zimbabwe spoke strongly for Fr Mikaya. I think the rest of the bishops stood by him otherwise he would not have been suggested that we consider electing him.

HM: How did you react to this?

AM: Look personally, I think Fr. Mikaya is a good person. He was elected in 1976 as a Coadjutor bishop. However, I think had he been elected may be other people would have seen it as a right more remembering that some years ago he was stopped from being made bishop. It is in the historic past which perhaps would have made his episcopate uncomfortable.

HM: What about Josiah Mtekateka's relationship with his priests? What was his approach?

AM: You know his education was humble as such he tended to feel somewhat uncomfortable in the presence of younger priests who had better education.

HM: Thank you a lot for allowing me to speak to you.

AM: You are welcome. I hope I have done my best to respond to your questions. Shall you need further information do not hesitate to call on me.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Bishop Jackson Biggers

Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Malawi

Bishop's Residence,

St. Peter's Cathedral, Likoma island

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

24th October 1999

HM: Thank you for granting me an audience with you, my Lord Bishop.

JB: It's a pleasure for me.

HM: You worked under Bishop Josiah Mtekatika as his Training chaplain, how was Bishop Josiah as a bishop?

JB: He was very good in assessing the character of the individuals, priests and the other authorities.

HM: How do you compare the two authorities, Bishop Arden and Bishop Josiah Mtekatika, how did they work together?

JB: Bishop Arden depended on Bishop Josiah on some difficult issues pertaining to relations between church and government officials while at the same time Josiah Mtekatika was for a long time a Suffragan bishop. Arden assisted Josiah and prepared him to be a Diocesan bishop.

HM: How did your work with him personally? Was your relationship all good or there perhaps some moments of personal friction or misunderstanding?

JB: No! No! Not all! Bishop Josiah was a lovely godly person, nice to work with. We had a good working relationship. He was to me like a god father. You know Arden was interested in dealing with material matters, involving money while Josiah was a spiritual and pastoral father. Josiah had a good sense of humour, very spiritual person. He took dreams seriously and he would try to find meanings in dreams.

HM: Why do you say that Bishop Mtekatika was a spiritual man? Can you substantiate that?

JB: I will cite one episode. We went to Chididi one Sunday to see Kapakasa ordained. Bishop Josiah was to ordain Kapakasa but then he wanted an ok from Bishop Donald Arden in the form a letter which had not yet arrived. Contrary to the local counsel of his senior priests to ordain Kapakasa, he said he wasn't going ahead. We had to embarrass everybody that there was no ordination. Fr. Maycock thought it was the word of the Holy Spirit because there something not complete about Kapakasa's training.

HM: Are you suggesting that Bishop Mtekatika was holy man?

JB: No, what am saying is that he had a tremendous gift to assess situations and guide the diocese. I respect him for his leadership. He was such a wonderful man. I valued my time with him for I learnt a lot from him.

HM: What other things did you learn from him?

JB: He was a good pastor and wise counsellor. He was a spiritual man, a man to be relied upon and many other things. He was a deeply prayerful man.

HM: How do you find your work as a diocesan bishop of the Diocese of Northern Malawi?

JB: Busy, very busy and demanding, but also stressful. I have to do all what the bishop is expected to do but also do extra things. It is not easy going at all. However, I enjoy it and I love it.

HM: Do you enjoy it living in Likoma island, staying here or staying in Mzuzu?

JB: I am here in Likoma as the headquarters of the diocese, the people here have always said they want to retain it as the headquarters. Even though it is not always easy to communicate with the outside world from here, I must respect the will and the desire of the people. Likoma is historically important and we must

respect that. It cannot in any way compare with Mzuzu.

HM: Father, I would like to thank you for your time that you shared with me.

JB: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Canon Sauli

Retired Priest, Madimba, Likoma island

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

25th October 1999

HM: Father Sauli, I would like to thank you so much for giving me an opportunity to speak to you about the life of the Church. In particular I am interested in the subject of the elections of bishops and the training of the priests in our country and in our Church. I will very much appreciate for all what you will share with me and I look forward to it. Please do not hesitate to put me on my toes if you think what I ask you is not appropriate.

HM: When were you born Canon?

CS: It was in December 1918.

HM: When were you baptised?

CS: It was on 19th January 1919.

HM: In which year did you enter St John's Seminary? CS: In 1960.

HM: How did you come to be considered a candidate?

CS: I was at that time in the Police Force in Southern Rhodesia. I was serving in the Church as a lay reader in Bulawayo. I remember there was a bishops' conference in Bulawayo. One of the concerns was the need to have a Malawian priest who could minister to the Malawians working in the mines.

HM: In which year was that?

CS: It was in 1954. This meeting selected me as a candidate for training at St John's Theological College in Lusaka, Zambia. I refused to join the others there like John Mwase, Chande and Francis Msokosera. These were the first Malawian ordinands to be admitted at the Seminary.

HM: Who was the Warden?

CS: It was Fr Rees Philips and the sub-Warden was Fr Edward Pitt. Fr Pitt was later transferred and there came Fr Francis.

HM: What was the relations like between the staff and the students?

CS: It varied. Fr Francis was the youngest member of the staff, was fond of making funnies, all the time laughing, too playful and childish but quite a good teacher. Bishop Nathaniel Aipa was associated with Fr Francis. The two would disappear every week-end for a drink. During these sprees, Nathaniel Aipa would find himself losing a push bicycle while out.

HM: But how did Fr Francis impress you as a teacher?

CS: Fr. Francis did not give himself enough time into teaching us but spent most of his time into playful things. In class he would do such things as throwing books at students and they would respond likewise. I remember one day there was too much noise in class, then the Warden came and complained. He regretted to say oh! I did not know Fr. Francis was like this. I wonder why this man was recommended to take up this post. Fr. Francis was not a serious teacher. During the noise times in the classroom, the Warden would just come in fuming on the top step of the classroom and remark: What's wrong with these young men? Nathaniel Aipa and Fr Francis were very much fond of each other and close too. However, Nathaniel also had another friend. It was Clement Shaba, the late Bishop of Zambia. Clement was highly disciplined but was very much to be a spy for the members of staff.

HM: Was this encouraged?

CS: I think so, yes that tendency was quite strong.

HM: What was the cause for that?

CS: In a community like that one, people would want to be liked by the members of staff or even the staff may use some students to obtain some information from them.

HM: What kind of a person was the Warden Philips?

CS: Fr. Philips was a good teacher but given to anger especially if you provoked him. If you happen to provoke him he would come to you and grab you by the neck with a firm grip.

HM: What effect do you believe Fr. Francis had on Nathaniel Aipa on his future career?

CS: Whatever Nathaniel was as a person, Fr Francis did spoil Nathaniel. Certainly he contributed to Nathaniel's other aspect of life.

HM: During your time what was the relationship like between students and staff? Did that affect you in any way?

CS: Between 1961-62, we were free to relate to the staff. St Johns was quite good because after I left there were women teachers and some students later had the opportunity to bring their wives to stay with them. This was the time of Fr. Weller who replaced Fr. Rees. Seemingly, Fr. Rees had a Methodist background. During my time there everything was positive. There was every day the celebration of mass while on Sundays we would go to the outstations.

HM: When were you made deacon?

CS: On 22nd January 1962 by Bishop Donald Arden here at St Peter's Cathedral, Likoma.

HM: And priest?

CS: It was on 23rd December 1963 at Christ the King, Soche. My first priest in charge was Fr. Brunt Stewart.

HM: To go back a little bit further, what was Bishop Frank Thome like?

CS: He was very devout and he was very helpful. He would assist if a person was in trouble. He was good at sorting out problems. when his subordinates failed to settle, he would do that himself more effectively. He lived like an African, sharing their life more fully. He would squat on a mat, eat rice like an African. Frank was given to listening to gossips told by people. A huge difference existed between Frank and Donald. Donald would listen to a lot of gossip in his office. His wife had also an effect on his life as a bishop. During his early years in office he was very good. But towards the end of his time more and more he listened to his wife. This seemed to affect his work as a bishop.

I remember when he came here, the wife would always make it impossible for him to talk to people because the wife would advise him not to listen to certain individuals who were reported to be liars. This did not go down well with people, hence relations between the bishop and the people were strained. However, Bishop Frank would also indulge in petty gossip. He also very much liked a rice dish. He was in the habit of grumbling, oh! a wife of a certain priest never offered hospitality to me- she did not prepare a meal of rice for me, and so on. Now, so he would say, if you cannot be kind to me a European, how about your fellow African?

HM: Now let us turn to Fr Mikaya's election as a bishop. He was elected but never confirmed. Somebody told me that it was because he was not known enough in the Diocese, since he had come from another church, more specifically, the Presbyterian Church. The reason is that he had two wives.

CS: Whoever told you about these things was wrong. His information was not accurate. HM: what went wrong with his election then?

CS: In 1975 there was a Synod Assembly of which I was the elected member. I was one of the people elected to the bishops elective Assembly, given the responsibility to elect, along with the others like, James Lund, Henry Mikaya, Augustine Chande, John Malewezi and Stanley Mandala who were also nominated by that Synod as nominees for the bishopric. I was also privileged to have been elected as secretary of the Elective Assembly. The synod occurred at the Lay Training Centre at Nkhotakota in 1975. Peter Nyanja was not in the Elective Assembly. Another member of the Elective Assembly was Mr. Bondwe.

When we got to the place of election at Msamba Catholic Centre in 1976, the first thing Bishop Donald ordered me to do was to delete the name of James Lund who was one of the nominees. I asked why? He just said I know the reason why. I and others who noticed that kept quiet. We drew a conclusion that Lunda had been left out because of his very close connection with Bishop Josiah Mtekateka. Then we were left with the four names. We started voting. During the first ballot, Hemy Mikaya's name was in the lead, Secondly came Augustine Chande's, then John Malewezi and lastly Stanley Mandala's. We did four ballots, in all those Henry Mikaya's name was in the head. It was the most difficult election.

It started at 9.30 a.m. and ended until 6.30 a.m. In the third ballot Hemy Mikaya's name came first, then followed Augustine Chande's name. After break Bishop Donald called me aside and said: " I don't want Augustine because he is too proud. He is not worthy. He told me this in the office. We entered the Assembly after lunch at 2.30 pm. He intimated to me at this stage to put John Malewezi's name as number two. I refused, then he said, " I will do it myself." When we entered we noticed that Malewezi's name was number second. At this juncture when the votes were being counted aside, here was within the hearing range.

We noticed that at each count when Mikaya's name was soundly mentioned I sensed he felt uncomfortable. I believe that I and the others noticed this. I personally felt uncomfortable. I believe he was not comfortable to hear Mikaya's name being mentioned too frequently than that of Malewezi. At the fifth ballot I managed to convince all my colleagues from the north, those from Likoma that we all stand by Mikaya's name. Fortunately for me they all agreed, and consequently they withdrew their names, Chande and Mandala, leaving Mikaya's name.

We again entered another round of the elections, again Mikaya's name was top, followed by that of Malewezi's. When we entered again at 4.00 p.m. Bishop Joseph Mabula of Zambia asked us to pray very earnestly for a successor to Bishop Mtekateka. We assembled again, then Bishop Mataka of Zambia said if we fail this time, we Zimbabweans, and Zambians will go - We will leave you. Then we did two ballots, the 7 times because Donald was not satisfied with the name. He even asked three ladies to recount the votes. Their winner of the election. Three days later Bishop Donald Arden and Bishop Josiah Mtekateka took Henry Mikaya to the president, Dr. Banda, as the successor the Bishop Josiah. It was at this stage, after, confirmation when allegations begun coming in - that Fr Mikaya was a member of the Presbyterian Church and had married in that Church and ran away.

At this stage we who had been involved in the Elective Assembly had been expected to go to Malosa and confirm the election, instead we received the summons not to go. Then another second round of elections were called. Then we realised that Frs. John Mwasi and Liwewe had advised the bishop to hold another election. This second election took place at the Baptist Church Hall in Lilongwe. We were surprised to notice that another name had been added besides that of Henry Mikaya. It was Peter Nyanja's name. In fact to go back a little bit, when we reached the Baptist Church we did not know that we were required to conduct another election, we thought, we had been called to confirm Henry's name. When we got there I was surprised to hear from Bishop Shanon of Bostwana that there was another name given that of Peter Nyanja.

Hearing this we decided to boycott the election since we were satisfied that Henry Mikaya had been duly elected. We told them we were leaving the Baptist hall- you it was in the evening; the evening before the next day when we could go for the elections. We had to leave and we told them our reasons for leaving the food there was not well prepared to the extent that we had stomachache.

We left the Baptist Church Hall to spend night with relations in the city of Lilongwe. The next day Bishop Donald Arden came to fetch each ones of us from our places. When we entered the Hall, Bishop Donald Arden told us that the election that we had conducted could not be confirmed because he had the information that Henry Mikaya was not worthy to be a bishop. I asked Donald, did you not show the President Fr. Mikaya that he had been elected bishop as a successor to Bishop Mtekateka?

HM: How did he respond?

CS: He talked to me angrily. Anyway we settled again for the next election. At the fourth ballot we were told that there was a tie. We were then informed that the Episcopal Synod will appoint a bishop at Chilema since we had failed. What happened at Chilema is something which we never believed, but I tell you it happened. Any election has to be confirmed by the bishops of the Province by signing some forms. There was a course taking place during this time at Chilema which involved people like Fr Mchinga and Fr Mndefu. This signed the forms on behalf of the Provincial bishops who were not present. The signing suggested that the election had been duly conducted and approved by the Provincial Bishops. Because of this I drafted a letter to the President (Banda) informing him what Donald Arden had done - confusing the people in the Church - favouring Peter Nyanja that the one who had been elected Henry Mikaya.

Donald Arden was called by the President who expressed his dissatisfaction the way he had handled the whole issue. He was then told (by the President) that because of his long stay and good work in Malawi he would be allowed to stay on only for the next two years, otherwise he would have been deported almost immediately. Now to show you that Peter Nyanja's election was not well supported by the government, there were no government or state officials at his consecration in Nkhotakota because of Donald's role in the election.

HM: Let us come to Bishop Josiah's election. How did he get to be elected bishop? I mean his background. Bishop Josiah had been a leader and priest in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika. He was a popular priest there as was the case here also. In 1964, he had been elected bishop of Tanzania. It all begun like this. We had a conference at Chongoni Training Centre in Dedza. St Archbishop read an order from the Archbishop of Canterbury to elect an African Bishop. There were then many priests who wanted to get elected to the post.

Donald Arden would have deceived some of these like Archdeacon Jalasi, Chipembele, Fr Choo, Jameson Mwenda, Mattiya Msekawanthu and Oswald Chisa. I nominated Josiah's name. It so happened that I was reading the church times at Chongoni when I read in the article that a Malawian priest by the name of Mtekateka had been elected 3 times and the bishop of the South-West Tanganyika. I started thinking about this. I was so excited about this. I suggested the idea to Canon Richard, the chairman of the Clergy conference that I will nominate his name. In fact I must tell you that when we were at the conference it had not been known that there would be an election. He asked for the name which he thought would be a good candidate.

I gave Fr Augustine Chande's name. When I read the church times and learnt about Josiah's name, I intimated to him about Josiah's name, he then deleted Augustine's. Then the time came for formal nominations. The chairman asked for nominations. I rose and Pleaded that even though I was the secretary

of the meeting I would like to propose the name of Josiah Mtekateka. There was a gloomy silence amongst the priests. Fr Oswald Chisa supported my nomination. After supporting my nomination the conference had no choice but eventually supported the name. Soon after this I thought it was not good to go and eat with the priests for I feared that I would be harmed.

HM: Of all the names why did you choose Josiah's name?

CS: Josiah was like able person, a good man. He liked playing with children because St John's clergy. He liked people, a quiet man but humourous too. Josiah was liked by his people in his home village but also the missionaries as well.

HM: How did he relate to the clergy? He did not like the St John's trained clergy. Rather he liked those who had been trained at St. Andrew's. He liked his St Andrews peers because he thought St John's clergy despised him. Anything reported by a St John's clergy except Mwasi did not go well with him. Josiah was a gossiper. He did not want to be criticised, opposed or argued against.

HM: What was the relationship like between St Andrews and St John's Clergy?

CS: They did not generally agree or like each other. We St Johns type we used to look down upon them as vernacular priests.

HM: How did bishops Donald and Josiah relate to the two groups?

CS: Donald tended to favour the St Johns while Josiah the St Andrews clergy.

HM: What was the human aspect of Josiah?

CS: He started very well but the last years of his episcopate were marred by some allegations, some quite unsavoury about his moral life especially with respect to the opposite sex. There are also strong suspicious of his flirting with some negative aspect of the African traditional religion.

HM: Thank you so much for all what you have shared with me this during this long period.

CS: I would like to thank you also for coming here. Thanks.

Interviewee: Canon Barnaba Chipanda

Retired priest, Mpondas, Mangochi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th November 1999

HM: Father, I am so pleased to see you today. I can't remember when I last saw you, may be ten years have lapsed. I often wondered where you were. I was not aware that you are here in Mangochi hence I was delighted to know that there was a possibility that I would see you. I am doing some studies on the formation of the clergy in our Church focussing on the election of bishops. More importantly, I seek to inquire as to the most important factors that shaped the formation of clergy and the election of bishops. I want to try to determine as what factors shaped their ministry. I am sure you must have known the first Malawian bishop, Josiah Mtekateka.

BC: Yes. I knew him.

HM: What kind of a leader was he?

BC: He was a quiet man from the time he was a priest. Because of that and knowing thought that he would be the right bishop because that time when the diocese wanted an African Bishop, that is why Bishop

Frank thought Josiah would be the right Bishop. Josiah's name was thought to be worthy. That time Josiah was the Archdeacon in Tanzania.

BC: Bishop Donald wanted Nyanja because he saw that Lunda was not well known to Donald while people wanted Lunda, because of the few people who wanted Lunda. Nyanja's name was more popular when he seemed to have been more understanding.

HM: During Frank's time there was a system of priest in church and assistant working together. Donald thought to abolish that because he was that there was no good relationship set. People in Church and in many occasion there would be mainly believe that people in church and his assistant, relatives were so good. Assistant being replaced, So Donald achieved that an assistant will be given the area which later on would be created as a parish.

BC: The people in Church used to think that a new priest would be better loved and competition would ensue.

HM: In 1960, I went to stay with Fr Lunda. We knew his mark. When you went to Fr Lunda you would learn a lot other to be popular than him. I also knew other people but he did not want other priest name to be popular. He also wanted his assistant to know more things. The goodness that the old stock of priests knew their work thoroughly. Canon Mbiza knew his job, but he also liked his drink, he used to drink. Had Rashid lived in this time, he would have recommended that Aipa be made bishop. Fr. Rashid used to like women, so too late Bishop Aipa. When together they used to allocate themselves women. They knew each other very well. This is why Bishop Aipa became worse.

