

**FROM ANGLICANISM TO AFRICAN SOCIALISM:
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND UJAMAA IN
TANZANIA 1955-2005**

By

**WILLIAM FABIAN MNDOLWA
SN 202510976**

**Submitted in Fulfilment of the Academic
Requirements for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Subject of

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

at the

**SCHOOL OF RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY
AND CLASSICS
IN THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
(Pietermaritzburg Campus)**

SUPERVISOR

PROF. PHILIPPE DENIS

PIETERMARITZBURG

November 2012

DECLARATION

As required by University regulations, I hereby state unambiguously that this work has not been presented at any other University or any other institution of higher learning other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal, (Pietermaritzburg Campus) and that unless specifically indicated to the contrary within the text it is my original work.

WILLIAM FABIAN MNDOLWA

SN 202510976

29 November 2012

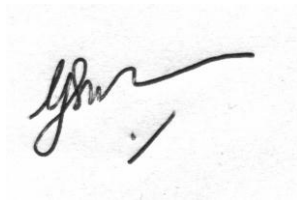
As candidate supervisor I hereby approve this thesis for submission

PROFESSOR PHILIPPE DENIS

29 November 2012

CERTIFICATION

We the undersigned declare that we have abided by the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal's policy on language editing. We also declare that earlier forms of the dissertation have been retained should they be required.



GARY STUART DAVID LEONARD

29 November 2012

WILLIAM FABIAN MNDOLWA

SN 202510976

29 November 2012

DEDICATION

This study is first dedicated to my dear wife Chenga-Frida, and my children Msagati-Katindi, Kauye-Prisna and Tahona who endured my absence during the research period of this study. Without their sacrifice, love and support I would not have been able to achieve this great task.

In respectful memory of my late ministerial colleagues, who having enriched this study with their inputs have subsequently been called home to be with their Lord: Reverend Canon Edward Kihala✠, Reverend Canon Paul Hardy✠, Dr. Joseph Ngereza✠, Hon. Adam Mwakanjuki✠, Mr. David Wakati✠, Hon. John Ketto✠. Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord. And let light perpetual shine upon them.

Finally, to all the members of the Anglican Church of Tanzania in the Diocese of Tanga who, after they had made me their bishop during the period of my field work, allowed me to continue to undertake this study. May the Lord richly bless them for their vision, tolerance and grace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like first of all to deeply thank God Almighty whose gracious favour has, in various ways, made this study possible. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to my lecturer and fellow students whose critical comments during the post graduate seminars of the program of History of Christianity have been a driving inspiration for this study. I especially appreciate the very generous encouragement, advice and critical comments given me by Prof. Philippe Denis, my supervisor. His genuine supervision, prayers and friendship have made this work possible.

I also wish to thank the officials of the Anglican Church of Canada who, through their love of the African church, granted me a four year scholarship which has helped me to undertake this study successfully. My deep gratitude goes to Dr. Andrea Mann and Mrs Claudia Alvarez of the Anglican Church of Canada. I also acknowledge the contribution given to this study by Rev. Gary S. D. Leonard and Rev. Can. Walter Gould who helped me with language editing and proof reading respectively. Archbishop Douglas Hambidge, Archbishop John Ramadhani, Rev. Can. Fergus King, Rev. Can. John Cornish and his family, the family of Rev. Can. Walter Gould, Dr. John Chesworth, Denise Wilson and Lindsay Spencer supported my overseas' field work and I therefore thank them too.

I am particularly appreciative of the help given by the librarians and archivists in all places I visited during the course of collecting data. In Tanzania, these included Segerea Senior Seminary Library, The East Africana Collection of the Library of the University of Dar es Salaam, Archbishop John Sepeku Library in Dar es Salaam, and Bagamoyo and Tabora Roman Catholic archives. In Australia, the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney supported my work with enthusiasm. Trinity College and Bristol University in Bristol, Cecil Rhodes Library in Oxford, Hereford Cathedral Library, Canterbury Library and Lambeth Palace Library in the United Kingdom were all very encouraging. The National Archive in Nairobi, Kenya, the archive of the Anglican Church of Kenya in Nairobi and the archive of the archbishop of Uganda at the Uganda Christian University at Mukono were also very supportive.

Many Christians whom I may not be able to mention individually have helped me in the course of collecting data for this study. Bishops, clergy, laity, Anglicans, non-Anglicans, Christians and non-Christians have devotedly contributed to the success of this study.

My students and fellow lecturers at St. Mark's Centre made innumerable helpful suggestions that have strengthened my work. Their thoughts and suggestions of how to locate various specific sources have helped to shape my focus and thus simplified my reading as well as the interviews. In this area, I appreciate the personal efforts given by Hon. Raphael Shempemba, Rev. Can. Eliya Singano and Mrs Catherine H. M. Kivanda.

Tahona, my son was born at the beginning of the writing up of this study. He deserved fatherly love and care. However, because I needed to complete this work, he missed it. Therefore, I would like to express my deep gratitude to him.

Kauye, my mother, encouraged me to learn about the church. Although she is resting with her ancestors, I believe her love for Jesus Christ and His church and her continuing prayers has made this work possible.

ABSTRACT

My intention in this study was to assess the response of the ‘Anglican Church’¹ of Tanzania to *Ujamaa*². Using archives and interviews as sources, I explored the reactions of Anglicans to the struggle for independence, the new regime and Ujamaa. I also explored the response of the political elite to these Anglicans' reactions to the new regime and Ujamaa. Furthermore, I investigated the consequences experienced by the church after the fall of Ujamaa in Tanzania.

It emerged that when Tanganyika and Zanzibar had received their independence, the new African state authorities made rigorous changes so that their countries would reflect African identities. These efforts included an increase in the number of Africans in civil services (replacing Europeans and Indians), modification or changes of names of towns and cities, and the introduction of new policies. Named as *Africanisation*,³ this development had far reaching impacts on the establishment of the two countries. They merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania and then declared Ujamaa the state policy. Ujamaa, which derived its meaning from the Kiswahili word *Jamaa* (a family member within an extended family whose *utu* (humanity) became meaningful only through *watu* (the community)⁴ was the choice because it signified ‘Tanzanian extended family’— *mtu ni watu* (I am because we are). President Nyerere urged every individual, institution, the church included, to work for and live up to the

¹ The structure of the ‘Anglican Church’ in Tanzania kept changing constantly as the church developed over the years. This change in structure created a methodological dilemma namely how to refer to ‘the church’ in any given context. This dilemma was also expressed by G.R. Evans and J. Robert Wright (eds.), *The Anglican Tradition: A Handbook of Sources*, London: SPCK, 1991, pp.489-490. I decided to use the term ‘church’ in this present study to represent BCMS, UMCA and CMSA missions before they merged to form the Church of the Province of East Africa. I keep the phrase the ‘Anglican Church of Tanzania’ in inverted commas because the church came to be known as an Anglican Church after the fall of Ujamaa.

² Ujamaa was a foreign word but because I used it several times in this thesis, I only italicised it here where I introduced it for the first time.

³ I derived my definition of *Africanisation* from Bishop Trevor Huddleston. See my quotation from RHL/UMCA-USPG/A Large Freedom: The Review of the Work of 1963, May 1964, p. 10 on chapter three and operation definitions of this study.

⁴ Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini: Hotuba aliyoitoa Rais Julius K. Nyerere siku ya kufungua Semina ya viongozi wa madhehebu mbalimbali ya Dini huko Tabora, Jumatatu tarehe 27/7/1970*. Translation is mine.

Ujamaa goals.⁵ At a conference with religious leaders at Tabora, for example, Nyerere challenged the leaders to review the European inherited ‘traditions’ of their churches which, according to him, were in conflict with the Ujamaa which the state was trying to promote.⁶

Although there were some reservations,⁷ the Anglican missions which became the state church of the colonial regime after World War I were faced with two crucial challenges. First was a demand for reorientation of their loyalty from the colonial government to the new state authority and the goals of Ujamaa. The discussion in chapters two, three, four and five of this study focused on this demand. Second was the whole question of whether Ujamaa was compatible with the Anglicanism they were propagating. This question was fully discussed in chapter six of this study. This study showed that changes, especially the ones which touched spiritual aspects of the people, were not easily received and that was what had brought the challenges which the church experienced. This was clearly analysed in chapter seven and the concluding chapter.

KEY TERMS: *Afrikanisation; Anglicanism; Arusha Declaration; British rule; Church of the Province of East Africa; Colonialism; CMS; Julius K. Nyerere; Socialism; Tanganyika; Tanzania; Uhuru, Ujamaa; Ujamaa na Kujitegemea; Ujamaa Villages; UMCA; Viligialisation; Zanzibar; Zanzibar Resolution.*

⁵ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1966, pp. 75-80.

⁶ Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini*.

⁷ These reservations were caused by what was happening in some European socialist countries. See chapter two of this study for more explanation.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Africanisation: Process of handing over authority to the Africans and making Christian faith homely for Africans.

Anglicanism: The divided church as presented by the missionaries from Europe and Australia. It also stood for the worldwide tradition of the church as founded by the Church of England.

Anglo-Catholics: Churches or Christian communities founded by the UMCA missionaries.

Evangelical: Christian communities (churches) founded by CMS missionaries before and after these communities were handed over to CMSA.

Church: The wider body of Christians all over the world. It also stands for the Anglican Church in Tanzania which was found by UMCA, CMSA, BCMS missionaries (*cf.* footnote 1 on page vi of this study).

The Church of the Province of Tanzania: A united missions' church which practised Ujamaa as its theology in Tanzania. It was the Ujamaa-centred church

Anglican Church of Tanzania: The church after the fall of Ujamaa in Tanzania.

Kiswahili: This stands for the *Lingua Franca* spoken in East Africa and the Great Lakes sub-regions. The 'ki' at the beginning of the word distinguishes the language and the Swahili (i.e., the community which spoke the language).

Misheni: These were mission stations.

State: Representing government. It meant the colonial government whenever used before independence. It represented the independent governments when it is used after the independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Swahili: An ethnic community that emerged from intermarriages between the Arabs and the indigenous people of the East African coast and the Islands of Unguja, Pemba, Mafia and Pate. It also represented the people who spoke Kiswahili.

Tanganyika: Referred to that part of land which was ruled by the British as a territory of the United Nations. It is currently known as mainland Tanzania.

Tanzania: Stood for the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Uhindini: Stood for the places where the Indians and Arabs lived in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Uswahilini: It delineated and demarcated places in the urban areas where black Africans lived in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

ujamaa: Stood for the traditional aspects of family-hood.

ujamaa villages: These were places in the rural areas where black Africans lived before resettlement programs.

Ujamaa: Stood for Tanzanian African socialism.

Uzunguni: Demarcated places where white people lived in Tanganyika and Zanzibar before and after independence.

Ustaarabu: Arabic civilisation.

Vijiji vya Ujamaa: Delineated places in the rural areas where the state authority told Tanzanians to go and live together.

Vijiji vya Maendeleo: Stood for a development stage of Vijiji vya Ujamaa.

Zanzibar: Referred to the Islands of Pemba and Unguja.

ABBREVIATIONS

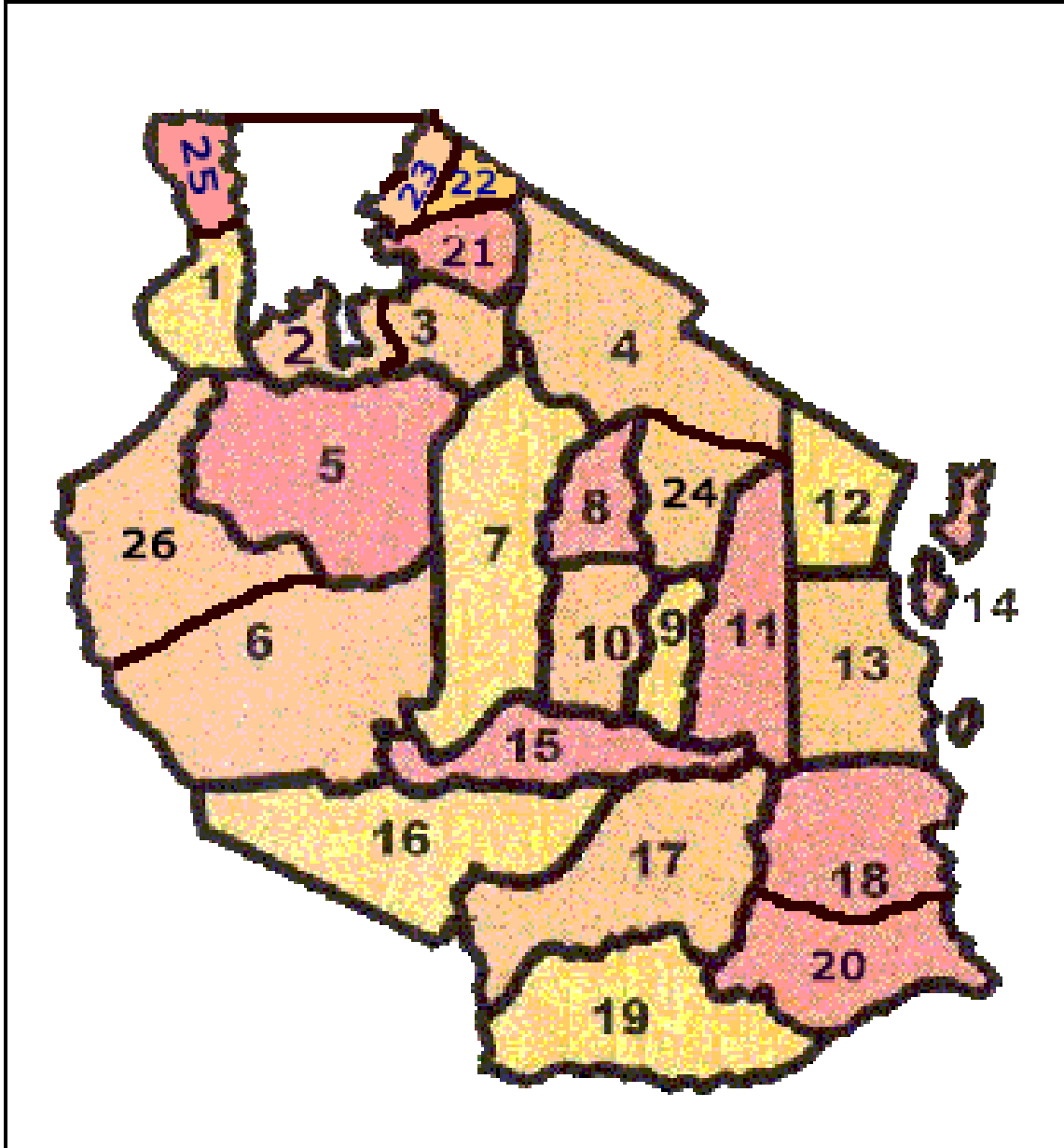
ACT	Anglican Church of Tanzania
ADD	Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam
ADM	Anglican Diocese of Morogoro
ADT	Anglican Diocese of Tanga
ADCT	Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika
ADM	Anglican Diocese of Masasi
ADMK	Anglican Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro
ADWT	Anglican Diocese of Western Tanganyika
ADSWT	Anglican Diocese of South West Tanganyika
ADVN	Anglican Diocese of Victoria Nyanza
ADZ	Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar
ADZT	Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga
BCMS	Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (now Cross-Links)
CMS	Church Missionary Society (now Church Mission Society)
CMSA	Church Missionary Society of Australia (now ACMS-Australian Church Mission Society)
CPT	Church of the Province of Tanzania
CPTEA	Church of the Province of East Africa
Heb	Epistle to the Hebrews
Lk	The Gospel according to St. Luke
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (now Us - United Societies)

POLITICAL MAP OF TANZANIA



Source: National Website of the United Republic of Tanzania.
<<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/>> [Accessed 29 October 2010].

MAP OF THE DIOCESES OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA



Source: Anglican Church of Tanzania Website. < <http://www.anglican.or.tz/>> [Accessed 30 April 2010].

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIOCESES OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA

1.Kagera	8. Kondoia	15. Ruaha	22.Tarime
2.Victoria Nyanza	9.Mpwapwa	16.Southern Highlands	23.Rorya
3. Shinyanga	10.Central Tanganyika	17.South-West Tanganyika	24.Kiteto
4.Mount Kilimanjaro	11. Morogoro	18. Newala	25.Lwelu
5. Tabora	12. Tanga	19. Ruvuma	26.Western Tanganyika
6. Lake Rukwa	13.Dar es Salaam	20.Masasi	27 Kibondo
7.Rift Valley	14. Zanzibar	21.Mara	

A CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

DATE	EVENT
1954	Tanganyika National Union (TANU) formed
1955	Introduction of Ten Year Plan for Secondary Schools in Tanganyika Rev. Yohana Omari consecrated Assistant Bishop at Namilembe Uganda A Meeting of the Missionary Bishops in East Africa with the Archbishop of

	Canterbury at Namilembe about possibilities of forming an ecclesiastical province of East Africa
1957	A Meeting of Bishops from Kenya and Tanganyika First African Sisters receive their life vows
1958	First all Africans clergy conference at Morogoro
1959	Resignation of Bishop Mark Way from Masasi episcopacy
1960	Appointment of Fr. Trevor Huddleston for the See of Masasi Formation of the Church of the Province of East Africa
1961	Tanganyika's Independence J.K. Nyerere became Chief Minister
1962	Tanganyika became Republic Nyerere resigned from the office of Prime Minister Bishop Leslie Straddling translated from the Diocese of South West Tanganyika to Johannesburg
1963	Archdeacons John Sepeku and Yohana Lukindo consecrated assistant bishops in the Diocese of Zanzibar John Poole-Hughes became bishop of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika Consecration of Joseph Mlele as assistant bishop in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika Nyerere became the president of Tanganyika
1964	Zanzibar's Independence Zanzibar united Tanganyika to form Tanzania and Nyerere became the president Death of Bishop Yohana Omari Consecration of Yohana Madinda and Gresford Chitemo assistant bishops, diocese of Central Tanganyika
1965	Formation of USPG
1967	Ujamaa declared a national policy at Arusha
1970	Church of Province of Tanzania curved from the Church of Province of East

	Africa Bishop John Sepeku became first Archbishop of the Church of Province of Tanzania
1978	Tanzania in war against Uganda
1979	End of Tanzania-Uganda War
1980	Bishop Musa Kahulananga succeeded Archbishop John Sepeku
1984	Bishop John Ramadhani Succeeded Archbishop Musa Kahulanga
1985	Nyerere retires from office of the president of Tanzania Ali Hassan Mwinyi succeeded Nyerere
1992	The Zanzibar Resolution
1993	Change of name from Church of Province of Tanzania to Anglican Church of Tanzania
1995	William Benjamin Mkapa succeeded President Mwinyi
2000	Bishop Leonard Leo Mtetemela Succeeded Archbishop John Ramadhani
2001	All Anglican clergy conference at Morogoro
2005	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete Succeeded President Mkapa

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
CERTIFICATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT AND KEY TERMS	vi
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	x
POLITICAL MAP OF TANZANIA	xi
MAP OF THE DIOCESES OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA	xii
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIOCESES OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA	xiii
CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS	xiii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xvi

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.	Introduction	1
2.	Background and Motivation for the Study	1
3.	Outline of the Research Problem	5
4.	Objectives and Research Questions	6

4.1.	Research Objectives of the Study	6
4.2.	Description of the Research Questions	6
5.	Literature Survey and Location of the Study	8
5.1.	Literature Pertaining to the History of Christianity in Tanzania	8
5.2.	Literature about the Anglican Church in Tanzania	9
5.3.	Literature Related to Ujamaa in Tanzania	14
5.4.	Literature on the Subject of Ujamaa and Christianity	15
6.	Theoretical Framework	17
7.	Research Design and Methodology	20
7.1.	Sources and Methods	20
7.2.	Archival History	21
7.3.	Oral History	25
7.4.	Language of Interview	27
8.	Analysis of Data	27
9.	Coding of Data	28
10.	Structure of the Study	30

**CHAPTER TWO: FORMATION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
IN TANZANIA AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE STATE IN
THE MAKING OF THE CHURCH**

1.	Introduction	32
2.	Basis of Anglican and State relations in Tanzania	32
3.	Impacts of the Ideologies of UMCA and CMS on the Mission Field	36
3.1.	The impact of UMCAs Ideology on the Mission Field	36
3.2.	The Effects of the CMSAs Ideology on the Mission Field	42

4.	The Missions' Relations with People of Other Religious Persuasions	45
4.1.	Relations with African Traditional Religious Believers	46
4.2.	The Missions' Relations with Muslims	49
4.3.	The Missions' Relations with Other Christian Denominations	50
5.	The Change from Mission to Church and the Government's Involvement in that Change	53
5.1.	The Making of the Anglican Church in Tanzania	53
5.2.	Formation of the Church of Province of East Africa	61
5.3.	Formation of the Church of the Province of Tanzania	74
6.	Religious Communities of the Church	79
7.	Sodalities of the Anglican Church of Tanzania	81
7.1.	Mothers Union (MU)	81
7.2.	Tanzanian Youth Organisation (TAYO)	83
8.	Chapter Summary	84

CHAPTER THREE: THE CHURCH'S REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE: INDEPENDENCE AND THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

1.	Introduction	86
2.	The Struggle for Independence and its Impact on the Church	87
2.1.	The Missions' Reaction to the Struggle for Independence and the Independence of Tanganyika	87
2.2.	The church's Reaction to the Struggle for Independence and the Independence of Zanzibar	104
3.	The Impact of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the Church	107
4.	The Church's Response to the Arusha Declaration	113
5.	Chapter Summary	117

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPACTS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY OF UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA IN THE CHURCH AND THE RESPONSE OF THE STATE AUTHORITY

1.	Introduction	120
2.	Impacts of the Implementation of the Policy of Ujamaa Villages in the Church	120
3.	Reform in the Education Sector and its impacts in the Church	135
4.	The Church's Reaction to the Reform of Marriage Law	145
5.	The Church's Reactions to the Government Reform in the Health Sector	150
6.	The Church's Reactions to the Reforms of Land	153
7.	Chapter Summary	155

CHAPTER FIVE: ASPECTS OF THE UJAMAA CENTRED - CHURCH IN TANZANIA

1.	Introduction	158
2.	The Nature of Leadership of the Ujamaa Centred Church	158
3.	The Theology of the Ujamaa Centred Church	170
4.	The Ecclesiology of the Ujamaa Centred Church	177
5.	The Liturgy of the Ujamaa Centred Church	179
6.	Ministry in the Ujamaa Centred Church	186
7.	Chapter Summary	189

CHAPTER SIX: ASPECTS OF ANGLICANISM WHICH HAS HELPED THE CHURCH TO ACCOMMODATE THE POLICY OF UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA

1.	Introduction	191
2.	Anglicanism's Accommodating Aspects of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea	191
2.1.	Sharing a Common Ground Between a Guest and Host	191
2.2.	Common Ground Between the Anglicanism and Ujamaa	197
3.	Chapter Summary	222

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE FALL OF UJAMAA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS

1.	Introduction	225
2.	The Church's Reactions to the Factors which Failed Ujamaa na Kujitegemea	225
3.	The Fall of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea and its Consequences on Church and State Relations	236
4.	Chapter Summary	247

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

1.	Introduction	250
2.	Limitations of the Study	250
3.	Summary and Major Findings of the Study	251
4.	Suggestions for Further Research	268

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.	Primary Sources	271
1.1.	Oral Sources	271
1.2.	Archival Sources	279
1.3.	Printed Documents	286
2.	Secondary Sources	288
2.1.	Books, Books Chapters and Journal Articles	288
2.2.	Unpublished Dissertations and Research Projects	295
2.3.	Occasional Papers	296
2.4.	Online (Internet) Sources	297

APPENDICES

I.	Lists of Archival Documents	300
II.	Letter of Consent I	308
III.	Letter of Consent II	309
IV.	Request to Participate in the Interview	310
V.	Questions in English for Missionaries and Colonial Government Officials	311
VI.	Consent Form for Interviews	313
VII.	Ombi la Ushiriki Wako Katika Utafiti Kuhusu Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania	314
VIII.	Hojaji za Utafiti Kwa Lugha ya Kiswahili	215
IX.	Kiapo cha Makubaliano Kuhusu Utafiti Huu	316

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1. Introduction

In this chapter which introduces the thesis, I divided it into the following sections: Background and motivation for the study, outline of the main research problem of the study, objectives and research questions of the study, survey of relevant literature, theoretical framework, and research design and methodological considerations. Other sections included in this chapter are: analysis of the data and data codes. The discussion ends with the structure of the thesis.

2. Background and Motivation for the Study

I was born and raised as a Christian of the Anglican tradition. My father (Fabian Mndolwa Maimbo) was a church elder and my mother (Kauye Mafundi Agnes) was a member of a bible study group. Whereas my father regarded working in the church as a worthless means of employment, my mother wished that one day I would become a servant of the church. She therefore insisted that I attend church services and sing in the choir, participate in bible studies and study the church. Being the last born and very close to my mother, I found myself following my mother's wishes rather than those of my father. I joined the Sunday school choir at the age of four and progressed to becoming a coach of a church choir at the age of seventeen. The church made me a deacon in 1996, a priest in 1998, a canon in 2002, and a bishop in 2011.

Throughout my life in the church, I have served in various parishes and departments in a variety of capacities. My knowledge and experience of the church shows that it has been actively participating in nation building before and after the independence of Tanzania.⁸ Its Christian *villagisation* scheme, for example, which came to be among

⁸ Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent, Religion and Politics in Tanzania From the 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005, pp. 89-106, Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *Historia*

the Ujamaa emphases, had been a vital component of maintaining its identity from its early days.⁹ The statement of Sabar about the significance of the Anglican Church in Kenyan society in terms of its “vocal role in constructing the public discourse on the country’s economic, social and political life of the people”¹⁰ parallels that of the church in Tanzania where it was well appreciated within the Anglican world.¹¹ However, this role of the church in society, as this study intended to show, has been in decline in recent years.¹² While some people thought that this withdrawal of the church was due to the challenges rooted in the missions’ encounter with African culture before independence,¹³ others thought that it was the result of the thorough change in its relations with the authorities following independence.¹⁴

The history of the early encounter of the two missions with African culture, which was an account of the encounter with African culture of the two independent and theologically different Anglican missionary bodies (i.e., the Anglo-Catholic Universities’ Mission to Central Africa – UMCA and the Evangelically-oriented, Church Missionary Society – CMS), was well covered in the literature.¹⁵ However, the changes which the church went through during the struggle for independence and

ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, SMTC Book Project, 2004, pp. 83, 91.

⁹ Justin Wills, *The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: The Mission in African History - Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, Oxford: OUP, 1993, p. 5.

¹⁰ Gallia Sabar, *Church, State and Society in Kenya: From Mediation to Opposition 1963-1993*, London: Frank Cass, 2002, p. 6.

¹¹ This is specifically true with the work of Bishop Frank Weston. See Smith H. Mynard, *Frank Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston 1871-1924*, London: SPCK 1926. It also applies to Archbishop John Sepeku (1970-1980), Archbishop John Ramadhani (1980-1995), Bishop Trevor Huddleston (1960-1968), Bishops Alfred Stanway (1956-1971), Simon Chiwanga (1985-2000) and Gresford Chitemo (1971-2000).

¹² For example, in 2010 alone there have been more than twenty incidents reported in the printed media about the misuse of church funds, allegations against the election processes of bishops, some bishops wanting to form their own Anglican church and many more. Cf. „Waanglikana-wamzomea-askofu-mokiwa,“ *Mwananchi* 12 April 2010 <<http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/habari/4-habari-za-kitaifa/2447/>>. [Accessed 10 March 2010]. John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: CUP, 1979, pp. 545-546, Piers McGrandle, *Trevor Huddleston: Turbulent Priest*, London: New York: Continuum, 2004, p. 123.

¹³ Mwita R. Akiri, *The church in Tanzania: An Analysis and Assessment of Church Growth in the Evangelical Wing of the Church of Province of Tanzania (Anglican)*, Unpublished MTh dissertation, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1995, Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, London: Mowbray, 1977, pp. 344-348.

¹⁴ Freider Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of a changing Relationship 1961-1994*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, p. 1.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Knox: *Signal on the Mountain* (1875-1907) is the first and only book to be published about the work of the CMS in Tanzania. The three volumes of the History of UMCA by Anderson-Morshead and Blood stand as the full history of UMCA from 1859-1957. No further publication came after the third volume, Sundkler and Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p. 518, Elizabeth Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991, p. xvii.

following independence were yet to be recorded. An examination of that history was what prompted me to embark on this study.

A review of the changes that the missions have gone through during the struggle for independence and after independence was important for four reasons. First was the necessity to answer the question of how the missions reacted to the coming of the new state authority after they had been the official church of the British colonial occupation after World War I. As Sabar's study about church and state relations in Kenya has demonstrated, the expectation for the church to be an official church of the government was to –serve as a link between the indigenous people and the colonial authorities, and also among subdivisions of the indigenous people themselves.”¹⁶

The study by Sabar raised two crucial research concerns relevant to this present study. The first concern which Sabar's study raised was her conclusion that usually such –a mediation role would enable the church to enjoy the support of the government in such a way that it becomes a viable and meaningful institution in the minds and hearts of its African members.”¹⁷ My intention in this study was to find out if this was also true of the Anglican missions in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. My findings about the situation in Tanganyika and Zanzibar were presented in chapters two and three of this study.

The second concern which the study of Sabar raised was with Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the political independence which brought a merger of the two countries resulting in the formation of a new nation: the United Republic of Tanzania. This new nation declared that it would follow Ujamaa ideology which it began to develop in 1962. From this ideology, the state authority established *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* (i.e., socialism and self-reliance) and declared it a policy at Arusha in 1967. Whereas Ujamaa was an attitude of mind, *Kujitegemea* became a political strategy of implementing the ideology. The missions were compelled to meet the requirements of the governments analysed in the Arusha Declaration.¹⁸ In view of Sabar's argument, these governments' requirements would inevitably alter the relationship between the

¹⁶ Sabar, *Church, State and Society in Kenya*, p. 6.

¹⁷ Sabar, *Church, State and Society in Kenya*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1968.

church and state authority. My study aimed to find out if this was the case and if there were connections between this background and the new challenges which the church experienced. My findings were presented in chapters three, four and five of this study.

The second reason which prompted me to review the changes which the Anglican missions have gone through during the struggle for independence and after independence concerned the formation of the church from its European-oriented missionary groups. This subject was not clearly presented in the literature. For example, while Neil explained that the Anglican missions in other regions of Africa took very early steps to become churches, he gave very little information on why this was not the case in East Africa and Tanzania in particular.¹⁹ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa said that, even though the efforts of making a church from the mission organisations in East Africa began as early as 1914, it was not until 1960 that the Anglican missions in Tanzania united with the CMS of Kenya to form the Church of the Province of East Africa (CPEA).²⁰ Mndolwa further explained that in 1970, ten years after the CPEA was formed, the Tanzanian section was excised from the CPEA to form the Church of the Province of Tanzania (CPT).²¹ Nevertheless, Mndolwa gave no reasons for the delay in the formation of the church. This delay in the transformation of the Anglican missions to a church in Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the fact that the making of the two ecclesiastical provinces came at the very same time that these two countries received their independence and the interpretation and implementation of Ujamaa was taking place²² prompted me to find out whether this was the result of the normal reorientation of the missions, or the reinterpretation of Anglicanism in respect of the changes in the political power and Ujamaa. My analyses and conclusions in chapters two and three of this study responded to this question.

The third reason which motivated me to undertake this study is Frieder Ludwig's argument that Ujamaa began to show signs of failure from the early 1990s onwards.²³ Even though Ludwig details the collapse of the relationship between his Lutheran

¹⁹ Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, London: Mowbray, 1977, pp. 344-348 also in Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania*, pp. 83, 91.

²⁰ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania*, pp. 83, 91.

²¹ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania*, pp. 83, 91.

²² Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania-1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 64.

²³ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 1.

Church and the state authority in Tanzania, his argument that these years marked a turning point in church and state relationships in Tanzania, pointed to a demand for an investigation into the challenges the Anglican Church is currently experiencing. My analysis and summary in chapter seven focused its attention on this objective.

The fourth reason for this study concentrated on the struggle for independence which began in the second part of the 1950s with Tanganyika receiving its independence in 1961 and Zanzibar in 1964. As reflected in the literature survey in this study, there has been no published work on the history of the Anglican Church in Tanzania covering this period. My determination to use writing as a way of knowing and a way of systematising knowledge so that my findings would contribute to a better knowledge of the subject is fulfilled in all chapters of this study.

3. Outline of the Research Problem

As was stated earlier, Tanzania declared Ujamaa as a way of life and a manner through which each individual and the institutions of society were supposed to live and work collectively. The church, being an institution of society, was compelled to adopt this way of life as well. However, the government's demand came to the church with something of a challenge. The politicians who articulated the goals of Ujamaa kept a clear distinction between politics and religion saying that they should not be blended.²⁴ The General Secretary of the UMCA and Edwards maintain that Anglicans believe that there should be some connectivity between religion and politics.²⁵ The distinction maintained by the politicians in Tanzania and with reference to what was happening in other socialist countries,²⁶ caused the church leaders to become suspicious. Nevertheless, the state authority compelled the churches to adopt the Ujamaa goals. The struggle for the churches to accommodate the Ujamaa goals attracted academic and theological admiration even beyond the boundaries of the African continent.²⁷ Comprehensive studies have been conducted by Roman Catholic

²⁴ Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1970.

²⁵ ASL/ ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, p.10, David L. Edwards, *What Anglicans Believe*, Oxford, Mowbray, 1974, p. 101.

²⁶ Alexander, S., 'Religion and National Identity in Yugoslavia,' in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982.

²⁷ Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania*, p. 5, Kariuki, James N. Kariuki, *Tanzania's Human Revolution*, London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979, p. 1.

and Lutheran academics and theologians alike on their respective church's reaction to the goals of Ujamaa.²⁸ This study specifically focused on the reaction of the Anglican Church in Tanzania²⁹ to the goals and the positions taken by state elites regarding the reactions of the church. In order to respond adequately to this question, I developed the following three specific sub-questions and objectives.

4. Objectives and Research Questions

4.1. Research Objectives of the Study

In order to identify the church's reaction to Ujamaa and how the state authority responded, I have identified and developed the following three research objectives:

- i. To investigate the challenges faced by the church during the struggle for independence, when political authority changed from the colonial powers to an independent state and the response of the state authority to these reactions of the church;
- ii. To analyse those aspects of Anglicanism which helped the church to accommodate the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*;
- iii. To analyse those factors that contributed to the failure of the Tanzanian model and their effect on church and state relations.

4.2. Description of Research Questions

This study was about the response of the Anglican Church of Tanzania to the new government and Ujamaa, and about how it affected the church's relations with the state authority. In order to gather the information needed for this intended study, four

²⁸ J. B. Rwelamila, *Tanzanian Socialism-Ujamaa and Gaudium et Spes*, Rome: Academia Alfonsiana, 1988, L. Magesa, *Ujamaa Socialism in Tanzania: A Theological Assessment*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Saint Paul University, 1986, Laurent Magesa, "Towards a Theology of Liberation for Tanzania" in Edward Fashole-Luke *et al.*, *Christianity in independent Africa*, London: Rex Collings, 1978, pp. 503-515, Silvano, J. C., *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953-1985*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1992, E. Kweka, *Church and State in Tanzania*, Minnesota: St. Paul, 1973, P. A. S. Kijanga, *Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania*, Arusha: Makumira, 1978, Freider Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of a changing Relationship 1961-1994*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

²⁹ Even though the church became the Anglican Church of Tanzania in 1992, for the purpose of clarity, from this page, I referred to it as the Anglican Church of Tanzania.

research questions were developed at the proposal stage. However, after conducting fieldwork, it was realised that the last sub-question concerning the reactions of the state authority to the Anglican responses to the struggle for independence, independence and the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* could not exist independently. It was therefore included in the first and last sub-questions of this study.

In this regard, the first research question would be the church's reactions to the struggle for political independence, the new state regime, the introduction of the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and the response of the state authority to the reactions of the Anglican Church. As can be seen, the implications of the research question were straightforward, but, for the sake of clarity, I divided them into three sections. The first was about the reaction of the Anglicans to the struggle for political independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and how the political authority responded to these reactions of the church. This demand made it necessary to review the background of the Anglican Church and state relations and how matters were extended to Tanganyika and Zanzibar before independence. Chapters two and three of this study focused on this requirement.