They were very good friends because of these things. It could happen that the two would talk about each other as friends. Fr. Rashid would refer to Fr. Aipa as a son. What I want to stress is that the time that Fr. Aipa spent at Matope as an Assistant priest was the most crucial with respect to the future ministry of Fr. Aipa. It was during this period when Fr Aipa as a priest learnt a lot. You must understand that Fr. Rashid was a very popular priest, dynamic, who could draw people to him and his loyalty.

HM: Why was he so popular?

BC: Well, Fr Rashid's popularity sprang from his manner in which he sang the mass, his lovely singing voice, mannerisms, and charm, and charisma.

HM: Did you attend the elective Assembly that elected Bishop Ainani?

BC: Yes.

HM: What made Fr. Ainani successful?

BC: Bishop Arden and Canon Parslow were on the side of Ainani. People recommended Ainani because he was very courageous in speaking the truth amongst the peoples. Earlier on he had indicated that he did not want to forward his name but nevertheless, people still elected him.

HM: What relationship existed between Ainani and Arden?

BC: Ainani was not close to Arden because Arden knew administration while Ainani knew the work and he could not be cross for a very long time.

HM: What similarities existed between Aipa and Arden?

BC: I cannot say anything because Arden was a white man, he had money while Aipa didn't have money.

HM: I would like to thank you so much for making yourself available for this interview.

BC: You are welcome, Father.

Interviewee: Father Frank A.P. Mkomawanthu

Priest-in-charge, St Andrews' Church, Mangochi

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th November 1999

FM: When I was young and growing up at Malindi mission I used to see Canon Lundu as a very angry man. He seemed to have been a tough man. Fr Chipanda learnt a lot from him.

HM: What was the relationship like between Donald Arden and the African clergy? 60

FM: Not by design or to blame Arden, he was a fiddle and thread. Why I am I saying this? During the time of Donald Arden the African clergy were hampered by their low educational background. These clergy had the basic primary education and not secondary, perhaps just one or two could have G.C.E. Therefore there was a huge social and intellectual gap between the two, Arden and the African clergy. You can imagine this scenario. The thinking was with Arden and the vision was with Arden, while some of us who could think and visualise with Arden met with opposition.

For instance, we could not meaningfully do the budget because the priests could not divulge their stipends (salaries), how much they were earning. This was the period between 1975 and 1980. There was no base upon which we could hold meaningful discussions. When we began to discuss in the meetings, our African clergy would say oh no leave this issue or that we will look to its resolution, and so our efforts were hampered.

HM: From what you say so it seems you were quite involved in the affairs of the Diocese.

FM: Yes, I was in most of the committees of the Diocese of South em Malawi, like D.S.C. and the elective Assembly.

HM: Were you involved in the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Aipa?

FM: Yes.

HM: In that Assembly or any others that you might have attended what weaknesses or problems existed which could not be in the interest of a fair and open manner of election?

FM: I will say something about the election that chose Nat. (Bishop Aipa). This election was quite unique especially for the considerable presence of some bishops and laity who had known Nat. I think from his years as a student at St John's Seminary or his involvement in the affairs of the Province. The people he had made friends with came from the other Diocese of the Province.

FM: The only problem was that they looked at Arden as Ambuye (Lord), their relationship was that of boss-servant. Nonetheless, during the very first years of Arden, he was a very relaxed person who was objective and very much himself. Later on he changed and began to settle in Malawian ways, Malawian manner of behaving, started to listen to too much gossip and he was spoiled for he became a victim of cliques of gossipers.

HM: And how was Ainani as a bishop? What was his style of episcopate?

FM: Like Arden, Ainani also tried to be development conscious. Ainani might have tried to be a bishop of his own. He too wanted to be friendly but there were occasions when he showed his real character. From what I gathered he had a strong hand, dictatorial in tendencies just like Donald Arden. He used to push his ideas, for example, the move of old Mpondas mission from the old place to the new place. The move had to be done in spite of the people's refusal.

He had a tendency of destroying things which existed. Nat. was a bishop in his own category, liturgically he was closer to Bishop Frank Thome. He was highly deep-rooted in high Anglicanism of the old era with an appetite for the old liturgy and services with which the younger generation of priests were struggling with, such as Good Friday, and Maundy Thursday.

HM: I can only say that growing a Malindi with priests like Canon Paul Lundu, and Chipembere, whose part of their training was partly done in East Africa who were high Anglicans. The Seminary had developed in them a life of a priest which made you look at them as some sort semi-golds. During this time Nat. and I were small boys serving at the altar. This was the most important period of our life. If you went to Malosa too you would be involved in serving at the altar. At Malosa one fell under the influence of Father Pocklington. He had a lot of influence on us as students. Pocklington had grown up as a monk. When he became a priest he still had that life in him. Fr Pocklington had a persuasive manner in which he would dissuade you from pursuing another profession other than the priesthood. He would speak very favourably about the life of a parish priest as compared to the other professions. In this way he would influence you in the direction of the priesthood. In those days life at Malosa School was almost seminarian in ethos. We had a round of prayers, punctuated with Angelus prayers at the designated hours.

HM: What was the working relationship like between Donald Arden and his clergy?

FM: As I said earlier on, Donald Arden led the way for all to follow. On the other hand, Donald Arden and his priests were thinking on different and divergent levels. He would put issues forward for discussion but eventually would do things no other way except the way he himself wanted them done.

HM: How was Bishop Aipa?

FM: Bishop Nat. did not really show his true colours. He would be cross at one moment then laugh at the next minute. He was childish in terms of his administration, he let things loose. Nat. also never took advice seriously, he would leave things in suspense. He was easy going, not really conscious of his position as a bishop. He looked at his position merely as a profession. I did not see him as a man could make a stick falling upon you as a bishop.

HM: Canon I thank you so much.

FM: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Canon Aidan Misi

Priest-in-Charge, St. Thomas Church, Area 18, Lilongwe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

12th January 2000

HM: Father I would like to express my appreciation for your kindness to accept my request to interview you. By the way, I have looked forward to this opportunity for a long time, in fact ever since I came across your name during the time I was reading in the archives at Malosa.

HM: When did you go to St John's College?

AM: It was on 28 January, in 1966

HM: Who else was with you at the college?

AM: I was the only Malawian, but later I was joined by the others, like James Lunda, John Masano and Authur Mkoweka.

HM: Who was the Warden in your time?

AM: I found Revd Rodney Hunter as the Sub-warden and Rev. John Weller as a the Warden and Fr Francis was the tutor. Mrs. Weller was the helper. In our third year came Fr Peter Hatendi.

HM: What was your relationship like with the members of staff? Could you mix with them freely?

AM: Mixing and socialising with teachers was really not effective, not much. Fr Francis used to do that with Fr Hatendi at least but not with Weller and Hunter.

HM: And how was the relationship amongst the students?

AM: We were divided. While Malawian and Zambian students were quite close, Zimbabweans were alone, they did not closely associate with the rest of us.

HM: From my reading in the Archives at Malosa, I came across correspondence which show that there was almost always conflict in the college amongst students. Am I right?

AM: When problems arose, the members of staff used to favour the Zimbabweans students against Malawian students.

HM: Why? What problems in particular?

AM: I remember there was a hot food issue that involved us students and Fr Hunter. He used to come to the Dining Hall to eat with us. He was also responsible for buying kitchen food. Fr Hunter was always in the habit of buying bonny meat with scarcely on steak on it. It was in this situation that the students would complain a lot. One day, Arthur Mkwesha and I collected the bones and put it on the door step of the warden's office. Sometimes the nsima (stiff Porridge) was not properly prepared. When we lodged a complaint the staff would not take heed of it. Fr Hunter would always insist that our complaints were not genuine, the food was okay. Sometimes food items would miss in the kitchen and Malawian students would be blamed for that. It was normally the Zimbabwean informers amongst the Zimbabweans. All the three years that I started there I was always suspended for telling the truth except for two weeks. In my third year things were so bad. That I finished I can only attribute that to God and the fact that I am a priest today.

This is what happened in my third year. One day the warden had written to all of us final years that we had been suspended and we were told to report at his office at 2 p.m. We all agreed to be there at 2 p.m. We all entered his office at the same time. The warden asked why we had all come at the same time. We told him that we had received the letter to come at that hour. At that moment he told us to leave his office, but we all refused. We refused to leave his office until we were told what was calling us for. This issue became hot so much so that the Board of Governors was called in to intervene. In the end the Board ruled that we could not be dismissed. We all finished our training. I was ordained that same year by Bishop Josiah Mtekatika.

HM: In my research at Malosa, I read that you yourself at one time, it must have been in 1969, You protested at the decision of the episcopal synod which ruled that students could only be ordained after their completion of their studies. Is that true?

AM: No we all protested at the decision of the synod. We all complained and argued against it.

HM: I heard that after that you were then suspended.

AM: No the suspension was meant for all of us and not me alone. The Board of Governors cautioned the teachers that none of us had to be expelled. They went further to ask that if you expel the students, even before they leave you yourselves will have to go because among these are future bishops, archdeacons. Bishop Elijah Masuko and I fought for everyone, and we all stayed at St John's.

HM: What were the successes of the college?

AM: Yes, successes were there, though there was no unity but persevering each other. Elijah Masuko and I were responsible for sanitation and gardening in the seminary. We used to feed St John's were hardworking people. In spite of that Fr. Hunter was saying he was also living the African way of life. The problem is that if you are a foreigner- you have to impose your culture on others, this was his problem.

HM: Was there much socialising and mixing in the College?

AM: Weller didn't mix much with the other members of staff.

HM: What were the main problems that you faced at St John's College?

AM: There was mistrust and suspicions amongst us because others including Fr Hunter. As a Boarding Master, Fr Hunter used to buy us very unworthy and indeed useless food not even really good for our health. When he came to the dining room, he would even try to monitor things and so there was that rebellious spirit amongst us. We believed that he used to use the Dining Room, he found that students had gone out to drink.

HM: Father, when I interviewed Fr Hunter a few years ago about his time at St John's, I remember him remarking that it was a waste of time! Do you think or remember it was such? why should he have described it as such?

AM: He had the picture that Africans were nothing, he had no respect for us as African students. He was too strict over anything. Fr Hunter was himself not a helpful person, he wanted to impose his culture on us. Himself and other members of staff did not like Malawians, because we came from a poor country. In our time we fought hard against oppressive tendencies and attitudes. We tried hard, yes we fought hard.

Because of our efforts, certificates were introduced to the graduating students. We forced the staff to do that and they yielded.

HM: During my reading at Malosa archive, one of the things I came to know about you was your sense of independent thinking and mind but also a fighting spirit.

AM: Yes, even ever since I have been a priest, I have been fighting for the good of my church. When we had just joined the ministry there was a lot we had to do to correct things. We had to fight against the attitudes amongst the old priests that we, St John's trained clergy we did not know anything and so we could not take up leading positions. One priest in particular was feared, Canon Msekawanthu. I fought hard to convince such kind of people that we were also deserving people.

HM: To what extent did barriers exist between the St John's and the old priests?

AM: It was a serious situation to such an extent that a workshop had to be organised at Chilema designed to break down barriers amongst us. Since that workshop barriers started fading. In Nkhotakota, I confronted Canon Mseka about the need to share positions in the church. I reasoned with him that it was necessary for us young ones to learn exercising authority in these positions so that by the time you old guys retire we would be in a position to proceed from where you left. He asked me do you want these positions? I said yes. As a result of this a way was paved for the first St. John's trained clergyman, James Lunda to become the archdeacon.

HM: What were the main trade characteristics of the old trained, clergy from Makulawe.

AM: Very devout men, saying their prayers, mattins, celebrating mass everyday. There were very conversant in the church traditions. They were very strict with these. However, I believe most of these guys did not entirely understand these traditions. Their religion was too much centres on these. These guys used to quote or refer to old European priests. Some of these priests were just too hard working. Like Canon Mbiza used to make rounds walking long distances, walking for miles and he served for 38 years.

HM: What happened at the 1976 Elective Assembly which elected Fr Mikaya who was subsequently not confirmed? What went wrong?

AM: You know, it is the panel who are responsible for scrutinising nominations who sometimes manipulates the process. People nominate certain candidates. It is their decision and their decision and their right, however, by the time the panel sits down, the whole thing starts changing. During the 1976 Election the name was James Lunda and not Mikaya's. He was a man who was very popular, who mixed

with people very well, a friendly man. He came from Nkhotakota, the most important district apart from Likoma. The people, Anglicans, of Nkhotakota were spread out in hand, Fr Mikaya was not really known. He had come from a different church background, a Presbyterian in spite of the fact that his wife came from Likoma and was related to Bishop Josiah Mtekatika.

You know one of the weaknesses of our church in recent times is that the manner of choosing ordination candidates has not been satisfactory. There has been a lot of carelessness and lack of seriousness about the screening process. Mikaya was one of the people who happened to have gone through the weak system unscathed. He was never really known enough. How he became an ordinand was mystery. At the time of his election not many people knew him and yet finally he was elected. Later on allegations about his marriage began to surface. It was known then that his current wife was not his original wife. The serious problem or weaknesses in our procedures is that people don't have enough time to know their candidates well enough. Secondly, the people who do the short-listing sometimes leave Elective

Assembly, say about 4 people to scrutinising during the 1996. There was a lot of pressure from the people from Likoma. Election happened three times. I was Vicar General. Had failed that time there would have been appointment. One of the major problems is that in the panel of the Elective Assembly we focus on the place where the bishop comes from.

Interviewee: Canon George Mchakama

Retired priest, Malosa

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

24th February 2000

HM: Father Mchakama, at last I am so delighted to see you. I have been looking for you high and low. When I began this project you were one of the first people I thought about. I have been trying to locate you. I saw your son, James in Blantyre who actually told me that you are now in Liwonde. When I heard that I was filled with hope for I said now I will be able to tap the wisdom of the ages that rest in the big man. Father, oh its so nice to see you after such a long time. My subject is the training of the Malawian priests and the election of the Malawian bishops an area which I know you have experience of. GM: Yes.

HM: To begin with the election of the Malawian priests. Let us start from the basis, how does it go, I mean the processes?

GM: When a vacancy occurs, the Vicar General, who holds the seat after the bishop has retired or resigned he calls for nominations of the possible candidates from the parishes. The names go to the Elective Assembly. If the nominated member is present he is told to leave the Assembly. The master of ceremonies present the nominated names. Then he tells the electors to start debating on the names. Where did you know this person? How do you know him? Then discussion also centre on his family life and his educational background. We also discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the people.

HM: How free were the electors to discuss him?

GM: It does matter because the human element rather the religious matter take an upper hand. He was one of the people with low education but because people elected him because he was there were others who were free and others were not. When one wants a position who do not have the spirit to help or serve others for God's sake as Africans. Because even in Government or companies we don't elect a person because we want services-like old Apostles that is why our image that is why the elections of bishops are not for service but to honour certain individuals so that they are respected. If we see the bishop he is a protector, servant, encourager who strengthens others in their spiritual life. He is a Father among priest, also among laity, the way I see. As I said we Africans take positions so that we are honoured.

HM: What expectations did people have during the elections that elected Bishop Ainani?

GM: Yes many people expected to be elected I can't remember all, except late Bishop Aipa, Fr Mkoamwanthu.

HM: Was Kaswaya there?

GM: I think so, or yes late Fr Malewezi this why other people commit themselves to worshipping the evil spirits because they want positions. After all Ainani was elected. Another time someone asked me if he could be elected he could then give me a higher post. Yes he asked if he could be a bishop, he said you please must elect me. I told him not with me even if I am in the Elective Assembly it must be the work of the Holy Spirit and not a person, I told him. This is why people become bishops because they want to rule. So when Bishop Ainani became bishop, people were very happy.

HM: What sort of a bishop was Bishop Ainani?

GM: What I saw about Bishop Ainani was that he was a courageous man who could rebuke when things were wrong. He would not delay in counselling a priest who was in the wrong. He would do it in a very fatherly manner call a priest or lay person aside and he tried to put himself in the shoes of the errant priest and then try to make the other person see the point. He was quick to help priests.

HM: Why was he like that?

GM: Mkomawanthu, Aipa, Malewezi dropped down while Kishindo told Malewezi that he was old he could not be a bishop. Arden trusted Ainani for his musical gifts.

HM: In 1986, Bishop Aipa was elected bishop. What qualities impressed people to elect him? 1. However, despite this

GM: He had a strong pastoral gift, a lot of influence amongst the people.

HM: Why had Aipa not succeeded to be elected bishop in the election which elected Ainani?

GM: Bishop Aipa was a childish person. **HM:** But why was he still elected?

GM: People thought that if he became bishop, he would not remain the same, he would change on the job.

HM: What do you think is the major weakness of the electoral system?

GM: One crucial weakness is that even top officials such as bishops or the archbishop seem to have a person in mind as to who can be a bishop even before elections are conducted. So it is not entirely left to God's will.

HM: How does that affect the election of the bishop?

GM: Sometimes one has a feeling in the Elective Assembly that certain people have been influenced before hand to speak strongly for a certain individual others speak the truth and are not swayed by the influence of the Archbishop or others. Even though I have not heard but those things happen- I am sure even in all these cases but as a result if things happen like that the end of such episcopate is terrible, it ends in a disaster. That is what happened in the Bible. God said, I did not elect Saul. If one was elected in the flesh, his episcopate will always end up in a disaster.

HM: What other problem have you experienced?

GM: Tribalism. People recommend an individual as a right man because he happens to belong to their tribe. To me we Africans have a problem. Europeans will elect a person because he is educationally qualified not a calling.

GM: Fr. Rees Philipps was a very strong and reliable teacher.

HM: How reliable was he as a teacher?

GM: The way he was teaching, training future priests. The way he formed us. He used to formal us well as priests, not in the African nor European ways especially. He could alert us about weaknesses of priests, such as keeping of time. For instance, he would teach us to ring the Angelus bell exactly at 6.00 a.m. not even half a minute. They were self-centred, they went there to rule, to learn to rule, just as I said about their priesthood.

HM: If you say that those two people were many who went there to rule, does this not imply that the system which they went through as recruits was wrong. Is it not the fact?

GM: Yes. Other people became priests or bishops because they followed family tradition-following a relative who might have been a priest.

HM: Would you agree with me if I say that certain behaviour or attitudes of some members of staff such as Rees Philipps, Weller or Francis had an effect to mould some of the present day leadership? Look for instance, you know a quiet saintly perhaps, like Fr Weller influencing Peter Nyanja (Bishop) or perhaps Bishop Aipa having been influenced by Fr Francis who was reputed to have been childish.

GM: Yes, what I would like to say is that each individual student had his own identity, but it could be possible that certain priests came to copy or imitate behaviour or attitudes of the teachers. That might as well be possible. Weller left but in a way that you never became harsh but humble to put you down while Rees was authoritarian, given to anger. John Weller was a quiet man and humble man.