The second section of the research question was about the Anglican missions' transfer of their loyalty from the previous colonial government to the new independent state and the reactions of the new political authority. I introduced this information in chapter two and articulated it more fully in chapter three of this study.

The third section concerned the church reactions to the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and the responses of the political authority. In chapter three of this study, I introduce the Arusha Declaration through which the policy was announced. This introduction was expounded further in chapter four where the role of the church in the Ujamaa villages, reform in education, health, marriage and land sectors were discussed in detail. This involvement of the church in the Ujamaa life was then discussed further in chapter five where the theology, ministry, ecclesiology and leadership of the Ujamaa-centred church were fully described.

My second research question was derived from the main question and some arguments I gathered from the literature under review.³⁰ The research question concerned those factors which enabled the church to accommodate Ujamaa. In order to gather the information I needed, I examined the similarities and dissimilarities between Anglicanism and Ujamaa. My main aim was to find out if these similarities explain the church's accommodation of Ujamaa. My analysis and conclusion in chapter six of this presented study discussed this subject in detail.

Ludwig's arguments that Ujamaa began to show signs of failure in the early 1990s and that these years marked the turning point in the church and state relationships in Tanzania³¹ inspired me to develop a third research question from my main question. Under the rationale of Ludwig's argument and the preceding sub-questions of this study, this research question focused on the consequences faced by the Anglican Church after the failure of Ujamaa in Tanzania. The main idea was to find out if these consequences experienced by the church when the government abandoned Ujamaa were the cause of the challenges that the church is currently experiencing. Chapter seven of this study articulates this subject in detail.

5. Literature Survey and Location of the Study

My study was essentially about church and state relations, as well as issues about gospel and culture. In this regard, I needed to interrogate various types of literature. In order to fulfil this need and for the purposes of this study, I selected and discussed key works under the following four categories:

5.1. Literature Pertaining to the History of Christianity in Tanzania

The history of pre-independent Tanganyika and Zanzibar, as well as the period which preceded the union of the two countries after their independence was well covered in the literature.³² This history however raised two questions. The first was why it was

³⁰ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 1.

³¹ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 1.

³² Roland Oliver and Gervase Matthew (eds.) *History of East Africa*, Vol. 1, Oxford: Clarendon, 1963, John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: CUP, 1979, Kariuki, *Tanzania's Human*

necessary for Tanzania to opt for Ujamaa. The second was the extent to which the Ujamaa goals and the development of the Anglican Church in Tanzania could be traced to this background. The work of Christian missions in the country began with the coming of the Portuguese missionaries and this was well documented in the literature.³³ Little work however was done on the history of the nineteenth century missionary movement with regard to Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The same was also true of post-independence Tanzanian church history. These gaps affected the history of church and state relations in the country. This study sought to fill these gaps.

5.2. Literature about the Anglican Church in Tanzania

I divided the history of the Anglican Church in Tanzania into two parts. The first was mainly about the work of the two missionary societies (i.e., UMCA – Universities' Mission to Central Africa and CMS – Church Missionary Society). This was partly covered in the literature. There was a missing link in the history of CMS. The period between 1876 and 1909 was recorded by Elizabeth Knox.³⁴ There were no published materials that bridged this phase and the period from 1950 to 1971 which was recorded by Marjorie Stanway.³⁵ Stanway's book was relevant to this study in two areas. Firstly, the Diocese of Central Tanganyika on which it focused was the founder of all Evangelical dioceses in Tanzania. Secondly, it highlighted the role played by Alfred Stanway, the diocesan bishop, in the mission's relations with the state authority. I have also consulted the work of Maddox although it gave very little attention to the history of the mission in central Tanzania.³⁶

There has been a strong link between the CMS missions in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. As a result, some other studies written about the Anglican Church in Kenya

Revolution, Gregory H. Maddox and James L. Giblin, (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*, Oxford: James Carey, 2005.

³³ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London: Longman, 1965, Bengt Sungkler and Christopher Steed (eds.), *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, L. James, (ed.) *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005.

³⁴ Elizabeth Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991.

³⁵ Marjorie Stanway, *Alfred Stanway: The Recollection of a "Little m"*, Canberra: Acorn Press, 1991.

³⁶ Gregory H. Maddox, "The Church & Cigogo" in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (eds.), *East African Expression of Christianity*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1999.

and Uganda partially depicted the work of the mission in Tanzania.³⁷ These studies included the work of Sabar,³⁸ Anderson³⁹ and Reed.⁴⁰ In 1922, the CMS was divided into two groups, representing the theologically liberal and conservative wings of the church. The liberals retained the name CMS and the conservatives christened their group BCMS – Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (now known as Cross Links). These schisms were reflected in East Africa as both the BCMS and the CMS served in some parts of Tanzania and Kenya. The work of Sibtain showed that this division caused the CMS in London to face financial difficulties and had to handover their work in Tanzania to the CMSA (i.e., the CMS Australia) in 1926.⁴¹ Although the CMS was integrated with the South American Mission Society (SAMS) to form a new joint agency, it only altered its name at a later date to become the Church Mission Society and continued to serve Anglican churches through its regional offices.⁴² This has made the Anglican Church of Tanzania appear in the broader evangelical expression of the worldwide communion analysed by Ward and Stanley.⁴³ The engagement of the church with Ujamaa on which this study focuses attracted no attention in Ward and Stanley's work.

The work of the UMCA from its emergence in 1857 to 1957 was well covered in the literature.⁴⁴ The work of Justin Willis about Magila,⁴⁵ a UMCA Christian village in

³⁷ According to Knox, the CMS began their work in Kenya, later moving to Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania. Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp. Xii -19.

³⁸ Sabar, *Church, State and Society in Kenya*.

³⁹ W. Anderson, 'A History of the Kenya Churches' in D. Barrett, *et al.*, *Kenya Churches Handbook: The Development of Kenyan Christianity 1498-1973*, Kisumu: Evangel, 1973, W. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1988.

⁴⁰ Colin Reed, *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1999, Colin Reed, *Walking in the Light: A History of the East African Revival*, Canberra: Acorn, 2001.

⁴¹ N. Sibtain, *Dare to Look Up: A Memoir of Bishop George Alexander Chambers*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1968, p. 41.

⁴² Who We Are. History of CMS. <<http://www.cms-uk.org/Whoweare/History/CMStimeline/tabid/184/language/en-GB/Default.aspx/>>. [Accessed 10 March 2010].

⁴³ Kelvin Ward and Brian Stanley, (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity: 1799-1999*, Grand Rapids: Richmond, and Surey, 2000.

⁴⁴ Henry Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' mission to Central Africa: From its Commencement under Bishop Mackenzie to its withdraw from the Zambesi (Zambezi)*, London: Sounders and Oatley, 1867, Jerome T. Moryama, *The Evolution of African Ministries in the Work of the Universities Missionary to Central Africa (1861-1907)*, PhD Thesis, London University 1984, George Hebert Wilson, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central, London: UMCA*, 1936, H. Mynard Smith, *Frank Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston 1871-1924*, London: SPCK, 1926, Andrew Porter, 'The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Twentieth-Century Colonial Encounter' in Brian Stanley *et al.*, *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, Grand Rapids: Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp.85-89, A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Vol. I, 1859-1909*, London: UMCA 1930, A. G. Blood, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Vol. II, 1907-1933*, London: UMCA, 1957, A.

Tanganyika, was important to this study. Willis disclosed that the UMCA missionaries' strategies of Christian *villagisation* and their alignment with both the Arabs at the Coast and the colonial authority resulted in the suppression of African traditional values. These features indicated a strong relationship between the church and state. Willis mentioned further that Reverend Father Farler, a UMCA missionary at Magila, who attempted to make himself a chief for the Bondei people, a situation which indicated a very close relationship between the mission and tribal politics.⁴⁶

The UMCA allegiance to colonial authority was explored in more detail by Walter Morris-Hale who studied the relationship between Christian missions and British rule during the inter-war period in Tanganyika.⁴⁷ Although in his study Morris-Hale highlighted the role played by many other missionaries, he specifically pointed out two UMCA missionaries. The first was Canon Gibbons who represented the black Africans in various state meetings. The second was Canon Broomfield who was the mission's spokesman to the colonial authority on education for Africans. Although there was no mention about when and how these roles were changed, Morris-Hale showed that Broomfield was made a UMCA General Secretary in London and that he used this office to challenge the mission's willingness to see Africans take charge of the mission work.⁴⁸ About eight years earlier, Broomfield wrote on the challenges facing the missionary bishops in relation to the colonial authority.⁴⁹ Andrew Porter dedicated an entire chapter to these challenges faced by the mission.⁵⁰ Despite these challenges, the work of William Vincent Lucas showed that the mission was strong when it came to the role of African culture in Christianity.⁵¹ William L. Sachs highlighted this fact as well.⁵² In 1965, the UMCA and the Society for the

G. Blood, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Vol. III, 1932-1959*, London: UMCA 1962, Walter Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika From 1920-1945*, Geneva: Imprim, 1969, Gerald W. Broomfield, *Towards Freedom*, London: UMCA, 1957, Gerald Broomfield, *Constitutional Episcopacy*, London: UMCA, 1944, William Vincent Lucas, *Christianity and Native Rites*, London: UMCA, 1949.

⁴⁵ Willis, *The Nature of a Mission Community*.

⁴⁶ Willis, *The nature of a mission community*.

⁴⁷ Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika*.

⁴⁸ Broomfield, *Towards Freedom*.

⁴⁹ Broomfield, *Constitutional Episcopacy*.

⁵⁰ Porter, Andrew, 'The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Twentieth-Century Colonial Encounter' in Brian Stanley (ed.) *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, Grand Rapids: Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 79-110.

⁵¹ William Vincent Lucas, *Christianity and Native Rites*, London: UMCA, 1949.

⁵² William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 319-320.

Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) merged and a new body named the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel – USPG (now Us i.e., United Societies),⁵³ serving the worldwide Anglican Church from its London head office, was born. Among the great memories of the occasion was a publication of the supplement to the history of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1857-1965.⁵⁴ Regardless of these, very little was said about the mission's reaction to the new regime and Ujamaa.

The second aspect of the history of Anglicanism in Tanzania was the church after independence. Available literatures on this section were histories of the two theological Colleges of the church: St. Mark's Theological College by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa⁵⁵ and St. Philip's Theological College by Hugh Prentice.⁵⁶ These colleges were founded for the purpose of furthering the aims and objectives of the two missions. Whereas St. Mark's Theological College focused on the Anglo-Catholicism, a UMCA ideology, St. Philip's, a CMS College, propagated Evangelicalism. These two colleges kept syllabuses which indicated that the church accommodated some aspects of this policy in the theological training they provided. There was also Mwita Akiri's MTh. dissertation about the church's growth among the Gogo people of Central Tanganyika⁵⁷ and Mote Magomba's MTh. dissertation on the Gogo people's early engagement with the Bible.⁵⁸ Other studies included Johnson Chinyong'ole's MTh. dissertation on the development plans of the Anglican Diocese of Morogoro,⁵⁹ Dickson Daudi Cholongani's PhD. thesis on the Book of Job,⁶⁰ Mwita R. Akiri's study

⁵³ USPG has changed its name on November 2012 to become Us (i.e., United Societies). The s should always be kept in lower case to distinguish it from United States of America (US).

⁵⁴ A.G. Blood, *Supplement to the History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1857-1965* London: USPG, 1965.

⁵⁵ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglican lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania*.

⁵⁶ Hugh Prentice, *A History of the College of St. Philips at Kongwa*, Unpublished MA Dissertation, 1997.

⁵⁷ Mwita R. Akiri, *The Church in Tanzania: An Analysis and Assessment of Church Growth in the Evangelical Wing of the Church of Province of Tanzania (Anglican)*, Unpublished MTh Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1995.

⁵⁸ Mote Paulo Magomba, *Early Engagements with the Bible among the Gogo people of Tanzania: Historical and Hermeneutical Study of Ordinary —Readers,* Transactions with the Bible, Unpublished MTh. Dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005

⁵⁹ Johnson J. Chinyong'ole, *The Anglican Church and Poverty in Tanzania: A Review of Development Programs in the Diocese of Morogoro*, Unpublished MTh. Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.

⁶⁰ Dickson Daudi Cholongani, *Reading the Book of Job with an African Eye: A Reinterpretation of the Book of Job from an African Traditional Religious Perspective-with Special Reference to the Wagogo of Central Tanzania*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Bristol, 2004.

on the role of indigenous agents⁶¹ and John Oliello's MTh. dissertation on polygamy and the Diocese of Mara.⁶² The research conducted by Lawrence Mbogoni on politics and religion in Tanzania included a chapter on the CMS work among the Gogo Muslims.⁶³ The mission's perceptions of people of other faiths during the implementation of Ujamaa were clearly presented in this literature. The most recent study on the Anglican missions was Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa's MTh. dissertation about the revival movement within the Anglican Church of Tanzania.⁶⁴ Mndolwa's work was important to this study because it indicated the position taken by the Anglican revivalists during the implementation of Ujamaa.

Anderson and Neil concluded that the Christian mission activities and the interaction between western and Tanzanian cultures were the root of Nyerere's Ujamaa policy and Tanzanian Anglicanism.⁶⁵ This conclusion was supported by Sundkler and Steed who argued that the effect of the Arabic slave trade on traditional life prepared Tanzanians to accept Christianity. However, the missionaries' presentation of the Gospel brought about paternalism and denominational dissension, which they argued increased the separation of people of similar origination instead of uniting them.⁶⁶ Neil had shown earlier that this was the root cause of the difficulties that the Tanzanian Anglicans would face.⁶⁷ Mkunga H. P. Mtingele's PhD. thesis concentrated on the effects of these paternalistic, denominational, traditional and

⁶¹ Mwitwa R. Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukagulu (Central Tanzania): A social-historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents (1876-1933)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1999.

⁶² John K. Oliello, *The Gospel and African Culture: Polygamy as a Challenge to the Anglican Church of Tanzania-Diocese of Mara*, Unpublished MTh Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.

⁶³ Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus The Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1880s to the 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005.

⁶⁴ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *A Theological and Historical Analysis of the Revival Movement (Uamsho) Within the Anglican Church of Tanzania*, Unpublished MTh. Dissertation, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2004.

⁶⁵ W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1988, pp. 53, 118-120, Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, pp. 344-348. In other parts of Africa the Anglo-Catholicism and the Evangelicalism could not be merged together. cf. Anthony Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa: A Study of its History, Principles and Status*, Cape Town: Church Information Service, 1966. This has made the Tanzanian situation to become significant.

⁶⁶ Bengt Sungkler and Christopher Steed (eds.), *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 510-1017.

⁶⁷ Neil, *Anglicanism*, pp. 344-348.

ethnic differences in the election process of Anglican bishops in Tanzania.⁶⁸ Regardless of all these important studies, less was said about the church's reaction to Ujamaa and the responses of the state authority.

5.3. Literature related to Ujamaa in Tanzania

President Julius Kambarage Nyerere had worked on Ujamaa extensively. His works *Freedom and Unity*,⁶⁹ *Freedom and Socialism*,⁷⁰ and *Freedom and Development*⁷¹ well represent the situation in the country before and after independence and the need for Ujamaa. These studies were followed by other works on Nyerere himself and his ideology.⁷² While some of these studies compared the policy [*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*] – the political contours of which became clear in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 – with the churches' teachings,⁷³ others dealt with the practical cooperation between religion and development.⁷⁴ Writers such as Goran Hyden focused on the economic implications of Ujamaa.⁷⁵ All of this literature however said very little about Anglicanism and the policy.

Nyerere's work about the Tanzanian leadership and the destiny of Tanzania presented a clear picture of what was happening in the corridors of power in Tanzania and what

⁶⁸ Mkunga H. P. Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today: A Critique of its influence and impact*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Open University of UK, St. Johns College Nottingham, 1995.

⁶⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952-1965*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1966.

⁷⁰ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1968.

⁷¹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Man and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo: A Selection from Writing and Speeches, 1968-1974*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1974.

⁷² Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania-1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of A Socialist Strategy*, Cambridge: London: New York: Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976, James N. Kariuki, *Tanzania's Human Revolution*, London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1979, Bismark U. Mwansasu and Cranford Pratt (eds.), *Towards Socialism in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1979, Idrian N. Resnick, *The Long Transition: Building Socialism in Tanzania*, London: Monthly Review Press, 1981.

⁷³ W. R. Duggan and J. R. Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationalism*, New York: Obbis Books, 1976.

⁷⁴ J. P. van Bergen, *Development and Religion in Tanzania: Social Soundings on Christian Participations in Rural Transformation*, Madras: Leiden: 1981.

⁷⁵ Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, London: Heinemann, 1980.

led to the later fall of Ujamaa.⁷⁶ There was no written document about how the Anglican Church reacted to this fall of Ujamaa. This study intended to bridge this gap.

5.4. Literature on the Subject of Ujamaa and Christianity⁷⁷

President Julius K. Nyerere's book on *Ujamaa na Dini* detailed the role which religion should play and how to make the policy applicable to both the state and church.⁷⁸ This publication motivated researchers to inquire further about the subject of Ujamaa and religion. Since Nyerere was a devout Roman Catholic, the first question which attracted researchers was whether his religious beliefs had any connection with his political activism.⁷⁹ The work of J. V. Civile which analysed the socialism of Nyerere in the light of Roman Catholic teaching concentrated on this theme.⁸⁰ However, Civile gave no concrete conclusion to the question. It was J. C. Silvano who concluded that there was a very close relationship, not only between the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and Nyerere's religious convictions, but also with his African life.⁸¹ However, Silvano's conclusion led to a strong critique by Muslims that Nyerere ruled Tanzania at the behest of the Roman Catholic Church.⁸² J. B. Rwelamila's work about Tanzanian socialism, and *Gaudium et Spes* which compared Tanzanian Ujamaa with the Second Vatican Council's pastoral document, developed the subject a little further to conclude that the Ujamaa teachings are the practical aspects of the church's pastoral teaching.⁸³ Laurent Magesa, another Roman Catholic theologian who focused on the theological implications of Ujamaa, concluded that Nyerere's religious convictions mark his political theology.⁸⁴ Magesa also worked on

⁷⁶ Julius K. Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1992.

⁷⁷ Ludwig *Church and State in Tanzania*, pp.8-13 has also worked on a similar literature survey and much of the information in this section bears some similarities to his work.

⁷⁸ Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1970.

⁷⁹ Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent*, p. 125.

⁸⁰ J. V. Civile, 'Ujamaa Socialism: an analysis of the Socialism of Julius K. Nyerere in the light of Catholic Teaching', in W.R. Duggan and J.V. Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationalism*, New York: 1976. See also Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, pp. 9-12.

⁸¹ Silvano, J. C., *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953-1985*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1992.

⁸² Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent*, pp. 125, 127-152.

⁸³ J. B. Rwelamila, *Tanzanian Socialism-Ujamaa and Gaudium et Spes*, Rome: Academia Alfonsiana, 1988.

⁸⁴ L. Magesa, *Ujamaa Socialism in Tanzania: A Theological Assessment*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Saint Paul University, 1986.

the theology of liberation for Tanzania and used it to challenge the church's willingness to utilise the aims and prospects of the policy.⁸⁵

A different approach was taken by Westerlund. In his book, *Ujamaa na Dini*, he emphasised the contradictions within the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as well as in the state's attitude towards the religious communities.⁸⁶ He concluded that the state's tendency of limiting the activities of the religious communities to certain areas divided Tanzanians into religious and secular sectors. Frostin rejects this conclusion on the ground that the secularism of Tanzanian socialism was according to scholarly interpretation.⁸⁷ Frostin added that the division of society into a religious and a secular sector has never been a primary concern of Ujamaa and that it was instead concerned with the *imani* (belief) in human equality. Nyerere has shown that the *imani* in human equality was the emphasis of the policy and that it would challenge the African tribal divisions and the missionaries' denominational and hierarchical stratification.⁸⁸

The reaction of Lutherans to Ujamaa was well presented in the literature.⁸⁹ For example, whereas Kijanga and Kweka focused on the role of the Lutheran Church in Ujamaa, Ludwig analysed a historical cooperation between the Lutheran Church and the state in Tanzania.⁹⁰ Ludwig said that the 'Anglican Church' was praised by the government because of its support of *Ujamaa* villages.⁹¹ However, he did not go into any detail. Instead, he limited his information to the role played by the Anglican and Lutheran churches in the formation of the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT).

Available written materials about the Anglican Church engagement with Ujamaa was at best spartan. Research projects conducted by students from St. Mark's and St. Philip's Anglican Theological Colleges in Tanzania in fulfilment of their Diploma requirements, and which cannot be qualified to academic works, were among such

⁸⁵ Laurent Magesa, "Towards a Theology of Liberation for Tanzania" in Edward Fashole-Luke *et al.*, *Christianity in independent Africa*, London: Rex Collings, 1978, pp. 503-515.

⁸⁶ D. Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini: A study of some aspects of society and religion in Tanzania*, 1961-1977, Motala: ANL, 1980.

⁸⁷ P. Frostin, *Liberation Theology in Tanzania and South Africa: A First World interpretation*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1988, p. 42.

⁸⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*.

⁸⁹ E. Kweka, *Church and State in Tanzania*, Minnesota: St. Paul, 1973, P. A. S. Kijanga, *Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania*, Arusha: Makumira, 1978.

⁹⁰ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 13.

⁹¹ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, pp. 173-175.

studies. Nevertheless, none of these works gave a clear description of how the Anglican Church reacted to the call to Ujamaa. Deborah D. Honore's book on Trevor Huddleston, the bishop of the Diocese of Masasi (1960-1968), analysed the diocese's early attempts to respond to the policy of *Ujama na Kujitegemea*.⁹² However, her description was limited to educational matters within the diocese. Three chapters dedicated to Anglicans on the 'Modern Tanzanians' provided clues to some issues such as the concept of the Ujamaa village was basically an African model adopted by the missionaries and developed by Nyerere.⁹³ This study benefited from this material.

6. Theoretical Framework

The main subject of discussion in this study was the history of church and state relations, and gospel and culture in Tanzania. "History is essentially about change and people."⁹⁴ In the history of Christianity changes have been associated with two basic factors: "the interaction of the 'Gospel' and culture,"⁹⁵ and the "effects of church and state relations."⁹⁶ The assumption made here was that the same experiences have been felt by Anglicans and the state authority in Tanzania. It was under similar considerations that this study has taken into account the theoretical positions of Kwame Bediako, Emile Durkheim and John and Jean Comaroff.⁹⁷

⁹² Debora Duncan Honore, *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on His Life and Work*, Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 35-57.

⁹³ John Iliffe, *Modern Tanzanians*, pp. 1-26, 66-94, 133-154.

⁹⁴ Iliffe, *Modern Tanzanians*, back cover page.

⁹⁵ Kwame Bediako, 'Gospel and Culture: Some insights for our time from the experience of the Earliest Church' in *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol. 2, no. 2, Akropong-Akuepem, ACOM, December 1999, pp. 8-12, Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of the Faith*, New York: Orbis / Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, pp. 7-9.

⁹⁶ Bediako, 'Gospel and Culture' pp.13-14, Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, pp. 1-4, This argument takes into consideration the changes that occurred in the Church in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the British monarchy attempted to take control of the church.

⁹⁷ Kwame Bediako, 'Gospel and Culture: Some insights for our time from the experience of the Earliest Church' in *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol. 2, no. 2, Akropong-Akuepem, ACOM, December 1999, pp. 8-12, J. and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol.1, Chicago: IL, Chicago University Press, 1991, J. and J. Comaroff, *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South: Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Chicago: IL, Chicago University Press, 1997, J. and J. Comaroff, *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South: Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Chicago: IL, Chicago University Press, 1997, Structural Functionalism (Emile Durkheim, 1858-1917) in Donald Kisilu Kombo and Delno L. A Tromp (ed.), *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*, Nairobi: Pauline's, 2006, pp. 56-57.

The purpose of these theories was, in the first place, to draw attention to the changes that took place in Anglicanism after the interaction between indigenous ‘Tanzanian’ culture and Western European Anglicanism before independence. The review of the literature provided evidences that the ‘Anglican Church in Tanzania’ was built on the interpretations of the missionaries’ encounter with the local people.⁹⁸ The literature demonstrated that this encounter between the missionaries and the local people brought about changes in the understanding of their new context. Justin Willis, for example, explained how the UMCA turned local forms of dependence and *clientage* to its own advantage in the creation of a mission village at Magila.⁹⁹ This was also highlighted by Beidelman when he described the work of the CMS among the Kagulu people of Morogoro Region.¹⁰⁰

Similar parallels were portrayed by the John and Jean Comaroff in their two volumes – *Revelation and Revolution*, and *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*¹⁰¹ – which demonstrated how the early encounter between British missionaries and the Southern Tswana people of South Africa led to a complex of identity, identification and consciousness in both.¹⁰² Comaroff’s, Willis and Beidelman’s works reflected changes in the life of particular communities which they studied. The work of Willis and Beidelman in particular demonstrated changes that took place in the life of people as they lived it in the CMS and UMCAs mission villages in ‘Tanzania’. My analysis of data verified that because of these experiences, the Anglicans in ‘Tanzania’ became flexible enough to accommodate new changes including that of new state policies. The Anglican way of actuating change was (and still is) by debating and agreeing at synod. Synods were attended by bishops, laypeople, priests, and deacons who represented various departments of the church. It was during the meetings of these synods that the theology of the church was

⁹⁸ Justin Willis *The Nature of a Mission Community: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: The Mission in African History - Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, London: Oxford University Press, 1993, Gale Group, 2004, T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Social Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

⁹⁹ Willis *The Nature of a Mission Community*.

¹⁰⁰ Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*.

¹⁰¹ J. and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol.1, Chicago: IL, Chicago University Press, 1991, J. and J. Comaroff, *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South: Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Chicago: IL, Chicago University Press, 1997.

¹⁰² Richard Mathew Lubawa, *The Missing Link : Indigenous Agents in the Development of the Iringa Diocese of the Evangelical Church of Tanzania (ELCT) 1899-1999*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2002, p.11.

articulated. Since the church's accommodation of Ujamaa was a theological question, I adopted Kwame Bediako's theoretical statement as a tool for my analysis of the conclusions reached by these church's synods. Bediako stated that "Christian theology is called to deal always with culturally rooted questions."¹⁰³ I here used Bediako's analysis of "the impact of culture upon the Christian thinking of the early Church Fathers of Graeco-Roman Christianity" as well as "the twentieth century scholars of African Christian theology"¹⁰⁴ as lenses by which to view the influence culture had on the decisions of synod.

Secondly, I used these theories to underline the Anglicans' reaction to the issues of national importance (i.e., the movement for political independence, independence and Ujamaa) and how that response was received by the political elites. I used Emile Durkheim's theory of structural functionalism which stressed that "human society [was] like an organism and [was] made up of structures called social institutions" and that "these institutions [were] specially structured so that they perform different functions on behalf of a society."¹⁰⁵ Both Shivji and Morris-Hale demonstrated that church and state were institutions of society. Shivji, for example, stated that: "The other forum most often neglected [was] the church and other religious-based institutions ... they [offered] an arena of human ... activities which may not have yet been used to the fullest."¹⁰⁶ Morris-Hale added that, although church and state [were] institutions of the same society, they [performed] different functions: "The church... [converted]; the state ... [governed]."¹⁰⁷ According to Durkheim's theory, as a result of such "interrelationships and interdependence, one institution could affect the others and ultimately the whole, whereas the whole could also affect one or all the social institutions."¹⁰⁸

The struggle for political independence was a movement which had its roots in indigenous people's consciousness regarding their identity as Africans *vis-a-vis*

¹⁰³ Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Oxford: Regnum, 1999, pp. xvi - xviii.

¹⁰⁴ Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, pp. xvi - xviii.

¹⁰⁵ Structural Functionalism (Emile Durkheim, 1858-1917) in Donald Kisilu Kombo and Delno L. A. Tromp (ed.), *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*, Nairobi: Pauline's, 2006, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁶ Issa G. Shivji, *The Concept of Human Rights*, Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 1989, See also in Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁸ Structural Functionalism in *Proposal and Thesis Writing*, p. 56.

colonial domination. Since the missionaries served both the Africans and the colonial power, Durkheim's theory facilitated the identification of the role played by the missionaries during this struggle and how that affected both the church, which comprised the majority of black Africans and who were the target of the political activists, and the colonial government which was dominated by the minority Asians and the British. I also used this theory to analyse the impact of the state's imposition of the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* on the church.

Thirdly, by using the Comaroffs' works among the Tswana,¹⁰⁹ Bediako's argument that ~~the~~ African pre-Christian religious practices [were] the memories that underlied the identity of Christians in the present,¹¹⁰ and Willis' observation that ~~the~~ question of conversion, or rather of recruitment to the mission, [was] central to any study of a mission as an institution – and that this subject too [was] curiously neglected in the literature,¹¹¹ I argued that Ujamaa was among the Africans' attempts to recover African identity which was suppressed by foreign domination.

7. Research Design and Methodology

7.1. Sources and Methods

In addition to the secondary sources mentioned in the survey of literature, this study utilised Nyerere's various publications on Ujamaa as primary sources. In his book, *Freedom and Unity*, Nyerere urged the Tanzanians to believe that they were a family and that they should live as brothers and sisters.¹¹² According to him, tribal conflicts, slavery, colonialism and religious activities divided Tanzanians into various groups and such groups were in conflict. In his second book, *Freedom and Socialism*, Nyerere stated that the only possibility of living as a family and obtaining true

¹⁰⁹ J. and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol.1, J. and J. Comaroff, *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South: Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*.

¹¹⁰ Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience*, Cambria: Paternoster, 2000, p. xi.

¹¹¹ Willis, *The Nature of a Mission Community*, p. 1.

¹¹² Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja*.

freedom was to work for and live up to Ujamaa goals.¹¹³ He developed these views further in his *Freedom and Development*.¹¹⁴ Information which was missing in these books was derived from oral and archival histories.

7.2. Archival History¹¹⁵

In this study, I used sources from various archival documents. Most of these archives have been those which have not yet been evaluated or published. I gave special attention to the documents which throw a different light on the events from the published literature. I also conducted interviews on the following aspects: similarities and differences between Anglicanism and Ujamaa, the response of the state authority to the church's reaction to the new regime and the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*, and the effects felt by the church after the fall of Ujamaa.

A consideration of these archives was important for this study for three reasons. Firstly, these were a reservoir of information on the missions' management and administration. Secondly, they were the missions' heritage about the challenges faced by the missionaries' encounter with people of a different culture. Thirdly, they secured the missions' recorded legal rights and various privileges.¹¹⁶ Anglicans in Tanzania as well as those overseas will continue to depend on these documents in various ways: —socially, culturally, institutionally, and individually.”¹¹⁷

As was stated earlier, the Anglican Church in Tanzania was a synod-led church. This means that all official agreements, statements of faith, recommendations and declarations were recorded during the synod meetings. A bishop's charge, which includes all the events which have taken place since the previous synod, was delivered at the beginning of each synod. Unless a resolution made by a previous synod was changed by a subsequent synod, it continues to be a rule of the church. Those in authority in the church worked according to these rules. The period of time between

¹¹³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/ Uhuru na Ujamaa*.

¹¹⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo*.

¹¹⁵ Much of the archival and primary materials came from an age when inclusive language was not normal, therefore, in this study, some quotations reflected that.

¹¹⁶ Society of American Archivists Website. Guidelines for a Graduate Programme in Archival Studies. <http://www.archivists.org/prof-education/ed_guidelines.asp/>. [Accessed 18 March 2010].

¹¹⁷ Society of American Archivists web page.

one synod and the next was that of three years. In the interval between synods, a standing committee, which in other dioceses was known as a diocesan church council, ensured that the decisions of the synod were implemented by the leadership of the church. This indicated that the acts of synods of the church carried strong evidence about historical development of the church. A thorough study of these diocesan and provincial acts of synods which took place from 1950s to 2004 proved to be of great value to this study because of their relevance to the developments within the church over these years. In particular, the changes introduced by the synods provide references to the methods used by the church to accommodate Ujamaa. I derived the clarification of the acts of the synods from oral interviews, minutes of synods' meetings and minutes of various synods' committees. Such committees included standing, liturgical, constitutional, financial, canons' chapter, house of clergy, house of bishops and house of laity.

The second body of archival sources which I used was that of missionary reports. Anglican missionaries were required by rule to present monthly reports a year.¹¹⁸ Until 1959, the UMCA published these reports in its quarterly and monthly review of their work (i.e., *Central Africa* and *Monthly Review of the Work*) respectively. The CMS mission's reports were recorded in either *Mission Outlook* or published in its journal: *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, replaced later by *The Church Missionary Review*.¹¹⁹ The CMS also kept a series of files of these reports in Australia and the United Kingdom. This rule of reporting back to the head office was incorporated into the African church by the first generation of African bishops who demanded parish reports from their priests. Since these reports include the various decisions made by parish church councils, I reviewed them for the purpose of getting a general feeling of the Anglican Church in Tanzania and the changes made by its synods regarding the implementation of Ujamaa.

The third body of sources I used in this study was that of letters. Until recently, when the internet, television and mobile telephones began to take control of communication,

¹¹⁸ Mundus Website. Universities' Mission to Central Africa. <<http://www.Mundus.ac.uk/cats/11/1050.htm>>. [Accessed 28 March 2010].

¹¹⁹ Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p. 241.

letters were the fastest way of communication and expression in Tanzania. Priests communicated with their bishops by way of letters. Bishops used letters, newsletters and secular letters to communicate with their parishes and their priests. When writing to the state authority, bishops used confidential letters to express both their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the state's decisions on some issues. Bishops and priests have written and received personal letters over a period of years which I used to record their personal and diocesan feelings about Ujamaa and their church. In this study, it was evident that these letters carried strong evidence from which it has benefited.

The fourth body of sources which I used in this study were sermons. Most of these sermons were delivered by bishops during church and state occasions such as a consecration of a new bishop or instalment of a new president of the state which involved a participation of both political and ecclesiastical representatives. The sermons delivered on these occasions sent important messages to the state officials. I also use relevant information derived from newspapers.

The fifth group of sources which I reviewed include diaries, log books and note books. I used diaries and log books to make a follow-up of some minutes and dates of meetings and occasions. For example, no one was sure of the reasons for Bishop Omari's death until I found out in archive in Australia. His personal notes which highlighted a conversation he had with the Archbishop of East Africa revealed that he had some personal grievance against the bishop of Central Tanganyika, and in another note, it was shown that this led into a heart attack.¹²⁰ Such information helped me locate relevant archives. Some of the note books also contained an assortment of personal notes taken during seminars, workshops and meetings.

These sources were not kept in one location. As a result, I travelled to five different countries: Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Australia and England. The East Africana Collection at the University of Dar es Salaam, for example, kept the correspondences of Bishop Trevor Huddleston about diocesan schools and hospitals which were to be handed over to the government. Documents from other dioceses were found at

¹²⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/123/10.

different places. For example, the Nairobi Anglican Archive in Kenya kept important files concerning the Church of the Province of East Africa which may not be found anywhere else. The Kenya National Archive kept documents related to the work of CMS in East Africa, some of which can also be found in Great Britain. The library of Makerere University in Uganda¹²¹ had some documents of the church in East Africa before and during the Tanzania-Uganda War. Relevant documents from the dioceses which were founded by the CMSA were kept at the main CMSA archives in the New South Wales State Library and the CMSA office in Sydney. Other information related to the CMSA was found in London and Birmingham.

Archbishop John Sepeku Library in Dar es Salaam held diocesan acts of synods, constitutions and the UMCA's *Central Africa*. A large number of relevant documents from the dioceses which were founded by the UMCA were kept at Bolden Rhodes House in London.¹²² Some papers were also kept in the Lambeth Palace Library in London. In Zanzibar, Archbishop emeritus John A. Ramadhani (1980-2003) held some of his diaries which were used in this study. The retired bishop of Mpwapwa, Simon Chiwanga, also kept several papers in his house at Mpwapwa in Dodoma. These too were also used as sources in this study.

The Tanzanian National Archive in Dar es Salaam kept a larger reservoir of documents related to church owned land and schools. Documents of the British Administration in Tanganyika were also kept there.¹²³ In addition, government newspapers written between the 1920s and 1970s were kept in the Tanganyika Library. These were also used in this study. I also reviewed all the documents found in the headquarters, cathedral and all 'established parishes' of the following dioceses: Zanzibar, Central Tanganyika, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Masasi, South West Tanganyika, Southern Highlands, Morogoro, Ruaha, Mpwapwa, Mount Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Western Tanganyika, Kagera, Mara, Rift Valley, Tabora, and Victoria Nyanza. I was able to access information related to the work of the Roman Catholic Church kept in Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo and Tabora. My attempts to access the

¹²¹ The Anglican Church in Nairobi keeps documents related to the Church Province of East Africa. Until 1978 when Uganda went to war with Tanzania, Makerere University trained Anglicans from Tanzania.