HM: Would you agree with me if I say that training at St. John's substantially influenced the formation of priesthood, but fundamentally it was the recruitment processes which were at fault? Now why I say this is that there is archival evidence at the headquarters the Diocese of Southern Malawi at Malosa, for instance, that some of the ordinands had their forms half filled or not fully completed. I cite here for example, late Fr

Likoleche who was related to Bishop Mtekateka, I think he was a nephew or in the case of late Fr. Alford Zimba, a son in-law of the late Bishop Mtekateka.

GM: Yes, just as I said in connection with the election of bishops there are some people who come into the ministry because they want to be respected or for other reasons. I am not surprised at that look I knew Alford. He was not an exemplary priest he gave Donald Arden very tough time. He used to be a bad example of a priest.

HM: Certainly you have lived or might have worked under the old U.M.C.A, St Andrew's College trained clergy. What were their strengths or weaknesses?

GM: Fr. Edward Maycock was an angry man, abrasive and authoritative like Rees Philips. He was very strict at the celebration of the mass. Serving at the altar you would be in trouble if you missed to turn to the right page at the right time for him during celebration. Fr Cedric Frank was very pompous. He used to boast of his degree and he used to despise others because of his degree. I heard he used to say at home in England you would not step on the grass if you possessed a degree.

HM: Father Mchakama thank you so much for this time that you have shared with me. I really appreciate this.

Interviewee: Mrs. Alice Chilinkhwambe

Former Mothers' Union Worker, Diocese of Southern Malawi (57)

Limbe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

13th March 2000

HM: Mrs. Chilinkhwambe, I am happy that at least after a long time trying to see you I have finally succeeded. I am very grateful for this. It is almost a dream come true. I also thank Fr. Chisale for escorting me here, otherwise it would have been more difficult.

AC: I am also happy to see you Father. It was a long time ago since I last saw you. How is your family, your wife and children?

HM: Thank you, there are fine. My research subject is the missionary training of the African clergy. Perhaps, let me begin by asking you about Bishop Frank Thorne who could have confirmed you.

AC: Yes he confirmed me.

HM: What sort of person was he?

AC: When we were young growing up he saw him as a godly man. At confirmation, one would really feel that a certain power of God was upon you. He had that holy power with him.

HM: Why was it like that?

AC: His personality was such that. It came from within, that divine sense.

HM: What about Bishop Donald Arden?

AC: At the beginning I remember I did not have the same feeling I had with Thorne. When I saw Donald Arden, he came across as a very authoritarian man and not so much as a holy man. He just appeared as an ordinary man not associated with any holy mystique as was the case with Thorne. Whole Donald Arden was like a manager, very close to his wife who fitted in the role of a manager. Arden was too authoritarian as a leader.

HM: How did that influence his predecessors like Bishop Aipa?

AC: Arden played a great influence in the life of Aipa. One could see Arden's authoritarianism later on in Aipa. As a Bishop. Aipa was too fond of gossip just like Arden. This tendency on Aipa used to be disturbing. In cases when priests quarreled, Bishop Aipa would find it difficult to reconcile them because he too much relied on gossip like Donald Arden. This sort of things used to encourage hatred, disunity, dissensions in the diocese. This trend that had begun with Arden continued through Ainani's time until Aipa's period.

But Ainani was very clever, he could not show hatred openly. For instance, I remember when Colorado visitors came in 1979 we received them, I received them in Blantyre. By then Bishop Ainani was a suffragan Bishop at Chichiri. Bishop Ainani was very pleased but what happened after that visit. When the visitors left for America, they requested that one lady, belonging to Mother's Union to go to America for the MU General meeting. It had been said that two ladies were required to go. However, at the meeting at Malosa, somehow a decision was made that only one must go. Then this woman left for USA. Frs. Kaswaya, Njakare and their wives were supposed to go but never went. We realised there was a problem. There had been some backbiting.

Ainani did not show on his face that something had been taking place. He did not display any spirit of hatred. Unlike Bishop Aipa who would tell you in your face, he would show you that he hated you. You would see Ainani putting on a good face as that he was doing a good job. There was a time even when the Archbishop Khotso Makhulu came, Bishop Ainani did not even seem to acknowledge his presence.

HM: What happened at the election of bishop Ainani? What was the crucial factor in the election of Bishop Ainani? Or shall I say what do you remember to have been the influential factor?

AC: The election of Bishop Ainani was imposed by Donald Arden just like the election of Aipa. For me Donald Arden had the tactic of divide and rule. He was well aware that if he took an educated man to succeed him as a bishop, he knew that by placing a poorly educated person, he would fail to run the diocese well, which would then give him the chance to return later in the event of some problems. Bishop Arden was a real colonial type of a bishop. He wanted to rule all the time. He imposed Dunstan Ainani as a bishop expecting he would fail. Although Ainani was a bishop, he was a convert from the other sects. Church Law forbids a person coming from the other sects to hold position of archbishop in the Church.

HM: What image or style of a bishop did Ainani project?

AC: He could not distinguish the life of a soldier to that of a bishop. He was too commandeering. He used to give commands. I remember one incident. He forced Fr. Kaswaya from a house in Ndirande to a ware house.

HM: What factor or factors were influential in the election of Ainani as a bishop?

AC: The bishop's influence was tremendous. There were also the priests who came from outside the country as well. Those from Lake Malawi were told to elect Ainani.

HM: What image or style of a bishop did Frank Thorne projects?

AC: He was a very good man who tried to be very close to the people. Nevertheless, his officers, such as Billy Towers were incompetent people.

HM: What factors influenced the election of Aipa?

AC: It was the same thing as Ainani, Aipa was imposed on the people. Before election, Arden influenced the people. However, Aipa was also well known man especially for his pastoral gifts. But later on he was misled by the others. As a priest he had created himself a reputation for hospital visits. He was popular amongst common people. However, people did not see the other side of his character- drinking. Before he was elected and particularly after he was elected as a bishop stories started surfacing that witchcraft had been involved in influencing his election.

A word went around that he had been using his churchwarden at Soche Parish. He was a man who was feared and scared of. There was also an important factor. In spite of some of the negative things said about him there was a general feeling that once given the job he would turn out to be a very good bishop. Being a bishop would somehow change him for the better. I myself said it that if he can be a bishop, he can be better.

HM: What made you think that the position would transform him?

AC: The position of a bishop is a godly one which would somehow make him feel that he was now a different man who had to behave accordingly.

HM: How widespread or common was this sentiment shared amongst the electors?

AC: This was a generally held opinion. A large number of people thought along side those lines. However, I for one did regret afterwards in prayer when I realised that Bishop Aipa was not meeting our expectations I had for him. The Church had also been spoiled because of gossip. I remember at the elective Assembly which elected Aipa. Many people believed Fr. Kaswaya was the best candidate to become a bishop and

people had been really thinking that he was the right candidate but I cautioned the people that Kaswaya is still young they will harm him. Fr. George Ndomondo withdrew his name.

HM: Who do you remember to have had a lasting influence on Aipa?

AC: Partly it was the influence of Arden and partly Ainani.

HM: How free were you electors in the Elective Assembly?

AC: During the first election that elected Ainani I was very free. I deliberated freely. Nonetheless, what I realised was bad later on was that I realised afterwards that there had been some informers in that Assembly who had been spying on others. These were in the habit of going out to tell the nominated candidates outside what was going on in the Elective Assembly. In this case it was Fr Ainani. I realised afterwards he had a grudge against me which arose from the Assembly. However, according to his character, he was not in a position to openly show it. Now, because of this first experience, when it came to the elective Assembly of 1986 which elected Aipa, I was more cautious of what to say and not what to say. So myself and some others who shared that bad experience felt intimidated, we could not speak freely

HM: How did you deal with this problem?

AC: There was nothing I could do except to learn that when one is in the Elective Assembly somehow information filter out.

HM: I must thank you so much for allowing me to talk to you on such a delicate matter. I am really grateful, thank you.

AC: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Agnes Mkoko

Mothers' Union Worker, Malosa, Zomba

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

5th June 2000

HM: Thank you for granting me the opportunity to talk to you today.

AM: It is a pleasure, Father.

HM: Did you ever have the opportunity to be one of the electors of a bishop in the diocese.?

AM: Yes.

HM: Who amongst the bishops that have been serving in the diocese?

AM: The election in 1986 that finally elected Bishop Aipa.

HM: Apart from you who others were members of the elective assembly?

AM: There was Archbishop Khotso Makhulu, the Registrar and from this diocese I can remember Fr. Mchakama, Fr. Kaswaya, Mr. Medi and Mrs Medi.

HM: As you can recall what was the atmosphere like? Or shall I be more specific, were people very free to discuss the candidates, I mean were their frank and open discussions?

AM: Yes, somehow yes, people were quite free. They were able to talk, though there was also a spirit of holding. Somehow one felt there was some sort of restraint.

HM: On what specific issues?

AM: In discussing personalities, the candidates whether they were suitable, there was a feeling, I certainly felt that if one said any negative things about a candidate may be in the aftermath of the election such things could be used against you. There was a feeling being victimised once the election was over. I can only recall of my own personal experience. For example, when we came to discuss personal life of Bishop Aipa, Mr. Medi remarked that Fr. Aipa was fond of visiting wrong places, bars. The archbishop, Khotso Makhulu, asked: "Where do you want your priest found? Would you not want him to be found in a shebeen? The Registrar asked, "Did you really see him in the wrong place?"

HM: How did Mr. Medi respond to the situation?

AM: He seemed to have been put on the spotlight, cornered. He felt embarrassed and uncomfortable by the confrontation.

HM: How did you know that he felt uncomfortable?

AM: By his look on the face and emotions, you could see it was all over him.

HM: What other issues were discussed about the candidate?

AM: Family life about the candidates. It was asked about whether his family life was exemplary then somebody whom I cannot remember responded in the positive.

HM: Did they also discuss family life of the other candidates?

AM: Yes.

HM: What did they say?

AM: Nothing really negative.

HM: To return to the issue of the shebeen, what bearing did the archbishop and the registrar' response have on the general atmosphere of the deliberations in the Elective Assembly?

AM: It seemed the archbishop was backing the life style of that particular candidate. There was a feeling among the people that it was useless to raise objections to his election since he had powerful supporters.

HM: What did they say about the other candidates?

AM: For Fr. Kaswaya not much was said. Even though there was some discussions on him, there was a general feeling that he was too young to be a bishop, a much older person was needed. Besides, I remember, at one time, he himself seemed to have almost withdrawn. Somehow, he seemed no longer keen. I remember him standing up at a later stage saying something like- Fr. Aipa has taught me to be a priest and is more experienced than me.

HM: What other factors can you recall which might have influenced the election in favour of Bishop Aipa?

AM: To be frank with you, it seemed Aipa had the most support even though we know for sure that there were others also who really wanted Fr Kaswaya. There were also personal friends who played an important role in the elections.

HM: Who were these friends and what did they do?

AM: There was Mr. Khofi and Mr. Stak Banda. Mr Khofi was very influential, very vocal and out-speaking in support of Aipa.

HM: In what ways? How?

AM: He spoke very well of Fr. Aipa. He tried his best to convince the people that Aipa was the best candidate.

HM: Can you tell me how did the process towards the election proceed? May be I should have began in that way. We have come quite a long way, when we should have began with the first step. Where did it begin and how?

AM: Short-listing of names was done at Chilema Training Centre at Malosa, Zomba. Fr. John Parslow led the proceedings. He was the Vicar General at the time. The candidates were Frs. Mchakama, Mkomawanthu, Ndomondo, Kaswaya, Aipa and Malango. We short-listed to two names, Aipa and Kaswaya.

HM: Then what followed?

AM: The next stage was the Elective Assembly at St. Paul's Cathedral in Blantyre.

HM: Oh, yes we are back where we started from when we were discussing the candidates.

AM: Yes, I was actually saying that besides the archbishop and the registrar there were also others who spoke strongly for Aipa, like Mr Khofi.

HM: Yes, you mentioned about Mr. Banda. What was his influence?

AM: Mr Banda supported Fr. Aipa strongly. I remember when somebody else raised an objection against Aipa on his personal moral life, Mr. Banda said, "kunyenga sivuto" meaning "proposing women is not a problem." It really appeared as if some of the members had come to the Assembly well knowing that they were going to elect Fr Aipa. I could not understand because not much chance was given to discuss the others as well. It seemed they had made up their minds even before they had sat in the Assembly.

HM: Why do you think such could have happened?

AM: Because of the comments, listening to their arguments they seemed to be supporting each other's arguments strongly. Similarly when others stressed the weaknesses of the candidates, the officials quickly responded saying who has no weaknesses? It was strongly suggested that he had to be given his chance this time after not making it in the last Elections and that whatever weaknesses he might have had he would grow out of them once he became a bishop.

HM: Thank you so much Mrs. Mkoko for your time with me allowing me to get into your life. I am very grateful indeed.

AM: I hope I have been of use to you, and that this may be helpful to you. You are welcome anytime you want to come back to me.

HM: Thanks.

Interviewee: Mr. Frank Nicholas Kazembe

Chigumula, Limbe

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

27th June 2000

Born, 23rd September 1922, educated at Malindi Primary School, then at Blantyre Secondary School, trained as a teacher at St Micheal's College. Subsequently, Mr Kazembe became a teacher and inspector of schools and then upgraded to the inspector of teachers' training colleges. In the 70's he was sent to work in the Embassy in York and Washington DC as a secretary. He came back to Malawi and worked in the office of the President and cabinet as senior administrative officer. He retired in 1975. After that he worked as a Provincial coordinator (i.e executive officer), resigned and joined ESCOM as a commission secretary. Subsequently, he worked for COGEFA, an external organisation as a Personnel Manager for three years.

HM: What was the difference between the style of Bishop Frank Thome and Bishop Donald Arden?

FK: Frank was very pastoral in style, while Donald Arden was absolutely pious.

HM: How could his piety be noticeable?

FK: He was so devoted to. Anyway I can only say he was very pious. In him you could see a man of God. Bishop Arden was a very good administrator and wanted to expand the Church. It is because of what that there are a number of Churches are springing up today. On the other hand, Bishop Thorne loves to stay with the people in the villages. He was able to mix freely with the people. He spoke the language of the people while Donald Arden was shy. Both were approachable. However, with Frank you could easily recognise that he was a pious man when you were talking to him. With Arden you would say almost anything to him. What made Frank unpopular was that during the fight for national independence he seemed to have agreed with the allegation that there was a murder plot against the whites.

HM: Why was Mtekatika elected the first indigenous bishop of Malawi? What made him qualify for the post?

FK: Amongst the other factors, he was a great pastor. There was also the Likoma influence- that was why he was chosen bishop. There was a strong Likoma feeling, a need for a bishop from Likoma. He had worked in Malawi previously but then worked in Tanzania for a long time. In both these places his reputation was good. Nevertheless, his election was strongly determined by the fact that he came from Likoma. This played a very important role in him being accepted by the people.

HM: What was the relationship like between bishop Arden and Mtekateka?

FK: Very good, they were getting on very well. We did not hear of any quarrels between them.

HM: In 1977 Fr Henry Mikaya was elected coadjutor Bishop but was never consecrated, what went wrong?

FK: I was never at the Elective Assembly but what I understood was that his behaviour was not good. There was also a tribal factor. In many ways he was not liked because he came from neither of the traditionally Anglican places, Likoma, Nkhotakota or Malindi. Acceptance as a priest or any other position very much depended on the identity of the person and especially whether they came from an Anglican traditional area or not.

HM: What important factor played a leading role in the election of Bishop Ainani?

FK: The people were divided. Others did not want him while others wanted him. His educational background was poor, very irritable and short-tempered. Bishop Ainani had some complex, he did not take any criticisms, while Josiah Mtekateka was open to criticism- he tended to think that people would look down upon him. Education is one of the essential things that ought to be considered to qualify one as a bishop.

HM: Did you ever attend the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Ainani?

FK: Yes.

HM: What shortcomings did you notice if any did the process have?

FK: Indeed there were some shortcomings, background was poor, very irritable and short-tempered. Bishop Ainani had some had some complex. He could not take any criticism.

Interviewee: Mr. Ikbald Medi

Shire Highlands Hotel, Limbe, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

28th June 2000

DOB: 7/7/39

Graduate Studies in USA 1962-66

HM: Mr. Medi thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk to you. Did you ever participate in the election of Bishop Aipa?

IM: Yes.

HM: What factors played a decisive role in the election of Bishop Aipa?

IM: As far as am concerned there were two or probably three. One advantage that Bishop Aipa had was that he was forthcoming with people, he mixed easily and freely with the other priests before he was elected bishop, a pleasant priest to interact with, socialising, because of that many people knew him including fellow priests both within and outside the country. I attended one episcopal meeting in Harare where I felt he interacted very freely. I saw he was free. This was between 1985 and 1987. The second reason was that at the Elective Assembly that finally elected him, he had very good and strong, or influential lay people who spoke for him.

HM: Who were these people?

IM: People like Stak Banda, the Reverend George Ndomondo, probably two others favoured him. These were after all his friends.

FM: Can you tell me what was the atmosphere like in the Elective Assembly? How free were the people in holding discussions about the candidates?

IM: It is supposed to be a free Elective Assembly but in my personal view I found the process was flawed. What I found flawed was that at that time the Vicar General, Fr. Parslow, ill planned the preliminaries of

the elective assembly. The problem was that the rules of the Elective Assembly and the procedures were not explained properly. I blame Fr. Parslow because he was the chairman of the preliminary elections. Before going for final elections he should have called a meeting to explain what we would go through. Many of us who had not been in the elective assembly before were not clear about the procedures.

Fr. Parslow should have given us a clear guideline. He should have briefed us on the life of the candidates, and so forth. When we went into the preliminaries it was a question of- can somebody say something about Aipa? The friends of Aipa the likes of Stak Banda almost overtook the whole proceedings saying all the positive things about Aipa without even wanting us to hear positive things about the other candidates. When the time came to speak about Kaswaya there was no briefing as it had been for Aipa. It seemed to me there had been a dress-rehersal prior to the elections somewhere.

So what I am in fact saying is that there was no meaningful discussion on every aspect of the life of the candidates. It seemed everybody was just prepared to get Aipa through. In the end we remained with four candidates to vote on, Malango, Kaswaya and Mkomawanthu. I would give one example of the sort of atmosphere we were working in. When Mkomawanthu's name came, Mr. Stak Banda protested that if you want to divide the diocese you must let him become the bishop then he went to allege that Mkomawanthu had been sleeping with Mr. Loga's wife. It was unfortunate that this other priest, I cant mention his name, was never seriously thought of .The issue was about the misbehaviour of his wife. It all seemed to me that prior to coming to the election people had already made up their minds that they were going for Aipa.

HM: What disqualified Fr. Kaswaya?

IM: They said he was too young, then the issue was closed. When it came to Aipa the negative aspects of his personal life were glossed over.

HM: What had happened that Aipa's personal friends dominate the assembly?

IM: I don't know. I think there was also the question of regional or ethnic solidarity. Aipa was from the southern region, Mangochi so it was mainly people of Mangochi supporting their own man. These people knew him and they thought once put into that high position they would also benefit. In the final session of election it was all Aipa, when I raised his problem of drinking Mr. Banda protested that I was engaging in character assassination while when he himself said negative things about Mkomawanthu it was not character assassination. It was actually off-putting. I blame Fr. Parslow for the problems.