¹²² Mundus Website.

¹²³ Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika*, pp. 338-345.

CCM (i.e., Chama Cha Mapinduzi) archive in Dodoma and Dar es Salaam failed because of restrictions imposed by party officials.

Morris-Hale's note that much of the documentation had been destroyed by administrators¹²⁴ became evident when I visited the Diocese of Dar es Salaam where I was told that many of the archival documents were destroyed by the church authorities. At Korogwe, I found very sensitive archival documents boxed in a small room where children and other people could easily destroy them. Similar situations were found in Dodoma and Mwanza.

Although all these archival documents carried information relevant to my study, there were some gaps which made it necessary to conduct more research. A telephone consultation with archbishop emeritus John Ramadhani helped to identify people who could bridge these gaps.

7.3. Oral History

I used semi-structured face to face interviews during the process of data collection. I carried my questions with me during my field work trips.¹²⁵ The advantage of this method was that it allowed for a detailed understanding of the issues. The interviews, which were semi-structured, allowed for flexibility and change. As a result, there was always an interpretation taking place and clarity given to certain aspects of the study problem. This method of research helped me to closely interact with the interviewees, putting them at ease to answer more questions. Sometimes it happened that, during the interview sessions, I found out important information which did not seem relevant during my consultation of archival documents. This was very true when I interviewed the CMM Sisters in Dar es Salaam where I had to ask the interviewee to go further into the new topic and this helped me to go back into my archival documents. However, semi-structured interviews were time consuming as the conversation went on and on.

¹²⁴ Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika*, pp. 12, 336.

¹²⁵ The Kiswahili and English version of these questions are attached on the appendix of this study.

Sometimes data collection produced a variety of different answers. I therefore became selective over the people to interview for the study according to the information I had and which fitted well with the objectives of this study. The responses were derived mainly from ‘experienced’ ordained and lay Anglicans as well as non-Anglicans who worked with the state (both colonial and independent). The selection of interviewees followed criteria such as gender, age, education, status and experience in the church and in working with the state authorities. These variables influenced the attitudes of the Anglicans towards their church’s relations with the state authority and their relation with people of other faiths. I used purposive sampling to select responses, and only information which I found to be relevant to my research was used in this study. I grouped my respondents into three main categories. The first category of respondents consisted of Anglicans: laypeople, priests, canons, bishops and two archbishops. The short listing of these Anglicans focused, but without limitation, on those who had been members of the committees which established the Province of East Africa (1960), the Church of the Province of Tanzania (1970), the Anglican Church of Tanzania (1997), those who attended various workshops about the church and Ujamaa, and those who participated in the synods between 1955-2004. The list also targeted Anglicans who were government employees between the years 1955-2004 and who were members of church committees and synods. These government’s employees were: three retired cabinet ministers, three retired Members of Parliament, one retired Secretary of state House, and two retired Regional Commissioners. I derived the second group of respondents from civil society. These were Christians and non-Christians who had worked closely with the Anglicans. I used Anglicans to identify people who belonged to this group. The third group of respondents included ‘experienced’ ordained and lay people from other Christian denominations who worked closely with Anglicans.

The significance of these oral histories to this study was that all respondents were key players, who served as participants in the life and activities of the church and for that reason they formed a rich reservoir of information on its history. As Denis confirmed, through such oral sources, I was able to record the richness of the Christian heritage

that has been stored in the minds of these interviewees.”¹²⁶ The eyewitnesses or those who participated in various church forums for the implementation of Ujamaa, or were involved in church and state occasions, gave their experience which no written document had put clearly and openly. Thus, this exercise became a study of how these Anglicans (and others) had contributed to the emergence and implementation of their Ujamaa-centred church in Tanzania. The interview sessions became their opportunity to air their opinions more widely.¹²⁷

7.4. Language of Interviews

I conducted my interviews in both Kiswahili and English. The advantage of using Kiswahili was that first and foremost it has become an indigenous language and therefore extracts of indigenous thoughts became easy to record. Second, the interviewees were mainly Tanzanians and therefore Kiswahili allowed them to express their feelings and thoughts freely. I kept some of Kiswahili words in this study for the purpose of presenting the originality of the information. I only used English when I interviewed English speaking Anglicans who worked in Tanzania as either church missionaries or servants in the colonial government and who felt more confident to speak in English than in Kiswahili.

8. Analysis of Data

On the basis of the interviews, the archival data and Nyerere’s publications on Ujamaa, and all other relevant information to my study objectives were identified. These included issues relevant to both church and state. These were categorised according to objectives. All information relevant to the chapters of this study was related to the relevant objectives. In certain cases some information fulfilled the needs

¹²⁶ Philippe Denis ‘Oral History in a wounded Country,’ in J. Draper ed., *Proceedings of the Pietermaritzburg Colloquium on Orality and Colonialism*, August 2001, p. 1 quote by Richard Mathew Lubawa, *The Missing Link: Indigenous Agents in Development of the Iringa Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania ELCT, 1899-1999*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2002, p. 17. Draper’s work has been published as *Orality, Literacy, and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publication, 2003.

¹²⁷ Society of American Archivists Website.

of the objectives. In other cases, I noticed gaps which demanded more reading and detailed analysis. Thereafter, I developed my chapters with reference to my overall study objective. Information which was relevant to my study objectives was posted to its particular chapter of this study.

9. Coding of the Data

This research used oral interviews, archival records, published and unpublished related materials. While I used Nyerere's books as primary sources on issues related to Ujamaa and, to some extent, issues related to church and state relations, I used other unpublished and published materials as secondary sources. Some of these materials were in the form of soft copies (i.e., from the internet) and others were hard copies. In this study, all these documents were listed in the chapter titled Bibliography.

All interviews and archival data were used either to argue against or support these published and unpublished primary and secondary sources. With the exception of Augustino Ramadhani whom I decided to identify him by his first name to distinguish him from his uncle John, all the names of respondents were clear and thus raised no confusion. Instead of giving them specific codes they were footnoted in this study beginning with their first name followed by their other names, the interview, the city or town and the date when the interview was conducted. For example, an interview conducted with John Ramadhani appeared as John Ramdhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

Whenever the record was repeated in the same chapter, the order of recording changed slightly to begin with the last name and followed by the interview in the following order: Ramadhani, same interview.

As was stated earlier, the archival data came from a variety of archives. It became necessary therefore to give each source special codes. The codes began with the initials of the name of the archive, followed by a call number (in the format of letters and numbers as per the list provided by the archive) and a box number in the following order: Initials of the name of the archive/call letters/series number/box

number/Title of the document, date and page number(s). Following this identification, all the archival data I gathered from Kenyan National Archive were in the code order of KNA/MSS followed by other information. KNA stands for Kenya National Archive. MSS represented the series number as given by the archive. This meant that data from series number sixty one which was found in the tenth box (files) appeared in this study as KNA/MSS/61/10. Those sources derived from the head office of the Anglican Church of Kenya appeared as ACKA/series number/box number. All sources from the CMSA archives in Sydney were in the code order of CMSA/MLMSS6040/series number/box number. Archives from the bishop of Uganda archive appeared as BUAUCU/series number/box number. Sources derived from Rhodes House Library in Great Britain were footnoted as RHL/UMCA-USPG/series number/box number and those from CMS library in Birmingham UBL /series/volume number. Sources from the library of Trinity College in Bristol were footnoted as TCB/call number. The documents which were obtained from Lambeth Palace Library were coded as LPL/call number.

Sources derived from the archives in Tanzania had some varieties. Those from the libraries followed the format of Trinity College in Bristol already shown but I had to develop a different one for those from the dioceses. Therefore, all sources from Archbishop Sepeku Library appeared as ASL/source of the document/title of the box (file). Documents from the Diocese of Dar es Salaam kept in the library of Archbishop Sepeku, for example, were footnoted as ASL/ADD/title of the document/date of production. All sources which derived from the Tanganyika Library were cited as TL/name of the document/date of its production. Sources from the Africana Collection of the University of Dar es Salaam were identified as UDL/AC/call number/date of production.

Documents found in the offices of the dioceses were all footnoted according to the name of the diocese and the location of the diocesan head office. A document from the Diocese of Tanga, for example, was cited as ACT/ADT/Korogwe/name of the document/date of its production.

This system of coding helps to identify the location of the archive for further research. However, researchers who may need to consult these documents in the future need to

note that besides CMSA, KNA, TNA, RHL, and BUAUCU, other archives have not developed a particular system of coding. In this case, a researcher would need to develop her or his own format.

10. Structure of the Study

This study could have been structured in several ways. For example, I could have started directly with a comparison of aspects of Anglicanism and Ujamaa or with the response of the Anglican missions to the struggle for political independence. However, history is mainly about change and people. Tanzania has gone through various rigorous changes which affected the chosen period of this study and which may not be clear to many people. In order to avoid confusion, I provided an overview of the changes which have taken place in the period 1955 to 2005. As a result, this thesis adopted the following structure:

Chapter one: This introductory chapter was a revised version of the initial research proposal. The background information and the literature review in this chapter highlighted the reasons for my choice of the period which this study reviews.

Chapter two: This chapter responded to the first objective of this study and provided a historical survey of the formation of the Anglican Church of Tanzania from 1955 to 2005. Here I analysed the basis of the British missions' relations with the state and their guiding principles. I also analysed how the guiding principles of the two missions were practised on the mission field and how these affected the missions' relationships with each other, the ethnic communities, the colonial authority, the African political activists and people of other faiths. Furthermore, I described the church's religious communities as well as the sodalities.

Chapter three: This chapter continued to answer the first objective of this study by providing an analysis of the impact of missionary activities on politics in Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the reaction of the state authority. I also revisited the available literature and bridged the gaps.

Chapter four: This chapter addressed the second objective of this study and discussed the impact of the rural settlement initiated under the Rural Development Policy commonly known as ‘villagisation,’ the integration of marriage laws, as well as reforms in the sectors of education, health and land.

Chapter five: This chapter continued to address the second objective of the study and focused its attention on the influence of Ujamaa life on leadership, theology, ecclesiology, liturgy and ministry of the church in Tanzania.

Chapter six: This chapter responded to the issues raised in my second objective of this study and focuses on those aspects of the church which enabled it to embrace Ujamaa. Here, I compared and contrasted the converging and diverging elements of Anglicanism and Ujamaa.

Chapter seven: This chapter sought to fulfil the third objective of this work and identifies the factors which led to the failure of Ujamaa and the consequences which the church experienced after its demise.

Chapter eight: This chapter provided a conclusion to the study. This chapter went on to recommend some ideas which the church might need to consider in establishing its future role in society.

CHAPTER TWO

FORMATION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN TANZANIA AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE STATE IN THE MAKING OF THE CHURCH

1. Introduction

In this present chapter I discuss an overview of the process through which the Anglican Church of Tanzania came into being. I also outline the involvement of the state's elites in that process of the formation of the church. The have divided this chapter into the following sections: The course of Anglican Church and state relationships, the main ideologies of the two missions, and the implementations of the missions' ideologies and its effects on the missions' relationships to each other, the people of other religious persuasions, the ethnic communities, the colonial and the new state authority. I also analyses the transformation of the missions to a church, the religious Communities of the church as well as the sodalities of the church.

2. Basis of Anglican and State Relations in Tanzania

Both Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) missionaries drew their missionary endeavour from England where their sending church as an Established Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, York and twenty four other most senior bishops sat (and still they do) in the House of the Lords and the Upper House of the British Parliament where they have full right of voting.¹²⁸ The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (CMI) asserted that this ideology would not "suit the people of other land" for the reason that it "can never thoroughly adapt itself the requirements of any new country."¹²⁹ This conclusion could not change the missionaries' perception of the relationship between their state and the church. Thus, it became almost impossible for them to escape being agents for extending colonies

¹²⁸ The Archbishop of Canterbury Website. "The Different Roles of the Archbishop of Canterbury." <<http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/>>. [Accessed 20 July 2010], Antony Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa: A Study of its History, Principles and Status*, Cape Town: 1966, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁹ *Church Missionary Intelligencer: A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information*, 1869, 315-316.

and imperialistic ideologies.¹³⁰ This was the reason why the same UMCA and CMS missionaries who struggled to end German colonialism before World War 1¹³¹ were at a happy ground when their government replaced the Germans after the war.¹³²

By the time the British government had extended colonial domination to Tanganyika and Zanzibar, European imperialism was at its peak. Either by the Westminster's original plans or happy opportunism, the missionaries established strong link with their governors in the country. For example, even though the bishops did not sit in the Government's Legislative Council in Tanganyika, they had their missionaries representing them there. Mary Gibbons stood as a show case. She was a member of the Council for thirty years,¹³³ a UMCA missionary and a personal friend of successive governors and their wives.¹³⁴ This association caused her to wield considerable influence on the government, both officially and unofficially.¹³⁵ Mary's husband, the Reverend Canon Robert M. Gibbons, also a UMCA missionary, was a member of the Governor's Executive Council.¹³⁶ They were both regarded as the church's 'ear and eye' to the government and *vice versa*.¹³⁷ It would be natural therefore to expect them to display characteristics that were associated with imperialist culture.¹³⁸ Culture is dynamic and adopts some elements of others. However, it does so by either suppressing or eliminating elements of the new (deemed inferior) and its 'weak' elements. In Tanzania, 'the Englishness', (in this case 'the superior culture') could be naturalised only if it did not suppress the 'inferior' which in this case was the African culture. Suppression tends to ignore realities and when realities take their own course, the oppressive culture tends to react. The incidence noted by the bishop of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika (DSWT) explained it:

It is often said that our African clergy are lacking in imagination and that they provide us with few new ideas. In so far this is true; it is not

¹³⁰ William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.164-166.

¹³¹ A. E. M Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Vol.1, 1859-1909*, London: UMCA 1930, Knox, Elizabeth, *Signal on the Mountain: Gospel in Africa's Uplands Before the First World War*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991.

¹³² RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF 5, 6, 8, 9/Letter from the Bishop of Masasi, 28 September 1962.

¹³³ Marion Bartlett, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 04 April 2011 in London.

¹³⁴ Marion Bartlett, same interview.

¹³⁵ Marion Bartlett, same interview.

¹³⁶ Paul Hardy, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 05 April 2011 in London.

¹³⁷ Hardy, same interview.

¹³⁸ They left the country soon after the independence of Tanzania just as the Governor did.

surprising for their life is an isolation one. At home, a priest acquires new ideas by talking with his fellow priests, by visiting other parishes and other dioceses and by reading books and journals. Our priests [here] are cut off from nearly all these things.¹³⁹

This shows that, if the ‘Englishness’ happened to be naturalised, to use the words of *CMI*, it did only to ~~maintain~~ a dwarfed and stunted existence.”¹⁴⁰ Williams who conducted a detailed literature research on the development of CMS’ evolution of policy put it this way:

Now [in the twentieth century] it saw itself as a necessary and semi-permanent feature in all the areas which it occupied, and measured its commitment to the independent church and the native episcopate in terms of England’s determination to grant freedom to the empire. Its vision had come to coincide with that of the average paternalistic missionary and approximate to that of the average imperialistic colonial servant.¹⁴¹

Ive noted that the ~~Church~~ of England should retain at least a quasi-established position even when operating outside England.”¹⁴² Such understanding was extended to the colonies. ~~All~~ bishops for the colonies were appointed under Letters Patent from the Crown.”¹⁴³ Accordingly, while the Crown posted governors to the British colonies, it also sent bishops to serve the colonies.”¹⁴⁴ This link was also reflected on the role of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the church and the state. On the one hand, the archbishop placed a mitre on the head of a new bishop when he consecrated him. On the other, he placed the crown on the head of the new Queen or King.¹⁴⁵ These roles of the archbishop denote a symbolic association between the church and the Monarchy and reflect that the extension of the imperial governors had to be

¹³⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa: Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 55.

¹⁴⁰ *Church Missionary Intelligencer: A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information*, 1869. p. 315-316.

¹⁴¹ Peter C. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, Leiden: Brill, 1990, p. 256.

¹⁴² Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa*, p. 11.

¹⁴³ Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ This was clearly reflected in the appointment of an Australian, Alfred Stanway, for the Diocese of Central Tanganyika. The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated Stanway after all arrangements with the government. Stanway was told to stay in England for three months after his consecration so that he could learn from the secretary of colonies and others about the expectations of the government. CMSA/MLMSS6040/3/‘New Bishop of Central Tanganyika’, Minutes of meeting of the Federal Executive of CMS, Tuesday 25 July 1950, Sydney, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury Website. The Different Roles of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

accompanied by a recognised Anglican ecclesiology of ecclesiastical authority.¹⁴⁶ In this regard, wherever there was the government, there was the ecclesia. This relationship was very clear in Tanganyika and Zanzibar where the British officials were ... Anglicans, or had a feeling that the Anglican Church was the appropriate place for an official to attend.”¹⁴⁷ Such affiliation dictated the missions’ decisions. For example, when the government authority realised that granting of internal self-government could best serve the extension of its imperialistic ideology and thus had sought to establish the Federation of East African States, the church was the first to quickly jump into it.¹⁴⁸ When this government’s plan did not materialise, the Colonial Governors in East Africa decided to let Africans develop their own life.¹⁴⁹ In order to make way for this change, the bishops were soon to resign their episcopal seats. Unlike their governors, however, the bishops prepared no African administratively to take their position in the church.

The missionaries’ failure to train Africans administratively led to a superficial appointment of Africans to positions of archdeacons and bishops as pointed out by the missionary bishops: “But the point should be made [clear] that Africans are not being made Archdeacons because they are considered fit to perform these tasks.”¹⁵⁰ Another missionary reported that: “I know Alf [i.e., Bishop Alfred Stanway] is refusing him [i.e., Bishop Yohana Omari] the responsibility of any decision at all.”¹⁵¹ Obviously the handing over of the church administration to Africans, as another missionary indicated it, would become problematic: “There is a danger in handing over archdeaconries and bishoprics to Africans—often the accessories to the position are not handed over.”¹⁵² In the case of UMCA which held that a bishop was the in charge of the mission in the field, the resignation of European bishops created an African church on shaky footing.

¹⁴⁶ Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Come Back to Africa: The Review of the Work of 1962, London: UMCA, June 1963, p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 in this chapter.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 in this chapter.

¹⁵⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, Westminster: UMCA, 1960, p. 18.

¹⁵¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/123/10/Federal Secretary’s visit to E. A. 10 June 1963. In this case, Bishop Alfred Stanway refused to pass on the ecclesial responsibility to Bishop Yohana Omari.

¹⁵² RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF (III)/_Africanisation’, UMCA-SPG Steering Committee, p. 4.

3. Impacts of the Ideologies of UMCA and CMS on the Mission Field

Even though both UMCA and CMS concentrated on setting up a ‘truly African church’¹⁵³ in Tanzania, each mission followed its own way of accomplishing it. The involvement of the government in these missions’ ways of accomplishing the goal produced different results.

3.1. The Impact of UMCAs Ideology on the Mission Field

Both Sterling and Porter have argued that central to UMCA was the belief of its members in the unquestioned authority of its bishop in all matters of faith and church order.¹⁵⁴ This implies that the UMCAs ideology of building a native church relied on the decisions of the missionary bishop. In view of that, Archbishop Ramadhani stated that it was the changes of bishops and creation of new dioceses which would bring effect to this ideology.¹⁵⁵ Moryama showed that even the development and direction of African ministry had been drastically affected by the views of different bishops each time they were changed.¹⁵⁶ Ramadhani, who established two reasons for this, highlighted that it was not until 1955 that such belief took a different course due to the fact that the power of bishops was changing.¹⁵⁷ First, the government had taken control of social services previously dominated by the missions. This development raised a new and unclear relation with the state as the bishop of Masasi reported that:

[...] – the multiplication of civil servants, the departmentalism of the government, ... the spate laws, regulations, and ordinances, issuing from multiracial legislative council makes ‘over’ – rather than ‘under’ –

¹⁵³ Chancy Maples argued that UMCA was setting up Christ’s church “in its completeness and compactness of apostolic organization...in the richness of its sacramental life” “the person of Christ given to Africa...to bind into one social and living organism. See Chancy Maples, *The African Church and Its Claims upon Universities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879, p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Porter, “The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and Twentieth-Century Colonial Encounter” in Brian Stanley (ed.) *Missions, Nationalism, and The End of Empire*, Michigan: Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003, p. 89. Leader Dominic Sterling, *Heroes of the Faith in Tanzania: Ndanda-Peramiho*, BPNP, 1997, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ John Ramadhani, ‘Dibaji’, in Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Masahariki mwa Tanzania*, SMTIC Book Project, 2005, p. iii.

¹⁵⁶ Jerome T. Moryama, ‘Building A Home Grown Church’ in Daniel O’Connor, et al, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London and New York, Continuum, 2000, p. 341.

¹⁵⁷ John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

government ... It is, in fact, a wholesome thing that the realms of the church and state should be well defined.¹⁵⁸

The bishop of Zanzibar also complained:

The recommendations of yet another Commission on Government Salaries have recently been accepted by Government, whereby the salaries of all Government officials and employees have been increased ... under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a number of our teachers and hospital assistants have been transferred to government hospitals.¹⁵⁹

Even though some African priests, who by regulation had to be teachers before they could join the ordained ministry,¹⁶⁰ remained faithful to their call, some resigned their parochial livings in favour of well-paying government jobs.¹⁶¹ The dominance of the priests in the parishes was changing. For example, the African medical and education employees from the Diocese of Masasi rejected the dominance of their African clergy.¹⁶² This was followed by the teachers, who without consulting their bishop founded a trade union.¹⁶³ It was indicated in this trade union that all teachers should join.¹⁶⁴ The old priests confronted their bishop saying that: You know that ~~we~~ look to you as our father to protect us ...”¹⁶⁵ Porter showed that looking to a bishop for help was a mind-set which the mission had built among its adherents.¹⁶⁶ However, this time the bishop changed that position of the mission saying: ~~the~~ emergence of new generation of young men and women” stands as the ~~ephemeral~~ of prince Bishops.”¹⁶⁷ Some old priests of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika confronted their bishop

¹⁵⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, pp. 36-37.

¹⁵⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Report from the Bishop of Zanzibar, Africa on the March: A Review of the Work of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa for 1954-55, May 1955, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ ASL/ADZ/Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar, 1903.

¹⁶¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/62/Vol.1/Report of Africa Regional Secretary to the Federal Council, 1956, p. 46.

¹⁶² RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 37.

¹⁶³ Annual Review, p. 37.

¹⁶⁴ Annual Review, p. 37.

¹⁶⁵ RHL/UMCA-USPG/R.23/740.12/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, pp. 36-37.

¹⁶⁶ Porter, *The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, pp. 36-37.

about the same agenda.¹⁶⁸ The bishop regarded it as resulting from an inferiority complex and thus he said:¹⁶⁹

African priests were normally the best educated members of their flock and they held a control and respected position in the community. With the rapid expansion of secondary education they have been left behind academically; and with salaries sometimes only a quarter of the starting salary of a well-educated African they find it difficult to maintain their position and the respect of the new generation.¹⁷⁰

The second reason which Ramadhani mentioned was that the mission had grown and new dioceses had been formed.¹⁷¹ African Christians were involved in some leadership roles within the mission. Ramadhani argued that when the mission had one bishop in the whole area which included Zanzibar, Pemba, east, north east and south east of Tanganyika,¹⁷² the bishop could make decisions without need of consulting other members of the mission.¹⁷³ The bishop of Masasi referred to this past by stating that a word from a bishop _very nearly was law.¹⁷⁴ Building on Ramadhani, Shauri added that the formation of new dioceses meant that there were more bishops who could challenge and sometimes disagree on decisions made by bishops of the other dioceses.¹⁷⁵ According to Shauri this had some impacts on the African Christians.¹⁷⁶ Agreeing with Ramadhani, Hardy, who was among the last UMCA white missionaries, gave an example of the disagreement of the UMCA bishops about the question of the _Christianisation' of *Jando* and *Unyago* (boys and girls initiation rites)

¹⁶⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/R.23/740.12/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 55.

¹⁶⁹ Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 55.

¹⁷⁰ The Diocesan Conference of South West Tanganyika had singled out earlier that one of the causes of the inferiority which the old generation of clergy had was language barrier. But with the government emphasis on the use of Kiswahili as a media for communication and instruction in Primary Schools, this barrier which was established by the missions' emphasis on the use of vernacular, came to an end in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika and it spread all over the other UMCA Dioceses. ASL/DR, Minutes of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika Conference, Liuli, 1954, p. 2, RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF/A Larger Freedom: The Review of the Work of 1963, May 1964, p. 60.

¹⁷¹ Ramadhani, _Dibaji' in Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. iii.

¹⁷² The first synod of UMCA was held in Zanzibar on 1884 and on 1892 the diocese was named the Diocese of Zanzibar. The second Diocese was Nyasaland which was constituted on 1892. The third was Masasi in 1926. It was not until 1952 that the synods were attended by Africans other than deacons and priests.

¹⁷³ John Ramadhani, _Dibaji', p. iii.

¹⁷⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, pp. 36-37.

¹⁷⁵ Stanford Shauri, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 27 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁷⁶ Shauri, same interview.

which the Diocese of Masasi had practiced for many years and for which it had introduced a special liturgy.¹⁷⁷ But, even though this liturgy could be applied for the purpose of apprehending both *Jando* and *Unyago* as aspects of African Christian life in the other dioceses, the bishops of these other dioceses rejected it.¹⁷⁸

In his interview, Hardy added that there were other causes to the change of the power of the UMCA bishops. He gave the example of many mission station members who were migrating in search of employment opportunities elsewhere due to the bishops being unable to find viable job opportunities locally. According to Hardy, having found such work, these mission members experienced Christian traditions different to their own which they subsequently applied when they returned home and which raised some quarrels among their bishops.¹⁷⁹ Watson accredited this change to come from people who had visited other countries during World War II and who came back to Tanganyika with the lesson that Africans could do things on their own way.¹⁸⁰

The arguments of both Hardy and Watson have some relevance especially when the racial problems which were faced by the mission in Central Africa were brought into consideration. The Diocese of South West Tanganyika, for example, was positioned in Tanganyika (an East African territory) after it had been separated from the diocese of Nyasaland in 1952. Nevertheless, it decided to join the dioceses of Nyasaland, South Rhodesia and North Rhodesia to form the Church of Province of Central Africa (CPCA) on 8 June 1955.¹⁸¹ This province received many people from that part of Tanganyika who were in search of jobs.¹⁸² But, unlike Central Africa, the diocese had both Africans and white Europeans who had a desire to see positive change.¹⁸³ It therefore had experienced very little by way of racial tension. The fact that the diocese decided to abscond from the CPCA and put its efforts with the UMCA and CMS dioceses of Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form a new Anglican Province of East Africa highlighted the fact that the white people within the diocese were eager to

¹⁷⁷ Hardy, same interview.

¹⁷⁸ Hardy, same interview.

¹⁷⁹ Hardy, same interview, also in RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Hope of Africa: A Review of the Work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa for 1953-54, June 1954, p. 60.

¹⁸⁰ Graeme Watson, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 04 April 2011 in London.

¹⁸¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Hope of Africa: A Review of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1953-1954, London: UMCA, June 1954, p. 60.

¹⁸² The Hope of Africa, p. 60.

¹⁸³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, pp. 60-61.

see that the church in Africa was self-governed. However, it was a diocese which, unlike other dioceses in the Province of Central Africa, had a minority of white people and a majority of ‘slightly educated’ black Africans.¹⁸⁴ Perhaps this was the reason which placed the diocese of South West Tanganyika over that of other dioceses in terms of racial harmony.¹⁸⁵

The racial composition in the diocese of South West Tanganyika could also be found in other dioceses but with different groupings. The diocese of Zanzibar had, in addition, some Arabs and Indians. Other dioceses had two main groups of Christians. The first were the white people and the second were the black people. In this sense, the composition of people in the areas occupied by the diocese of Zanzibar was unique. It was from this background that residential locations in the towns of the diocese were identified in relation to races and Christianity: *Uswahilini* for the Africans, *Uzunguni* for the white people, *Uhindini* for the Indians and Arabs, and *Misheni* for the areas where Christians lived in mission stations.¹⁸⁶ The white people were in the minority, yet many held important posts in government as well as in the mission stations.¹⁸⁷ Indians were traders, very few among them were Christians; they occupied a middle class position in the society, but not in the mission.¹⁸⁸ Black Africans who were in the majority were at the bottom of the social structure of both the society and the church.

Even though the black people were in the majority in the UMCA dioceses not until the move towards the formation of Province of East Africa, a member of their clergy was made an archdeacon.¹⁸⁹ The 1958 bishops’ Conference gave reasons for this delay: ‘... the time had not come ... [because] no African priests of sufficient

¹⁸⁴ O’Connor (ed.), *Three Centuries of Mission*, p. 129.

¹⁸⁵ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, pp. 60-61.

¹⁸⁶ Hardy, same interview.

¹⁸⁷ R. T. Jourdan, ‘The Church in Tanganyika’ in *CMS Outlook*, 1956, pp. 81-82.

¹⁸⁸ Jourdan, ‘The Church in Tanganyika’, pp. 81-86.

¹⁸⁹ This has to be balanced with the fact that Canon Samuel Sehoza was raised to a rank of Archdeacon for Usambara and Father Daudi Machina for Ruvuma District during the bishopric of Edward Hine. But, there was no any guarantee of continuation after the departure of Hine in 1908. Jerome T. Moriyama, *The Evolution of African Ministries in the Work of the Universities Missionary to Central Africa*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, London University, London, 1984, p. 341.

education, administrative ability or powers of leadership; in some dioceses there would be not enough ... to do.”¹⁹⁰

But, only a year thereafter and without any further training; in 1959, Canon Kambelo of Nanyumbu Masasi was made an archdeacon.¹⁹¹ The bishop of Zanzibar reported his intention of making two African archdeacons by the end of 1960.¹⁹² Consequently, Canon John Sepeku was made the archdeacon of Magila on 1 November 1960, and on the same date, The Reverend Father Yohana Lukindo was also made archdeacon for Korogwe.¹⁹³

Therefore, it can be strongly claimed that it was not until 1959 that the process of appointing black Africans into the leadership position of the UMCA in Tanzania gained strength. It was not astounding therefore that even when the African Christians of Masasi imposed the resignation of their Bishop Mark Way, as Mndolwa argued, the UMCAs choice was Trevor Huddleston, white priest of the Community of Resurrection (CR) and not an African.¹⁹⁴

The method of electing a bishop was another problem.¹⁹⁵ Even though the method had been challenged as far back as 1894 and by 1921 some elements of change had been incorporated, it never involved Africans.¹⁹⁶ In fact, the mission had itself failed to prove to the Christians of Masasi that Africans could held such leadership position in such a ways that apart from Archdeacon Kambelo who already was about to retire, there was no African priest who the Africans could appoint to such position. The British Government’s establishment of Indirect Rule through a Local Council established as a model in Newala was yet another problem to these Africans. Their

¹⁹⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF63A/G.W. Bloomfield, Conference with Bishops: 14-16 May 1958, (Aide Memoire), 24 June 1958, Conditions of Service in UMCA 1939-1961.

¹⁹¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF63A/Conference with Bishops.

¹⁹² RHL/UMCA-USPG/—African Archdeacons — Yet Always Rejoicing: ‘UMCA Review of 1959, 1960, p. 18.

¹⁹³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Report of the Bishop of Zanzibar in Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, 1961, p. 31.

¹⁹⁴ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, A Historical and Theological Analysis of Revival Movement (*Uamsho*) Within the Anglican Church of Tanzania, Unpublished MTh Dissertation, 2005, p. 89

¹⁹⁵ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 84 (I-III)/Archer-Houblon, Zanzibar: Statement, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, 1925-1956, 1965, p. 1-4.

¹⁹⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF84 (I-III)/Archer-Houblon, See of Zanzibar: Statement, (No Date)

voices which Briggs said were not inhibited¹⁹⁷ were eventually suppressed when they agreed that Yustino Mponda, their UMCA teacher, should be the vice chairman of the local council at Newala.¹⁹⁸ Mponda became a voiceless convenor during government's meetings.¹⁹⁹ When the government appointed him member of the Government's Legislative Council, he lived in Dar es Salaam and thus he lost contact with his people at home.²⁰⁰ Consequently, when the mission was in the process of becoming the Church of Province of East Africa in 1960, the UMCA had only three African archdeacons who could not attend bishops' meetings and had no power of voting.

3.2. The Effects of the CMSAs Ideology on the Mission Field

According to the *Church Missionary Intelligencer (CMI)*, the main emphasis of CMS was the formation of a national and independent church which possessed freedom and elasticity. This freedom and elasticity enabled the church to adopt itself to the exigencies and circumstances of the new people amongst whom it grew.²⁰¹ This emphasis was derived from Venn's ideal of the three 'Self's' of the church: –Self-governing, Self-extending (later self-propagating) and Self-supporting.²⁰² According to Barnes, Venn's ideal of a mission involved two processes; –first, the proclamation of the gospel and training of new converts, followed by the formation of world Christian churches.²⁰³

It was not until 1955 that the Venn's aspiration for the establishment of two churches, one for the missionaries and the other for the indigenous people, was realised in Central Tanganyika. Bishop Chiwanga said that the church in Central Tanganyika trained and prepared Africans for evangelism but not leadership.²⁰⁴ He added that, as a result, the African church which had started to emerge on 1950s did not have trained

¹⁹⁷ RTC/DM/Fr. Briggs, UMCA Africa and Christians, Newala Local Council: Paper, Sept. 1955.

¹⁹⁸ RTC/DM/Briggs, UMCA Africa and Christians, Newala Local Council.

¹⁹⁹ RTC/DM/Briggs, UMCA Africa and Christians, Newala Local Council.

²⁰⁰ Mndolwa, in *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p.79.

²⁰¹ *CMI*, p. 315.

²⁰² J. I. Barnes, *Partnership in Christian Mission: A History of the Protestant Missionary Movement*. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005, p. 37.

²⁰³ Barnes, *Partnership in Christian Missions*, p. 37.

²⁰⁴ Simon Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa.

leaders.²⁰⁵ Consequently, this church for the Africans had to be under the leadership of a missionary bishop and the Australian Church Mission Society (CMSA).²⁰⁶ According to Jourdan, ninety eight percent of the missionaries were Australians who were kept in relatively better houses and were paid a monthly salary of 350/-.²⁰⁷ Jourdan also said that only a few of these missionaries did not go on furlough which was open for every missionary who had worked in the diocese for two years.²⁰⁸ Very few among these missionaries regarded Tanganyika their permanent home.²⁰⁹ This was the church for the missionaries. It grew in small towns such as Mpwawa, Mwanza, Moshi, Mvumi, Dodoma and Morogoro where the majority of other Europeans worked in government services, larger commercial firms, small private enterprises and where the means of communication, such as radio, trains, roads and airports were more accessible than in the rural areas.²¹⁰

The African church was mainly within rural areas.²¹¹ In these rural areas, Africans were baptised, confirmed, some were made priests, and there were four archdeaconries. The Eastern archdeaconry out of the four had an African as its archdeacon, namely, Reverend Daudi Muhando.²¹² According to Kerle there were three factors which had delayed Africans to feature in leadership positions. First, among the experienced priests, only Muhando possessed a relatively higher education.²¹³ The younger priests who had a better education (in the mission's measures) could not be trusted by the mission because they were not experienced enough.²¹⁴ Second, even though the old priests were men of devotion and ability, the mission regarded their dependence on the mission as a weakness.²¹⁵ Third, there had

²⁰⁵ Chiwanga, same interview.

²⁰⁶ The mission stations were established by CMS UK as from 1876. But CMS UK deserted these stations due to financial difficulties which were caused by the split of CMS into CMS and Bible Churchmen Society (later Cross Links). They therefore gave it to CMSA in 1926 and Bishop Chambers from Australia started the diocese in 1927.

²⁰⁷ R. T. Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, in *Annual Report of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and East, 1954-55*, London, CMS, 1955, pp. 81-82.

²⁰⁸ Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, pp. 81-82.

²⁰⁹ Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, pp. 81-82.

²¹⁰ R. E. H. Arblaster, 'Tanganyika Mission' in *CMS Historical Records, 1954-55*, Oxford, p.172, Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, pp. 81-82.

²¹¹ Arblaster, *Tanganyika Mission*, p. 172, Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, pp. 81-82.

²¹² Arblaster, *Tanganyika Mission*, p. 172, Jourdan, *The Church in Tanganyika*, pp. 81-82.

²¹³ CMSA/MLMSS 6040/ 63/1/R. C. Kerle, *Some Observations Re[sic] Tanganyika*, A Report, August 1955, p. 1.

²¹⁴ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²¹⁵ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

been no sufficient foresight and strategies for rising Africans to higher leadership positions.²¹⁶ Anderson has also highlighted such lack of sufficient foresight and strategies on the side of the mission on Africans.²¹⁷ According to him, the consecration of Yohana Omari in 1955 as the first African bishop of the mission was a question of competition with Kenya and not quality.²¹⁸ However, although Bishop Omari was a trained hospital dresser and never had any meaningful training for administration or planning,²¹⁹ he was a devoted priest and preacher.²²⁰ This gift of preaching gave him a chance of being the first black African bishop. Although Kerle held a different view which I described in the following paragraph,²²¹ I argue that because of the white missionaries' attitudes towards Africans' ability on leadership, Omari never served as a diocesan bishop and lived in conditions that were far from satisfactory.²²²

Kerle stated the reasons for the African ordained ministers to experience such a difficult life.²²³ He asserts that the principle of self-support was not introduced properly to Christians in Central Tanganyika, and that Christians had not learned to give.²²⁴ He however appreciates the fact that the church in Central Tanganyika strived to become self-supporting.²²⁵ These African Christians in Central Tanganyika relied heavily on farming. Regardless the fact that their land was (and still is) very arid, they gave what crops and milk they could produce. They gave less to their church when they reaped less. This had effect on the lives of their ministers especially when weather became unfavourable. Despite the efforts of these Christians to support their church, some missionaries criticised them for being lazy and that they would never get more returns from their farms.²²⁶ As a result of these criticisms a tension emerged between the missionaries who held almost all the leadership positions of the missions

²¹⁶ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²¹⁷ W. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1988, p. 144.

²¹⁸ Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 144.

²¹⁹ Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 144.

²²⁰ Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 144.

²²¹ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²²² CMSA/MLMSS6040/123/10/A letter from Field Secretary to The Federal Secretary, Federal Secretary's Visit to E. A., 10 June 1963, p. 2.

²²³ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²²⁴ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²²⁵ Kerle, *Some Observations*, p. 1.

²²⁶ Manase Lusega, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 27 August 2011 in Dodoma.

and the young clergy who had a relatively better education. These young clergy felt that the Africans were criticised for no reason and that their right of exerting leadership was denied.²²⁷ Chiwanga argued that this tension had been accelerated by the report of the United Nation Organisation (UNO) mission which had previously visited the territory in 1955.²²⁸ According to Mpango, this was the reason why, from 1955, the young educated clergy supported the political movement for self-government ‘geared’ by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).²²⁹ Even though some missionaries were unhappy with the rapid growth of the TANU in Central Tanganyika, the spirit of nationalism fostered by the TANU had to be carefully studied and adapted into the policies of the church.²³⁰ Accordingly, new ways of thinking were created among its adherents while setting its face against racism and other destructive attitudes on which they appeared.”²³¹

4. The Missions’ Relations with People of Other Religious Persuasions

The two mission groups (i.e., the UMCA and CMSA) worked in areas where missions from other denominations were also striving to win converts. While Christians used their missions to advance their agenda, Muslims used their trade agents, teachers of Islam and *fundi*.²³² There were also African Traditional Religions (ATR) which used traditional healers (*waganga*) and elders (*wazee*) to retain their people.²³³ The two Anglican missions promoted their Anglicanism. To become an Anglican was to have the determination to win Christian converts which was said to be derived from the Great Commission of Jesus Christ:

²²⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/A Confidential Letter from the Rev. Canon A. J. Dain to Jack, 23 October 1964, p. 4. Yosia Malonga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

²²⁸ Chiwanga, same interview.

²²⁹ Gerald Mpango, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 17 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

²³⁰ R. T. Jourdan, The Church in Tanganyika, in *Annual Report of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and East, 1954-55*, London, CMS, 1955, p. 83.

²³¹ Jourdan, The Church in Tanganyika, p. 83.

²³² Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1880s to the 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005, p. 95, Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, Shambaa Culture and Christian Conversion, Unpublished Seminar Paper, ACMC, Akropong-Akuepem, 2004, p. 5

²³³ Mndolwa, Shambaa Culture and Christian Conversion, p. 5.

Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I will be with you always, to the very end of the age.²³⁴

However, whereas it was (and still is) true that —~~to~~ the missionary calling of the church is derived from the mission of God²³⁵ the church was not only fulfilling its God-given calling here on earth, but also its own purposes. Thus, the application of the ideologies of the missions and the agenda of their government became the dictating force in the church's relationship with people of other religious persuasions.

4.1. Relations with African Traditional Religious Believers

According to Edward Kihala and Ernest Chambo, conversion to Anglicanism in some places was not perceived by many people as conversion to Christianity because people knew no other missionaries than those who came to them.²³⁶ Lusega who held a different view pointed out that this was not the perception held by many missionaries.²³⁷ In Lusega's view, many missionaries considered conversion as a way of denying one's own past,²³⁸ (the African Traditional Religions as practiced in the *ujamaa* villages),²³⁹ and in turn joining the mission (Christianity as practiced in the Christian villages).²⁴⁰ According to Willis, who preferred the use of the word *marginally* in place of converts, the missions at its earliest days tended to recruit the outcast, vulnerable and young members of the royal clans²⁴¹ who in turn, as Giblin put

²³⁴ Matt. 28:19-20, New International Version, Emanuel J. Kandusi, Taarifa ya Semina ya Jimbo Kuhusu Umoja iliyofanyika katika Ukumbi wa CCT Dodoma, Tarehe 21-25 Agosti 1995, pp. 28-29.

²³⁵ Michael Doe, *Saving Power: The Mission of God and the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 2011, p. 40.

²³⁶ Edward Kihala, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 05 January 2011 at Kwamkono, Ernest Chambo, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 10 January 2011 at Muheza.

²³⁷ Manase Lusega, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 27 August 2011 in Dodoma.

²³⁸ Lusega, same interview.

²³⁹ This emphasis is mine. The use of the word *ujamaa* with its lower case denoted the traditional life from which Nyerere drew his emphasis of African Socialism. Therefore, this word is not to be confused with the *Ujamaa* which became popular after 1967.

²⁴⁰ Kihala, same interview.

²⁴¹ Justin Willis, *The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: the Mission in African History - Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, London: Oxford University Press, 1993.

it, had a long term impacts on the *ujamaa* villages which were close to the mission villages and to which some of these converts had returned as local agents.²⁴² Kihala noted that those who were baptised were given new names which normally were either found in the Bible or were the names of heroes of the faith known to the missionaries.²⁴³ This stood as an indication for a total rejection of the converts' past. Willis has shown that a mission village would include dozens of schoolchildren, cooks, builders, teachers, priests and messengers.²⁴⁴ Gibbons stated that this composition had some effects on the *ujamaa* villages too as those who went on a visit to the mission stations in search of jobs, education and medical treatments were frequently told to abandon their past which included their ancestors.²⁴⁵ Those who accepted these conditions were received by the missionaries who in many cases married them to people of other clans or tribes after they had been baptised.²⁴⁶ By marrying people of different tribes, the missions brought about an integration of both tribes and ancestors. In this case, while colonialism divided the land and therefore divided tribal communities such as Jaruo and Maasai who were found both in Tanzania and Kenya, the missionaries imagined to destroy the extended families in the *ujamaa* villages and, instead built new extended families in their mission stations.

This new extended families acquired a new identity (the *Waungwana*) which, if translated into English, it meant the civilised people.²⁴⁷ Those who not converted to the Christian religion of the missionaries were identified as the *Washenzi* which denoted uncivilised persons.²⁴⁸ According to Kihala who listed a number of examples, there were other varieties of civilisation.²⁴⁹ Those who were not ready to abandon their African traditional beliefs were identified and praised by the elders of the *ujamaa* villages' as the most civilised persons and, on the other hand, those who joined Islam were nicknamed *Wastaraabu* (lit: converts of Arabic civilisation).²⁵⁰ Both Ketto and Lusega explained that these kinds of relationships stated to change

²⁴² J. Giblin, *Famine, Authority and the Impact of Foreign Capital on the Handeni District of Tanzania, 1840-1940* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1986, pp. 180- 189.

²⁴³ Kihala, same interview.

²⁴⁴ Willis, *The Nature of a Mission*

²⁴⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Copy of letter from Dr. M. J. Gibbons, UMCA, Minaki, Dar es Salaam, to the General Secretary, 23 January 1950, Kihala same interview.

²⁴⁶ Kihala, same interview.

²⁴⁷ Mndolwa, *Shambaa Culture and Christian Conversion*, p. 16.

²⁴⁸ Mndolwa, *Shambaa Culture and Christian Conversion*, p. 16.

²⁴⁹ Kihala. Same interview.

²⁵⁰ Kihala, same interview.

slightly during the struggle for independence following migration of people to different parts of the land.²⁵¹ While some of these people were taken by the government and some by settlers as *Manamba*,²⁵² others independently sought employment.²⁵³ The bishop of South West Tanganyika highlighted several challenges which were caused by these migrations:

[...] – the most serious social problems is the larger number of men who are away from the villages working on sisal plantations ... and so in some places the congregation seems to consist almost entirely of women and children. It is easy to imagine the disintegration of family life which this exodus causes.²⁵⁴

But in contrast to the changes which were happening in the mission stations, in the *ujamaa* villages‘:

[...] – witchcraft never far below the surface – heavy drinking and in some places drunkenness, and bad dances, which are said to be on the increase along the lake shore [Lake Nyasa]. What is new to us is an outcrop of burglaries which have evidently been carried out by organised gangs, particularly on churches.²⁵⁵

Ketto noted that these indicated the missionaries‘ perception of the evils in the mission stations as compared to those in the *ujamaa* villages‘.²⁵⁶ Actually, it indicated that an *ujamaa* village‘ held the kind of life which needed to be changed.

The General Secretary of UMCA held this view:

[...] – indeed, no more than a symptom of an all-embracing servitude which held African[s] in bondage. Poverty and diseases, ignorance ... false ideas of the world, of nature of man and of God, fettered and enthralled both mind and spirit.²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ Ketto, same interview.

²⁵² This is a Kiswahili word which slightly meant people who were given numbers. During this time, people were driven from as far as Kigoma and Tukuyu to Tanga where they were employed in different plantations. The settlers and the government used numbers to identify the location where the person was taken from. Cf. Anneth N. Munga, *Uamasho: The Study of the Proclamation of the Revival Movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Lund University, 1998.

²⁵³ Ketto, same interview.

²⁵⁴ ASL/The Hope of Africa: A Review of the Work of the Universities‘ Mission to Central Africa for 1953-1954, June 1954, p. 60.

²⁵⁵ The Hope of Africa, p. 60.

²⁵⁶ Ketto, same interview.

²⁵⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF6/Prologue, General Secretary Papers, 1958.

This line of thought was also held by Jourdan:

The Africans only recently emerging from a primitive way of life have been flung into the bewildering world of international commerce and politics at a pace which is bound to produce confusion in their minds and sometimes undesirable ... violent reactions in their social actions.²⁵⁸

Mndolwa has shown that these perceptions and the convictions that Africans rather needed to 'change' than 'to be converted' had led the majority of Africans become nominal Christians.²⁵⁹ However, these perceptions continued to exist even after the independence. According to Chiwanga, it was the Arusha Declaration, through its policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*,²⁶⁰ which would destabilise it.²⁶¹

4.2. The Missions' Relations with Muslims

The fact that Islam had been in Tanganyika and Zanzibar many years before the arrival of the Christian missionaries qualified Islam to become the majority religion in the isles of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, the costal belt of Tanganyika and the slave trade routes. Islam became a culture in all these places.²⁶² According to Mndolwa, the relationship between the two missions and Muslims was of two types.²⁶³ It was good from the beginning of the missionary activities in Tanzania. There were two reasons. The missionaries translated the Quran into Kiswahili²⁶⁴ and they were the first to establish schools through which Kiswahili was transcribed into a written language.²⁶⁵ These relationships between the missionaries and the Muslims held a purpose which was set as early as the first synod of the church in 1884:

²⁵⁸ Jourdan, 'The Church in Tanganyika', in *CMS Outlook*, 1956, p. 82.

²⁵⁹ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, St. Mark's Book Project, 2005, pp. 89-95.

²⁶⁰ Ujamaa is described in detail in chapters three, four and five in this study.

²⁶¹ Chiwanga, same interview.

²⁶² Jumuiya ya Uamsho wa Kiislamu Website. Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar and Tanganyika. <http://victorian.fortunecity.com/portfolio/543/nyerere_and_islam.htm/>. [Accessed on 06 November 2011].

²⁶³ Mndolwa, *Historia ya kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 16.

²⁶⁴ Geoffrey Dale, *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923.

²⁶⁵ Willis, *The Nature of Mission*

[...] – direct and permanent mission work carefully planned shall be commenced ... by bringing the truth of Christianity before the Arabs and Swahilis and that schools for Mohammedan children be founded, and for the furtherance of this object, it is proposed that a chapter be formed for the Cathedral to consist ... the Chancellor, who shall ... direct missionary work among Mohammedan population.²⁶⁶

Even though the role of a chancellor and the name Mohammedans changed, this resolution which also had been reinforced by the 1910 Missionary Conference in Edinburgh²⁶⁷ had remained the emphasis of the two missions for many years. This sort of relationship made it impossible for a Christian to marry a Muslim and retain his or her Christianity.²⁶⁸ It even prevented participation of African Christians on issues which involved the participation of Muslims.²⁶⁹ It was not until 1984 that a new focus had been set by the Anglican Consultative Council.²⁷⁰ However, this new focus to Islam came at a time when already Tanzania was in a period of change and *Mihadhara* (the practice of Muslim open air preaching) were introduced.²⁷¹ The restriction installed by the Anglican missionaries on African Christians that they should not attend social gatherings which involved the participation of Muslims²⁷² continued to destroy social and community cohesion.

4.3. The Missions' Relations with Christians of other Denominations

According to Lennard, the British colonialists in Tanganyika divided the missions into two groups: the Roman Catholic and the Non-Roman Catholic.²⁷³ Even though Clayton, had noted that the situation in Zanzibar where the British were also dominating was more like Tanganyika,²⁷⁴ there was no Christian Council representing the non-Roman Catholic missions in Zanzibar. According to Kihala, although such

²⁶⁶ ASL/ADZ/XLV Resolution of the Diocese of the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar in Acts of the Synods of the Diocese of Zanzibar, 1884-1903, p. 21.

²⁶⁷ Rajab, *Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar*.

²⁶⁸ For a change to this perception, see the discussion on chapter four and five in this study.

²⁶⁹ Ramadhani, same interview.

²⁷⁰ I have looked at all the succeeding Acts of Synods including those from the Diocese of Central Tanganyika but could not find any change to this emphasis towards Muslims. For the ACC-6 Resolutions, Cf. *Bonds of Affections: Proceedings of the ACC-6, Badagry, Nigeria, 1984*, pp. 84-85.

²⁷¹ Joseph Wandera, Christian-Muslim Co-existence in the Light of Sacred texts and Present Contexts with special reference to Mihadhara in Nairobi Kenya, Unpublished Article, (No Date), p. 6.

²⁷² Cf. rubric Number II in *Sala II*, Ndanda: BPNP, 1948, Second edition, p. 2.

²⁷³ T. J. Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala: The Eagle Press, 1955, p. 51.

²⁷⁴ Anthony Clayton, *The Zanzibar Revolution and Its Aftermath*, London: C. Hurst & Company, 1981, pp. 6-16.

categorisation served as a way of identifying the different religious groups in the country, it stood as the source of deep disagreement permanently destroying the missions' relations to the state and to each other.²⁷⁵ The report of the bishop of Masasi illustrated Kihala's concern:

This Diocese is fortunate in being practically free from Protestant missions but Rome [i.e., the Roman Catholic Church] is becoming increasingly aggressive. While personal relationships continue excellent one is little apprehensive about the proselytizing which goes on. Our mission stations are so intermingled that mixed marriages are common and in this way, as also by regrettably easy terms on which they baptise, we are losing certain number of our people. There has recently been influx of Salvatorian Fathers turned out of China, and this access of new staff ... gives them a strong pull ... [However the government's] compulsory registration of sub-primary schools makes it illegal for them to plant theirs a few hundred yards from ours.²⁷⁶

Even though these Salvatorians came from America and not China, and their relations with Anglicans in Masasi were a special case in the whole of Tanganyika and Zanzibar²⁷⁷ it created a concern:

[...] – they tell the people that they own the true church and that other churches are false ... they took bribe and enticed our men to join them ... sometimes they tell lies ... that when Tanganyika is becoming independent, the Anglican Church will be abolished ... because all English people will be removed from the land, so come and join us.²⁷⁸

Some missionaries regretted this kind of relationship because the missionaries claimed in unison that Christianity was the one force which could unite the divided Africans and, instead, Christianity often seemed a source of new divisions.²⁷⁹ According to Shauri, such divisions had effects on social services such as schools and hospitals which not until the second half of the 1950s were, in practice, often a system closed to those who, for one reason or another, failed to fit into the missions' defined plan and condition of service.²⁸⁰ Shauri added that before the 1950s a sick person or a

²⁷⁵ Kihala, same interview.

²⁷⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF/Universities Mission to Central Africa, Annual Reviews 1948-1963, p. 43.

²⁷⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/Noel Bothell Letters.

²⁷⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 5,6,8 and 9/A Letter from the Venerable J. Kombelo, Archdeacon of Masasi, in some notes by the Apostolic delegates on the letter from the Bishop of Masasi, 1962 .

²⁷⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF/The Hope of Africa: A Review of the Work of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1953-1954, 1954, p. 57.

²⁸⁰ Shauri, same interview.

person enquiring for education had to take his or her religious conviction into serious consideration, before deciding which denominational school or hospital he or she was going to get the particular service.²⁸¹ But, this was specifically the case in the relationships between the Roman Catholic and the non-Roman Catholic missions. The relation between the non-Roman Catholics with Anglicans was easier:

[...] – it is pleasant to be able to record our happy relationships with the Lutherans – whose immense programme expansion of intercommunion, united services, or even talks about reunion, but it is always possible to make friendly arrangements about areas of work and other matters of mutual concern.²⁸²

These strange and differing dichotomies in the social life, according to Shauri, introduced more divisions and confusion to the people of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.²⁸³ These people had suffered from the slave trade prior to their encounter with the missionaries and the colonialists. Therefore, it was not expected that thousands of people would again continue to become victims of the new segregationist systems. However, Kingsnorth argued that these were expected reactions for in the past the Anglican missions (the UMCA especially) had been rather closely identified with the British government and this had been a factor in conversion but with the expected independence, other denominations sought to seize the opportunity.²⁸⁴ The bishop of Ripon noted possible solutions to it but with some uncertainties:

I saw the Bishop of Masasi here just before Easter and had a talk with him, and I will certainly try to see the Apostolic Delegate when I go back to Rome in September. It is, of course, a very difficult thing to intervene in the affairs of another communion, but I will do what I can to bring this matter to the notice of the authorities.²⁸⁵

It was a coincidence that in the same year that the bishop of Ripon would take the case of Masasi to Rome, Neil Russell, the resident bishop of Zanzibar, and other delegates from Tanganyika would attend a conference held by All African Conference

²⁸¹ Shauri, same interview.

²⁸² *The Hope of Africa*, p. 57.

²⁸³ Shauri, same interview.

²⁸⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 5, 6, 8, 9/Some notes by the Apostolic delegates on the letter from the Bishop of Masasi, 28 September 1962.

²⁸⁵ Some notes by the Apostolic delegates on the letter from the Bishop of Masasi.

of Churches in Kampala which would discuss in depth the need of church unity in Africa.²⁸⁶ The united liturgy was among the major outcomes of this conference.²⁸⁷

5. The Change from Mission to Church and the Government's Involvement in that Change

5.1. The Making of the 'Anglican Church in Tanzania'

There were several factors which contributed to the transformation of the Anglican missions into the church in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. First, the government had started to implement its Ten Years Plan for Africans' Secondary Education (TYPAE) as instructed by the UN in 1955.²⁸⁸ This change had its effects on the missions' ideologies. The missionaries found themselves amid of their missionary endeavour and the government's strategies. This was what Sister Maria-Stella expressed when she said that Sister Mary Bernadine, the Mother Superior of the Community of Sacred Passion, was complaining: –The simple works of our sisters [were] no longer. [The] Government came along and changed all that in a few years.”²⁸⁹ The sisters never thought that the government would disqualify them since their work had been a method for conversion as well as the pride of their converts.²⁹⁰ The change in the government's plans signified new relation between the Anglican missions and the state authority as described in the following paragraphs.

In his interview, Ramadhani said that even though unplanned, the TYPAE initiated the interaction of the African Christians from the two Anglican traditions.²⁹¹ Hastings has noted that before then those who came from CMSA missions; the missionaries told them to worship in Lutheran churches when they moved to areas where UMCA

²⁸⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/A Larger Freedom: The Review of the Work of 1963, May 1964, pp. 42-44.

²⁸⁷ A Larger Freedom, pp. 42-44.

²⁸⁸ John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam. Also in Sr. Mary-Stella CSP, *She Won't Say No: The History of the Community of the Sacred Passion*, Scrolled Bound Copy,(No Date), p. 103.

²⁸⁹ Mary- Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 103.

²⁹⁰ Mary- Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 103.

²⁹¹ Ramadhani, same interview.

dominated.²⁹² The UMCA Christians were told to worship in Roman Catholic churches when they moved to areas where there were no UMCA missions.²⁹³ The government facilitated the new interaction. It did so through the missions' representatives who were appointed into the membership of the government's advisory committee on education. These were Lamburn from Masasi, Wilkinson from Zanzibar and Briggs from Central Tanganyika.²⁹⁴ These missions' representatives moderated the missions' involvement in the implementation of TYPAE.²⁹⁵ Consequently, from 1956, Christians found themselves forced to cross over their traditional boundaries. Some came to Minaki Secondary School where the government was implementing a high school syllabus.²⁹⁶ Changes were obvious and in Ramadhani's words, "for the first time in the history of the Anglican missionary work in Tanzania, black African students from CMSA diocese were brought into contact with another kind of Anglicanism, the Anglo-Catholic tradition of UMCA."²⁹⁷

This was followed, in the same year, by the transfer of a UMCA's Teachers Training College (i.e., St. Andrews Teachers College) from Minaki to Mpwapwa where it became Mpwapwa National Teachers College.²⁹⁸ At Mpwapwa, the Anglo-Catholics came into contact with the Evangelicals in the parishes of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika.²⁹⁹ In 1958, the students who came from the St. Andrews Teachers College were moved from Mpwapwa to Korogwe where, although the college maintained its old name, it raised nationals and not UMCA or CMSA teachers.³⁰⁰ Even though this process fulfilled government conceit, as perceived by the CMSA,³⁰¹ it advanced the motion of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) about nationalism in three ways. First, it challenged the pride of traditions and preoccupations held by both the UMCA and the CMSA's white missionaries and enhanced the integration of the two missions. Second, the changes which the

²⁹² Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity: 1950-1975*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 230-231.

²⁹³ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, pp. 230-231, RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF (III)/Report of Canon Kingsnorth's Tours-Africa 1962/1964.

²⁹⁴ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 84.

²⁹⁵ T. J. Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam: The Eagle Press, 1955, p. 51

²⁹⁶ Ramadhani, same interview.

²⁹⁷ Ramadhani, same interview. Translation is mine.

²⁹⁸ Hardy, same interview.

²⁹⁹ Ramadhani, same interview.

³⁰⁰ Ramadhani, same interview, Chiwanga, same interview.

³⁰¹ Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, p. 67.

government had introduced on the education system provoked an identity crisis among the black Africans. The UMCA raised their adherents calling them UMCA or even High Church,³⁰² and the CMSA called theirs Low Church or CMS Christians.³⁰³ Some Christians asked why they were ‘_high’ or ‘_low.’³⁰⁴

Others questioned the meaning of UMCA and CMS.³⁰⁵ Some African priests wanted to know the difference between their duties and those performed by the white priests.³⁰⁶ These were questions of identity. While it could be argued that the TANUs movement for nationalism which was at its highest peak was behind these questions, the aims of the government of creating a Federation of East African States³⁰⁷ which conflicted the TANUs propaganda, raised more awareness on the side of the black Africans.³⁰⁸ Third, the reorganisation of the education sector which had brought the incorporation of secondary schools, affected the missions in two ways.³⁰⁹ First, the missions closed down some of their popular schools, colleges and hospitals.³¹⁰ Since these schools and hospitals were vehicles for evangelism in places where the government had no such services, the missions started to lose touch with the non-Christians in those places.³¹¹ According to Mbaruku all this caused a lot of resentment and dissatisfaction among African Christians.³¹² Mbaruku said that when African politicians heard about the missions’ decisions and proposals, they suspected that the missionaries were losing heart because their government was going out of Tanganyika.³¹³ Other politicians thought that the missionaries were not willing to help

³⁰² RHL/UMCA-USPG/A4(V)/A Letter from Gavin White to Canon Kingsnorth, St. Paul’s United Theological College, 15 August 1963.

³⁰³ Gerald Mpango, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 17 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

³⁰⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/Bishop of Central Tanganyika, A confidential letter from federal Secretary to Bishop of DCT, 22 June 1956, CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/A Confidential Letter from the Bishop of DCT to the Regional Secretary, 15 June 1956.

³⁰⁵ Malonga, same interview.

³⁰⁶ Kihala, same interview.

³⁰⁷ Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam: Nairobi: Kampala: The Eagle Press, 1955, pp.106-111.

³⁰⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/Bishop of Central Tanganyika, A confidential letter, 22 June 1956, A Confidential Letter, 15 June 1956.

³⁰⁹ A practical example was Kideleko Secondary school in Tanga which was closed down and all students had been transferred to Minaki, St. Mary’s Magila which was transferred to a new location at Korogwe.

³¹⁰ George Mbaruku, ‘_We Must Not Wait’ in *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 957, September, 1962, p. 134.

³¹¹ Mbaruku, We Must Not Wait, p. 134.

³¹² Mbaruku, We Must Not Wait, p. 134.

³¹³ Mbaruku, We Must Not Wait, p. 134.

the new African government which would be installed after independence.³¹⁴ These politicians used some old African priests who, using their role as priests, challenged their bishop saying: But ~~your~~ government can't have done this without your permission."³¹⁵ While, on one hand, the government's demands on education and medical services were so high and had raised difficulties for the mission to run the services; on the other, these demands from the governments were not clearly stated and thus the missionaries were left confused. This confusion raised complaints as one missionary was heard saying that: ~~We~~ are not quite sure where we are—what are to go on, what is to be left."³¹⁶

Whereas it was a hard time for Anglicans, the Roman Catholics and Lutherans ventured into it by bringing more money to improve what they already had and to build and open new schools and hospitals.³¹⁷ According to Mbaruku the African members of the missions noticed a hidden agenda on the colonial government's movement for change.³¹⁸ In his interview Ketto said that Westminster channelled more money to the establishment of the Federation of East African States.³¹⁹ In this regard, the missions' fundraising campaigns in England were restricted by this government's agenda.

The second way by which the merger of government and missions' schools had affected the missions was on the theological training. The separation of theological training from other types of education left the missions with the sole supervision of theological training. For example, the school of theological studies (Kalole) at St. Andrews Minaki College was moved to Namasakata, Tunduru.³²⁰ The teachers training programmes at Kongwa were moved to Mpwapwa National Teachers Training College.³²¹ The missions concentrated on these two theological colleges situated in isolated area: St. Cyprian which was on the plains of Namasakata of Tunduru District and St. Philip which was on the foot of Kongwa hills. While St.

³¹⁴ Mbaruku, *We Must Not Wait*, p. 134.

³¹⁵ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 36.

³¹⁶ Mother Mary Bernadine, quotes by Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 103.

³¹⁷ Mbaruku, 'We Must Not Wait' in *Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no. 957*, September, 1962, p. 134.

³¹⁸ Mbaruku, *We Must Not Wait*, p. 134.

³¹⁹ Ketto, same interview.

³²⁰ ASL/Harlod G. O. Wilkins, *St. Cyprian's College in Diocese of Masasi*, 1955, p. 110.

³²¹ Hugh Prentice, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 14 March in Sydney.

Philip trained ordinands from the Evangelical traditions, none of the Evangelicals were trained at St. Cyprian. Since both the UMCA and the CMSA depended much on its teachers training centres as the place where they could draw ordinands, they never attempted to build seminaries. The centralisation of these teachers training institutions raised a gap between the laity and African priests. On the one hand, for example, laypeople became more aware of the nature of the two traditions as they advanced on educational ladder.³²² On the other, the African clergy who already had limited access to more education opportunities were steered to focusing on their traditional indifferences.³²³ I therefore argued that this was the reason why the pressure for support of self-government had to come mainly from the laypeople.³²⁴

Anderson regarded all these changes as evolving Africanisation.³²⁵ However, it could make sense only if we considered the fact that in the new equations of colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the missionaries stood among the champions of some African interests among which was education for Africans.³²⁶ In fact, it can be strongly claimed that through their educational institutions and by the values they taught, the missionaries were the ~~in~~ convenient champions of both political and ecclesiastical independence.³²⁷ While it was obvious that some did so because they had some confidence in African ability, the tendency of maintaining a superior status in the structures of the missions, and the missions' relationship with the British rule continued to promote paternalism both in the church and the state. According to Moriyama, this attitude ~~in~~ turn rendered more distant the realisation of self-governing African church with an African ministry in Tanzania.³²⁸ Even though it was slightly changing towards the second part of 1950s,³²⁹ missionaries, as Warren

³²² RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities Mission to Central Africa: Annual Review, 1948-1963 in one Volume, pp. 36-37.

³²³ Mndolwa, *Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, pp. 86-95.

³²⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/*Baptize the nations*, p. 37.

³²⁵ W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1988, pp. 142-145.

³²⁶ Mackay, for example, pioneering in Buganda from Tanzania, complained that Christianity was too English (cf. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 139). The same was complained by UMCA missionaries (cf. Piers McGrandle, *Trevor Huddleston: Turbulent Priest*, London and New York, Continuum, 2004, pp. 129-131).

³²⁷ Report of the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions in the World, Exeter Hall, Oxford, 1988, cited in 'All things in persons: missionary as racist/imperialist', J. Bonk, *Missiology: An International Review*, July 1980 vol. III, no. 3.

³²⁸ Moriyama, *Building A Home-Grown Church*, p. 341.

³²⁹ *Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXVIII, no. 808, April 1950, p. 70.

put it, continued to believe that they could and should preserve a society of status, in which they occupied the upper level, controlled it and ordered change:

[We should preserve] an ordered society of status rather than contract ..., in which a paternalistic British Government should provide the superior level, regulating the pace and nature of change, economic, social and political.³³⁰

The colonial government provided tools for change and the impetus for change (i.e., the reorganisation of education system) which the missions could not control it. Even though they continued to believe that white people should be the arbiters of what was beneficial for Africans that belief had to change following changes which were brought by their government and the TANUs movement for nationalism and self-government.³³¹ According to Ramadhani, there was another phase of the transformation of the mission to the church which involved the establishment of the church governments.³³² This was a process which involved a transfer of power from bishops and missions to diocesan constitutions.³³³ Hardy noted that Africans gained more voices and power through constitutions.³³⁴ There were several factors. For example, among the four dioceses in Tanzania which, although were all under the Archbishop of Canterbury, only the Diocese of Central Tanganyika had a constitution.³³⁵ There had been an extra constitutional understanding that the diocese was an extension of the parishes of the Church of Australia.³³⁶ In that case, although it was a mission diocese, Australians treated it just as any other section of their church in Australia. Kerle criticised this mentality, and the constitution saying: '[although] at once safeguarded Evangelical heritage of the CMS and also provided elbow-room for the expanding indigenous church, it was not Africans' charter of freedom.'³³⁷ It had to be changed. The Archbishop of Canterbury approved the use of the constitution of the Diocese of Mombasa (with some minor changes) for Central Tanganyika.³³⁸ Its effect

³³⁰ M. Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, London, SCM, 1965, p. 67.

³³¹ Ketto, same interview.

³³² 'Hotuba ya Ufunguzi na Askofu Mkuu John Ramadhani', in Emanuel J. Kandusi, Taarifa: Semina ya Jimbo Kuhusu Umoja, CCT Conference Centre, Dodoma, 21-25 Agosti, 1995, p. 6-7.

³³³ Hotuba ya Ufunguzi na Askofu Mkuu John Ramadhani.

³³⁴ Hardy, same interview.

³³⁵ The Diocese had its first constitution in 1937, a decade after its establishment in 1926

³³⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/49/159/A letter from Howard Sydney to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 28 July, 1954.

³³⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Kerle, Some Observations, p. 4.

³³⁸ Kerle, Some Observations, p. 4.

was clear and confusion was obvious: the Diocese of Central Tanganyika became a replica of Mombasa Diocese while each diocese had missionaries from different background: missionaries in the Diocese of Mombasa coming mainly from CMS United Kingdom and those in the Diocese of Central Tanganyika from Australia. As a result, in the words of *CMS Historical Records*, opinions were sometimes influenced by national feelings especially in considering Great Britain's role in the colonies.³³⁹

All the UMCA dioceses, notwithstanding their synods, exercised autocracy.³⁴⁰ Even though as early as 1948, the Lambeth Conference was rightly anxious that dictatorship should give way to constitutional Episcopacy, and this was thought to dictate reform³⁴¹ there had been a very slow response from the Anglo-Catholics. This was very clear in the words of the UMCAs General Secretary: "I have been pegging away at it for years and changes are gradually taking place."³⁴² It was only the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar which took early steps in 1949 when it resolved to have its first draft of the constitution to be presented at the 1952 synod.³⁴³ However, it was not until 1955 that meaningful progress could be noticed.

After the inauguration of the Province of Central Africa in 1955, the Archbishop of Canterbury went to Uganda to meet East African bishops.³⁴⁴ At this meeting, the archbishop revived the discussion about the possibility of forming the province in East Africa. Present at this meeting were bishops from the Dioceses of Zanzibar, Central Tanganyika, Nile, South West Tanganyika, Masasi, Uganda and Mombasa.³⁴⁵ It was resolved that there should be three provinces: one for Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, the second for Kenya and the third for Tanganyika and Zanzibar.³⁴⁶ This was followed by a meeting of twelve East African bishops at Minaki in Dar es Salaam. The meeting enforced an agreement that each diocese should have a constitution as a stepping stone towards the provincial constitutions. The bishop of Masasi, who in his report of 1954 strongly criticised episcopal dictatorship in favour of a rule by

³³⁹ Tanganyika Mission in *CMS Historical Records*, 1954-1955, p. 172.

³⁴⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/A letter from the General Secretary to Edward Maycock, 21 January 1957.

³⁴¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 37.

³⁴² RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 63A/A letter from the General Secretary, 21 January, 1957, in *Conditions of Service in UMCA, 1937-1961*,

³⁴³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 37.

³⁴⁴ ASL/ADZT/Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959, p. 7.

³⁴⁵ Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959, p. 7.

³⁴⁶ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p.347.

constitution, in 1956,³⁴⁷ came up with a plea: –A dozen of the Africans present [at the diocesan conference and synod] spoke up with real discernment, but the great majority sat mum, and were never quite sure which side they were voting on.”³⁴⁸ He concluded that: –It has become [clear] to me that we shall be wise to go slow about constitution-making.”³⁴⁹ Similarly, the bishop the Diocese of South West Tanganyika complained: –We continue the uphill struggle to draw up a diocesan constitution – uphill because it is a thing which has a very little appeal to our African clergy and people, and it is beyond the compensation of most of them.”³⁵⁰ Both Canon Petro Simalenga and Marko Mwafute commended Africans’ resentment for the constitutions as their way of resisting the pressure for the unknown destiny.³⁵¹ This was the case in the diocese of Zanzibar too where it was not until after the Lambeth Conference of 1958 that it was declared that it had delayed its draft of the constitution because Africans did not favour the change.³⁵²

The making of the diocesan constitutions were not the only challenges; there were others. The Diocese of Central Tanganyika was the only diocese practicing Evangelicalism. The other three dioceses in Tanzania were all Anglo-Catholic. Although the minimum number of dioceses which could form a province was four,³⁵³ Tanganyika and Zanzibar could not have its own province. Kenya had only one diocese (i.e., the diocese of Mombasa) and therefore could not make its own province as well. The bishops of the evangelical dioceses of Central Tanganyika and Mombasa held a confidential meeting after which they sought possibilities of forming a shared province with the Anglo-Catholic dioceses.³⁵⁴ The bishops from Kenya and Tanganyika met in Dar es Salaam in August 1957.³⁵⁵ They agreed to form a province

³⁴⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Annual Review, 1948-1963, p. 37.