HM: Are you suggesting that Fr. Parslow was partisan or impartial?

IM: According to me that was certainly the case.

HM: Did you ever challenge that?

IM: I never had a chance to do that.

HM: So you left things like that.

IM: What could we do?

HM: Thank you so much for sharing your time with me.

Interviewee: Theophilus Tswele Naledi

Bishop of Botswana

Bishop's office, Gaborone, Botswana

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

18th May, 2001

HM: I am Henry Mbaya, a priest, originally from Malawi but at the moment studying and working in South Africa. My Lord bishop, I am more than grateful for your time, your acceptance that I see you I don't take it for granted. I am very grateful. I would like to talk about the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Central Africa. Have you in any way participated in the election of bishops?

TN: Operating from Bishop Aipa, I was the Provincial Secretary when Bishop Aipa was elected in the Elective Assembly.

HM: I read in the archive at Malosa, Malawi that Fr. Henry Mikaya had been elected coadjutor bishop but was never really confirmed. What really happened?

TN: A Coadjutor bishop is an American system. A Coadjutor bishop is a bishop who works with a diocesan bishop but automatically takes over from him.

HM: But there is clear evidence that Fr. Mikaya had been elected coadjutor bishop, what went wrong?

TN: They were doing the wrong thing. There is no such thing as Coadjutor bishop in the canons. There is no provision in the canons for the coadjutor bishop. Then someone must have done something wrong and this is why it didn't work out.

HM: Did you participate in the election of Bishop Aipa?

TN: When? do you mean in 1986, no I think it must have been in 1987. Bishop Aipa was elected in 1986 and consecrated on 11th January in 1987. No we started talking about in 1986.

HM: What were you talking about?

TN: We were setting the date, the archbishop had to summon the Elective Assembly.

HM: What were you talking about?

TN: The Elective Assembly is a closed gathering, and it is the canons that say that all discussions must not be divulged and it is wrong, it is a closed thing.

HM: How many people constitute the elective assembly?

TN: From the rest of the Province there are 3 bishops, 3 priests and 3 lay people chosen by the archbishop.

HM: What were the strength and weaknesses of the Elective Assembly?

TN: Deliberations of the Elective Assembly are closed. All we talk about is the result that is all.

HM: How does the procedure go?

TN: Once there is a vacancy in the diocese, the archbishop sends out a citation calling members of the Elective. In the vacant diocese the Vicar General calls together members to talk about the impending election, they do some spade work preparing the stage. They are given a chance to receive the names of the candidates some of whom may be elected and not to be imposed. They talk about the possible candidates. The actual election takes place when the full assembly meets. On the day of the Elective Assembly when the archbishop calls for the full elective assembly any members of the elective assembly can nominate. The

Preparatory committee may have a long list but this will have to be shortened.

HM: What is the criteria used to short listing?

TN: Long time in service and education. You talk about the nomination why you believe they ought to be considered for the position. You discuss and put facts. After full discussions then you vote. The voting is a secret ballot. For a candidate to succeed they require two-thirds of the votes of the electors. If in the first voting a candidate score two-thirds of the votes cast he is then declared a winner. If a two-third is not achieved then voting has to be done until a two-third is achieved. If you fail then you can vote up to 7 ballots. Some get the two-third after 4 or 5 ballots. If the election has failed to come with a two-third then the bishops of the Province has the right to appoint a bishop.

HM: What are in you knowledge the weaknesses of the Preparatory stage or the things which impede running smooth elections?

TN: It has happened in this Province where people begin to think of themselves instead of looking for a bishop.

HM: Where did you experience such problems?

TN: We failed to elect a bishop in Central Zambia because the old guys past the age wanted to be bishop. These old guys they threatened the others and we failed to elect. Because they failed to elect, the bishops of the Province appointed Robert Selby Taylor.

HM: Are you implying that sometimes people are intimidated?

TN: Yes sometimes people are intimidated as I just said now. However, to be frank with you this Province, we as Anglicans we have the most democratic means of electing a bishop.

HM: Are you saying that our system is the most just amongst all the Churches?

TN: I am saying our manner of choosing bishops has no problem whatsoever.

HM: Am I hearing you saying that this system cannot be abused?

TN: I am saying to you our present system is just right, we have never had any problems.

HM: Thank you so much my Lord bishop for sharing with me your most precious time.

TN: You are most welcome.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Father Henry Chaseta Mikaya

Dean of the Cathedral of Holy Nativity, Gaborone, Botswana

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

Saturday, 19th May 2001, 10.30 a.m.

Born on 11th November 1940.

Ordained deacon, 1972, All Saints, Nkhotakota

Ordained priest, 1973, St. Peter's Likoma, island.

HM: Thank you for allowing me to speak to you.

HCM: You are welcome.

HM: May I introduce myself. I am Henry Mbaya, an Anglican priest, a Malawian from Nkhotakota district, a son of a priest who you may recall the Reverend Canon George Mbaya.

HCM: The name of George Mbaya rings the bell. Was he at one time working in the hospital?

HM: yes.

HCM: Oh I now remember him. How is your father?

HM: He is well.

HCM: It's indeed a long time. No you are indeed welcome to say anything you want to say.

HM: I am sure you knew the late Bishop Mtekateka, how was he elected bishop?

HCM: I understand he was called from Tanzania to be Suffragan bishop under Donald Arden. At first some people thought of Canon Sheldon Jalasi, Arden was eventually not satisfied with Jalasi that's what I heard from Jalasi himself. Some priests gave him the name of Josiah Mtekateka and when he came to Malawi people were looking at his stature and his behaviour. He was made Suffragan bishop. You know we have Suffragan bishop and coadjutor bishop in the canons.

H M: How did Bishop Josiah and Bishop Arden get on?

HCM: Arden was very much a dictator. It was part of his nature.

HM: Do you mind if I ask you a very personal question?

HCM: No! not at all be free to do so.

HM: Thank you. According to the information that I have you were elected coadjutor bishop but you finally never became bishop of Lake Malawi but Peter Nyanja did. What happened?

HCM: There were so many things which were happening, however, I will tell you of what I was told so that you can get the clear picture how far people had gone to frustrate me. I remember very well in New York, Charity Malango told us later what happened. In fact she apologised for her sharing some responsibility in our problem. She told us that during that time one day they had been called to see Arden, Fr. Malewezi and herself. When the question came as to who they were proposing to be bishop, Fr. Malewezi looked straight into her eyes and so she mentioned Fr. Nyanja's name. What I am saying is that Fr. Malewezi who was very close to Arden were responsible for my demise.

HM: What did you make of the matter you yourself?

HCM: Immediately we heard that we were shocked but then we began to understand the problems we had in perspective now. In fact it had confirmed the suspicions which we had been harbouring all the time.

HM: Reading in the archives in Malosa and hearing people in the interviews it seems to me there the issue of succession was critical to the episcopate of Bishop Donald Arden. In trying to understand what was actually happening then I have sort of come up with a hypothesis. I would like to ask for your comment, you may not have to agree with me if you think what I am saying is untrue or far from the facts. I have the documents here from the archives from Malosa, Malawi and personal correspondence which suggest

something. In my correspondence Fr. Hunter says and I quote: "Even Christianity in Ntchisi area has been more lively than in the Lakeshore area.

The archival sources clearly show that among the task that Bishop Arden had was to transform the UMCA legacy into the modern Anglican Church and critically this entailed the transformation of the legacy of leadership. This entailed thwarting the influence of Likoma legacy or breaking the perceived Likoma monopoly of leadership. This meant when an opportunity arose impeding elements seen to be in one way or the other linked with Likoma, your wife seemingly is related to late Bishop Mtekateka's family.

To me whatever issues were involved seemed in the end material as Episcopal Provincial minutes of 1978 suggests that Arden finally rescinded your candidature on technical rather than legal or moral grounds. Rather it seems Arden was bent on changing leadership from Lakeshore dominated to the mainland. Fr. Hunter's comment suggests that. And of course Arden's attempts to shift the focus of leadership from Likoma to elsewhere seemed to fall within the designs of the government of Malawi which was encouraging growth of development in the Central district of Lilongwe from Lilongwe. Mtekateka's judgement of your election, according to sources in the archives suggests that there was nothing fundamentally flawed as the minutes or the Episcopal Synod of 1978 suggests. Coming from the mainland, the name of Fr. Peter Nyanja might have fulfilled Arden's expectation

HCM: In my view and opinion you are absolutely right. Your perception and perspective is I think is correct. I saw my failure as a result of Bishop Arden's manipulation.

HM: What I am saying seem to be supported by source, archival evidence. For example, in 1977 Fr., Bernard Sharp, the former missionary wrote to Bishop Arden from England accusing him and Bishop Mtekateka for having played their hands in the matter of the election. To me this highly suggests the degree of intrigue in the whole affair.

HCM: Spot on. I very much support your line of argument, reasoning as plausible and reflecting the episode as I can now recall.

HM: Two years ago I interviewed Canon Sauli of Likoma. I spent 3 hours with him at his place on Likoma island. He spoke very favourably about you. He also seem to confirm my findings especially relating to some aspects of manipulations which seemed to have been taking place that time.

HM: What was the relationship like between Bishop Arden and his subordinate Bishop Josiah Mtekateka?

HCM: As far as I am concerned there was no problem.

HM: I have a letter here in my hands from Bishop Josiah Mtekateka to Bishop Arden telling the latter to stop his 'dictatorship.' What was it like?

HCM: It was in the nature of Arden to be dictatorial.

HM: I also read in the archive at Malosa some correspondence from Bishop Mtekateka to Arden shows that Mtekateka was undermined in his office by his white chaplains like Ramsey or Taylor.

HCM: I remember one day Josiah's chaplain, Fr. James Ramsey left Nkhotakota to go and stay with Bishop Donald at Malosa.

HM: Did Arden just allowed him to stay without asking him why he had left?

HCM: I suppose he told him why he had left Nkhotakota and allowed him to stay. I am not surprised by Arden's attitude because I remember that one day during the time of our tribe Mrs. Jane Arden drove all the way from Malsoa to Nkhotakota where we were living in St. John's House. She came for a few days talking to people but never came to see us. I suspected she came to manipulate the people for we could see that after she left the attitude of the people towards us had changed. You know that after I was elected coadjutor bishop I was sent to Kenya.

HM: Thank you Father for all what you have shared with me. I am very grateful for your time, your precious time. It was such a good feeling for me to talk to you as I have been wanting to get this opportunity for some time.

HCM: Well, it is a pleasure for me.

HM: Thank you so much.

HCM: You are welcome.

Interviewee: Canon Musonda Trevor Mwamba
Former Provincial Secretary, 1987-1989
Gaborone, Botswana,

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

Saturday, 20th May 2001

4.00p.m.

HM: Father Mwamba I am Henry Mbaya, an Anglican priest, originally from Malawi, studying and working in South Africa. When I first saw you now. I recognised you from the past years that you used to visit Malawi in your capacity as the Provincial Secretary.

MM: Oh yes in 1980s.

HM: Yes that was when Bishop Ainani and Aipa were bishops. You used to come sometimes with the archbishop.

MM: Certainly you are right.

HM: Which elections have you been involved?

MM: I was involved in the elections of Harare, Zambia, Matabeleland, Eastern Zambia and Northern Malawi. First, one having said that- a caveat is necessary in answering your question. The deliberations of the elective assembly are confidential and are not to be discussed once an election has taken place.

HM: Please if you don't mind say it in general terms, I am aware of your concern for the so called confidentiality tell me in general terms about these things, how free and fair is the process?

MM: When it comes to the election of a bishop it is very free, it is an open process on the whole in that nominations are invited from the dioceses of the Province. They can submit the names of any candidates as long as that candidate is in good standing and they must be over 30 years. They must not be bankrupt. Then the names are scrutinised by the panel. This panel go through all the names of the candidates submitted to it, then finally short-listing them with the curriculum vitae and the life history of the candidates. This happens under the chairmanship of the Vicar General who seems the people who constitute the panel. In the end the Vicar General write to the archbishop to decide on the date to ask for the Elective Assembly to meet.

HM: Who constitute the Elective Assembly?

MM: The Elective Assembly is broad based besides the diocese where the vacancy falls there are also representatives from the other dioceses of the province. There are 11 members from the dioceses and the other eleven members from the Province, bishops, priests and lay people. Once a vacancy exist in the Province the archbishop selects eleven selectors from the rest of the Province. This selection is at the total discretion of the archbishop and the Provincial Secretary. However, the selection of such members may be influenced by the distances and the travel costs that may be involved. The archbishop in consultation with the Provincial Secretary decide who goes to attend but the Province must be represented.

HM: Why is it necessary that the preliminary stage of elections be chaired by the Vicar General while the full elective assembly chaired by the archbishop?

MM: The Elective Assembly that meets under the chairmanship of the Vicar General is there to make things easier for the full elective assembly when it come to meet. It does all the short listing and the preparation of the c.v.'s. Even though the short listing is done however, during the seating of the elective assembly nominations are still open. So in fact it is the Elective Assembly which has the final authority.

HM: What is really the crucial role that the archbishop play in the Elective Assembly?

MM: The archbishop participate in the Elective Assembly he can nominate and vote as well just like any other member of the Elective Assembly.

HM: From what I have heard from my other informants, it is said that Archbishop Khotso Makhulu had some influence in the election of Bishop Aipa. Is this true?

MM: Khotso Makhulu was a strong man, I worked with him for many years. He maintained objectivity in guiding the meetings, impartial and very reliable. His approach, leadership style was one of widest consultation of issues, he knew the canons and the constitution. He did not impose his will on anything. For example on the issue of ordination of women, personally he would have been in favour of ordination of women, but the Province was divided. If he was a forceful man he would have proved on this issue but he advise that we must take our time.

HM: Thank you so much Father for your time that you Spared for me. I am so much grateful.

MM: Your are welcome.

Interviewee: Professor James Nathaniel Amanze

Head of Religious Department, Gaborone, University of Botswana

Interviewer: H. Mbaya

21st May, 2001

HM: Father, I am very grateful that you gave me the opportunity to see you. I have always looked forward to this opportunity. Thank you so much Father for this.

JA: Well, it is very much a pleasure for me.

HM: When did you go to St. John's Seminary?

JA: In 1971 I went to St. John's Seminary and I finished my training in 1972.

HM: In my archival research at Malosa I came across some information that suggests the existence of conflict between the missionary teachers and some students. Were there any problems or clashes?

JA: When I got to St. John's I remember a debate still going on whether polygamy was right for an African or monogamy or some other aspects of African culture. I remember attending one or two of those debates; the issues would be African culture and Christianity. There was a lot of concern about culture and Christianity, should we get rid of western Christianity as a colonising element? That period you are talking about the 70s most academics were writing papers which were being presented at Mindolo Ecumenical Centre. I remember reading a lot of material about African culture and Christianity. The general trend was that polygamy had to be taken seriously.

HM: What was the Reverend Weller's relationship with the student?

JA: By the time I came to St. John's Weller was on his way out. There was a crisis I was told in 1971 because I remember trip going to Lusaka being delayed. It had to do with relationship amongst the students because the students did something which was wrong.

HM: In my reading in the archives at Malosa one episode concerned the student Joseph Likoleche he was complaining about a sore throat from time to time. He was going back home for treatment. It seems he clashed with Fr. Hunter over this, what is your comment.

JA: The two were generally in good terms but would occasionally disagree.

HM: According to the archive at Malosa the timetable was an issue why?

JA: I don't remember that the timetable was heavy to the best of my knowledge. It may be that in my first year things were more relaxed than in the 2nd year, Joseph's class.

HM: But two problems affected Joseph Likoleche's relationship with Fr. Hunter, the timetable and his sickness.

JA: Generally speaking Joe felt he was sick and he felt that he needed to go home and get his problem treated in the African way. You must not forget that Fr. Hunter is European and he was seeing Joe's problem from the European perspective and prescribing it in that manner.

HM: In my reading in the archives there is always a complaint from the tutors, perhaps in case of Fr. Hunter describing Joe's mental condition or in the case of Fr. James Potts in Tanzania complaining about Yeppe's persecution syndrome- what was really the problem?

JA: The political context which the students came from Malawi was intolerant in politics, people were always under suspicion. Everybody was suspicious and some of them had been politically persecuted. Having experienced years of trauma, suspicion even if you get out of the situation you still feel in one way or the other you are persecuted. The frustration is that you can't express yourself very freely, you feel inhibited. Lusaka would not have been a good environment for the Malawian students. Malawian political exiles were in Lusaka which was an open society, people were not harassed. The Malawian political situation was tense and Malawi was not itself an open society.

HM: From my reading in the archives in Zomba, it seems there was a clear line between the staff and the students being in conflict. What is your comment?

JA: Definitely when I was there no such scenario occurred. This may have been the case in the previous years.

HM: Some sources indicate that there were problems of food, what is your comment?

JA: My time I think was very quiet.

HM: Did you ever notice any issues of nepotism in the relations between staff and students.

JA: Not in my time.

HM: What seem to have created a situation of conflict and uneasiness perhaps in the previous years for what I am actually reporting is really what am reading about in correspondence, conflict, and so on.

JA: In the 70s there was an element of African assertiveness, a feeling of freedom, not giving in to bullying. People felt that they had to respond back if they were verbally attacked by Europeans. There was a strong feeling that an African was able to determine his destiny, he had to take initiative and not to be told what to do. It was the question of liberty and emancipation. People went into training with that mentality. The element of assertiveness was very much pronounced at St John's and accompanying this was a sense of African consciousness which was a cultural attitude and outlook.

HM: How did you feel yourself?

JA: Obviously, going through these changes was exciting, of course people responded to the changes differently.

HM: Father, I am very grateful for your precious time that you shared with me. Thank you so much for all what you shared with me.

JA: Well I just hope that I have been helpful to your studies. I wish you all the best for your endeavours.

HM: Thank you Father and I wish the same to you.

**Interviewee: Mr. Kalowamfumbi Khofi Phiri
Linga, Nkhotakota**

**Interviewer: Henry Mbaya
24th May 2001**

General Manager of Rice Cooperation Society, Trade and Industry, ministry of Economic Affairs; ministry of Trade and Tourism

Detained in 1971-72 Churchwarden, St. Paul's Church, Blantyre, 1973-95, Member of Provincial Synod

and DSC

Director of Research and Information, Malawi Congress Party

Acting Secretary General of the Malawi Congress Party

Secretary of the Malawian Embassy, Washington D.C, 1964-66

Deputy Minister, Parliamentary Secretary

KP: It was a real contest. You see in the old days of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka and Donald Arden, you had the clergy who were not of the type and calling during Ainani and Aipa. The clergy we had in those days had low education but they were revered by the people just like the asikofu, the bishop. Whatever the bishop said went out as a law so the bishop was supreme. It was beyond questioning. That's why you have this word that Nyanja was appointed and not elected. I remember during the election of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka we of Nkhotakota wrote to Bishop Arden that we wanted Fr. Chisa of the new Diocese of Lake Malawi in 1965. Father you need to understand why I say the bishop's word in the 60s had to do with the old tradition of the UMCA image of a bishop, his place and role in the Church, his office centred on it.