³⁴⁸ *Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Special Centenary Review, Vol. XXV, no. 893, 1956, p. 147.*

³⁴⁹ *Central Africa, Vol. XXV, no.893, p.147.*

³⁵⁰ ‘Reports by the Bishops of the five Dioceses, 1957’ in *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Vol. LXXVI no.904, May 1958, p. 99.*

³⁵¹ Petro Simalenga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 18 July 2011 at Njombe, Marko Mwafute, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 19 July 2011 at Njombe.

³⁵² ASL/ADZT/_Maagizo ya Askofu’, Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959 and Diocesan Constitution, 1959, p. 5.

³⁵³ *Central Africa, Vol. LXVIII, no. 808, p. 70.*

³⁵⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Bishop Stanway, DCT 1961-69, A Private and Confidential Letter from the Bishop to an anonymous person copied to the Reverend E. D. Cameron, The Federal Secretary of CMSA, February, 1969.

³⁵⁵ Reports of the Bishops of five Dioceses 1957, p. 99.

for East Africa which would involve these two territories.³⁵⁶ Yet, even with that decision, there were more challenges.

5.2. Formation of the Church of Province of East Africa³⁵⁷

Lennard has shown different territorial frameworks of the British rule in East Africa:

Tanganyika is a Trust Territory ... Uganda [and Zanzibar are] ... Protectorate whereas most of Kenya is Colony [clear]. But this makes no differences to the inhabitants of these two territories [Kenya and Uganda] except that person [clear] born in Colony of Kenya are full British Subjects, persons born in Uganda or that part of Kenya that is Protectorate may only be British Protected Persons.³⁵⁸

This distinction implied that while some Kenyans enjoyed the compensation of being British citizens, people from Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar could not benefit from it. The Kenyan status made it possible for the white settlers to loudly proclaim some parts of Kenya, a country for the white people.³⁵⁹ According to the General Secretary of UMCA, this increased hatred between Tanganyika Africans and Kenyans:

Tanganyika Africans have always feared the Kenya Europeans ... have opposed closer union between the East African territories because they thought, no doubt rightly, that it would mean domination from Nairobi.³⁶⁰

The same opposition came from Uganda too.³⁶¹ According to Neil, —with such intense suspicion, any suggestion of the provincial union, which would involve closer fellowship with the church of Kenya, met with fierce opposition in the Church of [Tanganyika and] Uganda.”³⁶² Kenyan Africans too did not like any closer ecclesial relations with Tanganyika and Zanzibar and thus they protested:

³⁵⁶ *Central Africa, Vol. LXXVI, no. 904*, p. 99.

³⁵⁷ The idea for the making of a Province in Central and Eastern Africa was raised by the Archbishop of Canterbury as early as 1914. Cf. UCUL/56.2/A Memorandum, 18 July 1914.

³⁵⁸ Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, pp. 9-13.

³⁵⁹ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 347.

³⁶⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 15XV/ A Letter from the Secretary General to the UMCA Bishops, 07 April 1960.

³⁶¹ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 347.

³⁶² Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 347.

Now [,] what actually led us to protest is because we feel that the proposed amalgamation with the four dioceses of Tanganyika means union with those dioceses such as Zanzibar, etc., which follow the Anglo-Catholic ideals and teachings. The said ideals and teaching i.e., invocation of saints, mass, Rosaries, confession, etc. which have no place in the word of God, and which reformation [succeeded] in removing with great loss of life ... are likewise utterly repugnant and totally unacceptable to us.³⁶³

Gathering from these Kenyans, it was obvious that the formation of the province was not a question of the bishops to agree; Christians would make it if they wanted it.³⁶⁴ This could only be possible if the economic and denominationally experienced differences among the nationals of the two countries were not greatly felt. The territorial status of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, for example, had made the countries static, lacking capital and without much progress because the colonists capitalised their development efforts in Kenya and Uganda.³⁶⁵ Therefore, Tanganyika and Zanzibar lagged behind Kenya and Uganda.³⁶⁶ Consequently, there were reactions from Africans in Tanganyika (including Anglicans) that the Europeans were behind the predicaments in their country.³⁶⁷ These reactions were capitalised by African politicians for political independence. This may even clarify why some bishops, as I described in chapter three of this study, had declared sympathy with the TANU and others had decided to reserve their comments. The Kenya National Union (KANU) was also pressing the Europeans in Kenya to adopt the nationalist ideology.³⁶⁸ According to Ketto, the impact of these political activities in the KANU and the TANU was reflected in the decision of the meeting of the UMCA bishops with the officers of the dioceses of Central Tanganyika and Mombasa held in Dodoma on January 1959.³⁶⁹ Under the influence of their government at that meeting³⁷⁰ the bishops from Tanganyika and Zanzibar agreed to get into coalition with Kenya to

³⁶³ ACKA/ACSO/CPEA/3/‘Province of the Anglican Churches in East Africa’, A Letter, 27 September 1958.

³⁶⁴ KNA/MSS/61/532/Diocese of Mombasa, Minutes of the Tenth (Special) Session of the Mombasa Diocesan Synod Held in Nairobi, 24-25 September 1959, p. 4, CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Diocesan News Letter, ‘Province of East Africa’, 1959.

³⁶⁵ CMSA/MLMSS/63/1/Kerle, Some Observations, p. 3.

³⁶⁶ Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, p.10

³⁶⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/Annual Letter from Archdeacon O. T. Cordell, CMS Tanganyika.

³⁶⁸ Ketto, same interview.

³⁶⁹ Ketto, same interview.

³⁷⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Diocesan News Letter, ‘Province of East Africa’, Publications, 1959.

form a church in 1960.³⁷¹ The dioceses were asked to call special synods to declare their will of joining the new province. The synod of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika came up with some reservations:

[...] – this Diocese should be part of such a Province, provided that certain fundamental provisions would be preserved including the appointment of the diocesan bishop, the expressed convictions that we should seek closer union with other denominational churches within our borders and the evangelical expression of our doctrine and worship.³⁷²

As mentioned earlier, the CMSA treated the Diocese of Central Tanganyika as one of the sections of their Australian Church. Therefore, these resentments were to be expected. The synod of the diocese of Zanzibar which met at Korogwe from 16-18 June 1959 decided, as it did in 1928 and 1949,³⁷³ to join the proposed province.³⁷⁴ Although the synod of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika had some qualms, they saw the new province as an important step towards political independence of the Federation of East African States.³⁷⁵ Unlike these other dioceses, the African members of the synod of the Diocese of Masasi took a different direction. They totally opposed any involvement of their diocese in the new province.³⁷⁶ It was an expected decision. The three houses of the synod were separate. The house of bishops was left alone following the African members of the synod accusation of Mark Way, their bishop, that he treated them with contempt.³⁷⁷ Following this allegation, he was forced to resign his See.³⁷⁸

³⁷¹ ASL/ADZ/_Maagizo ya Askofu, Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959 and Diocesan Constitution, 16-18 June 1959, p. 7.

³⁷² KNA/MSS/61/532/Diocese of Mombasa, Minutes of the Tenth (Special) Session of the Mombasa Diocesan Synod Held in Nairobi, 24-25 September 1959, p. 4, CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Diocesan News Letter, 'Province of East Africa', 1959.

³⁷³ ASL/ADZ/Diocese of Zanzibar Synod, 1959, p. 7.

³⁷⁴ ASL/ADZ/Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959, p. 10. The synod members proposed some amendments on articles i (e), vi (c), vi (d) and (e), vii, and x.

³⁷⁵ KNA/MSS/61/532/Diocese of Mombasa, Minutes of the Tenth (Special) Session of the Mombasa Diocesan Synod Held in Nairobi, 24-25 September 1959, p. 4, ASL/ADSWT, Diocese of South West Tanganyika Synod, 1959.

³⁷⁶ KNA/MSS/61/532/Diocese of Mombasa, Minutes of the Tenth (Special) Session of the Mombasa Diocesan Synod, 24-25 September 1959, p. 4.

³⁷⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/John Poole-Hughes ... Yet Always Rejoicing, 'UMCA Review of 1959, 1960, p. 13.

³⁷⁸ John Poole-Hughes ... Yet Always Rejoicing', p. 13.

Mark Way's resignation raised another problem. Who would be the next bishop at such a crucial time? In a meeting of bishops from Kenya and Tanganyika, the Vicar General of Masasi who represented his diocese, brought to the meeting the name of the Reverend Father Trevor Huddleston.³⁷⁹ Seen from his campaign against racism in South Africa, Huddleston was received as an extraordinary choice.³⁸⁰ The name was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the vacancy.³⁸¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury approved it.³⁸² Thereafter, the plans for consecration and the formation of the province dominated the ecclesiastical and political mind. Two main questions were raised. The first was about who could be the first archbishop of the province.³⁸³ The second question was about the date and the place where the inauguration ceremony would be conducted.³⁸⁴ According to Craig, who confuses the date of the process of election in preparations for the inauguration of the Province of East Africa with that of Tanzania, Bishop Leonard James Beecher, of the Diocese of Mombasa, was elected the first archbishop because he was well-known in the region. He was a brother in-law of Leakey (the anthropologist), the most senior bishop in terms of experience, scholarship and spirituality.³⁸⁵ Beecher was the possible candidate because he had been the secretary of the Dodoma Conference and had done an immense work of collecting together the reports on the draft constitution from all dioceses.³⁸⁶ The position of secretary enabled him to keep in regular contact with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Following the election in 1960, the next discussion was about the place where the celebration for the inauguration of the province would be held. The Secretary General of UMCA came up with five arguments in favour of Tanganyika:

³⁷⁹ David Craig, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 18 March 2011 in London.

³⁸⁰ Debora Duncan Honore, *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*: Oxford: Oxford university Press, 1988.

³⁸¹ Craig, same interview.

³⁸² Craig, same interview.

³⁸³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Bishop Stanway, DCT 1961-1969, A Private and Confidential Letter from the Bishop to an anonymous person copied to the Rev. E. D. Cameron, The Federal Secretary of CMSA, February, 1969.

³⁸⁴ Bishop Stanway, DCT 1961-1969, A Private and Confidential Letter from the Bishop to an anonymous person copied to the Rev. E. D. Cameron, The Federal Secretary of CMSA, February, 1969.

³⁸⁵ Craig, same interview.

³⁸⁶ John Poole-Hughes '... Yet Away Rejoice', p. 13.

- i. Within the dioceses in the province, there were no less than four that were in the territory of Tanganyika.
- ii. As a territory, Tanganyika had never had a privilege of being visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury whereas Kenya has been visited once.
- iii. If the inauguration ceremonies would be in Nairobi, it might bring the impression to the Tanganyika Africans that Kenya was making itself as dominant partner ecclesiastically.
- iv. If the consecration of the new bishop of Masasi is to be just before the inauguration, and therefore in the same place, Dar es Salaam surely would be where it ought to be and this would enable a larger number of people from Masasi to get to Dar es Salaam.
- v. There has never been a consecration of an Anglican bishop in Dar es Salaam or anywhere in Tanganyika.³⁸⁷

Whether deliberate or not, the UMCAs General Secretary ignored the fact that Anglicans in Tanganyika had their first consecration in 1959 at Dodoma when Archdeacon Wiggins was made the second assistant bishop for Central Tanganyika.³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, since there has been no resistance from the church in Kenya the plans for the instalment of the archbishop were set for 3 August 1960 at St. Albans Church in Dar es Salaam.³⁸⁹

This was to be followed by the consecration of the bishop-elect for Masasi.³⁹⁰ Again, whether members of the missions who met in Nairobi were aware or not, Tanganyika was going for a General Election the same month through which Julius Kambarage Nyerere would be elected the Chief Minister.³⁹¹ Nyerere's presence at the inauguration service of the province presented him a chance of meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury, other bishops of the church and Huddleston, the bishop-

³⁸⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4/3/_The Inauguration of the East African Province' A Letter from the Secretary General to the UMCA Bishops, 07 April 1960.

³⁸⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Diocesan News Letter, '_Province of East Africa', 1959.

³⁸⁹ Mndolwa, *Uamsho*, p. 90.

³⁹⁰ Trevor Huddleston, '_Impression' in *The Nyerere Years: Some Personal Impressions by his Friends in Tanzanian Affairs*, Issue 22, 01 October 1985.

³⁹¹ Williams Edgett Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1973, p.72.

elect for Masasi.³⁹² Perhaps with the knowledge of Huddleston's ambitions for the liberation of Africans, the Chief Minister Nyerere prepared a special party for him:

I arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1960 as Bishop-elect of Masasi, knowing very little of what I would find in those last days of the run-up to independence. Much to my surprise, I learned that the Chief Minister (Mwalimu) had arranged a party for me in the garden of his house to give me the opportunity to meet some of his colleagues and some of the wider community in Dar es Salaam. It was a simple social gathering under the stars. I had with me the African priest, Father Leo Rakale, from South Africa, whom I had invited to preach the sermon at my episcopal consecration. For both of us it was the first time to be in an African country with an African Chief Minister and government: the first time outside 'apartheid' South Africa – though the same stars shone above us. I have never forgotten the sense of liberation we shared at the realisation that we were in a country free of institutional racism and ready to take its place as a sovereign independent state. And we were talking together with the man who – above all others – had led his country to that moment of hope. And how young and vital he was himself in 1960!³⁹³

Accordingly, Nyerere would not refuse invitation to attend the occasion through which, Huddleston on 30 November 1960 at St. Nicholas Church in Dar es Salaam, would be made the fourth bishop of Masasi.³⁹⁴ Because of his knowledge of Africa, the Anglicans of Masasi awaited Huddleston with high hopes.³⁹⁵ Even though the diocese of Masasi was more rural and isolated than London and Sophia town,³⁹⁶ Huddleston put his whole heart into the development of the diocese thereby gained the favour of African political activists in Tanganyika as well as the UMCA officials in London.³⁹⁷

At midnight, 09 December 1961, Tanganyika attained its independence (*uhuru*). Because it was a freedom for Africans and Yohana Omari was the only Anglican

³⁹² Craig, same interview, ACT/ADD/St. Albans Visitors' Book, 1960, St. Albans Log Book, 1960.

³⁹³ Trevor Huddleston, 'Impression' in *The Nyerere Years: Some Personal Impressions by his Friends*, *Tanzanian Affairs*, Issue 22, 01 October 1985.

³⁹⁴ 'Tanganyika Independence Celebrations' in *Central Africa*, no. 950, vol. LXXX, February 1962, p. 20 and cover page.

³⁹⁵ Ketto, same interview.

³⁹⁶ Julius K. Nyerere, 'Challenges in a Poor Country' in Deborah Duncan Honoré (ed.), *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 12-13.

³⁹⁷ Nyerere, 'Challenges in a Poor Country', p. 14, MacGrandle, *Trevor Huddleston*, pp. 128-140.

African bishop in Tanganyika, he represented the Anglican Province of East Africa.³⁹⁸ The *uhuru* celebrations were concluded by a Pontifical High Mass attended by Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh who read the second lesson at St. Albans Collegiate Church.³⁹⁹

The freedom of Tanganyika was followed by the church's involvement in various national and international initiatives. The UMCA sent Bishop Huddleston to USA where he pioneered the establishment of its USA Branch.⁴⁰⁰ This visit of Bishop Huddleston to USA had the following effect on Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Masasi became the first diocese to receive support from American churches and as a result a new site at Rondo in Lindi District for the Namasakata Theological College was bought from South African landlords.⁴⁰¹ The college had to be transferred immediately because its buildings at Namasakata were falling down.⁴⁰² According to Ramadhani, it was also through Huddleston's visit to the USA that the diocese of Ohio (USA) initiated a partnership with the diocese of Zanzibar.⁴⁰³ The Diocese of Ohio offered a scholarship for Mathiya Mbulinyingi's studies at McCormick Seminary.⁴⁰⁴ The diocese also built a Youth Training Centre at Korogwe.⁴⁰⁵ However, the link between the UMCA and USA did not last long following the appointment of its coordinator to the membership of the National Research Board.⁴⁰⁶

Huddleston's visit to USA also benefited the infant Tanganyika government. Soon after the visit, the President of USA appointed a special member of cabinet for African affairs who, according to Wilson, happened to become a close friend of Tanganyika and through whom the USA influenced the political integration between

³⁹⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Uhuru in *Falling Like Lightning: The Review of the Work 1961*, UMCA, June 1962, p. 9.

³⁹⁹ ASL/Tanganyika Independence Celebrations in Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no. 950, February 1962, p. 20.

⁴⁰⁰ Bishop Huddleston, A letter, 09 March 1962 in *Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no.950*, David Bartlett, 'Our American Visitors' in *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no.959*, November 1962, pp. 164-166.

⁴⁰¹ Bishop Huddleston, A letter, David Bartlett, *Our American Visitors*, pp. 164-166.

⁴⁰² Bishop Huddleston, A letter to the Rev, Young, David Bartlett, *Our American Visitors*, pp. 164-166.

⁴⁰³ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁰⁴ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/A Letter from Bishop Burt to Bishop William Scott Backer, 22 January 1964.

⁴⁰⁵ A Letter from Bishop Burt to Bishop William Scott Backer, 22 January 1964.

⁴⁰⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF35 (1-3)/A letter From General Secretary to Trevor, 03 October 1963.

Zanzibar and Tanganyika.⁴⁰⁷ According to the report of Huddleston, this person became the centre of Nyerere's relationship with the USA and the initiator of the program which helped Tanganyika to send students to North America.⁴⁰⁸ These connections strengthened the friendship between Huddleston and Nyerere.⁴⁰⁹

Political independence created a new era in Tanganyika. The political elites promptly declared that they intended to Africanise all civil services.⁴¹⁰ The Minister of Education stated that all primary and secondary schools should be led by Africans and that there would be more Africans to teach in these schools.⁴¹¹ It meant that schools would need no missionaries from abroad.⁴¹² Africans perceived that this movement would press the church to Africanise its leadership too.⁴¹³ The bishop of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika was confronted by one of his strong African priests who said to him: "This is the Church and not politics ... we want no African Bishop here."⁴¹⁴ Other Africans Christians questioned him: "Why are we thrown out by the mission?"⁴¹⁵ Even though the bishop ignored these confrontations, they represented the kind of challenges which the Church of Province of East Africa experienced with the coming of the independence.⁴¹⁶

On the other hand, while many of the TANU members favoured the Africanisation, Nyerere reviled it because for him it extended discriminative mentalities on a racial basis.⁴¹⁷ Following some disagreements between him with his fellow members of the TANU about his views, Nyerere resigned in 1962 and gave the office to Rashid

⁴⁰⁷ Amrit Wilson, *US Foreign Policy and the Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania*, London: Pluto Press, 1989, pp. 20-41.

⁴⁰⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF35 (1-3)/Report on Visit to USA of the Bishop of Masasi October-November 1961.

⁴⁰⁹ Nyerere, 'Challenges in a Poor Country', pp. 10-16.

⁴¹⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4(III)/Africanisation, 'in Canon Kingsnorth's Tours-Africa, 1962/1964, p. 5.

⁴¹¹ Africanisation, in Canon Kingsnorth's Tours-Africa, p. 5.

⁴¹² Africanisation, in Canon Kingsnorth's Tours-Africa, 1962/1964, p. 5.

⁴¹³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Baptise the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, 1961, p. 37.

⁴¹⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Baptise/The Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, 1961, Report of the Bishop of South West Tanganyika in, p. 37.

⁴¹⁵ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Report of the Bishop of South West Tanganyika' in Baptise The Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, 1961, p. 37.

⁴¹⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Baptise the nations: UMCA Review of 1960, Westminster: UMCA, 1961, p. 37.

⁴¹⁷ Nyerere defended this position later in his paper; Socialism is not Racism, TL/Nationalist Newspaper, February, 1967.

Kawawa who became the Prime Minister.⁴¹⁸ The General Election which was held again towards the end of the year 1962 brought back Nyerere as the President of Tanganyika.⁴¹⁹ Nyerere stopped the Africanisation.⁴²⁰ But, the church had already been set into a motion which could not be seized back. Bishop Alfred Stanway of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika consecrated the Reverend Musa Kahurananga the second African assistant bishop for Western Tanganyika Province (later to become the Diocese of Western Tanganyika).⁴²¹ This was followed by the resignation of Leslie Straddling of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika who opted, instead, to translate to Johannesburg in South Africa where Bishop Ambrose Reeves had vacated his episcopacy.⁴²² While the desire was for an African, the post in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika was given to John Poole Hughes who within his early months in the office made Joseph Mlele his assistant bishop.⁴²³

The Diocese of Masasi consecrated Maurice Soseleje its first African assistant bishop.⁴²⁴ In 1963, two more African assistant bishops were consecrated in the Diocese of Zanzibar (i.e., Archdeacon Yohana Lukindo of Korogwe (so that he would serve in Tanga) and Archdeacon John Sepeku of Magila (who would work in Dar es Salaam). When Zanzibar was becoming an independent state in 1964 Bishop Yohana Omari died in Morogoro.⁴²⁵ The Diocese of Central Tanganyika consecrated the Reverend Yohana Madinda the assistant bishop of Central Tanganyika for Morogoro. Without reading signs of time, the Reverend John Robinson spoke out his side against the consecrations of Africans and the general Africans' attitudes towards the white people and as a result he was detained by the government.⁴²⁶ This instilled fear to the other white missionaries. Dain, for example, has shown that missionaries in the Diocese of Central Tanganyika were unhappy with the anti-European attitude

⁴¹⁸ Raia Mwema Newspaper Website. Joseph Mihangwa, Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964. <<http://www.raia.mwema.co.tz/nani-alichochea-jeshi-kuasi-mwaka-1964/>>. [Accessed 06 November 2011].

⁴¹⁹ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, p. 89.

⁴²⁰ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, p. 89.

⁴²¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/63/Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Diambond Jubilee, Date Line.

⁴²² John Ramadhani, Barua kwa Kasisi Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 20 Januari 2005.

⁴²³ ACT/ADR/Songea/The South-West Tanganyika Quarterly News Letter, May, 1965.

⁴²⁴ ACT/ADM/Rondo/Log Book, Namasakata-Rondo, 1960.

⁴²⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Diocese of Central Tanganyika Jubilee, Date Line.

⁴²⁶ LPL/Prov. E. A, SW Tanganyika General, 1961- 69, p. 2.

propagated mostly by the young people, but they could not raise their voice against it.⁴²⁷

The Diocese of Central Tanganyika consecrated Gresford Chitemo its assistant for Morogoro. Madinda was translated to Dodoma where he became an assistant bishop of the area which would later become the Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro.⁴²⁸ Morogoro, which had been an archdeaconry of Ukagulu, in 1965, became a constitutional diocese under Chitemo.⁴²⁹ Mndolwa has shown that Dar es Salaam was carved from Zanzibar to make a diocese under John Sepeku. Zanzibar became the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga. Yohana Jumaa became the first bishop of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga. Bishop Russell was ousted from Zanzibar following his disagreement with the state authority regarding issues of interfaith marriages. Bishop Lukindo was tricked by his colleagues at Magila and thus had been sanctioned.⁴³⁰ Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged on 26 April 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The United Republic declared its intention of building a nation of African Socialism and that on this policy, religious allegiances was to be kept in as personal matter. The state authority stated that religious allegiances had been considerably divisive whereas the country's need was for unity.⁴³¹ According to Begbie, the church found itself within this new situation which needed new answers.⁴³² The Toronto Anglican Congress initiated a new motion.⁴³³ UMCA sought to join force with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Some missionaries questioned it.⁴³⁴ Kingsnorth gave a brief history to explain the need of the merger arguing that as many nations and churches in Africa were becoming self-governed, the mission was becoming irrelevant.⁴³⁵ Finally, the merger was realised in 1965 and the new mission

⁴²⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/6040/133/20/_Tanganyika1960-1961', Private and Confidential Letter from Rev. A. J. Dain, Federal Secretary to the Reverend. Can. H. A. Wittenback, Church Missionary Society, London, 08 December 1961.

⁴²⁸ Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Diambond Jubilee, Date Line.

⁴²⁹ Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Diambond Jubilee, Date Line.

⁴³⁰ Ketto, same interview, See Chapter Three of this study for more about the reasons which had created the tensions.

⁴³¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Come Back to Africa: The Review of the Work of 1962, June 1963, p.10, also in RHL/A Larger Freedom: The Review of the Work of 1963, May 1964, pp. 42-44.

⁴³² CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/Rev. S. C. S. Begbie, '_New Era created by Independence', Report in Federal Executive, Minutes-February, 1969, Appendix A.

⁴³³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF 4/A Letter and Attached Report from Rev. R. J. Jourdain, Church Assembly: Overseas Council, Africa Study for the Anglican Communion Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy, 22 February 1963, p. 1.

⁴³⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4(VII)/Canon Kingsnorth, The Why and the Wherefore of Merger, 1964.

⁴³⁵ Kingsnorth, The Why and the Wherefore of Merger.

— the United Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) with a new emphasis (i.e., serving the whole world) – sprung up.⁴³⁶ The CMSA reconsidered the fate of its Africa policy control,⁴³⁷ and the anti-European attitude among their Christians in schools.⁴³⁸ At the meeting of Federal Council, the future of the CMSA in Tanzania was determined:

[...] – for the first time in history of the Tanganyika Mission, CMSA missionary [will be] acting as a mission secretary in full-time capacity, and independent of Diocesan control, whilst maintaining due loyalty to the Diocesan Bishops and to the national church he [will be] seeking to serve.⁴³⁹

But these were changes on strategy. The CMSA mentality would remain. Alfred Stanway, the bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika, could not hide his anger against it:

[...] – home base must get down to thinking out how they are to serve in the future and what kind of work they wish to offer because the new Bishops are going to look everywhere they can for help and they are likely to get all sorts of offers; from America and Canada and Europe, and CMSA will be left with just doing the old uninteresting missionary jobs.⁴⁴⁰

The Bible Church Men Society (BCMS) tried to find possible ways of working together with SPG in the Diocese of Morogoro. But it became impossible especially after SPG had merged with UMCA.⁴⁴¹ BCMS maintained the diocese of Morogoro.⁴⁴² When the Diocese of Western Tanganyika was carved from the Diocese of Central Tanganyika in 1966, and Kahurananga had become the first bishop there, CMSA

⁴³⁶ Kingsnorth, *The Why and the Wherefore of Merger*.

⁴³⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/117/4/Notes on the Meeting of the East African Representative at St. Julian's Limuru, 1969, Africa General-Several.

⁴³⁸ Notes on the Meeting of the East African Representative.

⁴³⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/ CMS Representative, a Letter, the Reverend S. C. Begbie, 20 April 1964.

⁴⁴⁰ CMSA/MLMSSA/65/3/Africa Committee Minutes, 31 March 1966, Church Missionary Society of Australia, Tanganyika Regional Committee, 1961-1967 in one Volume. This seemed to be Stanway's revenge as CMSA had challenged his efforts to Africanise and to *diocesanise* the mission, cf. Letters, Federal Secretary and the Regional Secretary, 22 June 1956, the Bishop of Central Tanganyika, 10 July 1956. However, he became a victim of choice: he was not the CMSA's choice and therefore he never gained the respect compared to his two predecessors.

⁴⁴¹ ACT/ADM/Morogoro/Mhutasari wa Sinodi, 1968.

⁴⁴² CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_Diocese of Morogoro', Federal Council Minutes, July 1970, p. 44.

challenged the BCMS to support solely the new diocese.⁴⁴³ However, they did this for a very brief period of time and then relocated to Kenya.⁴⁴⁴ The CMSA continued to dominate in the diocese of Central Tanganyika. The dioceses of Victoria Nyanza, Morogoro and Western Tanganyika attracted aids from the American churches.

By 1967, Nyerere had realised that the TANUs agenda of nationalisation could replace the idea of Africanisation. He presented his ideas at the TANUs Conference which was held at Arusha. The TANUs conference affirmed Ujamaa (i.e., familyhood derived from ujamaa) its way forward. Both Stanway and Craig pointed out that the overarching feelings among church leaders were that the church too needed to follow the Ujamaa.⁴⁴⁵ But the Ujamaa goals drew a sharp line of division with Kenya's policies. Consequently, as Craig pointed out, there was political tension in East Africa. As the result, the ambitions of the British's Colonial Government to formulate a Federation of East African States in Africans hands came to an end.⁴⁴⁶ East African Airways collapsed. National airlines and universities were established. Banks ceased to use East Africa in titles.⁴⁴⁷ The church followed this nationalistic trend as well.⁴⁴⁸ It set plans of re-establishing theological college in Dar es Salaam.⁴⁴⁹ Bishop Sepeku sought a prompt transfer of St. Cyprian Theological College from Rondo to Buguruni, Dar es Salaam so that it might form a link with the Department of Religious Studies of the newly established University of Dar es Salaam. Other bishops felt that Sepeku was becoming too political. But, Sepeku could not listen to them; he organised a committee which facilitated the transfer of the college.⁴⁵⁰ Eventually, Huddleston resigned in 1968 in favour of an African Bishop Hilary Chisonga. Huddleston founded, instead, the British Tanzania Society which encouraged British support for Tanzania.⁴⁵¹ Yet, Huddleston's resignation created another tension. Bishop Soseleje opposed it. He said that Huddleston prepared him to be his successor.

⁴⁴³ Diocese of Morogoro, p. 44.

⁴⁴⁴ Diocese of Morogoro, p. 44.

⁴⁴⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20, Notes on Provincial Synod, a letter, the Federal Secretary C.M.S.A, February 1969, File Bishop Stanway, DCT 1961-69, MLMSS 6040, 133/20, Craig, same interview.

⁴⁴⁶ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, pp. 90-104.

⁴⁴⁷ Craig, same interview.

⁴⁴⁸ Craig, same interview.

⁴⁴⁹ ACT/ADM/Rondo/Kikao cha Maaskofu wa Pwani, 1967.

⁴⁵⁰ ACT/ADM/Rondo/ Kikao cha Maaskofu wa Pwani, 1967

⁴⁵¹ Hardy, same interview.

He thus threatened to divide the diocese if the position was given to Chisonga.⁴⁵² Huddleston came back and tried to resolve it.⁴⁵³ On one hand, Huddleston needed the support of the archbishop of East Africa. On the other, the province too was at risk of breaking away into two and therefore the archbishop could not go to Masasi:

The Archbishop was obviously very worried about the suggestion of the need for an African Archbishop and brought alternative proposals for two provinces ... these were unacceptable. It became obvious that every Bishop present was ready for the division of the province on the grounds of economy, time, money, and vastness of the area.⁴⁵⁴

According to Ketto, the reasons for the division of the Province was not more on the basis of economy, time, money and the vastness of the area; it was on the fact that there had been a growing separation between the policies of Kenya and Tanzania.⁴⁵⁵ Stanway pointed out more that the reason why Archbishop Beecher was worried was about the suggestion of having African archbishops while his pension would not commence until about eight months later.⁴⁵⁶ Stanway indicated nowhere about how these challenges were resolved. The press release of 3 June 1970 from the Church's Public Officer indicated that:

The Final Synod of the Church of the Province of East Africa was held in Dodoma 2nd June 1970. The Archbishop of East Africa, the Most Rev. L. J. Beecher, officially dissolved the Province, making way for the creation of the new province of the Anglican dioceses of Tanzania, to be followed later by the forming of the Church of the Province of Kenya. After formally accepting the constitution of the new province the [Electoral College] met in the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit and elected the Rt. Rev. John Sepeku as the first Archbishop of the Province of Tanzania ... the Province of Tanzania will be inaugurated on 5th July 1970.⁴⁵⁷

On the same date, the first synod of the province was instituted under the chairmanship of the archbishop-elect. Bishop Stanway of Central Tanganyika was

⁴⁵² Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁴⁵³ Craig, same interview.

⁴⁵⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/_Notes on Provincial Synod', a letter, the Federal Secretary CMSA, February 1969, File Bishop Stanway, DCT 1961-1969, Craig, same interview.

⁴⁵⁵ Ketto, same interview.

⁴⁵⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Notes on Prov. Synod, A Private and Confidential letter, the Federal Secretary CMSA February 1969, Bishop Stanway, DCT, 1961-1969.

⁴⁵⁷ LPL/Ramsey Papers, 1970, vol. 1978, p. 120.

elected the first Dean and Bishop Chitemo of Morogoro as Treasurer of the new province.⁴⁵⁸ Other officers of the province who were elected during this first synod were the two secretaries: Mr. W. Lembo (representing the Province), Reverend Canon G. A. Chittleborough (representing the CMSA). There was no one to represent the USPG.⁴⁵⁹ There were also working panels appointed to deal with the special field of literature, liturgy and theology, and negotiations for church union.⁴⁶⁰ Each of these panels was to work in close association with the Church of the Province of Kenya especially in the matter of the church union.⁴⁶¹

5.3. Formation of the Church of the Province of Tanzania

As planned, the province of Tanzania was inaugurated on 05 July 1970 in Dodoma. The province did not put a particular building for office saying that was not its first priority. In that case the office of the province was on the hands of the two secretaries and the archbishop. Wherever the secretaries and the archbishop were, there was the provincial office. According to Ramadhani, Archbishop Sepeku prioritised a united liturgy which would bring unity to the Anglicans in Tanzania.⁴⁶² The church approved the use of the traditional liturgies (1662 BCP which had been used by the evangelicals and Zanzibar Rite which had been used by the Anglo-Catholics) as the liturgical committee continued to work on a united liturgy.⁴⁶³ It was also resolved that the East African liturgy, a copy of the liturgy of the Church of Uganda which was developed by the archbishop of Uganda after the Conference of All African Churches, would be applied in parallel to these others for the first five years.⁴⁶⁴ This liturgy was then developed into a full Eucharist liturgy in Kiswahili which was tested and used for the first time at the Lambeth Conference in 1978.⁴⁶⁵ The new liturgy was first introduced

⁴⁵⁸ Ramsey Papers, 1970, vol. 1978, p. 120.

⁴⁵⁹ Ramsey Papers, 1970, vol. 1978, p. 120. It was from this this less involvement that USPG started to become irrelevant in Tanzania.

⁴⁶⁰ Ramsey Papers, 1970, vol. 1978, p. 120.

⁴⁶¹ Ramsey Papers, 1970, vol. 1978, p. 120.

⁴⁶² Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁶³ ACT/Dodoma/ Article no. 4 (d, e) and Article no. 6 of Constitution of the Church of Province of Tanzania. 1970.

⁴⁶⁴ ASL/ADD/John Sepeku in *Salaam, Gazeti la Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam*, no. 1, 1995, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁵ ASL/ADD/John Sepeku in *Salaam*, p. 6.

in Tanzania in 1979 at the time when Sepeku was about to complete his ten year term.⁴⁶⁶

Samuel Sepeku pointed out that the second priority of Archbishop Sepeku was reconciliation.⁴⁶⁷ In order to resolve the tension in Masasi and to give way for Bishop Chisonga to manage the diocese, Bishop Soseleje was transferred from Masasi to St. Mark's Theological College⁴⁶⁸ in Dar es Salaam where he became the college chaplain.⁴⁶⁹ Following the total collapse of the East African Community in 1977 and the Uganda's invasion of Tanzania in 1978, the church found itself in the 'battle field'. Tanzania accused Kenya's involvement on its conflict with Uganda.⁴⁷⁰ Since the Anglican Church was the strongest in Kenya, Nyerere sought the Tanzanian church to intervene.⁴⁷¹ He therefore sent a delegation which was led by Archbishop Sepeku.⁴⁷² The delegation met with leaders of the churches in Kenya.⁴⁷³ Kenya decided to take the position of a neutral witness as the conflict between Tanzania and Uganda continued.⁴⁷⁴ Following this conflict, political, social, economic and ecclesiastical integrations in East Africa worsened. Tanzanian priests who were pursuing their Diploma of Theology offered jointly between Makerere University and St. Mark's Theological College could not attend their studies because of a communication breakdown.⁴⁷⁵ The province had to establish another Diploma of Theology in collaboration with theological institutions in Kenya and Tanzania.⁴⁷⁶ Archbishop Sepeku finished his term in 1979. He had witnessed many challenges as

⁴⁶⁶ Liturgia, Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1979, Kitabu cha Sala Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1986, pp. vii-xiii.

⁴⁶⁷ Samuel Maumba Sepeku, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 June 2011 in Dar es Salaam. Samuel is the first son of Archbishop Sepeku.

⁴⁶⁸ Archbishop Sepeku (then bishop of Dar es Salaam) established this college in Dar es Salaam in 1969 after he had transferred it from Rondo (St. Cyprian) hoping to utilise religious studies which were to be introduced at the University College of Dar es Salaam. St. Mark's Theological College was the old name of the College when it was established at Mazizini in Zanzibar in 1895. When Bishop Weston transferred it to Hegongo in 1917, he changed its name to become St. Athanasius. The College was transferred again to Minaki in 1942, to Namaskata in 1951 and to Rondo in 1960. Cf. Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya kanisa Anglikana lililoko Mashariki na Kusini mwa Tanzania*.

⁴⁶⁹ Sepeku, same interview, also in ASL/ACT/Jimbo, Kikao cha Tume ya Mafunzo ya Jimbo, Dar es Salaam, 1975.

⁴⁷⁰ Sepeku, same interview.

⁴⁷¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4, 'Diocese of Morogoro', Federal Council Minutes, July 1970, p. 44.

⁴⁷² ACT/ADCT/Dodoma, Ratiba ya Safari za Askofu Mkuu, 1979.

⁴⁷³ ACT/ADCT/Dodoma/Muhtasari wa Mkutano wa Maaskofu wa Kianglikana wa Kenya na Tanzania.

⁴⁷⁴ Sepeku, same interview.

⁴⁷⁵ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*.

⁴⁷⁶ KNA/MSS/61/666/Association of East African Theological Colleges, The pattern of Training for the Ministry, pp. 1-2.

well as progresses in the church. In 1980, Bishop Musa Kahurananga of the Diocese of Western Tanganyika was elected the second archbishop of Tanzania.⁴⁷⁷ While focusing on his main challenge (i.e., the head office of the province) — the government announced a ten years plan of moving the capital city from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma.⁴⁷⁸ Again the church had to follow this government's policy.⁴⁷⁹ Archbishop Kahurananga bought a house in Dodoma which became a permanent office for the province.⁴⁸⁰ Kahurananga was the last archbishop of the first group of African bishops who were humble and united. He served for five years term only.⁴⁸¹ While he could have continued with his second term, he decided to give way to a new blood in the province.⁴⁸² He foresaw signs of time. There were a group of African bishops (which could be regarded as a second generation of African bishops) who were learned, but who held a divided vision of the church. These bishops were taking the leadership of the church vigorously.

John Ramadhani succeeded Kahurananga at the very time when Nyerere had decided to step down. Ramadhani who held two degrees, one on education management and another on theology and who had been an officer in the Ministry of National Education, had been consecrated the second bishop of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga after the retirement of Jumaa.⁴⁸³ Ramadhani put the main emphasis on the improvement of the liturgy and this was realised in 1995 when Tanzania became the second country in Africa to have its own Prayer Book. However, since this was a turning point from Nyerere's policies, there were many challenges which he experienced. The consequential challenges which he encountered included selfishness, traditional and tribal superiorities.⁴⁸⁴ For example, the use of the name Anglican Church of Tanzania was prohibited by Nyerere's government through John Samuel Malecela, the then Prime Minister of Tanzania and a member of Provincial Synod. Malecela alleged that it insinuated British rule in Tanzania while the country

⁴⁷⁷ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁷⁸ ASL/ACT/Province of East Africa/ Provincial Centre in the Church of the Province of Tanzania (Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania), Background information prepared for the Consultation held in Dodoma, August 19-20, 1974.

⁴⁷⁹ Craig, same interview.

⁴⁸⁰ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁸¹ ASL/Martin Mbwana, Personal files.

⁴⁸² Mpango, same interview.

⁴⁸³ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁸⁴ Hotuba ya Ufunguzi in Emanuel J. Kandusi, Taarifa Kamili ya Jimbo kuhusu Umoja-CCT Conference Centre, Dodoma, 21-25 August, 1995, Dodoma, p. 1.

was not a colony of Britain.⁴⁸⁵ The provincial synod of 1993 decided to reverse the earlier decision when Malecela was no longer a member of the synod.⁴⁸⁶ Therefore as from 1993, the Church of Province of Tanzania became the Anglican Church of Tanzania. This change of name involved a change of attitudes too. According to Craig, even the division of dioceses and consecration of new bishops reflected this change.⁴⁸⁷ For example, the *Wagogo* of the Diocese of Rift Valley called Bishop Alfa Mohamed from his See of Mount Kilimanjaro to lead them. The Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro opposed it. The opposition could not work. The diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro elected, instead, the Rev. Simon Makundi, a former Lutheran minister. Makundi came from among their own tribes. Mtingele said that this was the trend and the cause of conflicts in the dioceses of Victoria Nyanza, South West Tanganyika and Dar es Salaam.⁴⁸⁸ Other dioceses formed during Ramadhani's headship of the church were Kagera, Mara, Mpwapwa, Ruaha, Southern Highlands, Tabora, Shinyanga and Tanga. All these dioceses asked for a bishop from their own tribesmen.

Archbishop Ramadhani retired in 2000 after he had also given the church a new image of incorporating theology and development. His successor Bishop Donald Leo Mtetemela of the Diocese of Ruaha, the fourth archbishop of the church, built on this theology and development. However, traditional and tribal differences which were still growing at a very alarming rate detracted his efforts. He called for an All Clergy Conference at Mzumbe in 2001 where more than 1, 800 clergy met and debated about these issues.⁴⁸⁹ Lugendo said that this was the first conference of its kind in Tanzania and the whole of East Africa.⁴⁹⁰ However, Lugendo's statement needed to be balanced with the fact that there were efforts of uniting the two traditions of the church during the process of the formation of the Province of East Africa. This effort of bringing closer African Christians of the two traditions made it necessary to call a conference

⁴⁸⁵ Martin Mbwana files.

⁴⁸⁶ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁴⁸⁷ Craig, same interview.

⁴⁸⁸ Mkunga Humphrey Percival Mtingele, *Leadership and Conflict in an African Church: An Inquiry into the Context, Nature, Causes and Consequences of Conflict and Conflict Management in the Anglican Church of Tanzania during the period of Indigenous Leadership circa 1960-circa 2000*, Open University (UK), Unpublished PhD. Thesis, September 2004.

⁴⁸⁹ ASL/Joseph Lugendo, Askofu Simalenga: Uchawi utaliangamiza Taifa, *Majira*, 22 June 2008, p. 10.

⁴⁹⁰ Lugendo, Askofu Simalenga, p. 10.

of similar kind and was accomplished at Morogoro in 1958.⁴⁹¹ In this case, the 2001 Mzumbe Conference could only be the first in terms of the attendance.

Mtetemela faced two other challenges. He inherited a problem of handling two theological colleges which produced unaccredited Diplomas and Certificates which prevented Anglicans priests from qualifying for higher degrees. Although he failed to unite the two colleges, he seized the opportunity given by the government to establish higher learning institutions. In 2004, Mtetemela established St. Johns' University of Tanzania on a church site of Alliance (Mazengo) Secondary school in Dodoma which was given back to the church from the government.⁴⁹²

The second challenge which Mtetemela faced was the issues of HIV and AIDS among Tanzanians and the ordination of same sex persons. Although the ordination of same sex persons was not a Tanzanian problem (it was practiced in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America — PECUSA), the PECUSA was the main sponsors of the programmes which were run by the church at the national level and many projects in the dioceses. In this case, the decision made by the PECUSA to marry and ordain same sex partners raised heated debate in Tanzania too. The House of Bishops released pastoral letters which had two aims.⁴⁹³ The first pastoral letter intended to request Tanzanians to take serious and careful measures against HIV and AIDS.⁴⁹⁴ The intention of the second letter was to curb the insults which Tanzanians had laid on Anglicanism.⁴⁹⁵ The letter also informed the public that the church in Tanzania had dissolved its relationships with the PECUSA. Unlike other Anglican Provinces in East Africa, the archbishop of the Anglican Church of Tanzania did not cease to become bishop of his diocese. He therefore becomes a 'servant of two masters' (i.e., his own diocese as well as the province). Such structure of the church allowed diocesan agreements to take lead over against provincial decisions.

⁴⁹¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Church is There: On Returning from the Lambeth Conference, the Bishops Report from East and Central Africa, May 1959, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁹² ASL/ACT/Province of East Africa/Wito wa Maaskofu Kuchangia Chuo Kikuu cha Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania.

⁴⁹³ ASL/ACT/Province of East Africa/Tamko la Maaskofu, Mzumbe Morogoro, 10 October 2011, Barua ya Kichungaji ya Maaaskofu wa Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania, 31 October 2003.

⁴⁹⁴ Tamko la Maaskofu, Mzumbe Morogoro, Barua ya Kichungaji ya Maaaskofu wa Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania,

⁴⁹⁵ Tamko la Maaskofu, Mzumbe Morogoro, Barua ya Kichungaji ya Maaaskofu wa Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania.

6. Religious Communities of the Church

Both Blood and Anderson-Mosheard⁴⁹⁶ showed that from the inception of UMCA, there were various attempts to establish religious communities. Sister Mary-Stella stated that it was only the Community of Sacred Passion (CSP) which, after Bishop Frank Weston had started it in 19011 continued to serve in Tanzania.⁴⁹⁷ Kingsnorth noted that the CSP was a community of the learned and gifted women but who had failed to reconcile prayers and active life.⁴⁹⁸ However, they were founders of many schools and dispensaries.⁴⁹⁹ Africans who attempted several times to join the community failed for two reasons. First, the CSP Sisters were too bound on institutional work.⁵⁰⁰ Second, the sisters could not adapt to African life in its full sense.⁵⁰¹ President Nyerere utilised their skills in establishing and running schools.⁵⁰² For example, after the nationalisation of schools, the government asked the sisters to run Korogwe and Loleza secondary schools for young women until after qualified Africans were ready to take over from them.⁵⁰³ Despite delays in their education, Anglican women in eastern and southern Tanzania would not have emerged as among the most learned if it was not through the work of the CSP Sisters.⁵⁰⁴

The delay in the training of African women was not only on secular studies but also in the church ministry and religious life. For example, it was not until 1957 that the bishop of Masasi reported about the profession of three African novices.⁵⁰⁵ They were to become the founding sisters of *Chama cha Mariamu Mbarikiwa wa Nazareti na Kalvari* (CMM) – (*Community of St. Mary of Nazareth and Calvary*).⁵⁰⁶ According to

⁴⁹⁶ A. E. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, London: UMCA, vol. I, 1955, A.G. Blood, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, London: UMCA, vol. II, 1957, A.G. Blood, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, London: UMCA, vol. III, 1962.

⁴⁹⁷ Sr. Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*. p.1.

⁴⁹⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF 4 (III), Report on the Visit of UMCA General Secretary to East Africa, 1962, p. 8.

⁴⁹⁹ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*.

⁵⁰⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF 4 (III)/Report on the Visit of UMCA General Secretary to East Africa, 1962, p. 8.

⁵⁰¹ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 109-110.

⁵⁰² Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 109-110.

⁵⁰³ Sr. Phillipa CSP, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 08 April 2011 at Shoreham, also in Sr. Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 107, 133-142.

⁵⁰⁴ Sr. Angela CSP, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 April 2011 at Shoreham.

⁵⁰⁵ Sr. CMM Sisters' group interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵⁰⁶ Sr. Phillipa CSP same interview, also in Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 107, 133-142.

the CMM Sisters it was on the wisdom of Bishop Lucas that the CSP Sisters initiated an African community for women.⁵⁰⁷ In that case the CSP Sisters had to be their caretaker. Kingsnorth was optimistic that the CSPs attitudes and mentalities would be passed over to the CMM.⁵⁰⁸ Sister Hilda-Mary who belonged to the first generation of the CMM Sisters was ousted from the community after a long debate about her health problems.⁵⁰⁹ Facing the challenge, Archbishop Sepeku professed Hilda-Marry at St. Mark's Theological College in 1982.⁵¹⁰ Sister Hilda-Mary became the founding Sister of a new community namely the Community of Saint Mary of Calvary (CSMC). From the day it was founded, the CSMC attracted no new member.⁵¹¹ According to Sister Helena, even though the CMM associated itself with the UMCA dioceses, Bishop Musa Kahurananga of the Diocese of Western Tanganyika and Rusibamaila of the Diocese of Victoria Nyanza asked for branches in their diocese for the purpose of motivating young women in these dioceses to establish religious communities.⁵¹² Sister Martha said that Bishop Gerald Mpango of Western Tanganyika and John Changae of Victoria Nyanza ignored the efforts of their predecessors — Kahurananga and Rusibamaila respectively.⁵¹³ Besides Tanzania, the CMM community had houses in Zambia and had continued to hold a distinguished position in the church in Tanzania.⁵¹⁴ Their Mother Superior was a member of the provincial synod since 1970.⁵¹⁵ The process of Africanisation in Tanzania enabled the CMM Sisters to challenge the CSP.⁵¹⁶ The fact that there were no new novices coming in from Europe, CSP had to withdraw and gave way for the growth of the CMM.⁵¹⁷

⁵⁰⁷ Sr. Philipa CSP, same interview, Sister Lucia, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 7 April 2011 at Sussex, Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp.110-115.

⁵⁰⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4(III), Report on the Visit of UMCA General Secretary to East Africa, 1962, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁹ Sr. Hilda-Mary CSMC, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 13 April 2011 in dare s Salaam.

⁵¹⁰ Sr. Hilda-Mary CSMC, same interview.

⁵¹¹ Sr. Hilda-Mary CSMC, same interview.

⁵¹² Sr. Helena CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵¹³ Sr. Martha CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵¹⁴ Sr. Cecilia CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵¹⁵ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁵¹⁶ Sr. Philipa CSP, same interview.

⁵¹⁷ Sr. Philipa CSP, same interview, Lucia CSP, same interview, Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 110-115.

There were several attempts to establish a community for the men as well. For example, the Community of St. Johns of the Gospel had a priory at Mkuzi in Tanga. The priory was closed because there were no Africans joining it.⁵¹⁸ It was not until 1970s that the Society of St. Francis of Assisi which was strongly connected with the essence of Ujamaa was established in Dar es Salaam.⁵¹⁹ But with the fall of Ujamaa, the society closed its houses too. It can thus strongly argued that although Sister Hilda-Mary continued with her CSMCs vows, the CMM was the only strong religious community in existence in the Anglican Church of Tanzania. There was no written document about the CMM and therefore very few Anglicans knew about this community.

7. Sodalities of the Anglican Church of Tanzania

7.1. Mothers Union (MU)

The third Conference of Mothers Union (MU commonly known in Kiswahili as UMAKI – *Umoja wa Mama wa Kikristo*) of the Church of Province of East Africa was held at Msalato in Dodoma from 14 to 20 August 1969.⁵²⁰ This conference was the last of its kind and it became the first to institute the MU as an office in the Church of Province of Tanzania. Whereas there was no mention of the MU in the constitution of the Church of the Province of East Africa,⁵²¹ and that even the synod of the church was exclusively dominated by men,⁵²² the MU could not be left out in the constitution of the Province of Tanzania.⁵²³ When the Church of the Province in Tanzania was found in 1970, the MU had already been functioning in Tanzania for thirty eight years and yet not a single diocese had African women as members of its synod.⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁸ Sr. Philipa CSP, same interview.

⁵¹⁹ Br. Otto Chiduo, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵²⁰ LPL/Church of Province of East Africa, Overseas Correspondences and Report Files for Africa.

⁵²¹ 'Constitution' in *The Church of the Province of East Africa*, Nairobi: English Press, 1960.

⁵²² ASL/KAT (ACT), Province of East Africa, Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Synod held in Nairobi, 28 October 1969, p. 1.

⁵²³ ASL/ACT/Province of East Africa/ Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania, Katiba, 1970, Diocese of Dar es Salaam.

⁵²⁴ Blood, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, vol. III, 1933-1957, pp. xiii-xiv, Devota Lupaa, Umaki Katika Dayosisi ya Rift Valley, Unpublished Certificate Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, Kongwa, 2003, pp. 11-24.

There was no recorded academic work regarding Mothers Union in Tanzania. Available sources were some diploma and certificate projects conducted by students from St. Mark's and St. Philips Theological Colleges. These projects were used in this discussion as show case that although there was no recorded material about the MU, it had brought together married Anglican women from parishes, deaneries, archdeaconries and dioceses to pray, read scriptures and discuss issues related to the church's marriages. Isaya J. Mugaragu, for example, pointed out that bringing together married women was an important aspect of the MU through which both the church and state had benefited in Tanzania.⁵²⁵ Devota Lupaa hinted at the fact that even though the MU had grown in numbers and had assisted women to gain a position in the church meetings, it had not been able to rescue Anglican women from gender imbalances and sexual harassments.⁵²⁶ Anna Challoh pointed out that this depended on the 'type' of a woman herself.⁵²⁷ Prichard indicated that this was born out of the missions set up which gave women no say against men.⁵²⁸ Ngayula identified several issues which she believed could be dealt by the MU for the better lives to Anglican Women in Tanzania.⁵²⁹ Nyalaula, for example, showed that the MU could initiate programs which could curb challenges facing young girls in secondary schools.⁵³⁰ Among the pride of the MU was its Training Centre at Mtumba in Dodoma where courses such as teaching, hotel management, cookery, and secretarial work are offered to women. However, at the level of dioceses and parishes the MU had been very rigid to change some of their rules and, as a result, it became irrelevant to many young women. Perhaps more research might help to indicate the need for change and accommodate young women.

⁵²⁵ Isaya J. Mugaragu, A Critical Study of Women Ordination in the Anglican Church of Tanzania, Unpublished Diploma Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, Kongwa, June 2003, pp. 23-25.

⁵²⁶ Devota Lupaa, Umaki Katika Dayosisi ya Rift Valley, Unpublished Certificate Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, Kongwa, 2003.

⁵²⁷ Anna Challoh, Umaki Katika Dayosisi ya DMK/Kiteto, Unpublished Certificate Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, pp. 24-25.

⁵²⁸ Andreana Prichard, 'Industrials and School-Girls': The Education of a Female Intellectual Elite in East Africa, Unpublished paper, 31 May 2006.

⁵²⁹ Verian Amos Ngalaula, Umuhimu wa Mwanamke Kanisani hasa katika Dayosisi ya Rift valley, Unpublished Certificate Research Project, St. Philip's Theological College, Kongwa, 2005.

⁵³⁰ Verian Amos Ngayula, Umuhimu wa Mwanamke Kanisani.

7.2. Tanzanian Youth Organisation (TAYO)

So far the only written document about the TAYO was their constitution which states that it was found to bridge the gap between childhood and adulthood, and to foster young Anglican in Tanzania so that they may become mature Christian parents.⁵³¹ Mnkai noted that, although TAYOs specific objectives were clearly stated in the constitution, very few among the youth of the church knew what it was all about.⁵³² Even though there was no study which has been conducted about the effectiveness of the TAYO, but with the growing consciousness of gospel music, and the decline of traditional dances, many young people identified it with the church choirs most of which were gospel music groups.⁵³³

The establishment of Tanzania Christian Students Fellowship (TCSF commonly known in Kiswahili as UKWATA (*Umoja wa Kikristo wa Wanafunzi Tanzania*) which after its founding in 1969 took over youth activities of all the church members of Christian Council of Tanzania in schools, was yet another challenge to the TAYO. According to Daffa, many young Anglicans in secondary schools felt at ease with the TCSF.⁵³⁴ The challenge, according to Daffa, was that many branches of the TCSF *B104* were influenced by the Pentecostal movement and therefore those who felt uncomfortable with such movement, found it hard to join.⁵³⁵ Mnkai felt that the more notable critical challenge was about the young Anglicans who had never joined secondary schools.⁵³⁶ They found themselves side-lined by those from schools.⁵³⁷ I argued therefore that as far as the youth in the Anglican Church of Tanzania was concerned, there was no any effective ministry which solidify and fostered Anglican youth. Similarly, there was no any meaningful bridge between child-hood to youth-hood. There was a gap between those young women who emerged from the TAYO

⁵³¹ ASL/ACT/Province of East Africa, Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania, Katiba ya Tayo, 1970

⁵³² Emmanuel Mnkai, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 09 Septemba 2011 at Korogwe.

⁵³³ ACT/ADD/Dar es Salaam, TAYO Eater Beach Report, Diocese of Dar es Salaam, 18 March 2008.

⁵³⁴ Stephen Daffa, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 September 2011 at Kerenge.

⁵³⁵ Daffa, same interview.

⁵³⁶ Mnkai, same interview.

⁵³⁷ Mnkai, same interview.

and who could be directly connected to UMAKI but such bridge had not been established. The situation was even more unclear as to how a young man who emerged from the TAYO would go to which group after maturity. So far as men's ministry was concerned, there was no any sodality which dealt specifically with men in the church. More research which would highlight why the church was ineffective on youth, women and men's ministries was needed.

8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented several factors which influenced the formation of the Anglican Church in Tanzania. These factors included the ideologies of the two missions of the Church of England which worked in Tanzania. I described how the ideologies of the two missions affected their missionary enterprises. It emerged from the discussion that the missions never attempted to call their African members Anglicans. The followers of the UMCA regarded either as the UMCA or the High Church Christians. The followers who belonged to CMSA were identified either as the CMSA or the Low Church Christians. Whereas this could be regarded as a way of responding to the call for the missions to plant a church different from the Anglican Church as known to them, because these organisations were not churches, I argued that it raised identity complex to the African Anglicans. As a result, when Tanganyika and Zanzibar were becoming independent and the church was becoming more African, these Christians could not know the name of their denomination. This identity crisis was strengthened more when Tanzania declared Ujamaa its policy. The use of the name Anglican was forbidden and the church became the church of the province of Tanzania. The discussion in chapters three, four and five in this study highlighted this too.

The discussion also focused on the missions' relation with the government, the people of other Christian denomination as well as people of other faiths. It emerged from these discussions that while the missions had relatively good relations with the colonial government, Muslims and non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations, it had some frictions with the Roman Catholic's Salvatorians in Masasi. Such misunderstandings were significant especially if the close relationship in theology between Anglo-Catholicism and Roman Catholicism was regarded. I argued that the

misunderstanding was caused by the changing relationship between the government and the UMCA towards independence. The British government was giving way to Africans and thus the Salvatorians wanted to seize that opportunity to gain more members. I described the missions' relationship to each other and the ethnic communities. A major finding which emerged from this discussion was that the two groups of identification (i.e., the *waungwana* and the *washenzi*) developed when the missions continued to receive converts from indigenous people. The *waungwana* were proud of being more civilised while the *washenzi* regarded the *waungwana* as people who had lost their African identity. These differences were suppressed by the movement of nationalism pioneered by Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The analysis in chapter three described the significance of this movement of nationalism to Tanganyikans.

Finally, I have briefly analysed the sodalities of the church as well as religious communities. My findings regarding sodalities of the church were as follows. First, the history of both the MU and the TAYO was not yet recorded. Second, there was no effective ministry to men and children. Third, there was no bridge between childhood and youth-hood. Furthermore, the church did not establish a bridge between young women who emerged from TAYO and between young men from TAYO and men of the church. Finally, there was no sodality for men. Similarly, there was no religious community for men whereas CMM established itself as the only women's religious community. The church's efforts to establish a religious community for men has not been successful. Whereas the reasons for this failure was not very clear, there was a need to investigate more to find out causes and through which, those men who were interested to live in religious communities may establish their religious community as well. Throughout the discussion, it became evident that the church had been changing following new developments in the economic, social and political life of the people. Following these changes, three main periods of changes in the church could be identified: The colonial church (pre-Ujamaa church), the Ujamaa church and the post-Ujamaa church. These were the main phases of the church upon which the discussions in the following chapters focused.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MISSIONS' REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE: INDEPENDENCE AND THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

1. Introduction

The purpose of chapter two is to give an overview analysis of the changes which the Anglican Church in Tanzania⁴ went through from the years 1955 to 2005. Among the issues I highlighted in the analysis of chapter two were the struggle and granting of independence for Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika, and the declaration that the United Government would follow the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. Neil cited a statement according to which the church⁴ should be independent from political power, but in actual fact, whatever took place in the corridors of power inevitably influenced the life of the church⁴.⁵³⁸

In view of this, this present chapter discusses the reaction of the Anglican Church in Tanzania⁴ to the changes made by the political authority and the responses of the government to these reactions of the church⁴. In order to achieve this end I have divided it into the following sections: The missions' reactions to the struggle for the political independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the impact of the independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the Anglican missions and the responses of the missions to the Arusha Declaration. Although the period under review was from 1955 to 1968, for the sake of clarity, the discussion referred to some activities that took place in the country in 1954.

⁵³⁸ Stephen Neil, *Anglicanism*, London and Oxford: Mowbray, 1958, p. 343.

2. The Struggle for Independence and its Impact on Missions

2.1. The Missions Reaction to the Struggle for Independence and the Independence of Tanganyika

John Ketto studied with Julius K. Nyerere and Oscar D. Kambona in Edinburgh in the early 1950s.⁵³⁹ In his interview, Ketto said that some Anglican missionaries in the United Kingdom asked Nyerere (the student) to speak about Tanganyika. He added that as a result, Nyerere used most of his time to study the role of British rule in Tanganyika. He compared different styles of colonial domination in different countries in the world with that of the rule of the British in his own country. Ketto also said that Nyerere was convinced that it was possible for Tanganyika to gain independence within a few years. Ketto concluded that it was from this background that Nyerere concentrated more on politics. As a result of this, upon his return to Tanganyika from Edinburgh, Nyerere influenced a group of leaders from the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) – the trade unionists party.⁵⁴⁰ However, as Archbishop Ramadhani and Graeme Watson had observed, the political consciousness in Tanganyika was brought about by those who fought in World War II.⁵⁴¹ Agreeing with Watson and Ramadhani on the one hand, and Ketto on the other, Samuel Sepeku, understood Nyerere as an activist who, after he had understood the reasons for Tanganyika being under British rule had seen the possibility of becoming an independent nation, he encouraged other people in Tanganyika to campaign for its independence from Great Britain.⁵⁴²

Cordell showed that at several points, Africans in Tanganyika (including prominent Anglicans such as John Rupia, John Ketto, Job Malecela Lusinde, Michael Kamaliza and Oscar Kambona) had said that the Europeans were trying to hold them back and that their rights were also pulled out from among them.⁵⁴³ Therefore, it became easy

⁵³⁹ John Ketto, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 14 May 2011 at Korogwe.

⁵⁴⁰ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁴¹ John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W.F Mndolwa on 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵⁴² Samuel Maumba Sepeku, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 June 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁵⁴³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/65/3/Annual Letter from Ven. Archdeacon O. T. Cordell, CMS Tanganyika. Kambona, for example, resigned from teaching after he had led a student protest against the government in 1954. Cf. 'Oscar Kambona: Minister of External Affairs and Defence' in Amrit

for Nyerere to catch the feelings of such people. Ketto argued that it was not until after Nyerere had returned from Edinburgh that these Africans were able to come up with a strategy. They decided to put their ‘religions on the back plate’ and instead put all their energies into achieving political independence. On 07 July 1954 they dissolved the workers’ TAA to form a political party which they named the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).⁵⁴⁴ Two African Anglicans, Kambona and Rupia, became general secretary and treasurer of the party respectively. While Kambona used his personal relationships with some missionaries to attract the attention of the missions, Rupia used his business links with the missions’ authorities to support the Party. The TANU placed nationalism as its main agenda and because of crippling poverty in the country, its agenda gained strength and it became a threat not only to the colonial government, but also to the missions. The colonial government forced Nyerere to decide between teaching and politics and he chose the latter.⁵⁴⁵ Nyerere’s choice strengthened the TANU. The government was caught between the TANUs zest for independence and its own plans and thus it sought instead the assistance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies who on 15 October 1954 had to clarify the role of the British in their rule of Tanganyika:

[...] – to continue to administer the territory in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement until the ultimate goal of self-government has been reached ... Her Majesty’s Government attach importance, in interests of the inhabitants of Tanganyika, to the maintenance and promotion of British traditions and British connection with the territory. ... Her Majesty’s Government interpret the Trusteeship Agreement and Article 76 of the United Nations Charter as imposing on the Administering Authority an obligation to provide for the full participation of all sections of the population, irrespective of race or origin, in the progressive development of political institutions and in the economic and social development of the territory.⁵⁴⁶

According to Ketto, Africans in Tanganyika noticed that the statements from Westminster were short on deadlines.⁵⁴⁷ In other words, the colonial government

Wilson, *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania*, London: Pluto Press, 1989, p. 167

⁵⁴⁴ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁴⁵ Madaraka Nyerere, ‘A short biography of Julius Nyerere’ in Chambi Chachage (eds.), *Africa’s Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Fahamu Press, 2010, p. xvi.

⁵⁴⁶ T. J. Lennard, *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala: The Eagle Press, 1954, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁴⁷ Ketto, same interview.

stated nowhere when it would grant independence to Tanganyika. The leadership of the TANU knew that this was a technique of the British to delay the granting of independence. Therefore, they put more pressure through some members of the Government's Legislative Council (LC), the leadership of the missions and the young people.⁵⁴⁸ The LC resolved that in order to bring a sense of national pride, some Africans should be included in the leadership as a way towards internal self-rule. In February 1955, ten Africans (six of them being Anglicans) were made members of the Legislative Council.⁵⁴⁹ On 01 July 1955, another African christened Dunstan Omari, son of the Reverend Father Alfred Omari of UMCA, was appointed first African District Commissioner.⁵⁵⁰ According to Ketto, it was from these seven men that the colonial government's confidential information slipped easily to the leadership of the TANU.⁵⁵¹ The Swahili coffee bars where they played *bao*⁵⁵² became centres for the exchange of information, planning and the reorganisation of their strategies for 'attacking' the government. As a result, the number of customers of these Swahili coffee bars increased and the TANU grew to a membership of many thousands.⁵⁵³

While a greater number of missionaries favoured the TANU, few other missionaries and the government's officials were surprised by its rapid growth, whereby in a comparatively short space of time its membership rose to number many thousands.⁵⁵⁴ In this regard, Blood's statement that the missionaries were not hesitant on grounds that the TANU was led by a Roman Catholic –Julius K. Nyerere,⁵⁵⁵ had to be balanced by the fact that some of the missionaries were not happy with the mass movement for nationalism motivated by the TANU. Bishop Mark Way's plea illustrated this fact when he said:

Attention must be drawn: The great increase in political consciousness among the comparatively educated, often with an anti-European tinge

⁵⁴⁸ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁴⁹ Government Publications Relating to Africa in Microform Website. Government Publications Relating to Tanganyika, 1919-1961. Publication no. R96996. <<http://www.microform.co.uk/guides/R96996.pdf/>>. [Accessed 26 August 2011]

⁵⁵⁰ A. G. Blood, *The History of Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Vol. III: 1933-1957*, London: UMCA, 1962, p. 233.

⁵⁵¹ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁵² *Bao* is a traditional game played mainly on the coast of Tanzania.

⁵⁵³ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁵⁴ R. T. Jourdan, 'The Church in Tanganyika', in *CMS Outlook* 1956, p. 83.

⁵⁵⁵ A. G. Blood, 'Supplement' in *the History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, 1957-1965, London: U.M.C.A., 1965, p. 1.

owing to the domination of T.A.N.U; the nationalist party. This may be the underlying cause of some dissatisfaction among students which we have been experiencing, covert at St. Joseph, covert at St. Luke's Nursing School.⁵⁵⁶

The Africans expected support from their bishop in their struggle for national independence. However, Bishop Mark could not see why the paternalism which his mission and the colonial government had established in Tanganyika should be abandoned as quickly as the TANU wished.⁵⁵⁷ His attitude provoked anger from among the Africans. As a result, they forced him to resign from the office of the diocesan bishop.⁵⁵⁸ His resignation left the diocese of Masasi without episcopal leadership for nearly two years. In view of this, the Reverend Father Neil Russell, a UMCA's missionary in the Diocese of Zanzibar warned the missions saying:

There would seem to be three possible approaches for the Europeans to this nationalism: to ignore it which is unrealistic, rude and asking for trouble; to stamp it out which might appear successful for a time, so responsible to the territory; and to transform it from an exclusive movement to an inclusive one giving fair opportunity to all races to bring their skills and insights to the service of the common good and the glory of God, while acknowledging, the overwhelming preponderances of Africans.⁵⁵⁹

Russell's article was received by the General Secretary of the UMCA with some hesitation on grounds that it could strengthen the TANU and hence it was never formally published.⁵⁶⁰ In their reports for 1957, the UMCA bishops decided to be unspecific about the challenge posed by the TANU.⁵⁶¹ Yet, with similar views as that of Russell, few months earlier, the CMSA could state that:

Let it be said frankly that nationalism may be not only an essential phase in the historical development of the country, but also a good thing in itself, if it stimulates a proper pride and patriotic feeling in regard to one's national inheritance. The Church must surely recognize this spirit and carefully adapt its policies to new ways of thinking,

⁵⁵⁶ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Church is There: On Returning from Lambeth Conference the Bishops Report from East and Central Africa (UMCA Review of 1958), May 1959, p. 36

⁵⁵⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Church is There, May 1959, p. 36.

⁵⁵⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Church is There, May 1959, p. 36

⁵⁵⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF46B/Neil Russell, UMCA Africa and Christians, an Article for publication.

⁵⁶⁰ ACT/DZ/Korogwe/Neil Russell papers.

⁵⁶¹ G. W. Bloomfield, 'Foreword' in The Church is There, p. 3.

while setting its face against racialism and other distractive attitudes on which side they appear.⁵⁶²

This understanding enabled the CMSA to come up with a thoughtful strategy:

There have been Election in most of provinces and we are due to have one in this province in February. Everybody has the right to vote for one European, one African and one Indian and whoever has African support goes in without any question. While in England I saw Lennox Boyd, the Secretary of State for Colonies, and he ventured the opinion that I should let Dr. Hannah [a CMSA missionary doctor] stand ... and the Africans would give us a lot of support for a better deal.⁵⁶³

While it might be a coincidence that the idea of giving equal opportunities to all ethnic groups which Russell had raised, was also held by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the reality that the missionaries were encouraged to contest election illustrated the strong link between Westminster and the colonial church. However, even though Africans encouraged Hannah to contest the elections, there were CMSA conditions to comply:

[...] – the Missionary shall make it clear that he was offering his service to the community to help in an important political experiment and that his would be that of a ‘cross-bencher’... he should make it very clear that there was no question whatever of creating a ‘church’ party or a ‘Christian’ party ... [in which case] he must stand as an ‘Independent’ and take the Cross-bench attitude judging every issue on its merits and never in terms of its advantage or disadvantage for a political party.⁵⁶⁴

Finally, while the reasons for Hannah not taking part in the elections were never given, the African members of the church – Job Lusinde, John Ketto, Michael Kamaliza, and Oscar Kambona – contested and they were elected.⁵⁶⁵ Fourteen seats of the Legislative Council were won by the TANU.⁵⁶⁶ Seven of these seats were held by Anglicans.⁵⁶⁷ The missions held a celebration to congratulate its members not only

⁵⁶² R. T. Jourdan, ‘The Church in Tanganyika’, in *CMS Outlook* 1956, p. 83.

⁵⁶³ ACT/ADCT/Dodoma/A letter from Regional Secretary for Tanganyika to the Bishop of Central Tanganyika, 15 October 1958.

⁵⁶⁴ ACT/ADCT/Dodoma/A letter from the General Secretary to Bishop Alfred Stanway, 24 September 1958.

⁵⁶⁵ NMT/A picture of the Elected Members of TANU, 1958.

⁵⁶⁶ Martin Bailey, *The Union Between Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A Study in Political Integration*, East African Studies IX, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1973, p. 7.