The challenge came when the Africans were free to challenge white power. Thorne was almost foremost man and supporter of the Federation. Our bishop was much closer supporter of the state of emergence when many people were killed that was the time when people came to question the credibility of the Church. The Church of England was perceived to be in favour of the Federation, Bishop Thorne became unpopular in the Church that's why Africans in the church became very critical to the bishops. This situation became worse after Bishop Thorne had gone into retirement.

Father Chisa and Chipembele were more enlightened than the others who were just puppets. The majority of the clergy were too lowly educated who were not politically assertive. After the Federation, 1959 and 1960, then Arden came into the situation, context in which the political situation was changing. This time the enlightened clergy like Chisa and Chipembele would challenge Arden rather than the rest of the clergy who were lowly educated. Arden enjoyed this situation but more educated people started emerging during this time.

This was the time when national politics started emerging. In this period there was a radical shift, a spirit of assertiveness. We in Nkhotakota wanted Chisa to be bishop because he was as capable as Josiah Mtekateka. Before 1969 to question the bishop was very difficult, he had all the respect and reference from the people. The people themselves highly respected the bishop in the similar manner the Pope was respected. This authority was challenged or got watered down after 1969 and afterwards. When Bishop Thorne came to visit a parish, it was like as if he was a manifestation of God. He had such a presence associated with God. In this respect the bishop would not be questioned. The archbishop had the right of appointing a bishop as was the case with Donald appointing Josiah Mtekateka.

HM: Wasn't Josiah elected by the people?

KP: Despite of having been elected, I saw his election of having been fully influenced by Bishop Arden.

HM: How about during the election of Bishop Ainani, what really determined his election?

KP: When it came to elect Ainani the situation differed once again. This was the time when Arden was going out on retirement. Arden wanted somebody to succeed him who would be able to handle the diocese better. We Africans were not ready as to whom we had amidst us. I would have become the first African bishop. Since early in 1973 I got involved in Church after I was immediately elected church warden, choir master and in-charge of Sunday school. That time I was at St Paul's which was an English Church. No African was worshipping at that church there was even a sign post that said "English Church." People used to tease me why I was going to the English Church where Soche was for the Africans as was Chichiri.

HM: What kind of reception did you have at St. Paul's?

KP: I think I had the advantage of being a member of parliament. In March 1973, after I had preached Fr. Parslow asked me if I could volunteer to assist in the Sunday school. I volunteered and I was accepted. I worked very hard. It was due to my efforts that Africans later on came to join St. Paul's English Church.

HM: Now, can we go back to the time before Bishop Ainani. What happened?

KP: By the time Arden was about to leave there arose a question as to who could succeed him? Arden had his favourite in Fr. Aipa. He really wanted Aipa to succeed him, this is the way I interpreted his relationship with Aipa. Aipa had the best education that time amongst all the clergy.

HM: What was the process like?

KP: We had three meetings, one was at St. Paul's Cathedral, the second one at Holy Innocents and again at St. Paul's. At Paul's the meeting was chaired by John Parslow and we had seven names. When we got to Holy Innocents the names were reduced to three. Finally when we got to St. Paul's the name were still three. There were about thirty of us in the archdeaconry.

HM: But what made Ainani win the election?

KP: We had this in mind, Ainani was better educated than the others, he had proved himself that he was a dynamic leader, he had stayed in the Southern Region and he had built a number of Churches and he was elderly. With Aipa though he was educated he had personal weaknesses which people knew. I think Arden didn't want to lose Aipa because the church had invested too much in him by way of exposure and education. We had a Synod before the election I recall that we had a Synod before the election of the suffragan bishop. There was a critical issue which involved a long and contentious discussion. At certain stage Arden put it to Ainani suppose it were you and being in this position how would you solve it? At this juncture Arden asked Ainani to take his position as the chairman of the meeting at this point Ainani

courageously took the seat to sort out the problem and chaired the meeting. We saw from this that Ainani was very capable to be the bishop. This illustrated his courage and it was to his credit.

HM: When Bishop Arden was retiring as a diocesan bishop, did Bishop Ainani automatically succeed him?

KP: It was not automatic, he had to go for elections. I spoke that during his time as a Suffragan bishop he has proved himself so we should give him a chance. My feelings were echoed in the Elective Assembly by the others. This was during the diocesan standing committee. There was a very strong feeling that Ainani had to be given a chance.

HM: Was this discussed in the diocesan standing committee or the elective assembly?

KP: We started in the archdeaconry conference then when we came to a diocesan standing committee it was merely a formality for bishop Ainani had already served as a Suffragan bishop. When the bishops of the Province they didn't have much to hear from us. To give you an example when we were electing Peter Hatendi as the bishop of the Diocese of Harare I was there.

The whites of Harare wanted Siyachitema. In that meeting in Harare there was a debate people arguing that while in Bulawayo, Siyachitema was a very good priest and that it was good for him to come to Harare but at the same time an opinion was also expressed that Peter Hatendi was a very good priest. I asked that since both of them were good priests what is the problem? I said why not have a good one here, Hatendi in Harare. What I mean is it depends how you can play around with people, it is a game in which you have to play your cards very well. You play around with the people. I think God has given me a gift of lobbying and campaigning successfully and to get people rally around me. At that election I argued why should we change Hatendi if he is good.

KP: Fr. Aipa was being ushered by Fr. Mkomawanthu because he was their boy. The pressure was already there during the time of bishop Ainani people seeking to overthrow him. During the time of Bishop Ainani people were already canvassing for the election of the bishop who was a southerner. People like Mkomawanthu were very good friends with Bishop Aipa. People with Likoma background were rallying around Aipa.

When Bishop Ainani was elected he faced problems, challenge to his authority, it was being undermined by Mr. Andrew Hamisi from Aipa's home village. There developed a big feud between Hamisi and Bishop Ainani, a very serious one. This demonstrates what I said earlier on that the dignity of the bishop was at its lowest ebb. The issue had to do with money, how the Bishop's discretionary fund was being used.

You must remember that when Ainani came into the office Hamisi was already there. Arden had brought in Hamisi. Hamisi started looking down upon Ainani as uneducated man. In all this he as being encouraged by Fr. Aipa. In other words the insubordination of Hamisi to Bishop Ainani was inspired by Aipa because Aipa knew that in the demise of Ainani he had the chance of becoming a bishop. Both Aipa and Hamisi had a common enemy, Bishop Ainani.

HM: So it happened Ainani eventually was forced to retire after all the problems he had with Hamisi. Now how did Fr. Aipa succeed to become a bishop after Ainani? Or to be more precise what determined the successful election of Fr. Aipa as a bishop of the diocese of southern Malawi?

KP: Fr. Aipa approached me because he knew that I had the greatest influence. Before the election he started lobbying me coming to my home more regularly. He would come and see my wife telling her that he wanted to see me. He came to Chinyonga in Blantyre where I was staying. He would regularly come to my house persuading my wife to convince me to support him by using my influence to convince members of the elective assembly saying that once he became a bishop he would send me overseas to Birmingham. I talked to him in fact I cautioned him that if he stopped his behaviour I will support him. When it came to the preliminary elections there were quite a number of priests who were nominated such as Kaswaya, Malango and Aipa.

HM: Who was chairing these preliminaries?

KP: It was Fr. John Parslow who was the Vicar General that time. All the people knew the influence and power I had over the elections. There was nobody who could dispute because I had the facts backed by my experience through my work in the archdeaconry but above all my acquaintance with the members of the Province who had come to the election. I had the power and ability to convince the people, to get them to believe in the truth of what I said and to follow me.

By that time the southerners needed their own man because they had known that Ainani was from Nkhotakota, the central region. I could read their mind, even if Kaswaya had been taken he would not have had a chance since he came from the central region. And I campaigned powerfully, I convinced the whites Parslow and Fr. Stewart Lane. Similarly I talked to the members of the Province before the elections privately.

Off course there were other members of the province who approached me first asking me who do you think can be the bishop? Or as it happened in the case of Archbishop Khotso Makhulu when I said Aipa he said what about his behaviour. I stood my ground to convince them that since the last elections his behaviour

had changed it was very good and I am not just praising myself. You know father if I decide or resolve I don't change Stak Banda was good. He used to meet Father Aipa more regularly.

HM: When I interviewed another man he said Aipa is going to destroy the Church

KP: There was so much crossing that time he was right. Mkomawanthu and Aipa had organised a pressure group to work towards his election as a bishop. It was a powerful lobby group to which I was the key element. The two, Aipa and Mkomawanthu wanted to boast each other. It was a powerful group which perceived that they were fighting against a common enemy.

HM: In all this, are you really saying that by the time you come to the elections most of the preparations have already been done?

KP: The way I interpret this is like this. When you come to the elective assembly you merely echo what you have agreed somewhere else. What has been discussed and agreed very much influence the final result of the election. I remember before the election of Ainani we had already canvassed for his votes.

HM: Thank you so much for sharing your experience with me.

KP: You are most welcome. I hope what I have said will be of assistance

HM: Certainly. Thanks.

Interviewee: Father Constantine Kaswaya

Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

26th May 2001

HM: Father, thank you so much for the time that you have given me to share with you. I realise that you're a very busy person and the fact that you have allowed me to see you, I really appreciate.

CK: Thank you. It is a pleasure for me to be with you.

HM: When were you ordained deacon?

CK: In 1977 at All Saints in Nkhotakota and in 1978 I was ordained priest.

HM: I understand you trained at the Roman Catholic Seminary of Kachebere. Why, was there special reason?

CK: After the closure of St. John's College some of us were lucky to go to Kachebere. This was largely the result of the cooperation between the Roman Catholic Bishop Cornelius Chitsulo and our Bishop Josiah Mtekatika.

HM: What were the positive aspects of your training there?

CK: Discipline was high, good priestly formation, we were learning psychology, philosophy and logic for 3 years, how to maintain bicycles, how to do minor repairs of electrical equipments, carpentry and joinery, poultry, piggery and raising cattle.

Our training was holistic covering a wide range of aspects as I have mentioned.

HM: What were the negative aspects?

CK: One major problem which may be obvious was the issue of celibacy. As you know catholic priests do not marry. While Bishop Chitsulo was happy for us to be there Bishop Chiona in Blantyre was not happy with our presence. He didn't want Anglicans to receive communion at the Roman Catholic altar and we

never received it. However, during our time there we received good formation, we used to do practical work and academic work at the same time.

HM: How did the election of the first Malawian Bishop of Southern Malawi Ainani go?

CK: Bishop Donald Arden convinced the electorate that he was a good man despite the fact that he was not educated enough. From what I have heard it was Bishop Arden who convinced the Elective Assembly to consider Ainani as a Suffragan bishop.

HM: what style of leadership did he display?

CK: He was militaristic in the sense that he wanted the priests to observe time, he wanted members of staff to be self-reliant without much supervision from authority. He encouraged the priests to be evangelical rather than sacramental priests. Bishop Ainani mixed well with the people, he made himself available to the people and he did not spend all the time in the office. He did not want expensive life he would walk most of the time he was in the field. Donald Arden was more of a technical man and administrator, involved in fund raising and assisting where disasters occurred.

HM: Where you ever part of the election?

CK: yes.

HM: Which one?

CK: The one that took place between August and September in 1986.

HM: What role did you play?

CK: I was one of the people nominated to be bishop.

HM: What was your experience like?

CK: There were a few of us nominees, like late Bishop Aipa.

HM: And so what happened in the elective assembly?

CK: The ground was not fairly levelled between myself and the others. In that election I did very well indeed, I mean almost the majority were on my side. However, as the proceedings progressed there was a feeling, being really told that I was too young. They needed a matured man. There was a group that made it clear that I was too young to run the diocese. It was argued that Aipa had been made canon in 1985 and Vicar General in 1986. I remember that the situation was quite tense and I tell you I was scared. Outside the elective Assembly some people from Malindi told me that they had already organised a goat that if I became a bishop they would slaughter it and then bury it before even I was consecrated.

HM: Was this group inside the Elective assembly or outside?

CK: It was outside the hall. In fact in the days before election I had been hearing a number of people had been saying these things. You do understand that in African culture and tradition these things have sinister implications.

HM: How did you feel about these things, I mean how did you react about all these things?

CK: I was shocked. I couldn't believe my ears, it was unbelievable. Nevertheless, I persevered because I knew that I had not done anything wrong. There was the first round of elections at Chilema where there was along list of candidates, people like Fr. Denis Mpassou, Fr. Onaika, myself and late Bishop Aipa. At this election there occurred a tie between me and late Aipa. The election involved only the Diocese of Southern Malawi. This was in fact in preparation for the full elective assembly to take place at St. Paul's. When we met at St. Paul's I was called in and asked a few questions of which my answers really gave them good impression of my knowledge of the church.

At the election at Chilema initially Bishop Ainani was in favour of me being elected as a bishop, then later on like others said that I was young, the he supported Fr. Denis Mpassou, but later on he finally he was in support of Fr. Aipa. When we got to the elective assembly discussing us two people supported Bishop Aipa- especially his friends, Bishop Shaba from Zambia and Bishop Naledi of Zimbabwe strongly talked in his favour saying that he was a spiritual man while the people here said that he was too childish and immature, then the group of his friends argued that once made bishop he would grow into the office of the bishop and all the problems he has will go away. They strongly argued that he was behaving like that because of the small position that he had in the church- but once made bishop he would respect his office of bishop.

You know that from the beginning the results of election were almost a foregone conclusion. I was called in and interviewed only for a shorter time, while Bishop Aipa was there almost for 2 hours. In the elective assembly I was interviewed, given a case to give a solution to it. The issue related to the problem, a quarrel

between a priest and his Churchwarden. I answered them very satisfactorily and all of them were satisfied- they had nothing to add.

Of course eventually I accepted to step down from the race and accepted him to be the bishop. The Archbishop called me and asked me if I would work with Aipa which I agreed. After that Aipa and I started going through what was to be done with me- I helping him to come to grips with his work- for sometime. However, when it came to February in 1987 he dropped me as his Secretary, he transferred me.

HM: In the archives at Malosa some sources very clearly shows disagreements between Arden and Mtekateka with respect to the positions they took with regard to the election of Fr. Mikaya as a coadjutor bishop with Arden insisting that his candidature be overturned while Mtekateka took the opposite position. While Mtekateka was persuading Arden to proceed with the confirmation and to get Mikaya's critics to reconcile with the latter, Arden rejected these approaches. Why did the bishops not agree? Who was right?

CK: Mikaya had been elected bishop and subsequently sent to Gaba in Kenya. While there he had borrowed some money and behaved as if he was already a bishop. When he came back these allegations reached Malawi. Donald and Josiah differed on how to deal with the situation. Donald argued that Mikaya was not a good candidate because he had given reason that if he became a bishop he would become more expensive and therefore was not the right man. While Josiah believed that Mikaya was a good candidate and that partly they (Donald and Josiah) failed to inform Mikaya of his limits as a bishop elect or how to conduct himself. Secondly, that it was important to reconcile him with his critic.

HM: I am so much grateful for sharing with me your precious time, thank you so much.

CK: You are welcome, and please if you need some more information do not hesitate to see me.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula and Mr. Maxwell Chinkhota

Kanjedza, Limbe, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

26th May 2001

HM: I have this privilege to see you about my research today for which I am very grateful for your kindness to allow me to speak to you. I realise that it is not often easy for one to spare his precious time with the others, for this I say thank you.

CN: I am also happy to meet you, Father.

HM: How did late Bishop Ainani get elected bishop of the Diocese of Southern Malawi?

CN: There were objections to the election of Bishop Ainani such as his moslem background and his low education. In all elections there is some politicking, lobbying and convincing.

HM: Was tribalism a factor during the election of Bishop Ainani?

MC: No, it was not a factor at all. During the election people become too critical about the personal life of the candidates, they go deep into their life. It is this factor that influence the outcome of the elective assembly.

HM: What influenced the election of Bishop Ainani?

MC: Bishop Arden had already decided on Aipa to succeed him. What actually messed him was when Arden went overseas and left him to be head of the diocese as the Vicar General he did bad things.

HM: I have been informed by another of my informants who claim to recall that while serving tea one of the missionaries he overheard decisive decisions reached that Ainani had to succeed Arden, what can you say about that?

MC: I am not surprised to hear that because I know that Bishop Donald Arden and Fr. John Parslow used to discuss together.

HM: Mr Nkambula what made it possible for Bishop Mtekateka to be successful in the elections?

CN: Josiah Mtekateka was my grandfather. I have been with him ever since I was young. For him to be elected amongst the great names of Msekawanthu and the others suggests that he was unique. Fr. Msekawanthu was never a giant nor Fr. Chisa or Mwenda. Msekawanthu was an introvert. He was not

forthcoming to his parishioners, aloof and not lively. I have been herein Blantyre since 1950. Fr. Chilalika was more popular than Msekawanthu, very good at pastoral work. Fr. Chilalika was more open and dynamic.

MC: What Mr. Nkambula is saying is that Bishop Mtekateka was a clever man mentally alert knowing how to deal with situations. He knew how to deal with the people and be able to pick up vibes quickly. (Maxwell Chinkhota)

CN: His stay in the diocese of Masasi helped to shape him. Because of his travel, his wide experience in Tanzania, he seemed more out-going and more civilised than the others. His staying outside the country made him more popular and what I remember is that Bishop Thorne liked him a lot. Fr. Chisa was more popularly known than Fr. Chipembele. Fr. Chipembele attained popularity at the behest of his politician son, Masauko.

HM: How did Bishop Mtekateka become a bishop?

CN: I remember my father told me in 1965 that when they met at St. Peter's Cathedral, they gathered to consider the question of the first African bishop. A question was raised, "Do you want only the priests working in Malawi or we can also consider those outside the country?" I was told that they were told that the election was open regardless of where one was working as long as was your son. At this stage the name of Mtekateka was coming up more frequently. You know father, we never really wanted Bishop Arden here. In 1962 people were angry. I was at that time the church warden at Likoma. People confronted me and I had to quell their anger. One thing the people didn't like was that Arden came from the Anglican low Church background.

With his election people feared the church standards would drop. We heard he was married man. Since people got used to unmarried bishops, they were opposed to his status, and so they thought of Mtekateka rather than Arden. I remember when Arden first visited Likoma at Mbamba harbour, people protested. For your information Arden knew that people didn't like his low Churchmanship.

People were so used to the old style of leadership associated with Thorne and his predecessors. The two bishops had radically two different styles and life. While Thorne was too dignified with inner authority and reverence, having plenty of time for people, Arden was always rushing, in a hurry not having time for people. Thorne had a lot of respect even amongst whites perhaps because of his association with the State. He was too closely associated with the upper echelons of the colonial state and society. While Thorne had the dignity of a bishop, Arden had almost none.