⁵⁶⁷ Ketto, same interview.

for their victory, but also as a victory for Christ.⁵⁶⁸ In March 1959, the government gave five of its state ministries to TANU.⁵⁶⁹ According to Briggs, the results of the election proved to the British that, despite the United Nation's (UN) twenty-five year period estimates, there should be new efforts towards the granting of Tanganyika's independence by the Westminster.⁵⁷⁰ In this, a new 'road map' towards independence had to be determined.⁵⁷¹

On December 15th [1959], His excellence the Governor announced in the Legislature Council that Her Majesty's Government, the Executive Government, will be reformed after the General Election which had agreed that, provided there were no outward developments, the Executive Government will be reformed after the General Election which had previously been announced to take place in September 1960 on the basis of an unofficial majority; a way that the number of Ministers selected from among the people of the territory will be greater than the number of ministers who are public officers.⁵⁷²

The Provost of St. Alban's Church in Dar es Salaam who was present when the Governor made this announcement noted that: "This [was] the first of the Countries in East and Central Africa to reach representative and responsible government for all races and it was a great occasion."⁵⁷³

Mihangwa presented a reason for the missionaries to rejoice at this success that it challenged the plan of the colonial government.⁵⁷⁴ According to him, the British were determined to conduct this kind of election so that at the end they might institute a Federation of East African States.⁵⁷⁵ Whether with knowledge of the government's intentions or not, the synod of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika unanimously passed a resolution of sympathy with the TANU's aim for self-rule.⁵⁷⁶ However, the

⁵⁶⁸ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁶⁹ Bailey, *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar*, p. 7.

⁵⁷⁰ George C. Briggs, Independence Day: Newala in *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no. 950*, February, 1962, p. 28.

⁵⁷¹ Briggs, Independence Day: Newala, p. 28.

⁵⁷² RHL/UMCA-USPG/, ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, 1960, p. 9.

⁵⁷³ ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, p. 9.

⁵⁷⁴ Raia Mwema Newspaper Website. Joseph Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964'. <<http://www.raia-mwema.co.tz/nani-alichochea-jeshi-kuasi-mwaka-1964/>. [06 November 2011].

⁵⁷⁵ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964'.

⁵⁷⁶ ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, p. 10, Daniel O'Connor *et al*, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London: Continuum, 2000, p. 128.

synod's resolution was against the wishes of supporters of the mission 'back home.'
In this regard, the bishop had to defend the position held by his synod:

[...] – it may be thought strange that such a debate and such a resolution were found necessary. But it was so on two grounds. There is always an element ... which says that 'religion is religion and politics is politics' and that the two have nothing to do with each other. No doubt it is this which has led some of the young men at Makerere [University] to abandon religion altogether in favour of politics, as being more relevant to the world in which they live. It is a matter for thanksgiving that we were able to be unanimous in our synod in our belief that our Christ is Lord of all life. Secondly, some of the older clergy and others have lived all their lives under European rule, both in 'church' and in state; and they do not take kindly to the thought of being ruled by members of their own race. The day of paternalism is over...⁵⁷⁷

Ketto established a reason why the Diocese of South West Tanganyika was more politically conscious than the other dioceses. According to him, the diocese had high hopes for Oscar Kambona whose education it sponsored.⁵⁷⁸ Kambona, who was among the reliable members of the diocese, a son of the Reverend Father Daudi Kambona – the UMCA's priest in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika (DSWT) – was one of the TANU's top leaders.⁵⁷⁹ According to Mwafute, being a son of a priest, he kept contact not only with the church whenever he was needed,⁵⁸⁰ but, as Smith puts it, he also kept contact with his extended family.⁵⁸¹ Although the government forbid its employees from supporting the TANU, as the days moved towards independence, a large number of the missions' members served both the government and the TANU.⁵⁸² Despite such representation by the missions in the government and the TANU, the British media's reports about what was happening in Tanganyika and in other African countries did not favour change.⁵⁸³ Again, it was the bishop of the DSWT who would challenge these misconceptions:

[...] – it is impossible to understand modern Tanganyika without knowing its political background, but it is important to emphasize that

⁵⁷⁷ Report of the Bishop of South West Tanganyika, p. 10.

⁵⁷⁸ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁷⁹ Blood, 'Supplement', p. 1.

⁵⁸⁰ Marko Mwafute, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 6 January 2011 at Njombe.

⁵⁸¹ William Edgett Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1973, p. 183.

⁵⁸² Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁸³ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, p. 5.

the outset of the kingdom of God goes on whatever happens in the world. That the work may be made easier or more difficult by political events, but it cannot be controlled by them for God is the Lord – and not the servant of history. The church is so far as it is being the church, is in fact continually influencing those political events, but its primary duty, as the whole emphasis of the new testament shows, is to spread the Gospel and to train its members to be citizens of heaven. We must neither stand aloof from politics, nor become so absorbed in them as to forget the things of God. Politics like any other aspects of the life of the nation must be baptized into God ...⁵⁸⁴

In view of these words of the bishop of the DSWT, the criticisms of the Muslims that the Roman Catholic Church was behind the independence of Tanganyika and that Nyerere led the country on the behest of his church,⁵⁸⁵ missed this historical fact. The Anglican missionary bishops, as reflected in the words of the bishop of the DSWT, influenced the political events in the country.⁵⁸⁶ In this case, the church which could seek to manipulate Nyerere's leadership of the country under its own order could be the Anglican Church and not the Roman Catholic Church. However, The Anglican missionaries did not overwhelm Nyerere for two reasons. First, the missionaries were warned about the risks of extending the type of the church known to them at home.⁵⁸⁷ The second was explained in the analysis which follows in this chapter. These historical facts also challenged Ludwig's statement that 'the Anglican Church' had very little contribution in the struggle for independence in Tanganyika if compared to the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics.⁵⁸⁸ His conclusion that 'the Anglican Church' delayed the consecration of Africans compared to the two other churches, need to be balanced by the fact that Anglicans had Yohana Omari its first African bishop as early as 1955. This was three years before Stephano Mushi had become the president of 'the Lutheran Church' (1958) and was five years before he became its bishop (1960).⁵⁸⁹

As I have pointed out in chapter two of this thesis, the authority of the missions was closely linked with that of the government. Hence, when the government decided to

⁵⁸⁴ Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁵ Lawrence, Y. E. Mbogoni *The Cross Versus The Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005, pp. 125, 127-152.

⁵⁸⁶ Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/A Large Freedom: The Review of the Work of 1963, May 1964, p. 10.

⁵⁸⁸ Frieder Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of Changing Relationships (1961-1994)*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, p. 44.

⁵⁸⁹ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, p. 43.

give way to Africans ruling themselves, the missions soon followed the same trend. This is the reason why the bishops acclaimed the plans for self-rule in Tanganyika despite the misrepresentation on the part of the media during the spring of 1960 when the Office for the Colonies at Westminster publicised its plans.⁵⁹⁰ The result of the plan from Westminster was the calling of a General Election in 1960.⁵⁹¹ Nyerere was elected the Chief Minister of the internal self-government of Tanganyika. The bishop of the DSWT rejoiced at this new development:

In 1960, then has been a year of great advance in Tanganyika. In the first general election every seat except one was won by TANU, the National Party and [on 2 September 1960]⁵⁹² Mr. Nyerere was established as Chief Minister in a Cabinet which included Mr. O. Kambona, son of Fr. Daudi Kambona our priest, as Minister of Education.⁵⁹³

The missions honoured the Chief Minister and the Governor of Tanganyika during the inauguration service of the Church of the Province of East Africa and at the consecration of Trevor Huddleston for the Masasi episcopacy in 1960.⁵⁹⁴ Chief Minister Nyerere invited the bishop of Masasi to a garden party at his house. Nyerere's intention was to give Huddleston an opportunity to meet some of his colleagues and some of the wider community in Dar es Salaam so that he would support the TANU.⁵⁹⁵ It was due to this meeting that Huddleston's contribution to the political changes that would take place in Tanganyika a few years later was to be understood.⁵⁹⁶

In his interview, Ketto said that on 01 May 1961 the government changed the title 'chief minister' to 'prime minister'.⁵⁹⁷ Due to this change, Nyerere became the Prime Minister of Tanganyika from 01 May 1961.⁵⁹⁸ These occasions preceded the granting

⁵⁹⁰ ... Yet Away Rejoicing, p. 5.

⁵⁹¹ Baptize the Nations, p. 5.

⁵⁹² Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁹³ Baptize the Nations, p. 5.

⁵⁹⁴ Baptize the Nations, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁵ Britain-Tanzania Society, *Nyerere Years: Some Personal Impressions by His Friends*, London: Britain-Tanzania Society, 1985, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁶ Huddleston challenged the government of Nyerere to stop a bill of corruption because of the elements which was against human rights expressed in the bill. He was also the first missionary bishop to give way to an African to lead a diocese.

⁵⁹⁷ Ketto, same interview.

⁵⁹⁸ *Nyerere Years*, p. 5.

of independence which, at the stroke of midnight on 09 December 1961, the country attained its independence with a celebration full of Africanised texture and religious accompaniment.⁵⁹⁹ Even though Bishop Yohana Omari was not required by law to lay hands on the Prime Minister Nyerere, the bishop represented the presence of the *African Anglicana* in Tanganyika, and in this offered a word of prayer for Nyerere, the Prime Minister.⁶⁰⁰ Being the only ‘protestant’ African bishop in the country, Omari also represented the Christian Council of Tanganyika. With him were the Roman Catholics represented by Cardinal Lugambwa and the Muslims by a Muslim Shekh.⁶⁰¹

In spite of enjoying only a few hours’ sleep, thousands of people managed to get to church to receive the Holy Eucharist in the morning through which the *uhuru*⁶⁰² celebrations were concluded by a Pontifical High Mass at St. Alban’s Church.⁶⁰³ According to Ketto, in order to accommodate the essence of the independence in both the church and the state, it was announced in the service that the name of the diocese of Zanzibar would be changed to become the diocese of Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam.

Following the formation of the Church of the Province of East Africa and the granting of independence to Tanganyika, the UMCA altered the name of its Bulletin: *The UMCA Review* to the *Review of the Work*. Civil servants also reconsidered their fate. Even though, for example, “most of the English civil servants wanted to stay on ... but it [was] by no means clear to them whether they [could] or should stay.”⁶⁰⁴ It was out of these uncertainties that the *uhuru* church service also became a closing service of St. Luke’s Hospital and a farewell to Dr. Mary Gibbons who had been a personal friend to the wives of the Governors, member of Legislative Council, a UMCA doctor of the hospital, and founder of Tanganyika Christian Medical Board.⁶⁰⁵ Just as the resignation of Gibbons was due to the swiftness of the British authorities in the

⁵⁹⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/‘Uhuru’ in *Falling Like Lightning: The Review of the Work 1961*, UMCA, June 1962, p. 9.

⁶⁰⁰ Ketto, same interview.

⁶⁰¹ ‘Uhuru’ in *Falling Like Lightning*, p. 9.

⁶⁰² The lower case ‘u’ in the *uhuru* stands for the internal self-government as step forward to the Uhuru (i.e., the Republic).

⁶⁰³ ‘Tanganyika Independence Celebrations’ in *Central Africa: Vol. LXXX, no. 950*, p. 20 and cover page.

⁶⁰⁴ *Baptize the Nations*, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁵ ‘Thirty Years of Medical Training at Minaki,’ in *Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no. 950*, pp. 11-12.

granting of *uhuru*, other missionaries were also surprised to see how quickly Westminster granted *uhuru* to the people of Tanganyika:

It is tempting to try to assess the reasons for the rapidity with which Tanganyika has attained its status as an independent country. It was only in 1955 that a visiting mission of the United Nations [UN] estimated that 25 years would be needed before Tanganyika was ready for self-government, and at the time many people regarded the estimate as an optimistic one. And now, after only six years, what was regarded as barely possible within a quarter of a century has already been achieved.⁶⁰⁶

I extrapolated two main points from these mixed feelings among the missionaries. First, it pointed to the fact that while the missionary bishops were aware of what was happening, they did not communicate this information to the other members of the missions. Second, it could also be the case that this information was spread among the missionaries but some missionaries thought the *uhuru* would be granted at some time in the distant future. This factor was also highlighted by Briggs who suggested that there were two reasons why *uhuru* was granted in six years and not the twenty-five year period suggested by the team from the UN. First, it was certainly the way in which the hierarchy of the TANU had taught their followers to toe the party lines. Second, with the rapid strides towards *uhuru* being made following the appointment of Sir Richard Turnbull as Governor of Tanganyika, there must also have been some form of mutual confidence that sprang up between the Governor and Julius K. Nyerere. The report from the Provost of Dar es Salaam sounded similar to Briggs' conclusions:

The fact that this was reached without violence of any kind and in spirit of good-will and unity speaks very highly for the African leaders, many of whom are Christians, and above all it is due to the good sense and political acumen of Mr. Julius Nyerere, the nationalist leader, who is keen practicing Roman Catholic. Asian and European non-officials have co-operated with him, and enough cannot be said in praise of the officers of the colonial service who have guided the freedom movement so justly and

⁶⁰⁶ Briggs, 'Independence Day: Newala,' *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 950, p. 28.

so wisely.⁶⁰⁷ Indeed, Nyerere and Turnbull had mutually put the interests of all the ethnic groups present in Tanganyika upfront for the betterment of all. However, putting the interests of all ethnic groups ahead of the majority of black Africans who felt that their rights in particular had been previously maligned would later create something of a challenge.⁶⁰⁸ Carter put this challenge statistically:

At the time of internal self-government on 15 May 1961 all Permanent Secretaries, all Provincial Commissioners, 55 out of 57 District Commissioners, all class II officers in government service, and 248 out of 264 class III officers were British. Out of 75 senior and middle-ranking officers in the Treasury in September 1961 only two were Africans. At Independence only 17 per cent of middle-and higher-level posts in government were occupied by Tanzanians and out of 630 graduate teachers in secondary schools only 20 percent were African graduates.⁶⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Nyerere had no intention of changing the discrepancies because by doing so would not only raise more ethnic challenges,⁶¹⁰ but it would also mean disrespecting the contributions of the missionaries and people of other ethnic backgrounds in the struggle for the *uhuru*.⁶¹¹ In this case, Nyerere's thoughts and practice for the *uhuru* was that, regardless of the ethnic background of Tanganyikans, all should benefit from the 'fruits' of the *uhuru*. According to Mihangwa, this was not the position held by his colleagues.⁶¹² The bishop of Zanzibar predicted that these different understandings would provoke conflict among the leaders of the TANU.⁶¹³ It did not take long for this to transpire:

Yakaanza malumbano ndani ya Halmashuari Kuu [NEC] ya Chama Tawala ... (TANU), kwamba Nyerere alikuwa anairudisha Tanganyika katika enzi za ukoloni, na hivyo kwamba "Uhuru" haukuwa na maana kwa Watanganyika kwa kushindwa kwake kuwapa vyeo Waafrika. – Consequently there was grave distrust against Nyerere among members of National Executive Council of the Ruling Party ... (TANU) who assumed that Nyerere intended to extend colonialism and

⁶⁰⁷ ... Yet Away Rejoicing, p. 9.

⁶⁰⁸ Baptize the Nation, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁹ J. Roger Carter, "Anglo-Tanzania Relations" in Deborah Duncan Honoré *et al*, *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 19.

⁶¹⁰ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Mwaka 1964'.

⁶¹¹ Ketto, same interview.

⁶¹² Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Mwaka 1964'.

⁶¹³ ... Yet Away Rejoicing, p. 9.

who argued strongly that without africanisation the *uhuru* was meaningless.⁶¹⁴

The expectations of many members of the National Executive Council of the TANU were that Africans would be offered high positions in the government services soon after independence. But, as I said earlier, Nyerere did not prefer the policy of Africanisation which would quickly ensure the replacement of all Europeans and Indians in government service by Africans. Instead, he preferred to link Africanisation with the non-racial movement which brought the TANU popularity and finally internal self-rule.⁶¹⁵ The disagreement between Nyerere and the other leaders of the TANU drove him to resign the office of Prime Minister on 22 January 1962 in favour of Rashid Mfaume Kawawa.⁶¹⁶ Kawawa was a Muslim from the Masasi area. Perhaps because of his religious background, Kawawa's appointment to the office in less than two months after the *uhuru* shocked the missionaries.⁶¹⁷

Wamishenari walihamaki sana tena wengine wakaapa kwamba wangelijua wasingemsaidia Nyerere kupigania uhuru maana waliona sasa nchi itashikwa na Waislamu kwa kuwa Mwislamu mwenzao amewekwa kuwa Waziri Mkuu. The missionaries were anxious that the Muslims would use the opportunity of having a Muslim Prime Minister as a get way to taking over the leadership of the country. Other missionaries complained that their support of Nyerere for attaining the *uhuru* was becoming worthless.⁶¹⁸

However, despite his favour for the Africanisation of government services, Kawawa had spoken kindly of the work of the church in the country.⁶¹⁹ Oscar Kambona who was liked by the missionaries, and who believed that he could be the Prime Minister, became the new minister of home affairs, replacing George Kahama.⁶²⁰

The internal self-government of Tanganyika assigned Kawawa and Kambona to Africanise the civil service.⁶²¹ As a result, Dustan Omari was called back from his

⁶¹⁴ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoecha Jeshi Mwaka 1964'. Translation is mine.

⁶¹⁵ CTL/Julius K. Nyerere, 'Socialism is not Racism' in the *Nationalist Newspaper*, 14 February 1967.

⁶¹⁶ 'Editorial Comment,' in *Central Africa, The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 951, March 1962, p. 39.

⁶¹⁷ Editorial Comments in *Central Africa*, p. 39.

⁶¹⁸ Ketto, same interview. Translation is mine.

⁶¹⁹ Editorial Comments in *Central Africa*, p. 39.

⁶²⁰ Keto, same interview.

⁶²¹ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoecha Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 3.

office in London where he was High Commissioner.⁶²² He returned to become the permanent secretary in the Tanganyika Prime Minister's office. A police commissioner (an Anglican) was replaced by Elangwa Shaidi⁶²³ (an African Lutheran). Bibi Titi Mohamed (a Muslim) was commissioned to challenge the TANU Parliamentarians who continued to receive more than one salary against the TANU's policy of socialism.⁶²⁴ Mohamed realised that Ketto received two salaries – one for teaching at Minaki and another for membership in the Parliament. Mohamed challenged Ketto, who then gave up the membership of the Parliament. Ketto's resignation came just a few months before the General Election which would be held in December 1962.⁶²⁵ However, he continued with teaching and his membership of the party. Nyerere dedicated himself to looking after his party as well as taking more time to study and write.⁶²⁶ This was the time when he articulated more TANU's policy of socialism into an ideology which he named Ujamaa – African Socialism.⁶²⁷ I argued therefore that the Ujamaa ideology was as a consequence to Nyerere's conflict with the other leaders of the TANU concerning the policy of replacing Europeans and Indians with Africans in various civil service departments.⁶²⁸

At its anniversary, UMCA reported that as the *uhuru* and strong feelings of Africanisation manifested in the country had created a new Tanganyika, the church needed to readjust itself so that it might fit in better within the new Tanganyika.⁶²⁹ This was necessary because the numbers of the UMCA missionaries in the country had dropped by five per cent.⁶³⁰ Begbie has shown that the diocese of Central Tanganyika faced similar circumstances.⁶³¹ Furthermore, African priests were

⁶²² Editorial Comments in *Central Africa*, p. 39.

⁶²³ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 4.

⁶²⁴ Ketto, same interview.

⁶²⁵ Ketto, same interview.

⁶²⁶ Editorial Comments in *Central Africa*, p. 39.

⁶²⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, *„Ujamaa’: The Basis of African Socialism*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Standard Limited, April 1964.

⁶²⁸ Although Nyerere did not make the point clear in his essay *„Ujamaa’: The Basis of African Socialism*, he wrote that “trying to divide up the people working for our nation into groups of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ according to their skin colour, or their national origin, is to sabotage the work we have just embarked upon.” CTL/Julius K. Nyerere, ‘Socialism is not Racialism’, in *Nationalist* newspaper, 14 February 1967, p. 2.

⁶²⁹ ‘Report of the Anniversary’ in *Central Africa, The Journal of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no.956, August 1962*, p. 118. Also in the Report of the Bishop of South West Tanganyika, in *Baptized the Nation*, p. 5.

⁶³⁰ ‘Ask George’, the ‘Report of the Anniversary’ in *Central Africa*, p. 123

⁶³¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/CMS Board Meetings, 1962-1964. See chapter two of this study.

demanding a place in the leadership of their church. Independence was to usher in a new age which required an entirely different missionary approach. The missions were challenged to take serious actions: –The British Government gave Tanganyika independence after forty years, and [the Church] dare not lag behind.”⁶³² As David Bartlett has stated:

If the Church in Africa is to keep pace with the rapid changes taking place in the political and economic arena she must be ready to adapt herself ... to new circumstances lest she lose touch with the people for whom Christ has died.⁶³³

The church responded by making quick appointments of Africans to the posts of assistant bishops and archdeacons.⁶³⁴ The consecration of the two African assistant bishops enabled the bishop of Zanzibar to reorganise his diocese into three administrative regions (i.e. Zanzibar, Tanga and Dar es Salaam) so that these assistant bishops would be given opportunities to execute their leadership.⁶³⁵ The bishop also appointed Petro Mntambo as administrative assistant to the diocesan bishop.⁶³⁶ According to John Mtambo, Petro Mntambo who had been the secretary of the diocesan synod since 1947 was also a member of the TANU Executive Council for Korogwe since 1956.⁶³⁷ This position in the membership of Executive Council of the TANU gave Mntambo direct access to Nyerere.⁶³⁸ Consequently, while the bishop was indelibly linked to the diocese and the British government, Petro Mntambo became important in that he developed strong connections between the diocese, the TANU and Nyerere.⁶³⁹ Joseph Majiyapwani was appointed the education secretary for the Diocese of Masasi.⁶⁴⁰ For the first time in the history of the Mothers' Union (MU) in the Diocese of Masasi (and Tanganyika at large), an African woman, Mrs. Bartlett Mtenjela, was appointed MU organiser for the entire diocese.⁶⁴¹ George Mbaruku was

⁶³² Report of the Anniversary' in *Central Africa*, p. 119.

⁶³³ 'Our American Visitors, in *Central Africa, The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.959, November 1962, p. 165.

⁶³⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/CMS Board Meetings, 1962-1964. Chapter two of this study has more information about these appointments.

⁶³⁵ ASL/ 'Division of the Diocese of Zanzibar' in *Central Africa*, p. 168.

⁶³⁶ John Mtambo, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 14 May 2011 at Korogwe.

⁶³⁷ Mtambo, same interview.

⁶³⁸ Mtambo, same interview.

⁶³⁹ These relationships would affect the decision of the diocesan synod on the implementation of Ujamaa policy.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Help from A. Y. P. A,' in *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 959, p. 175.

⁶⁴¹ Report of the Anniversary in *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.959, p. 118

appointed the secretary of men candidates and the first African to hold such post at Central Africa Office in London.⁶⁴² The Reverend Father Mathiya Mbulinyingi was made curate and the first African to serve in the staff of St. Alban's Church in Dar es Salaam.⁶⁴³ The Reverend Father John Mwamazi was made curate of Christ the King Cathedral in Zanzibar where he became the first African priest to serve there in that capacity.⁶⁴⁴ Both archdeacons in the DSWT were Africans.⁶⁴⁵ The CMSA called Bishop Yohana Omari to preach in Australia and there he became the first African to evangelise Aborigines in northern Australia.⁶⁴⁶ Last, but not least, opportunities for further study were widely opened for Africans.⁶⁴⁷

There was a General Election on December 1962. This time Nyerere contested for the country's presidency and he was elected.⁶⁴⁸ The results of the election brought more new developments.⁶⁴⁹ On January 1963, Nyerere became the first President of the Republic of Tanganyika.⁶⁵⁰ Nyerere returned to the leadership of the State with a new strategy. According to Pratt, he would consult his ministers when plans were ready⁶⁵¹ and, as Mwansasu said, even Party members would receive no advance notice.⁶⁵² He stopped the process of *Africanisation* after it had raised international heated discussion.⁶⁵³ However, according to Ketto, the intervention with the process of *Africanisation* this time aggravated Nyerere's relationship with the leaders of the Tanganyika Workers Union who led the African workers in protest.⁶⁵⁴ The English workers who had shown pessimism during the independence struggle became increasingly worried about their future prospects.⁶⁵⁵ The principal of St. Andrews School at Minaki, for example, became so distressed when the African workers

⁶⁴² 'News Items in Brief' in *Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.954, June 1962, p. 88.

⁶⁴³ News Items in Brief in *Central Africa*, p. 184.

⁶⁴⁴ John Mwamazi, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 4 January 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁶⁴⁵ News Items in Brief in *Central Africa*, p. 184.

⁶⁴⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/CMS Board Meetings, 1962-1964.

⁶⁴⁷ News in Brief in *Central Africa*, p. 184.

⁶⁴⁸ Nyerere, 'A short biography of Julius Nyerere', p. xvi.

⁶⁴⁹ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 4.

⁶⁵⁰ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 4.

⁶⁵¹ C. Pratt, *Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 241.

⁶⁵² B. Mwansasu, 'The Changing Role of the Tanganyika African Union' in B. Mwansasu and C. Pratt (eds), *Towards Socialism in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1979, p.194.

⁶⁵³ Ketto, same interview, Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 3 - 4.

⁶⁵⁴ Ketto, same interview, also in Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964', p. 4.

⁶⁵⁵ 'Baptised the Nations', p. 5, Ketto, same interview.

protested against him, that he had to look for assistance from the government.⁶⁵⁶ He therefore asked for an appointment to meet Nyerere. Instead, Nyerere drove to Minaki where he met with him. The principal advised Nyerere that the deep resentments held by Africans needed to be addressed.⁶⁵⁷ Even though Nyerere had no direct answer to the principal, in April 1963, he called on Ketto.⁶⁵⁸ The principal accompanied Ketto and the two met Nyerere in the Presidential House (*Ikulu*). The principal found that Ketto had been appointed as director of the civil service commission. According to Sepeku, the presence of Dunstan Omari as permanent secretary and Ketto as the director of the commission facilitated the appointment of more Africans to various government posts to work hand in hand with Europeans and Indians.⁶⁵⁹ These new developments stimulated Bishop Huddleston to write:

Africanisation; it is an ugly word and has been so much used lately that many are getting tired of it. But it is useful shorthand for double process of handing over authority to the Africans and for the stripping from our faith of its purely European accidentals and making it homely for Africans ... [This has been] the aim of all UMCA missionaries for the past hundred years [:] to plant and nourish a church that should be both catholic and African, not an overseas branch of the Church of England.⁶⁶⁰

As a result of this understanding, Huddleston replaced the Venerable George Briggs by appointing the Reverend Father Carmichael Kasoyaga the new Archdeacon of Newala.⁶⁶¹ Huddleston also made the Reverend Father Maurice Soseleje his assistant bishop. In line with Nyerere's thoughts of the *Africanisation* in Tanganyika, on 17 March 1963, the bishop of Zanzibar raised up the Reverend Father Neil Russell the position of assistant bishop for Zanzibar. The editor of the *Review of the Work of 1962* reported that: *–Zanzibar got back a Bishop and one who will concentrate on the Island itself.*⁶⁶² It can be argued therefore that these strong strides for change which were brought about by the ideology of *Africanisation* brought challenges to both the government and the church.

⁶⁵⁶ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/A Letter to Bishop William Scott Backer, 26 January 1963.

⁶⁵⁷ Ketto, same interview, Sepeku, same interview.

⁶⁵⁸ Ketto, same interview.

⁶⁵⁹ Sepeku, same interview.

⁶⁶⁰ A Large Freedom, p. 10.

⁶⁶¹ A Large Freedom, p. 11.

⁶⁶² Come Back to Africa, p. 17.

2.2. The Mission's Reaction to the Struggle for Independence and the Independence of Zanzibar⁶⁶³

Although the concept of a protectorate implied a limited governing role by the protecting power, this was not the case in Zanzibar. Instead, “through usage, agreement, and concession the British were in firm control there.”⁶⁶⁴ However, the British needed to consider Zanzibar’s challenges. Poverty among Africans, for example, was on the increase in Zanzibar.⁶⁶⁵ Apart from poverty, Peterson mentions other challenges such as ethnic and class divisions. The British policies intensified these challenges when they considered Zanzibar to be an Arab state.⁶⁶⁶ This resulted in tensions arising between the Arabs and the black Africans in Zanzibar who could never regard the Arabs as Zanzibarians. These tensions reached boiling point in 1960s.⁶⁶⁷ According to Sepeku and Augustino, one of the reasons behind the growth in tension during the years which lead up to independence was the seeming aim of the British to establish an Arab constitutional monarchy in Zanzibar.⁶⁶⁸ According to Wakati, there were historical reasons behind this goal,⁶⁶⁹ where from the 1950s onwards, British policy towards the Arabs — especially in education — enabled them to maintain their position of dominance.⁶⁷⁰ In this regard, the British encouraged the Arabs to become part of the colonial bureaucracy as they did with Indians in Tanganyika.⁶⁷¹ Hence, the British paid very little attention to the political interest of the Africans.⁶⁷² According to Ketto, this was among the reasons why the UMCA shifted its concentration from Zanzibar to Tanganyika.⁶⁷³ As a result, the Africans

⁶⁶³ According to Lofchie, during the division of Africa when Tanganyika became a colony of Germany, Zanzibar seemed likely to become a colony of Germany too. However, Zanzibar became a British protectorate. The British asked the Germans to exchange the protectorate of Zanzibar against the island of Helgoland. Since the Germans considered the island strategic to them and so was Zanzibar to the British, it was agreed to exchange these two islands between the two colonial governments. Michael Lofchie, “Party Conflict in Zanzibar” in the *ASL/Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 2. 1963, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁴ Don Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American Tale*, Brentwood: Westview, 2002, p. 9.

⁶⁶⁵ Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, p. 9.

⁶⁶⁶ Ketto, same interview, Ramadhani, same interview.

⁶⁶⁷ Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, p. 9.

⁶⁶⁸ Sepuku, same interview, Augustino Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 15 August in Dar es Salaam.

⁶⁶⁹ David Wakati, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 02 January 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁶⁷⁰ Wakati, same interview.

⁶⁷¹ See chapter two in this study.

⁶⁷² Augustino, same interview.

⁶⁷³ Ketto, same interview.

linked themselves with Russia and other socialist countries.⁶⁷⁴ The resident bishop of Zanzibar highlighted this fact when he reported in December 1963 that:

Recently two of our young Christians [E. Kisasi and Francis Ramadhani]⁶⁷⁵ went at very short notice to Russia for engineering training. They have little qualification and no experience, they are not the only ones we have there ... we have one firm Christian [Adam Mwakanjuki]⁶⁷⁶, very young who is a prominent Trade Unionist, and has just gone off on one of his not infrequent trips to Moscow, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. He only just missed going to China.⁶⁷⁷

It was generally held that Anglicans were the most learned among the Africans in Zanzibar. When young African Muslims saw that African Anglicans were benefitting from education, they enquired about Christianity as a means to obtain similar education opportunities for themselves.⁶⁷⁸ The British colonialists had mistreated the Africans in Zanzibar. As a result, the Muslim elders of Zanzibar opposed the education offered to their children by Christian missions. In their interview, both Ketto and Wakati said that this was the main factor which influenced the UMCA to transfer most of its training facilities to Tanganyika.⁶⁷⁹

Despite the tension promulgated by their religions, Africans were united when it came to issues of national importance. During the General Election which was held in June 1963, Africans tried to keep their division from public view. In unison, they voted for African self-rule and since they were in the majority they triumphed at the poll. But, as the General Secretary of the UMCA noted some weeks later, the victory was diverted from the Africans to the Nationalist Party, namely, the party primarily made up of the Islands' Arab rulers.⁶⁸⁰ This diversion of votes was significant to the Africans in that the Arabs were returned to power although in actual fact the opposition Afro Shiraz Party (which was the African Nationalist Party) succeeded at the poll. In view of this, Africans celebrated the *uhuru* with resentment. To justify the Africans' resentment, Wakati used a Kiswahili proverb *funika Kombe ili*

⁶⁷⁴ Wakati, same interview.

⁶⁷⁵ Perhaps this was the reason why Kisasi was included in the first Cabinet. Cf. Anthony Clayton, *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath*, London: C. Hurst, 1981, p. 64n, 79n, 89, 91, 96, 97, 126n.

⁶⁷⁶ Clayton, *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath*, p. 79n, 81, 92n.

⁶⁷⁷ A Large Freedom, p. 49.

⁶⁷⁸ A Large Freedom, p. 47.

⁶⁷⁹ Ketto, same interview, Wakati, same interview.

⁶⁸⁰ A Larger Freedom, p. 47.

Mwanaharamu apite” which, if translated, read: “let’s celebrate but do not let them know our plans!”⁶⁸¹ Smith also noted this when he heard Zanzibarians saying *–ni uhuru wa Waarabu*” “It [was] Arabs’ Independence Day.”⁶⁸² The General Secretary of the UMCA missed these suspicions of the Africans and therefore he reported: “there seemed little intimation of the trouble to come as Africans, Arabs, and Indians danced and sang at the open air gala performances.”⁶⁸³ In reality, plans for revolution were already underway. Hence, as the UMCA reported later:

[At] 3. a.m. on the morning of Sunday, January 12th bands of Africans several hundreds strong and armed with rifles, pangas and clubs, crept up on the guards at the two main police compounds overpowered them and seized the Island’s main arms supply. In effect the revolution was over by the time the Island awoke, though several days of terrorism followed until the new government got a grip of its own undisciplined supports. And people are still asking why? ... And what of the Church?⁶⁸⁴

In his interview, the Reverend Canon John Mwamazi said that there were no Christians who were hurt or killed because the Christians were nearly all supporters of the Afro-Shiraz Party.⁶⁸⁵ This was similar to what the editor of the *Review of the Work of 1963* reported: “all supporters of the Afro-Shiraz Party (African Nationalist) movement looked on the revolution as a release from an unjust social situation.”⁶⁸⁶

There were three Anglicans who were key leaders of the revolution; yet in most cases they had been ignored in its documented history. These were: John Okello from Uganda who had moved to Zanzibar where he became a chairperson of the ASP youth wing,⁶⁸⁷ and Adamu Mwakanjuki and E. Kisaki from Zanzibar.⁶⁸⁸ These men informed Bishop Neil Russell ahead as to what would happen.⁶⁸⁹ A day before the revolution, the bishop played *bao* with Karume (the chairperson of Afro Shiraz Party) who

⁶⁸¹ Wakati, same interview.

⁶⁸² William Edgett Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, London: Victor Gollncz, Ltd, 1973, p. 94

⁶⁸³ *A Larger Freedom*, p. 48

⁶⁸⁴ The Revolution in Zanzibar’ in *A Large Freedom*, pp. 47-49

⁶⁸⁵ Mwamazi, same interview.

⁶⁸⁶ ‘The Revolution in Zanzibar,’ p. 49.

⁶⁸⁷ Raia Mwema NewspaperWebsite. Joseph Mihangwa, ‘Jenerali John Okello, Mwanamapinduzi aliyesahaulika’ <http://www.raia_mwema.co.tz/okello-mwanamapinduzi-aliyesahaulika/>. [Accessed 20 March 2012.]

⁶⁸⁸ ACT/ADZ/Korogwe/A letter from Bishop Russell to Bishop William Scott Backer, 8 March 1964

⁶⁸⁹ Mwamazi, same interview.

happened to be one of his close friends.⁶⁹⁰ Karume knew about the plans for a revolution but he thought it would take place sometime in the distant future.⁶⁹¹ Therefore, while the bishop was fully alert, Karume was not aware who the leaders of the revolution that was then taking place.⁶⁹² In the midst of this political turmoil, Karume sought advice from Russell as to his escape. Perhaps because of its closeness to Zanzibar, Russell suggested that he should cross over the Indian Ocean to Pangani where he would be taken to Magila (an Anglican mission station) or to Bagamoyo where he would find a safe refuge under the Roman Catholic monks.⁶⁹³ Instead, while his reasons remained unclear at the time, Karume decided to go to Dar es Salaam. But he left Zanzibar in a political turmoil. To ensure the safety and security of Tanganyika, Nyerere thought that by uniting Zanzibar and Tanganyika this would be a way of bringing peace and stability to the region.