HM: Why did Bishop Josiah Mtekateka move his diocesan headquarters from Likoma to Nkhotakota?

CN: It had to do with Josiah's relationship with Arden and the people of Likoma. We, the people of Likoma associated the ministry of Arden in Malawi with the demise of Likoma's place within the church in Malawi. Arden moved the headquarters from Likoma to Malosa, people then started saying this is what we were saying. One thing I remember that people said whatever things that Arden wants to take to Malosa but he must not remove the bishop's cathedral, that is, the chair and the pastoral staff, it is enough that Likoma can no longer be the headquarters of the UMCA.

People understood Mtekateka to be under a lot of pressure to move the headquarters from Likoma to Nkhotakota. Arden used a lot of gimmicks telling Arden that you can't stay in Likoma because there is no phone, you can't use a vehicle, and so on. Unfortunately being his subordinate, Bishop Josiah had to follow what Arden wanted. In this way the people of Likoma came to associate Josiah with the intentions of Arden, that is, to undermine the place of Likoma in Malawi. Archbishop Arden took it unkindly while the people fought their battle. People remember Arden as the one who diluted Anglican orthodoxy from high Church to low Church. Because of his close association with Arden's administration Mtekateka also came to be disliked by the people of Likoma.

HM: What you say seem to correlate with what I have been reading in the archives at Malosa with respect to the place of Likoma in the plans of Arden. Some sources in the archives suggest firmly that Bishop Arden intended to transform the old role, image and style of Likoma Anglicanism amongst other things by breaking its hold on leadership in Malawi.

According to these sources, the election of Fr. Henry Mikaya as coadjutor bishop was not finally confirmed on the basis not of the allegations rather on technical grounds. Seemingly because of his loose connection with Likoma, Mikaya was not very acceptable to Likoma. In the name of Peter Nyanja, from the highland as opposed to the Lakeshore, Likoma or Nkhotakota, Arden saw the possibility of enhancing his undeclared agenda of dislodging Likoma from its historic place in Anglicanism in Malawi. I would like to hear your comment if this is a fair reading of things or not. Please tell me if this is not realistic.

CN: I have listened to you very carefully, and having followed your argument, I certainly believe that your insights are fairly valid. As I said, Arden was not liked by the people of Likoma because the people believed that he was changing everything very fast. From the time he became bishop, gradually Likoma's image started going down and the people were hurt by these things, hence they wanted their diocese.

HM: As I hear you saying now that the people wanted their diocese, it seems to me this links with the idea of the chair and the pastoral staff, or perhaps I should put it this way: Did the people forbid Arden to take the chair and the pastoral staff because they wanted their own diocese?

CN: Certainly, they had thought that with the election of Josiah Likoma would still be the headquarters of the diocese. They were enraged when they saw Bishop Josiah moving to Nkhotakota.

HM: I would like to say thank you so much Mr. Nkambula and Mr. Chinkhota for sharing some of your most precious time with. Thank you a lot.

CN: Thank you too for coming here to see us.

Interviewee: Canon Micheal Zingani

Namiwawa, Blantyre

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

Sunday, 27th May 2001, 2.00 p.m.

HM: Father, after a very long time wanting to talk to you, seeking you I am very delighted that I now have the opportunity to see you. I am very pleased for giving me this opportunity to see you.

MZ: am also happy to see you, Father. It is a long time ago since I last saw you.

HM: When were you born Father?

MZ: In 1925.

HM: When were you ordained deacon?

MZ: On April 1980 and I was ordained priest in December, 1981.

HM: Have you participated in any bishops' elections of this diocese?

MZ: Yes. I have been involved in the election of Bishop Aipa, I was involved there.

HM: Was it the one held in 1986?

MZ: Yes.

HM: How did you prepare for that election, or shall I say what preparations were made to ensure that the election would be successful?

MZ: I can say not only in Aipa's election but also Ainani's.

HM: What was your experience like?

MZ: One thing that I didn't like is that I even asked Bishop Donald Arden that there was no chance for the whole diocese to put aside time for all Christians to gather to ask the Holy Spirit. This one thing my heart did not agree with. I believed that the Holy Spirit had to be up-front in the elections and not only consideration of qualifications of an individual. Donald Arden was too keen on academic qualifications. He did not attend to the question of the Spirit. This was the time of Bishop Ainani. I did not notice that even one day calling the whole diocese to gather to seek God's guidance in prayer. He just took it easy. For me such an important event needed the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It was like in politics, like the way a person talks and his stature. Arden treated the matter of electing a bishop as if it were a secular thing or doing politics.

Election was in this manner like Aipa's he was asked where he had travelled. There was no place for the Holy Spirit to guide.

HM: Why was it like that?

MZ: Because Arden was very much a bishop concerned with administration. He was always talking about raising funds. He was more concerned in financial matters than spiritual things.

HM: How does he compare to Bishop Frank Thorne his predecessor?

MZ: Thorne was a real pastoral bishop through his example. He was prayerful, all the time. It was fought who asked me to become a priest but I just ran away. My father did not like my attitude to Bishop Thorne. My father wanted to see me ordained before he died. Thorne visited me four times and he wanted me to be priest.

HM: If you don't mind to get back to Ainani's issue. I have been informed by another source (see JO) who

was very close to the missionaries that Ainani's election was effectively decided on a cup of tea by a few missionaries.

MZ: What I know is that to say that Ainani was not elected is not quite true. Father Ainani had very good gifts as a musician. When he came from Zimbabwe came with Zimbabwean tunes and that really excited Donald Arden. To talk about Ainani's academic qualification no he had none. Ainani and I were together in Nkhotakota. After that he joined the army, the Kings African Rifles. Then he went to Zimbabwe then returned to Malawi He was not a priest then. When he came back from Zimbabwe because of the shortage of clergy, he and Chambombe and Kamanga went through an emergency training course. He did not go to a theological college as is the case today or as it used to be in Likoma. He went through a six months crash course in theology. It was not an advance course like the one at St. John's Seminary.

HM: What can you remember as to be the most important factor that influenced his election?

MZ: I think when Ainani became a priest he showed keen interest in parish work in Chingale. It was observed that he was doing better than the others. Arden was impressed with his work. I remember in meetings Arden always mentioned the name of Ainani. His work was impressive.

HM: To get back in time what was Bishop Josiah Mtekatika like?

MZ: He was very good pastor. If you gave him a complaint, he would follow it up and give you a chance.

HM: One of my informants tells me that the election of Ainani was virtually decided over a cup of tea by a few missionary priest with Arden. What is your judgement?

MZ: I think that can be partly true because Arden showed a sort of favouritism. What I know very well about Arden is that it was not easy to convince him instead he easily convinced you. In discussions he would easily win you to his side. He was a man who would convince he was very influential. I remember very well that time, I was a layman, a diocesan worker working for the diocese while he was a bishop himself. I remember there was an election at Chilema.

HM: What was the most influential factor either positive or negative that influenced the election of Bishop Aipa's election?

MZ: What I can remember clearly one of the things is that this time there was a certain group of lay representatives, very powerful who were pro-Aipa because I think if it was Bishop Arden's influence Aipa would not have been elected. This is top secret. Bishop Arden went on holiday during that time he

appointed Aipa as the Vicar General, so Aipa became Vicar General. While Arden was away, there arose an issue which shows that Aipa drove girls in the diocesan vehicle, one of them was an Anglican while another belonged to the Partners in Mission (PIM).

I remember very well because I was diocesan worker. What happened is that somebody dropped a letter in Arden's pigeon-hole that was saying bad things about Aipa. When Arden came, he found that letter, he read it and suspended Aipa. That happened when I was at Chilema Lay Training Centre. Those matters also affected three clergymen, Odala, Chipanda and late Fr. Malasa. Arden gave the letter to Aipa and suspended Aipa, so I don't think Aipa would have been elected.

HM: You don't mind if we get back to the story of the group of laymen, do you?

MZ: No. There was a group of laymen who were vociferously saying that Aipa must become a bishop.

MZ: I think because they were his friends.

HM: Who were these people?

MZ: Mr Stak Banda and Mr Khofi Phiri.

HM: How did Mr Banda influence the election?

MZ: What I remember with Stak Banda was that on our way to the elective Assembly were travelling a diocesan vehicle with some priest and ladies, Mr Banda would always say that ladies and gentlemen we are all going to elect Aipa, ladies and gentlemen we are all for Aipa. He kept repeating himself again and again lobbying us to go and vote for Aipa. I remember that when we got to the elective assembly those gentlemen spoke very powerfully for Aipa. Yes they were not even willing to hear the others talk about the other candidates.

HM: In what way or what I mean to say how did they display that attitude?

MZ: They were quite arrogant and not really wanting to hear other people's views, they would dominate the deliberations by saying all sorts of negative things about the other candidates and spoke about Aipa in very positive light. What was most disturbing is that they were so impatient not giving chance to other people to speak favourably about the other candidates.

HM: How did the other members of the elective assembly respond to this?

MZ: I myself felt very uncomfortable and at is because it seemed very much to be a competition which had been prepared for. It was quite clear that in the Assembly there so much pressure in favour of Aipa and I could not really understand why those gentlemen showed a spirit of intolerance.

HM: You may not be aware that Fr. Henry Mikaya was elected coadjutor bishop in 1976, I read about this in the archive at Malosa. However, he never became a diocesan bishop do you know why? Do you have any knowledge as to why this happened?

MZ: For me as a human being, you and I love each other and I don't see why after being elected he would not have been consecrated bishop. What interested me is that all the time I was with him he was a stable man, very nice man.

HM: Thank you so much for your time that you shared with me. I really appreciate.

Interviewee: Owen Sadyalunda

Engineer, OILCOM Head Office, Blantyre.

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

28th May 2001

Age47

HM: Mr. Sadyalunda, I am very grateful for the opportunity that I have to talk to you today. For quite a long time I have thought of re-establishing contact with you. I am doing research on the election of Malawian bishops

HM: have you ever been directly involved in the elections or perhaps hear what has transpired in them?

OS: I have never been involved them as such except in the Synod by electing the members of the electoral college. What I know concerning issues pertaining to the Elective Assembly had to do with my

relationship with now Bishop Bernard Malango since we come from the same home. This was especially with respect to the 1986 election that eventually elected Bishop Aipa. There was a lot of campaigning in that election in some circles I remember I heard of something like “this one if he can be the one then we are going to buy a goat then eventually bury it.

These stories concerned the people who were in the circles of Fr. Aipa. He was too close especially to one family, Chapenga from Nkhotakota. People used to say that he was going around to the medicine men seeking African medicines. To me that was very unchristian, people soliciting sort of medical support. In a nutshell there was a lot of campaigning, in my mind obviously soliciting campaign with those in the electoral college with Malango. I know Malango knew all these stories, he might have been told what Nat (that is, Bishop Aipa) was doing.

I remember Malango’s wife would say all we are hearing all these stories, Aipa is campaigning is doing this and this. In such situations the campaigning is always there. The question of whether it is a good or bad thing depends. To campaign would not be a bad thing, but it is a question of how you actually do it. Here it is the question of integrity whether one is involved in corruption or bribery. I know campaigning was there. I think the name of Kaswaya was coming up then. Even when the new Diocese of Northern Malawi was formed, his name was being mentioned but the people from the north categorically said we want a white bishop. However others wanted Kaswaya because he came from Likoma. Immediately before the elections his name was coming up more frequently.

HM: Are you suggesting that an element of regionalism or tribalism was involved?

OS: Oh! Yes, certainly.

HM: How free was the debate in the elective assembly? Was there an atmosphere of freedom of debate?

OS: The issue of debate, I personally do not think there had developed a culture where people could debate freely. Even though I have never been in the Elective Assembly, my feeling is that no free debate takes place. My reason for saying this is because of what I said earlier on. People who go there because of their campaign mind have more or less already made up their mind as who can be the candidate. I don’t think there is much freedom. I think the biggest challenge is how the Archbishop can allow the atmosphere be free of some constraints.

HM: Even though it is generally held that Bishop Ainani was elected and yet given Arden’s style of leadership and character described by some informant as able ‘to hold facts and manipulate them’ don’t you think he might have been responsible for weaving the election of Ainani.

OS: I think what you say is very likely.

HM: One of my other informants recalled that sometime when he was visiting one of the missionaries and was serving the later a cup of tea happened to have overhead Arden and the others deciding on Ainani as the successor of Arden. Do you believe this story can be genuine?

OS: I would also think that likely for the missionaries were always a closely-knit small circle of friends or acquaintances. One gets the feeling that the election of Ainani was a foregone conclusion. Even some people had the impression that he was somewhat handpicked.

HM: I want to thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to have come to talk to you especially at such a short notice. I know you are a very busy person.

OS: You are welcome.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Bishop NS, Anonymous

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

Harare, Zimbabwe

30th May 2001

HM: Bishop I am very delighted to see you most especially for allowing me to talk to you on the issue of the election of bishops. I know it is a sensitive subject but I have every hope that you will assist me in this regard. The process is a closed one and is supposed to be a "holy event", with the Holy Spirit taking full control. What is your personal experience of the elections?

NS: My own experience and not others. Don't be cheated in any election there is a campaign. It may not be open but a very tactical one which is done in a very subtle way. For example, I was pushed in 1980 the name of my great predecessor, X to be the bishop of Sand he made it. I had to approach several people and convince them. Now about my election, there are two elements, you see am an intellectual and an academic but you can't completely rule out certain things as dreams etc though being an academic. No

matter what election of any kind involve some sort of a campaign since there is a competition. I myself am very good, I know how to plan and scheme things, I am now just telling you this. I had wanted to be bishop but somehow in the past things never worked out.

In 1994, I left for the USA to study where I also taught because I had been frustrated. In 1979, you can imagine I was refused to be ordained, shall I say Bishop HP refused to ordain me, he had never seen such a situation one wanting to be a deacon with a degree and two diplomas, it was threatening. Anyway I left for the states. Now about my election, I talked to one lay man who was very influential a few weeks before the elections he talked to key leaders who would be in the elective assembly, convincing them. It was like this, a very clever way but subtle. He arranged with me to be listening to my intercom when he was talking to the others on the phone.

For obvious reasons, he brought up four names, say G, then another, and so on up to the fourth. Talking to the individual influential people he would begin by suggesting a name., first saying all the positive things, how about this one, then the other one would say oh! He is not suitable because of such and such. Then he would deliberately make the other person believe that oh! Yes, this man has such faults, he would do this for all the names but when it came to my name then he would stress all the positive points thereby strengthening my case while I was listening on the other end while the other person was actually not aware of this.

As I said earlier on though I am an intellectual. I can not rule out my own personal religious experience. Right back in 1975, I was dreaming I was wearing a purple cassock amongst the three others (four of us in all) and there was a ray of beam of light which was focussing on me. Then of course I was never elected bishop then. In 1994, one night my sister, older than me woke me up and told me that I had been elected bishop. She had seen a star rising from the East (Manicaland). The same night the other lady also dreamt that I had been elected bishop. I told my sister that it was not true because somebody else had been elected. It was bishop C, my own cousin.

Some few years Mrs. N, the elderly wife of the priest who call me "son" told me that she had dreamt that I had been elected bishop. She would not remember now because even then her dream was not too clear. Anyway, what I want to stress is that God wants you no matter what things happen. When I went to the states it was with the intention of settling down there. I remember one of the men there said one of these days we shall go to Zimbabwe to see you consecrated. Those friends of mine made that quilt you see on the wall. One thing that strengthened me was my visit to the shrine of Bernard Mizeki and Shirley Cripps at Marondella. I preached a powerful sermon and I felt was present there. I told the people God is present here on this tree. (The tree produces natural sup, it "cries" or "weeps") There and then I saw the branch of the tree break weighing down. I remember a few days later someone wrote to me that God had elected me

bishop that day.

Now consider this incredible situation. When the elective assembly gathered those who knew me, they knew the other candidates because they had been to school together. My name had been in the original nomination list in the proceedings led by the Dean but was scraped by the influential white men of the cathedral. This white man had written many letters to people not to vote for me.

However, I was told, for I was not there, that before the election took place, Archbishop Malango said, I believe God is telling me that we need to add two other names to the three. Then almost from nowhere, somebody proposed my name and was seconded. They voted in the first ballot I did not achieve the sufficient majority needed. Second ballot they voted, then by the third ballot I took 90 percent of the votes. Others had shifted their votes to me. When the archbishop announced that I had been elected some white members of the cathedral wept. As I say now G has resigned as the principal of the college, one white priest has resigned as well.

HM: Bishop, I would like to thank you so much for the time we have had together. I would like to assure you that I will treat this in confidence and I will keep you as anonymous in my work.

NS: Thank you too. I wish you God's blessings on your work.

HM: I must also thank you bishop for your time that you shared with me.

Interviewee: Bishop Peter Hatendi

Former Bishop of Harare

The Cathedral of St. Mary the Virgin, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

31st May 2001

Deacon, 22nd December, 1957

Priest, 21st December, 1958

HM: My name is Henry. I am an Anglican priest, a student studying at the University of Natal in South Africa but also working there. I am very grateful indeed that you have given me the opportunity to speak to you.

PH: You are welcome.

HM: I would like to talk first about St. John's Seminary where am made to understand you once worked.

PH: Oh! Yes, indeed.

HM: Reading in the diocesan archives in Malawi shows that St. John's Seminary for the larger period of its existence experienced problems in relationship between staff and students. It seemed to have racial overtones as well. In 1969, according to the sources the problems were so critical that it had been resolved to bring in Fr. Ralph Hatendi. It was subsequently noticed that the presence of Fr. Hatendi had helped to improve the situation. You must be the Hatendi being referred to.

PH: Yes, certainly. I arrived in September in 1968 and indeed when I got there the staff was hundred percent white. The other important thing is that I was a married lecturer. I interacted with the students in the classroom and pastoral level, not that I was asked to pastor the students. It became imperative some of them were married and had marriage problems. The other problem related to the crossing the Rhodesia-Zambian border. I remember to have interviewed the state officials on the problem. It was the problem which I felt unless resolved then the college would have to close one day because of the border problem. There wasn't very much close relationship between the students and the white staff. So what was purely administrative when it came to writing reports the issues tended to have a cultural dimension. I myself was lecturing Old Testament. Other issues there were parallels with African culture such as marriage. I interpreted the local situation with the authority from the Bible.

HM: I read in the archives of tensions between some Malawian students, like Aidan Misi and Weller, Joseph Likoleche with Fr. Hunter. It is even alleged that the staff were spying on the students. What do you know about these allegations?

PH: That there were problems with staff spying on the students there is some truth, because of the college's multinational nature I wouldn't be surprise for even in my position now assisting Fr. Gandiya in the college I can sense that when a member of staff joins the students the students don't feel comfortable. The problem at St. John's pertained to identity, what the students saw themselves and what they thought they would be in future.

HM: Was there any problems relating to the alleged disparity in allowances given to different students from the different diocese?

PH: I remember those who came here received more than the others.

HM: When I asked Fr. Mikaya, a former student now in Botswana, if there was favouritism towards the Rhodesian students to the disadvantage of the others, especially the Malawian student, he said yes especially with respect to the fact others were being allowed to drive a college vehicle.

PH: This thing was done privately, it was not that the students were advised that if they got a driving license it would be an advantage. I remember Mr. Murombedzi had to stay back, it was a private arrangement that occurred. Assumption can be made but it is very difficult to equalise in every case, what is uniquely done for the students because of personalities and so needs are different. There was also a problem of leadership, who is the leader of pack? Which country does he come from? An assumption can be made as long as those things are not challenged.

There was a mutual mistrust between the staff and the students. We looked life from different angles. Student-lecturer relationship is different from staff to staff. These problems must be understood in the context of its time. This was the period when Kenneth Kaunda was becoming his own, you couldn't just but admire his leadership or keep your mouth shut. This context could have affected white staff and students relationship with some staff members acting defensively since they were threatened. However, having said that a new horizon of relationship became possible. I was very close to Bishop Philemon Mataka and the students liked Bishop Mataka coming regularly.

I see Likoleche's sayings reflects John Mbiti's African philosophy. It was an issue of identity. Even today here in Harare at Bishop's Gaul College where I am a teacher, the issue of identity comes up, who are you? What are going to be in future? The question of identity was certainly a major issue amongst the students at St. John's Seminary. It came in the form of a mental question what relevance is what am doing with my culture or tradition as an African? Am I being uprooted? The student has to struggle with that or obey the dictates of his culture.

HM: I think you are right. However, as you say identity was an issue, it must have in response or in reaction to some forces or the dynamics of interactions with life in the seminary. Was it not a clash of identities white versus African?

PH: The time I was there Malawi and Zambia had just attained independence, not yet liberated in their country, students from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) would have a heavy feeling of being domination. On the other hand, with respect to the Malawian and Zambian students being from the recently liberated naturally they asserted themselves more than the Zimbabweans. One would have expected that even in their correspondence they would have showed this spirit of assertion and independence.

HM: Have you personally been involved in electing bishops in this Province?

PH: Let me say those which came after me. I think Naledi election a possibility, and who else? The problem with elections is that there is a selection who go to attend. Yes there was one in Kitwe.

HM: How did it go? What were the main issues?

PH: There were disagreements amongst the candidates, the representatives of the vacant diocese would not agree amongst themselves. This eventually led to a powerful struggle, split of votes, consequently denial of one candidate a two-third majority necessary to qualify for election.

HM: What happened then?

PH: The bishops of the Province then appointed a bishop for them.

HM: In terms of your long experience, what are the major problems in electing a bishop in the Church of the Province of Central Africa?

PH: It is a lack of policy regarding whether or not to canvass for selection. There is nothing definite about that. The question is to what extent should that go. The traditional theory is that the candidate (bishop) is called by God. To me this is a major weakness. The canons are silent on this issue. They neither provide for lobbying nor prohibit it. Even though there is a lot of caucassing, it is merely assumed that the candidates will take a passive role. In the traditional way the candidate doesn't take initiative, he will assume a sort of role that the disciples are called. There is a weakness in the system, even though the candidates are generally are not allowed to canvass. The problem is that when it goes it goes with perks, something has to be done immediately. The church should put its eyes on God for potential candidates.

HM: Thank you so much for the time that you gave me. I really appreciate your contribution. You have made me wiser now than before I entered this room.

PH: You are most welcome.

HM: Thank you.

Interviewee: Mr. Bernard Blaise Chimsalazo

Former Anglican (since 1940s member of the Jehovah's Witness) Mamelodi, Pretoria

Interviewer: Henry Mbaya

7th May, 2003

HM: Mr. Chimsalazo I am very privileged that you are still living at the age of 93. As you know am a student of the University of Natal studying history. My subject matter is the Anglican clergy in Malawi. I am sure you can share with me some of your experience about the relationship between the missionary priests and the African priests during the time when you were growing up in Nkhotakota. I am particularly concerned about the interaction between the European priests and the Malawian priests. One of the issues am examining is the effect of missionary education on training. Let me begin by asking you. According to what you may recall what was the standard of education like in the UMCA missions as compared to the Scottish missions?

BBC: There was a big difference between the two. The Church of Scotland at Bandawe or Livingstonia there were teaching English which was of a much higher standard. They started teaching English at the earliest stage. In the UMCA schools, at Nkhotakota and Likoma they did not stress the teaching of English. Yes, I forgot something there was a big difference in the manner students from the two missions spoke. Those from Livingstonia spoke with a heavy Scottish accent while from the UMCA they spoke with light English accent. The difference was on the tone, you would easily distinguish an African taught by the UMCA or Scottish mission in those days. Say for example the way one pronounced the letter "r". The Scottish trained students pronounced it with a heavier accent than the UMCA trained.

HM: Now, let us go back a little further. As a product of those schools yourself, will you tell me please what was the fundamental difference in approach and attitude to the education of the Africans between the two missions?

BBC: growing up in Nkhotakota, I got a strong feeling that in the UMCA English was not very much encouraged. Yes, they were teaching English but as compared to the Scottish Church they were far behind Let me take an example of a friend of mine whom you know, Billy. Billy was very bright in class, I mean in the lower classes, A, B, something like that. His English was very good. However, I remember that after he had been to Likoma to train as a teacher I noticed he was not very keen to speak English. It was very strange to some of us his friends to notice that he was very reluctant to speak English.

HM: Why did he change?

BBC: Now that you ask me this question, when I reflect now I believe that it had something to do with the thinking of the English missionaries themselves for why was it that the Scottish missionaries were different

from the missionaries?

HM: What do you mean when you say that it had to do with their thinking? What did you observe about the thinking of the English missionaries as opposed to the Scottish missionaries?

BBC: As I said the Scottish missionaries tried their best to teach the Africans good English, they gave the best while the UMCA were not very keen. It seems to me that the two missionaries were different because of the way they looked at the African they were different. It was like here in South Africa. You know when I came here in South Africa in 1945, the boers did not think very much about the African and did not want an African to go very far in education.

HM: Are you suggesting that the situation in Malawi with respect to the English missionaries was like here in South Africa with respect to the boers and the African people?

BBC: It was political propaganda just like South Africa. You know Verwoerd would go to the chiefs and tell them that it is right to have your own chief.

HM: What are saying? What do you mean?

BBC: The Africans had their own life while the boers had theirs here in South Africa.

HM: Now how does that relate to what you are saying about the situation in Malawi?

BBC: What am trying to say is that UMCA education for the Africans was low because the Europeans in the Anglican Church did not think much about the Africans. They were looked down upon. They segregated us. We could not stay together. If you wanted to speak in their presence they were not happy. My friend Billy was a teacher and he did not like to speak English nor did he want us to speak English. This was after he had been to Likoma to train as a teacher.

HM: Why was he reluctant to speak English?

BBC: I believe that while in Likoma he had been instructed not to speak English.

HM: Did you ask him why did he not want to speak English?

BBC: Not really. It was something which we picked up in his life. Training at Likoma had changed his life.

It was a common thing in those days. It was difficult to be very close to the teachers, they were like the priests. They belonged to their own class of people.

HM: Would you please tell me what was it like from the foundation phase of School?

BBC: You started school in ABC. In those class you had to learn “Khalani Maso” (Be Aware) From Khalani maso to “Penyani.bwino”(See well). No this is not a guess. After “Penyani bwino” you were given a cross, that is, after 5 years. After “Penya bwino” to Aesop by all this time no English was taught. From Aesop you went to Sub A. Now at this time you had to do the alphabet in English in contrast to the previous years where the alphabet was done in the vernacular, Chinyanja. From Sub A into Sub B where you were taught elementary English. From Sub B into standard 1. I have forgotten the book we used to read I think it was Longman. The colour of the book was green. From that stage you went to standard 2 and so on to standard 4. In standard 4 you did government entrance examination. From this you would go to train as a teacher.

HM: Thank you so much. Now can you tell me the relationship between the European and African missionaries? What was it like?

BBC: They were not equals in the first place. Both were priests but with there were differences, I can say vast differences.

HM: In what ways?

BBC: The Europeans had their own life. You see there in Linga, Nkhotakota, the whites were living alone in their own quarters next to the fig tree, next to the mezzani (dinning hall). There was apartheid. They lived alone in the mission premises while the African priests lived way outside the mission quarters on the western side. The African priests such as the Reverend Lawrence Chisui had their own living quarters. There they stayed alone with their families. They only went down the mission quarters for prayers and meetings but otherwise they lived their own life.

HM: Are you saying that other than praying together there was not much socialisation?

BBC: No, not really. As far as I can recall relationship between the two groups was on a low scale.

HM: Can you give an example?

BBC: I know that Father Lawrence Chisui who I saw and knew when I was growing up there at Linga. I

remember Father Chisui would be invited only once in a year at Christmas to eat with lunch with the missionaries in the mezzani. He was a guest of the missionaries only once in a year, and I don't remember even one day that he went there with his wife and family. What I mean is that clearly a social barrier existed between the two groups.

HM: What was the cause of this social barrier?

BBC: I don't know. Obviously the two groups could not be closely together because they had different customs and culture. The African clergy could not mix easily with the whites because they themselves felt that they were isolated. The whites had their own life while the Africans had theirs. May be they liked it that way. However, for us observers it seems the whites were arrogant.

HM: Why was it like that?

BBC: As priests they were at least supposed to socialise more openly but to us it seems the two groups lived in their own worlds.

HM: Was this a problem for the African clergy?

BBC: I don't know. It is difficult to say how they felt but I think they had to live with the system as it was designed.

HM: Thank you so much for sharing with me this information.

BBC: Well, I am too old now at the age of 93. I cannot remember everything. I hope I have said something which might help you.

HM: Thank you so much.

BBC: Thank you too for chatting with me reminding me about my days as a young man growing up in Nkhotakota.

HM: Thank you.

Mr. Matthew Chinthiti, formerly senior Bank Manager, National Bank of Malawi

Most senior member of the DSC, Board of Finance (Chairman), Church warden, St Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre

Currently (1999) serving a sentence at Zomba Prison. Age: circ. 60

Q.1 (a): What was the atmosphere (environment) of the Elective Assembly such as would make electors freely to discuss the candidate especially the ones that elected bishop Aipa and, or Bishop Ainani?

(b) In your observation or assessment what were the problems which would face the electors not to speak freely or enable them to speak freely?

Bishop D. Ainani (1980) the situation was somewhat different to that of Bishop B.N. Aipa. Bishop Ainani was already Suffragan bishop and one would say he was in transit to the substantive position of the bishop whenever task despite the possibilities of the presence of another candidate on the scene. His choice was quite obvious and predominant. With regard to the time of Bishop Aipa, the atmosphere was so tense, in that the electors were supposed to have been independent, an element of bias by some was suspected. This was evident because after being successfully elected, after the results, Bishop Aipa used to remark or point fingers at some people or names who did not want him to become a bishop.

In general otherwise, the electors were free to discuss about a candidate in accordance with their terms of reference. In my observation or assessment if among the electors an element of "my home man or my priest from my parish" wishes this would always render free speech rather difficult or suspect to the electors of opposing views. One would always hold back his/her opinion about a candidate test he/she is regarded otherwise colleagues. In that situations one may tend just to go along with what the majority have agreed upon. In all fairness to the electors, they had all the freedom to debate on the attributes weaknesses of the candidates as it was expected of them.

2(a) What would you attribute the election of Bishop Aipa to? Or What would have been the factors that influenced his election?

(b) What role would either Bishop Ainani or Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhulu?

(a) Bishop B.N. Aipa was an extrovert and had served in several parishes including the urban parishes he was quite an experienced priest. He easily adapted himself to the new environments whenever an opportunity availed itself and he was also well known by many parishioners in the diocese among many these are the points which attributed to his election. I feel the factors which influenced his election were

that his age was acceptable and his academic and theological training background was good. Amongst the candidate nominated at the time, he appeared to have been a more suitable one in his command of the English language was good. Among the clergy in the diocese, with experience in terms of service and the Anglican doctrine, there were many who could have been nominated but their handicap was old age and little academic exposure those who could have reviled Bishop Aipa, were either found to be just fresh from the theological college/ summary, therefore, had not served for a long time for them to have gained enough experience. He was well known by the archbishop and others in the diocese.

(b) I don't think Bishop Ainani nor Archbishop Khotso played any influencing role in the election of Bishop Aipa. They might have done as in a low profile, but not exposed to the congregations. Maybe Bishop Ainani might have done so among the parishioners nominating a candidate. Suppose it's common knowledge that the senior clergy would always express a name of an individual who is considered suitable for promotion. One would say may be bishop Ainani would have insinuated to the Archbishop Khotso the suitability of bishop Aipa to succeed him

f' the other fact is that they did not come to the crisis in order to decide on an individual.

2. Bishop B.N. Aipa

He came in after experiencing what Bishop Ainani had done. During this time he was a parish priest at Soche before serving in other districts. Obviously he came with the feeling that whatever mistakes his predecessor was making, he could not commit or instead his mission was to change the administration for the better. The problem of handing over the Church leadership expatriate bishops/ missionaries was that of leaving them/us with a very poor financial base. When Malawi attained its independence, they felt Malawians should go on a self-supporting system, back up support for recurrent expenditure was completely severed. So the bishop resorted to begging abroad. This affected their leadership. Whenever things were going wrong or needed repairs, these were no immediate coffers to turn to. Such poverty led to these bishops not releasing funds sought in the name of the Church /projects in the diocese.

I am the boss syndrome was strongly prevalent to the extent that both the clergy and Headmasters staff were always threatened either to be dismissed or transferred to a remote parish, in the case of the priest. While the diocese was autonomous, the Provincial Head was not monitoring the administration as it were. These situations left the laity D.S.C. with the very limited powers to deal with the bishop's follies.

The other problem was that if a bishop travelled abroad, he never took with him a lay person, say secretary, financial man to strengthen his pleas whenever discussing matters of financial and project nature. This was where the danger was because the benefactors, if willing, were only known to him or issued cheques in his name. Because of contacts abroad, this gave the leadership style a certain edge over the local Church.

Overall, I strongly feel a bishop as a Head of the Church, he is supposed to be given all the respect and whatever he said is supposed to be obeyed or with little resistance, because no person can remove him from the seat.

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Remarks to:

Q2. In general, Malawians are very polite and tend to respect or follows instructions or orders with less opposition. The other problem I feel is the nature of and type of the political system that existed at the time with its indoctrinating leadership. These, therefore, based on to the Churches or religious organisations the concept of obedient laity. The other point is the background of our colonial Church or missionary leadership. It played a very important part in the subsequent succession of the Church leadership especially Bishop Arden. One would always say, oh, is it because I am of the same colour and yet during the time of Bishop Arden, for instance, you were not behaving in the opposing manner.

1. Bishop D. Ainani.

Having just taken over from an expatriate bishop, it was tricky for anyone to show resentment openly because it was the time of transition and most of the lay staff and clergy alike were still in employment. Therefore, in some ways, he emulated what the predecessor was doing and if changes come these were gradual. The other aspects that during the time of Arden, the diocese administration, at headquarters was centred on the two, him and his wife, Mrs. Jane Arden. There was always stop valves against him, as the laity would always say something like this is worthy way that was run. As a boss, however things had to change to suit his taste of leadership. Having been a Suffragan bishop, Anani's service under this category was not long to have enabled him gained more experience and absolute confidence. The other factor was that Lake Malawi Diocese at that time had Bishop Nyanja, a Malawian, and therefore, the idea that our diocese should also have a Malawian bishop was quite high. Bishop Ainani, therefore, was full of ideas that, if so and so can do it, why not me.

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There could have been things run by Bishop Arden which did not please us and Bishop Ainani being a fellow Malawian it was presumed that he would understand the issues/ problems better. So a lot was expected of him in terms of flexibility and not being too rigid in considering issues.

Bishop D. Ainani. Remarks to:

Q3. (1) His relationship with or amongst the clergy can be described as quite good. But as a human being an element of favouritism cannot spare him. The Anglican Church is one of the Churches in the country that has had many old timers who have been serving under the early bishops. Their education background was somewhat not high and good, unlike the current breed of priests who had been to secondary schools. Therefore, the clergy were quite loyal to him.

The other problem has been not all was known about their clergy conferences. The issues were kept as a secret. Only when then there were burning issues and dissenting individuals could not directly say so in a meeting that they would seek help from a lay member to raise such an issue at the DSC meeting. The clergy as supposed to be transferred anywhere their services were required. But as human being some felt there were too long in the rural areas than in urban areas. Here the problem was evident.

(2) The laity as individuals or completely worked well with him in general. He did not feel that his position was threatened. However, this took a "u" turn when conflict arose between him and Andrew Hamisi who was then his diocese secretary. It would seemed that Mr. Hamisi was aware of the financial mal-practices of his boss, so he also followed suite and he also started soliciting funds form our traditional organisations abroad, especially in Birmingham and this went to his personal account. A car was purchased in this manner for himself.

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Whenever he made a mistake he always did not resist. He worked well with the DSC and the Board of Finance. I cannot recall that I heard him being involved in profanity or socialising in pubs, bottle stores or hotels. If he was then it means he was highly secretive. His relationship with the laity or corporately was quite good. He could listen to advice and act on some of them.

3b Bishop BN Aipa

His relations with or amongst the clergy was quite divided. The old timers were quite loyal but were often at loggerheads with the young ones who always stood their ground whenever they felt they had a strong point to oppose his decision. The clergy were also not happy with his life style which they felt was demeaning the church and ministry. For instance, there was an alleged incidence whereby he was transferring a young priest from Chilomoni to Mangochi just because he was one of those who either co-signed a letter of displeasure regarding the style of his episcopacy. An element of favouritism was highly expected amongst the clergy. Some were retained in the urban areas for others transfers occurred from one rural to the other. This did not go well with some of them. It was a mixed state of affairs considering the allegiance clergy have towards their bishop.

2. The majority of the individuals and corporately were not happy with the way the bishop conducted himself and ran the affairs of the church. He had a tendency of picking on individuals as being against him or perpetuating his downfall. Even at the worst time of his episcopacy, the Board of Finance tried to defend him at DSC but he still considered the Board as a threat to his position and that it wanted him out. His disposition was somewhat whimsical and it appears that he was more happy and comfortable amongst the opposite sex than his own. As human beings some felt comfortable with him, especially those from his own area and relatives. From the beginning following his consecration the laity showed the overwhelming support for him. But the moment his life style was exposed, things changed, very few people spoke good of him. The point to remember is that churches or parishes are made up of the laity who matter in most issue, in their Parishes or society in general. So the life of a church depend on them. The laity felt the Bishop was letting down the Anglican Church.

3(a) Where you at the election of Fr Henry Mikaya in 1976 in Lilongwe? Did people speak honestly about him? why did allegations come up later on which prevented his confirmation as a Bishop?

(b) When Archbishop Khotso came in 1996 for a DSC what was your understanding of his main agenda for his coming?

(c) What image or style of leadership have Bishops Aipa or Ainani projected in their episcopacy?

I did not attend the election of Fr. Mikaya in 1976 in Lilongwe. My remarks are based on hearsy. It seems that people spoke in line with what they knew, but ignorant of the allegations. An element of jealousy existed and someone must have investigated the revelation of the allegation to have had it exposed. What I

heard is that Fr Mikaya was confident of the nomination and the election, since he was a suitable candidate at the time and he even went to the UK or was it on training exposure and had his vestments purchased. When he returned he found things had gone sour, the cat was out of the sleeve and consequently he was dropped. Following the confusion it seems Bishop Donald Arden handpicked the incumbent bishop of Lake Malawi, who is a teacher by profession the way I heard.

One can deduce as to who might have been behind the downfall of Fr Mikaya. It is therefore clear that the electors may have been ignorant of the allegation. If one or some were aware of it, they may have decided not to be regarded as trouble shooters, who would be mentioned afterwards to have revealed what was a secret. I therefore cannot comment with a degree of authority or certainty that the people spoke honestly about them or not. For sure someone somewhere must have been ambitious for the position of Bishop that he played his cards for a late exposure of the situation experienced at the time.

3(b) The Diocesan problems had become unbearable towards the end of Bishop Ainani's episcopacy, hence the coming of Archbishop Khotso in 1986 was somewhat to solve the problem that was bad at the time. There were accusations and counter accusations between Bishop Ainani and the then Diocesan Secretary, Mr. Andrew Hamisi. The DSC were satisfied following the financial report that things were going wrong in the Diocese and that the bishop and the Diocesan Secretary were grossly abusing their positions. The relationship was really sour and the Parishes were not happy with the state of affairs that existed at the time. The DSC therefore demanded of the Archbishop the removal of the bishop.

However, Archbishop Khotso as is the case did not want to be dictated to. Having received all presentations the subsequent results were that Bishop Ainani went on retirement and Archbishop Khotso had to provide finance privately to meet Bishop Ainani's other retirement pecks. The predicament here is that DSC cannot dismiss its bishop but can only recommend to the Archbishop for action in accordance with the canons. The problems were that external financial assistance or requests were made in the name of the Diocese and whenever, such aid or help was given, it usually came in the name of the bishop or secretary. Such funds never passed through the Diocesan books or book accounts, instead they were banked into their personal accounts.

These remittances came to light when either foreign benefactors made inquiries on the projects for which funds were intended, or if someone visited the UK and in the course of discussions or requests mention was usually made to the previous funds. The Archbishop normally backed his bishops and did not want to be bulldozed by the laity, somewhat. The problem here has been that the clergy with their allegiance to their bishop, have always been afraid to come up openly with what was going wrong, even when they were

fully aware of the facts. So Archbishop Khotso's coming was to settle the issues that were now disturbing the running of the Diocese.

3(c) Bishop BN Aipa's and D Ainai's style of leadership

I personally feel that a person's background and exposure plays a greater part to one's style of leadership. This of course means academic and training in a profession one finally finds oneself in. Bishop Ainani joined the ministry from a military background.

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His leadership, therefore, was more or less biased towards that background. Giving instructions to subordinates and making decisions, to those who were aware of his past, easily made out how and why his performance was like. In all fairness this was not bad, no. In terms of maturity this was quite evident and that he was more of a family man. This is to say that no news or rumours about his social life was circulating, if anything, at all. He had self respect in that he respected his position and upheld the standard of seeing that the diocese remained liked and respected. Financial weakness was later revealed which spankled of misunderstanding in the administration.

In this case the funds at times, deposited to his account were resumed and only benefited the resultant interest therefore from. He cared for his clergy and lay staff as further training was quite evident, for those who deserved it. He was, therefore, considered as a person who did his best for the Church to remain together and grow in the Gospel. With regard to Bishop Aipa, he started from secondary education to the seminary or theological college.

From this background one would have expected a more stable leadership. He also kind in some ways or the other, as he was sympathetic in most times. One would feel more inclined to classify him as a director in the way. He was more of "I am the bishop's boss and nobody can oppose me". He was often at loggerheads with the board of finance and headquarters staff. He did not want anyone to advise him otherwise especially in financial matters. He went to spend money carelessly not even observing agreed budget. His insistations in most cases were not successfully placed. If they were, most of them were impromptu.

The lifestyle of Bishop Aipa left much to be desired, and people thought that by ascending to the higher position of a bishop, this could have changed him for the better. Instead the opposite was the case, as he was the man of authority and that nobody could get in his way. During his time in the parish as a priest it was alleged that he had been frequenting bars or bottle-stores. During his episcopacy, he was also found in similar places, or hotels, or lodges and motels in the company of the opposite sex. The opposite sex appeared to have been the best of his company. He rarely took his wife to places of busy. Because of this and what was being heard about him, the Board of Finance at one of its meetings had to tell him that his wife had to accompany him to all his parish visits or even leisure travels. He had to bring his wife to the people and be an example to the clergy and laity alike. The things he did in public drinking and kissing and disappearing to rooms, chatels were more damaging to him and the church. The worst exposure was that of receiving funds from the Lutheran Church in Germany for the church but these were put into his account and adultery committed in his office to the extent that a child was born after the girl became pregnant. These were many such allegations made against him. Bishop Aipa was written about in the press after his deeds were opposed, to the disappointment of the State President, one of his known friends. This was contrary to Bishop Ainani whose case was an in house issue. Bishop Aipa's style was more autocratic and "do what I say and not what I do type." As a spiritual father he failed the Anglican Christians more as he did not project a good life of a bishop as it was expected of him. Bishop Ainani at least he did his best to bring the church together.

The Christians were not disintegrating during Ainani's time the way it was during Aipa's period. Parishioners had even stopped sending their quotas to the headquarters. The church collections were even dwindling in parishes, e.g. Holy innocent and St George's Parishes were withholding their quotas because of the way the financial controls were, at the time of Bishop Aipa's leadership. To give him credit he was a cheerful man, who could act on requests for help, especially if such a request came from the opposite sex. He had a habit of not chairing DSC meetings or walking out of meetings casually.

The problems surrounding bishop Aipa and the church appeared simple and were complex. It had to be established whether or not DSC had power to act or not and that were the canons saying in situation we had found ourselves?

1. When DSC addressed the Archbishop frequenting him to take action, he said DSC did not follow the right procedure in line with canon 12 and 24/ 22.

2. DSC was some how demanding or instructing the Archbishop to be firm and remove the bishop. He did not like that.
3. On the occasion on profanity, the need was to have some to testify that he really was caught in the act.
4. There were legal technicalities whereby the archbishop felt if the diocese strongly felt the bishop guilty on financial matters, DSC should have had some litigations instituted where by the bishop should have defended themselves before possible taking the case to provincial court.
5. The issue should have gone to the provincial chancellor who was the adviser to the archbishop and he should have first investigated the case and then could have given his recommendation to the archbishop for action.
6. While DSC and his commission of inquiry thought they had wrapped up the case, more allegations surfaced. This was adultery cased and all the evidence came to the fore. To complicate the whole issue, this issued leaked to the press and to an article on the matter and other ills, appeared to the chagrin of most of us.
7. The bishop was banished to his village which in a way did not please the archbishop.
8. This was the first crisis of his kind in the country and no precedent was set before. Our chancellor was acting from a point of no practical experience in his regard.
9. The whole issue was compounded by the transfer of the provincial chancellor from Zimbabwe to Zambia.
10. The bishop who were sent to investigate the allegations did not leave or advise/ report of their findings in the time. The absence of the provincial chancellor, meant the archbishop had to appoint someone.
11. The bishop was not even attending Episcopal Synods because of the problems.
12. The Lutheran Church in Germany, although they confirmed in correspondences about the funds, they could not present themselves before any court, because they equally fell ashamed and let down. Even when their representatives came here, Bishop Aipa avoided them. He left him to the care of Mrs. A.

Chilirankhwambe, the Mothers' Union worker, who was also involved in the financial transactions. But the board of finance had a meeting with them at Kaphirizinja cottage where everything was confirmed among other correspondence we had.

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Q5. The problems in the Anglican Church in Southern Malawi were heavy and damaging. The church was disintegrating and some of the Christians started not going to church. A church that was strong with its background was now regarded as not having good leadership.

After the pomp with splendour that went with Bishop Aipa's consecration attended by the Head of State was now diluted and disappointed a lot of people. The Church and its followers had lost the respect it had and it became an uphill to build or reconstruct the lost glory. To err is human they say, but a bishop is a public figure and anything he does is supposed to be of good example to the clergy and laity alike.

There was a lot of finger pointing, accusing each other as to who was responsible for the downfall of the Bishop. So, there were adverse effects for and against. It was an obvious situation that those who were close to the bishop felt that the Board of Finance or the commission among others were responsible for the downfall and disgrace of the Bishop. In general, the Diocese in the South was in a state of confusion somewhat. Although a Vicar General was around, still he operated with less enthusiasm or not with full authority in a way he would have worked if the bishop were not subjected to the circumstances he had found himself during that period. For other church's clergy to read about our bishop in the press, it was very much shameful indeed.

We are aware such things happen to other clergy of other churches, but one seldom reads about them, apart from hearsay. So I would not wish to commit myself to an opinion of likening the two bishops to anybody. However, in terms of the way they regarded themselves as the ultimate authority and subordinate to nobody maybe within the country. To ascertain degree Bishop Aipa could be likened to the bishop of Lake Malawi, as he too had a low profile profanity issues which did not explode. Let me not dwell on this and let it be regarded as if I never said or mentioned it. I am aware that we handled this at ACM level. Diocesan Headquarters in Lilongwe were awash with the news. With him it was with his office secretary, a married woman. There was more to it than the ear could bear.

Q7 1. Bishop D Ainani

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Having taken over from bishop Donald Arden, I feel he had an influence on him somewhat. He tried to emulate Bishop Donald's way of running things in order to maintain standards. Episcopal Synod had influence on him, because as they met and discussed matters pertaining to the province, I feel he was able to learn from the others how they were running their Dioceses, thereby build his confidence.

The local synod and the DSC influenced him in a way that out of the meetings and representations from different parishes he was able to come to senses about certain things he was not sure of before, to decide on. Overseas contacts known or unknown, had influence on him - i.e Birmingham Diocese because of continued financial support. The support he got from the Archbishop in Botswana. Bishop Ainani composed the hymns and we happily praise the Lord with them. He showed that he was serious with his episcopacy.

2. Bishop BN Aipa

The local synod and DSC, Board of Finance which appeared to have been in touch with him most of the time. The activities of this board determined the way operations were to be run. Other dioceses 'bishops, local or at Provincial Synod- Episcopal, the independence of being able to run his own affairs. He was an intimate friend of late Bishop Clement Shaba of Zambia. They were often together, obviously he must have had influenced him. Clergy conferences must have had influence over him because of their allegiance to him. Most of their meetings were usually affirmative, thereby giving him the strength to rein in the manner he did.

Q8. A diocesan head is a bishop and in most cases our local bishops, have little, or none at all in terms of financial or administrative skills. They maybe good priests but without good leadership skills. We know one does not train to become a bishop, but develop the skills on the job or at parish level. The Church's canons are standard and there is need to review them, say, after ten years. Too much powers are given to the bishops or there is a lot of beaurocracy as it was evidenced during the case of bishop Aipa. DSC/ Synod should have powers to deal with an indisciplined bishop. Mothers' Union bodies should not be a prerogative of a Bishop as is the case now, but should be answerable to the

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DSC/Synod. The clergy should have some rights to criticise the diocese and if they are aspects of change, these must be discussed at Synod or DSC. For example you go to a parish the act contrary to the way one is accustomed. The element of High Church and Low Church should be discussed. I feel the High Church standard should be maintained. We should also be careful not to reform just for the sake of doing so, we may be losing the more valuable aspects of our doctrine and traction.

For example some parishes stand when the priest gives the blessing instead of kneeling. In recent years there has been a lot of gains from other denominations to us and most of such people are whites, Baptist or Churches of Christ and they have a tendency of introducing their ways of worshipping than following what they have found. It has been evident at St Paul's Cathedral. Blantyre, although they have not succeeded yet.

Q9.1 Bishop D. Ainani

By virtue of his military background, his leadership and was sure matured and in a way firm. He managed to command respect among the parishes and his performance in general was quite resolute and acceptable. There was no oneness among the people than during the time of his successor- Bishop Aipa. His seriousness was evidenced by many hymns he composed and this was a sign that he was a devout Christian and spiritual leader. People gave him more credit and respect for this, hymns. He tried his best to unite the Church in the Diocese. More Church building and congregations became evident.

2. Bishop BN Aipa

People expected a dynamic type of leadership and were sure that he would be an achiever. His age and position was expected to stir him further in bringing meaningful development in the diocese. However, things did not appear to be the way the Church expected of him. Following rumours and facts about his life style, the people started becoming disgruntled and dissatisfied with him. Things started to fall apart financially. These things brought his leadership into disrepute among the parishioners and a shame to the Church amongst other denominations, and the public in general. I feel he lacked self-control/restrain despite the numerous pieces of advice.

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given by individuals and committees within the church. The church was disintegrating as more and more accusations against him became revealed. His attributes were far outweighed by his weaknesses thereby not strengthening the efficiency of the church.

Q10 There was no special criteria applied in the election of the bishops. The standard and standing procedures were adopted when the see vacant. Bishop Dunstan Ainani was a suffragan bishop since by that time Bishop Arden had indicated his desire to retire. His time was up and a Malawian had to step in. The main area which was demanded of him was that the standards and the goodwill set by a missionary bishop were to be maintained.

In fact in both cases, D. Ainani and B.N Aipa, and some expatriate names were proposed by the parishes. With regard to Bishop BN Aipa, the procedure was exactly the same- nominations, electoral council etc. It was expected of him to put the house in order, especially what was considered wrong during the time of Bishop Ainani. The parishes in somewhat "majority" they felt the local bishop did not solicit funds abroad the way the missionary bishops did or would hence the desire to have a missionary bishop was still there. They felt things were felt as leave it as they were or could have been comparing to the period that the Bishop Arden or Thorne were in the office. This could be seen the way the northern diocese did they started with a foreigner, then next it should a local person.

It was the known fact that blood is thicker than water. This is to say that missionary bishops would easily be heard by their people abroad than the Malawian bishops. It was, therefore, pleasing that our local bishops were coming into office, but the aspect of cutting off the flow of funds would lessen of something. The missionaries felt that when coming of age in terms of independence, it meant the church was to follow suit. In all there were no special conditions or criteria.

Q 11. To compare the episcopate of our Malawian bishops and that of expatriates may be a bit difficult to coalesce. The first issue to consider would be the academic and cultural backgrounds of the two. Our bishops way have been either were secondary students or clergy the time the expected bishops were esconced in their administration of the church. The missionaries bishops were exposed or had access to foreign financial

92 .support. We should not loose sight of the fact that whatever the missionaries sought abroad in the name of conversion and spreading the word of God, they received and in most cases this was financial support supported abroad. By the time the missionaries came to Malawi they were already experienced clergy and had some knowledge of financial management and church administration to a great extent than our local bishops. So during the episcopate of the missionary bishops there were less financial problems or personal conflicts because they were foreign than the indigenious bishops, who always identified themselves with the district or a place where they came from.

In matters like of financial nature, the local bishops depended more on those who were more knowledgeable in their time of administration, where as I remember Bishop Arden kept this more to themselves, together with his wife. They wanted to control all the incomes and the expenditures. We even had some confrontations at times together with late Bill Towers, who was a member of the financial committee, in the 1970/80's.

The missionary bishops came in as complete strangers and by virtue of their colour they commanded respect almost unabatedly. Malawian bishops tried to emulate the missionary bishops. The more they erred, because they did not take it in the spirit of servicing the church. It is difficult to tell what financial benefits the missionary bishops gained or had from their positions as bishops, in financial terms, since no materials evidence were seen around as these could have been amassed abroad. With regard to our Malawian bishops, one could see materials acquisitions or developments, by ways of building and other purchased with a very short time one have been in office. These things often drew an attention and concern of the people/ Christians.

Some of these could have generally acquired with funds sought on personnel basis. The problems we had in our Malawian bishops are clear testimony- their treatments because of poor administration- which did not occur during the time of the missionary Bishop Arden and Thorne. Following Malawian attainment of independence, financial support was severed if not reduced. What was still coming was placed on a phasing out basis. The Church in Malawi was to stand on its own on a self-support basis. This created a lot of problems for the bishop and their management was weakened as a result.

93.

The missionary bishops had their woes. Bishop Frank Thome removed some of the vestments, chalices from Likoma island, St. Peter's Cathedral to the displeasure of the people. Bishop Arden changed the headquarters from the island to Malosa/ Chilema to the annoyance of the church while the country was only one diocese. The missionary bishops had financial muscles than our Malawian bishops. There were more listened to than Malawian bishops.

Q12. A bishop is a spiritual father of the church in a diocese. In a corporate company we would say he is a chief Executive of a concern, or a Managing Director. A Bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach. He must not be a drunkard, quarrelsome, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covertious; one who rules his house well and see that his children obey him with proper respect." If anyone does not know how to manage his

own house/family, how can he take care of God's church?"(1 timothy3:5). He must not be a recent convert or he may become conceited. He must humble himself before God and the people he serves.

A bishop must be exemplary in everything he does. So the clergy and laity must follow him by leaving the unacceptable ways of life. He must be a uniting force between different people and parishes and cultures. He must never show favoritism. A bishop, by virtue of his status and position, must always be ready to be called upon to resolve disputes and bring people at loggerheads to a lasting reconciliation and peace. As a public figure he must be ready to serve the nation any time he asked to do so by the state leadership. He is the church's main Ambassador abroad and within the country. He must encourage and initiate projects for income generating, to sustain the church's day to day life and operations. Today a lot of diverse ideas are rampant, e.g. Born-Agains, women priesthood, recognition of gay and lesbians.

A bishop must listen carefully to Synod/DSC and implement and back whatever the resolutions are agreed upon at such meetings, because issues would have been discussed at length and the outcome determined. Today most bishops are not playing their roles to a full extent. Instead of reassuring Christians of an exemplary life, their own lives often discourages Christians from becoming very ardent followers of Christ. One often thinks some bishops run the church as though they are running their own personal enterprises. The "I am the boss syndrome is so rife among Diocese today. Development in the Diocese reveal how hard a bishop is working in that particular diocese. You may find more activities in one diocese than the other. This shows how active the bishop is. Of course we may say that this is a Synod's /DSC's obligation. A bishop is a chairman of these bodies and if he does not support the efforts and resolutions passed at such sessions, nothing will happen in terms of development and progress in that particular diocese. There should be no doubt about bishops attitude towards his Christians. He must be a good listener. If advice is given to him he must not feel subordinated or the laity taking away his powers. I feel the bishop needs the people and the people need the bishop. He is there for the people/ church and the people are not there for the bishop. There must be good rapport between a bishop and his flock.