3. The Impact of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the Church

A year or two before the *uhuru* of Tanganyika, Nyerere was heard saying that he thought one of the Tanganyika's biggest challenge in later years would be Zanzibar.⁶⁹⁴ As a result, when Zanzibar was in a state of political bewilderment after the revolution, he could not stand aside and watch. He met Karume in Dar es Salaam on Sunday 13 April 1964.⁶⁹⁵ Karume had left Zanzibar for Dar es Salaam a few hours before the revolution. Nyerere urged him to return to Zanzibar so that he would curb the claim from his opponents that he had run away because of fear.⁶⁹⁶ Karume favoured this advice from Nyerere and thus he left Dar es Salaam for Zanzibar.⁶⁹⁷ While Karume was on his way back to Zanzibar, Okello announced his government.⁶⁹⁸ He made himself the leader of the revolutionary government and Karume became honorary president. The next day, when Kambona (Tanganyika's Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Security) was in Nairobi, he informed

⁶⁹⁰ ASL/Martin Mbwana, Personal files, also in ACT/ADZ/korogwe/A letter from Bishop Russell to Bishop William Scott Backer, 08 March 1964.

⁶⁹¹ Mihangwa, Jenerali John Okello.

⁶⁹² Ketto, same interview

⁶⁹³ Mbwana files, paper cuttings, A letter from Bishop Russell to Bishop William Scott Backer.

⁶⁹⁴ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, p. 90.

⁶⁹⁵ Mihangwa, *Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964*, pp. 1-6.

⁶⁹⁶ Ketto, same interview.

⁶⁹⁷ Mihangwa, *Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964*,

⁶⁹⁸ Mihangwa, *Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964*, p. 4.

Nyerere that Kenya and Uganda were in support of the revolutionary government of Zanzibar. He advised Nyerere to recognise the new status of Zanzibar just as Uganda and Kenya had done. Nyerere declined Kambona's advice perhaps because he needed more information from Zanzibar.⁶⁹⁹ He left Dar es Salaam on 15 January for Nairobi for talks about the possibility of forming an East African Union.⁷⁰⁰ While in Nairobi he signed an agreement with the presidents of Kenya and Uganda, realising that it was impossible to form a union. I have already highlighted the reason for this in that the British intended to establish a Federation of East African States soon after granting independence to Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. In this regard, members from the East African States received the proposal of uniting their countries with much pessimism. This overt distrust among the leaders thus delayed the process of forming a Union of East African States.

Meanwhile, the situation in Zanzibar (which was not included in the discussion in Nairobi because the British regarded it as an Arab State) was still very disquieting. Many Arabs had been killed. Okello had forced the Sultan of Zanzibar to leave Zanzibar immediately lest he be killed as well. Since Kenya had already declared its support of Zanzibar, the Sultan was refused refuge in Mombasa. He came to Dar es Salaam en route to seeking asylum in England. The Sultan was a very good friend of the UMCA missionaries in Zanzibar. In view of this, the Provost of St. Alban's Church and the assistant Bishop Sepeku were among those who received him at the seaport in Dar es Salaam.⁷⁰¹

When the Sultan arrived in Dar es Salaam, Karume, Abdulahamn Babu and Kasimu Hanga were in Dar es Salaam to update Nyerere about the situation in Zanzibar⁷⁰² but they were never informed about the arrival of the Sultan.⁷⁰³ They convinced Nyerere that Zanzibar needed immediate assistance from Tanganyika.⁷⁰⁴ Perhaps with too much trust of his army officers and without knowing what would happen later in Tanganyika, Nyerere commissioned a troop of three hundred police officers to

⁶⁹⁹ Augustino, same interview.

⁷⁰⁰ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964,' p. 5.

⁷⁰¹ ACT/ADD/St. Alban's Church, Log Book.

⁷⁰² According to Smith, later Babu and Hanga became enemies of Karume. Cf. Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, pp.122-136.

⁷⁰³ Ketto, same interview.

⁷⁰⁴ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, pp. 122-136.

Zanzibar.⁷⁰⁵ But while these efforts were in place, Okello decided to demote Karume on the grounds that he did not participate in the revolution.⁷⁰⁶ This was the beginning of a new struggle for leadership in Zanzibar. Karume determined to remove Okello from Zanzibar.⁷⁰⁷ These plans reached Nyerere who by using Kambona and Bishop Russell persuaded Okello to pay him a visit in Dar es Salaam as soon as possible.⁷⁰⁸ When Okello arrived, Kambona insisted that he remain in Dar es Salaam until Karume came there.⁷⁰⁹ The idea was that the two should find a way of resolving their differences.⁷¹⁰ However, that was the end of Okello's presence in Zanzibar.⁷¹¹

Mwakanjuki and Hardy noted that Bishop Russell was well informed by Africans about all that would take place next.⁷¹² The bishop was aware that with the deportation of Okello more troubles would arise from the young people.⁷¹³ He therefore liaised with the Sisters of the Community of the Sacred Passion (CSP) who worked in a dispensary in Zanzibar so that they would be watchful.⁷¹⁴ Following their memories of World War I, where some were harassed and the continuing political turmoil in Zanzibar, the CSPs Sisters became extremely frightened.⁷¹⁵ They closed their dispensary, took a sea ferry to Pangani and then walked to Magila in Tanganyika.⁷¹⁶

It was like escaping one trouble and entering another. Even though Magila was far from Zanzibar, Tanganyika was not that safe. This was borne out when on the night of 20 January 1964 there was an army mutiny at Colito barracks (currently Lugalo) in Dar es Salaam.⁷¹⁷ The army demanded the 'Africanisation' of its leadership.⁷¹⁸ This was soon followed by another army mutiny in Kenya on 23 January 1964 and in

⁷⁰⁵ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964,' p. 5.

⁷⁰⁶ Mwamazi, same interview.

⁷⁰⁷ Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, p. 174.

⁷⁰⁸ Mwakanjuki, same interview.

⁷⁰⁹ Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, p. 174.

⁷¹⁰ Peterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, p. 174.

⁷¹¹ Smith, *Nyerere Of Tanzania*, pp. 123-135.

⁷¹² Mwamazi, same interview, Augustino, same interview, Paul Hardy, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, on 05 April 2011 in London.

⁷¹³ Mbwana files, A letter from Bishop Russell to Bishop William Scott Backer.

⁷¹⁴ Mwamazi, same interview.

⁷¹⁵ Mary-Stella, C.S.P., *She Won't Say No: The History of the Community of the Sacred Passion*, Scroll Bound Copy, (No Date), p. 176.

⁷¹⁶ Mary-Stella, *She Won't say no*, p. 176.

⁷¹⁷ Mwakanjuki, same interview.

⁷¹⁸ Mihangwa, 'Nani alichocha Jeshi Kuasi 1964,' p. 6.

Uganda on 25 January 1964.⁷¹⁹ According to Ketto and Mihangwa, Nyerere became so furious over the army's actions that he was determined to speak to the leadership of the mutiny.⁷²⁰ Ketto and Mihangwa added that the security officers of the *Ikulu* urged Nyerere not to do so and advised him to hide himself until peace could be restored. Both Ketto and Wakati argued that after Nyerere had considered the idea, his security officers mentioned several hiding places including the Roman Catholic Cathedral.⁷²¹ While his reasons remained unclear at the time, Nyerere was to drop these suggestions.⁷²² Instead, the assistant Bishop Sepeku was called by the *Ikulu*.⁷²³ When the bishop arrived there he suggested to Dunstan Omari that there was a church plot at Kigamboni which could be a temporary hiding place.⁷²⁴ Nyerere, Omari and the bishop were taken to the place and they stayed there for some time, after which the security officers from the *Ikulu* took Nyerere to an unknown place.

Both the revolution and the mutiny had significant effects on the cities. Sister Mary-Stella has shown that there were robberies in Dar es Salaam.⁷²⁵ Yet, if the robbery in Dar es Salaam was to be compared with that which took place in Zanzibar, there must have been a different type of robbery in Zanzibar.⁷²⁶ For example, while the robbery which took place in Dar es Salaam did not target any particular ethnic group, Saidler said, it was Arabs, Indians and Persians who were the main targets in Zanzibar.⁷²⁷ However, both the army mutiny and the revolution had sent a strong message to the two governments that in order to grasp the Africans' aspirations, Africanisation was inevitable.⁷²⁸ Ketto said that Nyerere reconsidered his stand about *Africanisation*.⁷²⁹ Wakati argued that the first stage was to settle the situation in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, hence uniting the two countries was again put under consideration.⁷³⁰ On

⁷¹⁹ Mihangwa, Nani alichochea Jeshi Kuasi 1964, p. 6.

⁷²⁰ Ketto, same interview, Mihangwa, Nani alichochea Jeshi Kuasi 1964, p. 6.

⁷²¹ Ketto, same interview.

⁷²² Ketto, same interview, Wakati, same interview.

⁷²³ Sepeku, same interview.

⁷²⁴ Ketto, same interview, Sepeku, same interview.

⁷²⁵ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 147-148.

⁷²⁶ Randal Sadleir, *Tanzania: Journey to Republic*, London and New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1999, p. 278.

⁷²⁷ Randal Sadleir, *Tanzania: Journey to Republic*, p. 278.

⁷²⁸ George Briggs, 'Africanization' in *A Larger Freedom*, p. 11.

⁷²⁹ Ketto, same interview.

⁷³⁰ Wakati, same interview.

the one hand, Khatibu Rajabu has shown that the union did not take place urgently,⁷³¹ while on the other, Ketto and Mihangwa argued that the delay in the process of uniting the two countries did not delay the Africanisation of the army leadership.⁷³² Wakati said that the *Africanisation* of the leadership of the army began when Karume made himself the new president of the revolutionary government of Zanzibar and later the commander in chief of the Zanzibar forces. Sheikh Thabit Kombo was made the new chief minister.⁷³³

According to Sadler, in March 1964 the Revolution Council of Zanzibar passed a decree which enabled the president to acquire any property without the payment of compensation whenever it appeared to him that it was in the national interest to do so.”⁷³⁴ Even though the aim of the government was to ensure that every African would benefit from the country’s vast resources which in the past had been embezzled by the British, Sepeku noted that this was a political robbery. Sadler added that what ensued was —free for all ... [as] members of the Revolution Council promptly helped themselves to the property of [churches and] a great many Arabs and Asians citizens.”⁷³⁵ However, the citizens rather than the government officials seized the opportunity.⁷³⁶ Uniting the two countries would enforce unity and law. Therefore, on 26 April 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were united to become the United Republics of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. While Nyerere became the President of the Republic, Karume and Kawawa were first and second vice-president respectively. In August 1964, the united governments invited suggestions for a new name for the United Republic. Smith has shown that several names were suggested but only one gave the sense of the unity and was easy to pronounce: *Tan-za-ni.a.*⁷³⁷ Having the same line of thought as Smith, Ramadhani added that the president announced in November 1964 that this new name was the official name of the United Republic and that —the penultimate letters of the name should be emphasised in Kiswahili”⁷³⁸

⁷³¹ Mzalendo Website. Khatib M. Rajabu, Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar and Tanganyika <http://victorian.fortunecity.com/portfolio/543/nyerere_and_islam .htm/>. [Accessed 06 November 2011.]

⁷³² Ketto, same interview, Mihangwa, *Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi* 1964, p. 9.

⁷³³ Wakati, same interview.

⁷³⁴ Sadler, *Tanzania: Journey to Republic*, p. 278.

⁷³⁵ Sadler, *Tanzania: Journey to Republic*, p. 278.

⁷³⁶ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 176.

⁷³⁷ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, p. 130.

⁷³⁸ Ramadhani, same interview, also in Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, p. 122.

But while Tanzania⁷³⁹ had chosen a one-party democracy, Zanzibar fell into one-man-show leadership.⁷⁴⁰ This autocratic leadership enabled the president of Zanzibar to grant permission to African men to marry any woman they wanted without considering the woman's ethnic and religious background."⁷⁴¹ Even though this statement of the state authority could be interpreted as a protest against the religious pride and boundaries that had prevailed in the Islands for many years, it proved to be a racist act when the president himself decided to take possession of a number of Persian young women.⁷⁴² Neil Russell, the resident bishop of Zanzibar confronted and rebuked the president for this action.⁷⁴³ According to Ramadhani whose argument agrees with that of Sister Mary-Stella and Stirling, there were two reasons which had caused Russell's anger. First, it was Karume's intention to take possession of these Persian young women which was against their human rights.⁷⁴⁴ Second, if young Muslims would marry young Christians, they would be forced to embrace Islam and that this could end Christianity in Zanzibar because Christians were in the minority there. Russell's criticism of the president had two effects. First, the young Persian women were quietly returned to their parents; but second, the bishop was declared *Persona non grata*.⁷⁴⁵ President Nyerere allowed him to stay on the mainland of Tanzania where he took residence at Korogwe in Tanga.⁷⁴⁶ Perhaps this was the reason why Rajabu criticised the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar saying that it was within the framework of Nyerere's agenda of Christianising Zanzibar and beyond.⁷⁴⁷ However, he hid the fact that the two countries were in tension and that new strategies that would bring peace and stability were sorely needed. His criticism

⁷³⁹ While Zanzibar retained its name, the mainland Tanzania (former Tanganyika) decided to use the name Tanzania.

⁷⁴⁰ David Throup 'Zanzibar After Nyerere' in Michael Hood *et al*, *Tanzania After Nyerere*, London: Pinter, 1988, pp.185-188, Clayton, *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath*, pp. 150-155.

⁷⁴¹ Mwamazi, same interview, Ramadhani, same interview, Mathia Mbulinyingi, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 3 December 2011 at Korogwe.

⁷⁴² Leader Dominic Stirling, *Heroes of the Faith in Tanzania: Seven Witness from the Central African Mission (1880-1993)*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1997, p. 25.

⁷⁴³ The General Secretary of UMCA had previously commented that Russell would not make a good bishop because he had no administrative gifts. But here he proved that he was the bishop needed in Zanzibar. RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF15 (CV)/Confidential Letter from General Secretary to the Right Reverend, The Lord Bishop of Zanzibar, 6 February 1957.

⁷⁴⁴ Ramadhani, same interview, also in Sr.Mary Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 176.

⁷⁴⁵ Ramadhani, same interview, Stirling, *Heroes of the Faith*, p. 25.

⁷⁴⁶ Stirling, *Heroes of the Faith*, p. 25.

⁷⁴⁷ Rajabu, 'Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar and Tanganyika.'

⁷⁴⁷ Ketto, same interview, Mihangwa, 'Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi 1964,' p. 9.

of the union reveals some dissatisfaction on the part of those on both sides of the argument.⁷⁴⁸ While Zanzibar opted for a different route,⁷⁴⁹ attempts to resolve some of these dissatisfactions were the reason that members of the TANU were to come up with the Arusha Declaration.

4. The Church's Response to the Arusha Declaration

According to Kivanda and Chiwanga, the concept of people living in *ujamaa* existed before Nyerere articulated it and the Parliament made it state policy.⁷⁵⁰ In this regard, either consciously or unconsciously, Tanzanian Anglicans had lived the *ujamaa* life before Nyerere had formalised it as a policy of social and economic development. According to Kivanda, it was this systemisation of the *ujamaa* which would bring revolution to the church in particular and to Tanzania as a whole.⁷⁵¹ As I mentioned earlier, the change from the original understanding of *ujamaa* to the more systemised Ujamaa began as early as April 1962 when Nyerere published a paper about African Socialism.⁷⁵² In his study, Nyerere utilised the word Ujamaa, or family-hood, to describe the principle behind African Socialism. Nyerere differentiated between European and African Socialism on the basis of their origin and objectives. For example, he described European socialism as emerging from:

[...] – the Agrarian Revolution and Industrial Revolution ... [and] that these two revolution planted seeds of conflict within society, and not only European Socialism born of conflict itself, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into a philosophy ... [through which] Civil War was no longer looked upon as something evil, or something unfortunate, but as something good and necessary.⁷⁵³

For Nyerere, this difference was important. For him:

⁷⁴⁸ Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, pp. 122-136.

⁷⁴⁹ Throup, *Zanzibar After Nyerere*, pp. 185-189.

⁷⁵⁰ Catherine Kivanda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 18 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam, Simon Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa.

⁷⁵¹ Kivanda, same interview.

⁷⁵² Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Standard Limited, 1962.

⁷⁵³ Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, p. 8.

The foundation, and the objective, of African Socialism is the Extended Family. The true African Socialist does not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies. He does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren'. He regards all men as his brethren— as members of his ever extended Family.⁷⁵⁴

According to Kivanda however, Nyerere ignored the fact that even within African societies there were tribal wars which sometimes were activated by those conflicts taking place within extended families.⁷⁵⁵ For Nyerere, Ujamaa sought to build a happy and contented society on a philosophy of controlled conflict between human beings.⁷⁵⁶ From this position, Nyerere differentiated Ujamaa from capitalism in that capitalism sought to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of human being by human being. According to Carter, Nyerere's ideological articulation which centred on the clear understanding of the life of Africans influenced him to declare Tanzania a one-party state.⁷⁵⁷ Contrary to what Carter's has argued however, it was the Executive Council of the TANU which worked out Nyerere's articulations, presented its views to the TANU's General Convention in Arusha. The members of the Afro Shirazi Party were also invited to the convention. On 05 July 1967, the members of the convention promulgated the Arusha Declaration. Divided into two major parts, the Declaration gave voice to both its ideology and method of its implementation.⁷⁵⁸ The first part of the Declaration was divided into two main sections. The first of these sections consisted of a list of the beliefs, objects and aims of the TANU.⁷⁵⁹ It was clearly stated that the policy of the TANU was to build an Ujamaa state and hence the articulated beliefs, objects and aims became the TANU's 'Creed'. The second section described the requirements which would make Tanzania a true Ujamaa state.⁷⁶⁰ This section is divided into sub-sections. According to Mapuri, these sub-sections elaborated the full extent of Ujamaa ideology.⁷⁶¹ For example, while the first sub-

⁷⁵⁴ Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, p. 8.

⁷⁵⁵ Kivanda, same interview.

⁷⁵⁶ Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, p. 8.

⁷⁵⁷ Carter, 'Anglo-Tanzania Relations', p. 27.

⁷⁵⁸ *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, hereafter, the Arusha Declaration.

⁷⁵⁹ *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶⁰ *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶¹ Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Jarada la Mkereketwa Website. Omari Mapuri, 'Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? La hasha'. <<http://www.ccm.org/jarida/page/page21-23.htm/>>. [Accessed 12 April 2012.]

section stated that “a true socialist state is one which all people are workers and in which neither Capitalism nor Feudalism exist”, it was stated in the second that:

The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the Peasants and the Workers themselves through their Government and their Co-operative... [And these] major means of productions are: the land; forests; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity; communications; transport; banks; insurance; import and export trade; wholesale business; the steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, and fertilizer factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depend for their living, or which provides essential components for other industries; larger plantations, especially those which produce essential raw materials.⁷⁶²

Sub-section three affirmed that Tanzanian socialism had to be built on democratic principles through which the government had to be elected and led by peasants and workers who would thereafter be the owners and controllers of the means of production as listed in the second sub-section. However, as sub-section four warned, Ujamaa was an ideology which had to be implemented. The implementation and operation of Ujamaa would depend on:

[...] – people who firmly believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice. A true member of TANU is a socialist, and his compatriots, that are his fellow believers in this political and economic faith, are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of the peasants and workers.⁷⁶³

The second part of the Arusha Declaration concerned therefore a detailed description of the implementation of Ujamaa. The Declaration stated that in order to implement Ujamaa, the transformation of economic and cultural attitudes was imperative.⁷⁶⁴ Self-reliance (*Kujitegemea*) was chosen as a tool for the anticipated transformation of the economic and cultural attitudes. In the course of actions all Tanzanian citizen were expected to work for both the community and for themselves. It was also expected that they would learn to free themselves from dependence on European aids.⁷⁶⁵ This included learning to do things for themselves and learning to be satisfied with what

⁷⁶² *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶³ *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶⁴ *The Arusha Declaration*. pp. 4-18.

⁷⁶⁵ *The Arusha Declaration*.

they could achieve as an independent state. In order to sensitise all Tanzanians to the principles of Ujamaa it became necessary for the government to implement free and compulsory education for all Tanzanians through which education for self-reliance would be taught. Hence, *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* became the policy.

These aspects of the declaration, as for any new development, received a *B61* mixed responses from the missionaries. For example, when the government declared that it was intending to Africanise the education system, the missions felt that their control of education as a key to evangelisation and conversion was coming to an end.⁷⁶⁶ Even though the diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga gave their seeming approval to its implementation, there was a hidden anger which could be noted in the statement of the synod: “Let the government take all schools as soon as possible.”⁷⁶⁷ There was silence from the other missionary bishops – John-Pole Hughes (South West Tanganyika), Alfred Stanway (Central Tanganyika), Wiggins (Victoria Nyanza). Silence can sometimes be passively aggressive in nature and this was clear in Stanway’s note about her husband that he had to be very careful what he said about the government actions.⁷⁶⁸ It was likely that this was the reason why the East African representatives of the CMSA used their meeting at Limuru in Kenya to speak their minds about the political future of Tanzania.⁷⁶⁹ Nevertheless, they could not find agreement on what they felt about Ujamaa. While some argued that it was built on communalism and not Christianity, others commented that the people of Tanzania were behind Nyerere, needed the mission’s support.⁷⁷⁰ Another missionary commented: “It is interesting to hear the younger clergy in the Synod demanding the appointment of an African assistant bishop” and that “some pastors and certain influential laymen within the Church have on occasions freely criticized CMSA to my face for not offering money instead of missionaries.”⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁶ Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee of the CMSA Roseville, Thursday, 13 April 1967.

⁷⁶⁷ *Sinodi, Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga*, 1967, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶⁸ Marjorie Stanway, *Alfred Stanway: The Recollections of a „Little m’*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991, p. 210.

⁷⁶⁹ CMSA/MLMSS 6040/117/4/ Tanzania’, in the Notes on the Meeting of the East African Representatives with the P.C Africa Secretary at St. Julian’s Limuru, November 15 1967, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁰ Tanzania, p. 1.

⁷⁷¹ CMSA/MLMSS 6040/134/21/New Era created by Independence, CMS Representative, Tanzania, 1964-1970.

According to Ketto, responses like these were likely to happen in the sense that Ujamaa was a socialist ideology which was genuinely indigenous to Tanzania.⁷⁷² Kivanda argued that it was neither a simple nor a sophisticated philosophy.⁷⁷³ However, many of the missionaries were still learning and trying to understand African ideas and techniques. Therefore, they drew parallels between Ujamaa and what they already knew from Marxism or Leninism.⁷⁷⁴ Indeed parallels between Nyerere's Ujamaa and the implementation of socialist or communist programmes of action in such countries as Sweden, China, Cuba, and Yugoslavia could easily be drawn. However, these parallels did not have real bearing on Nyerere's stand point. Nyerere's ideology was derived from the unique experiences of the Tanzanian people. Ujamaa revitalised young priests to question their missionaries and see such new developments as the beginning of the 'breakaway' of the 'Anglican Church' of Tanzania from the (Anglican) Province of East Africa. The Arusha Declaration also stressed the shift of the TANUs membership from having a numerically large membership (an important emphasis since the founding of the Party) to that of a membership of quality. This was followed by an emphasis on the quality of both its membership and leadership.⁷⁷⁵

5. Chapter Summary

I have presented in this chapter, the reactions and responses of the church to the nationalist movements during the struggle for the political independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. My analyses show that the church prepared Christians for the granting of their independence from colonial rule. Although some missionaries were against the granting of such independence, perhaps this was because they were not aware of the true position held by their church. Furthermore, they were probably unwilling to admit the positive response that the bishops and members of the church had given to the news that both Tanganyika and Zanzibar had received their independence from Westminster. I therefore argue that the church was not against the independence of the two countries. The independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar raised several new developments.

⁷⁷² Ketto same interview, also in Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, pp.1, 9.

⁷⁷³ Ramadhani, same interview, Kivanda, same interview.

⁷⁷⁴ Ramadhani, same interview.

⁷⁷⁵ *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 19-20.

First, there was a strong emphasis on *Africanisation* which affected both the church and the government. On the side of the government, Nyerere resigned after disagreeing with his colleagues about whether it was right to focus on the policy of *Africanisation* or on nationalism. It was Nyerere's resignation from the office of prime minister which prompted the union for Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Furthermore, it was the impetus for Nyerere to put his thoughts down in writing and develop the concept of Ujamaa. The independence of Zanzibar provoked the Africans' anger and hence they revolted against Arab rule. This was followed by army mutinies in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The revolutionaries robbed and killed the Arabs. This was followed by several government decrees, two of which could not be tolerated by Bishop Russell who was then forced to leave Zanzibar. The governments' attempt to resolve these tensions revived the colonial concept of the Federation of East African States. When this could not take place, the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was regarded as an immediate solution to the problems in Zanzibar. This was followed by the Arusha Declaration which brought about a new socialist revolution in Tanzania, the contents of which I will discuss in the next chapter. To conclude this chapter, these are its major findings:

First, unlike the misrepresentation of the role of the 'Anglican Church' in the political development of Tanzania in the literature, I argue that Anglican missionary bishops were the ones who influenced the political events in the country. In this case, the Muslim criticism that Nyerere's church (i.e., the Roman Catholic Church) was behind the granting of independence as well as the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar and that Nyerere led the country on the behest of his church⁷⁷⁶, did not match the real truth.

Second, African Anglicans were upfront in Tanganyika and Zanzibar's political achievements because their missions were the 'church of the state' before the independence. I argued that their presence in both the missions and the state stimulated the smooth translation of power from the colonial administration to the independent state of Tanganyika. This could have been the case in Zanzibar too if the

⁷⁷⁶ Mbogoni *The Cross Versus The Crescent*, pp. 125, 127-152.

British could have left the results of the General Election to determine the destiny of the country. Third, while the transfer of power to African rule was smoothly done on the side of the state of Tanganyika, this was not the case in the church. I argue that there was a quick appointment of Africans to positions of leadership without having first received any training. For example, while the Roman Catholic Church had already several bishops during the *uhuru*, the 'Anglican Church' had only one bishop who had never received any leadership and management training. Perhaps Ludwig's conclusion that Anglicans did not consecrate a bishop until after independence was from this background. However, his statement missed the point that although the Roman Catholics were the first to have African bishops they were followed by the Anglicans and not Lutherans. The Anglicans consecrated Yohana Omari at Namirembe in Uganda in 1955. This was three years after the Roman Catholics had consecrated their first African bishop in 1952 and five years before Lutherans had theirs in 1960. The fact that the Roman Catholic missionaries had appropriate plans for the transfer of power to Africans unlike the Anglican missionaries cannot change the historical fact that Anglicans had Omari as a bishop before independence. It can be said therefore that the engagement of the Anglicans in the political development of Tanzania was influenced by the missionaries' understanding of the necessity of linking their church and the state. As a result, both the African state and 'the church' authorities started to build the country on similar foundations.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY OF UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE CHURCH

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses mainly on the impact of the implementation of the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* on the church and the reactions of the state's authority. In order to reach this end, I divided the chapter as follows: The response of the church to the reforms on settlements, the church's reactions to the reforms in marriage law, the reform on the education sector and its effects on the church, the response of the church to reforms in the health sector and the church's reaction to the land reforms. Although the period under review was from 1967, for the sake of clarity, the discussion referred to some early documents.

2. Impacts of the Implementation of the Policy of Ujamaa Villages on the church

Following the Arusha Declaration, the government declared its interest of establishing small communities which would be called *Vijiji vya Ujamaa* (lit: Ujamaa villages).⁷⁷⁷ All citizens were required to live in these villages. According to Kivanda, this government's initiative would change community life.⁷⁷⁸ Kamuzora noted a policy booklet published in 1968 which clarified ways through which the government would implement a rural development strategy for the purpose of reducing poverty in Tanzania.⁷⁷⁹ While McHenry showed that ~~the~~ implementation of the policy needed

⁷⁷⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development: A Selection from Writings and Speeches (1968-1973)*, London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 5 -11.

⁷⁷⁸ Catherine Kivanda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 18 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁷⁷⁹ Faustin Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.) *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Fahamu Press, 2010, p. 95.

enormous effort,”⁷⁸⁰ Sundkler and Steed stated that this was because village life was not a new phenomenon; —it could be easily misinterpreted.”⁷⁸¹ In view of that, Nyerere challenged Tanzanians: —unless the purpose ... of a village [was] understood by the members from the beginning – at least to some extent it will not survive the early difficulties.”⁷⁸² Building on McHenry, Sundkler and Steed, Shempemba argued that the idea of people living in villages was common not only in pre-Independence Tanzania⁷⁸³ but also elsewhere in the world.⁷⁸⁴ According to him the pre-Ujamaa Tanzanian villages could be grouped into four different categories depending on the reasons for their existence.

The first category was the traditional ‘ujamaa villages.’ These villages were established by either tribes or clans.⁷⁸⁵ In these traditional villages, according to Nyerere, land was the property of the society and, since the general understanding was that land represented life⁷⁸⁶ in the sense that almost all necessities of life such as food and water were derived from the land, it was ‘the life of the people’.⁷⁸⁷ Shempemba listed villages such as Vugha and Bumbuli in Lushoto, Isimani in Iringa, Matombo in Morogoro and Mvumi Makulu in Dodoma as examples which could fall under this category.⁷⁸⁸ According to him, houses in these villages were set according to customs, rites of passages, taboos and shrines. McHenry said that these villages were scattered and wildly defensive to the extent that it was difficult to supply services.⁷⁸⁹ According to Magdalene, the missionaries built temporary schools, church buildings and dispensaries in some of these villages which they nicknamed ‘bush-schools, dispensaries and churches.’⁷⁹⁰ Cecilia added that even the teachers and doctors who

⁷⁸⁰ Countries like China, Mexico and Soviet practiced it. See McHenry, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages: the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1979, p. 14.

⁷⁸¹ Bengt Sunkler and Christopher Steed (Eds.), *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 545-546.

⁷⁸² Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 340.

⁷⁸³ Sunkler and Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 545-546, Dean E. McHenry, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages*, pp. 226-27.

⁷⁸⁴ Raphael Shempemba, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 11 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁷⁸⁵ Shampemba, same interview.

⁷⁸⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 216.

⁷⁸⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 307.

⁷⁸⁸ Shempemba, same interview.

⁷⁸⁹ McHenry, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages*, pp.14-15.

⁷⁹⁰ Magdalene CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

served in these villages were also nicknamed ‘bush teachers’ and ‘bush doctors.’⁷⁹¹ I argued that these villages were in the ‘bushes.’

Shempemba identified the second category of the villages which, according to him, emerged as a result of the interaction between foreigners and Africans in trade.⁷⁹² Singano listed places such as Mpwapwa in Dodoma, Ujiji in Kigoma, Makuyuni, Mazinde and Pangani in Tanga as examples of these ‘trade centres’ which became villages and that, in the long run, became small towns.⁷⁹³ Agreeing with Singano, Ketto pointed out that in most cases these villages were mainly dominated by Arabs and African Muslims.⁷⁹⁴ According to Ketto who confused between being Arabian, Indian and Asian, *Ustaarabu* distinguished those who lived in these villages with people who lived in the other types of villages.⁷⁹⁵ Mbogoni demonstrated a sociological contrast between Africans who were attracted by *Ustaarabu* and the Asians themselves.⁷⁹⁶ In towns such as Pangani, Mwanza, Mbeya and Bagamoyo people continued to refer to residential areas of Asians as *Uhindini* and those of black Africans as *Uswahilini*.⁷⁹⁷ According to Mtokambali, *Uhindini* and *Uswahilini* were also found in Arusha and Dar es Salaam.⁷⁹⁸ The contrast between *Uhindini* and *Uswahilini* established *Uswahilini* as dirty with poor housing and poor infrastructure and where criminals turned it their hiding place.

Shempemba mentioned the third category of villages – those which were founded by European missionaries – which was also mentioned by Willis and Beidelman.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹¹ Sr. Cecilia CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁷⁹² Shempemba, same interview.

⁷⁹³ Eliya Singano Mpalahole interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 January 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁷⁹⁴ John Ketto, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 08 April 2011 at Korogwe.

⁷⁹⁵ Ketto, same interview.

⁷⁹⁶ Laurence E. Y. Mbogo, *The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religions and Politics in Tanzania from the 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, p.105.

⁷⁹⁷ Inter-marriages between black people and Arabs or Indians in Tanganyika during colonial rule was strictly prohibited. Bailey showed similar situation in Zanzibar (Martin Bailey, *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A Study in Political Integration*, East African Studies IX, Syracuse University, Winter 1973, pp. 54-55.

⁷⁹⁸ Yohana Mtokambali, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 November 2011 in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

⁷⁹⁹ Justin Willis, *The Nature of a Mission community: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: the mission in African history - Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, London: Oxford University Press, 1993, Gale Group, 2004, T. O Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Social Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

These villages were named in Kiswahili as *Misheni* – shorthand for the English word for mission stations. Willis, Beidelman and Hastings studies concentrated on this type of villages and expressed great concerns about Africans' life in these villages.⁸⁰⁰ They said that these villages in Tanzania were enormously diverse in size, reason of origin, degree of discipline as well as the social context through which they emerged.⁸⁰¹ In view of their accounts it becomes evident that almost all hospitals, dispensaries, schools and worshiping facilities were found in these villages.⁸⁰² Sundkler and Steed concluded that all these were built in contrast to the *ujamaa* villages' for the purpose of attracting Africans to Christianity.⁸⁰³

Shempemba identified a fourth group of villages those founded by European settlers and which were mainly named in Kiswahili as *Uzunguni* (lit: Europeans' residential areas).⁸⁰⁴ Chakupewa, who originally came from Kigoma, obtained his primary education in a school for Africans which was built by these settlers in one of the sisal plantations in Tanga⁸⁰⁵ where his parents worked as *Manamba*.⁸⁰⁶ He said that Africans would cross over from their *ujamaa* villages' to *Uzunguni* for employment.⁸⁰⁷ According to him, Africans who worked in *Uzunguni* were 'labelled' depending on types of employments. Those who were employed in the plantations were the *manamba*. Women who worked in the houses of the white people were called 'house girls' and men were called 'house boys' (regardless of their ages). Men who were employed in the farms were called 'shamba boys' (lit: farm labourers).

According to Blood, the difference between Africans' residential areas and that of people of other ethnic groups was 'timing bomb'.⁸⁰⁸ According to him, the fact that all necessary social services were found in the *Uhindini*, *Uzunguni* and *Misheni* could

⁸⁰⁰ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, pp. 211-213, Willis, *The nature of Mission Community*, Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*.

⁸⁰¹ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, pp. 210-214, Sundkler and Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 545-546.

⁸⁰² Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, pp. 211-213, Willis, *The Nature of a Mission*, Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*.

⁸⁰³ Sundkler and Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 545-546.

⁸⁰⁴ Shempemba, same interview.

⁸⁰⁵ Sisal is among the cash crops which were well grown in Tanga.

⁸⁰⁶ Elius Chakupewa, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 30 January 2012 in Canterbury.

⁸⁰⁷ Chakupewa, same interview.

⁸⁰⁸ RHL/UMCA/USPG/The Hope of Africa: Review of the Work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa for 1953-1954, June 1955, p. 60.

provoke racial unrest.⁸⁰⁹ The authority of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) treated the discrepancies as a challenge as early as 1959.⁸¹⁰ In this regard, according to Kamuzora, between 1961/1962 and 1963/1964, the TANU government developed a plan which would minimise these discrepancies.⁸¹¹ But while he concluded that the government's plan was not successful, the General Secretary of UMCA observed its effect upon the church:

The Uhuru enthusiasm ... led to building a number of self-help schemes – road, building, school building etc – and the Church seems at least to realise that self-help [was] necessary within the Church too and ... all dioceses [were] vigorously tackling the problem of self-support.⁸¹²

Even though the church had already adapted it, Nyerere noted reasons why these early efforts did not fulfil government's aims.⁸¹³ First, they were un-coordinated. And second the overall targets were the development of things and not people. The failure of these early attempts prompted the government to change its strategy.⁸¹⁴ The Arusha Declaration initiated this change when it asserted the Ujamaa villages that would be places:

[...] – where people [would] live together and work together for the benefit of all of its participants ... [A]socialist organisation [which would be] created by the people, and governed by those who [would] live and work in them ... [And] a voluntary association of people who[would] decide of their own free will to live.⁸¹⁵

McHenry identified three techniques which were used by the government to set up an Ujamaa village.⁸¹⁶ First, there was a re-identification of traditional villages at which other people from other places were encouraged to join. Shempemba has listed several

⁸⁰⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/The Hope of Africa, p. 60.

⁸¹⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 66.

⁸¹¹ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. 93.

⁸¹² RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4 (III)/The General Secretary of UMCA, Report on Tour of East Africa, 01 July-01 September 1962.

⁸¹³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 66.

⁸¹⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 330-332.

⁸¹⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 155.

⁸¹⁶ McHenry, *Tanzanian's Ujamaa Villages*, p. 116.

villages like Mgugu in Morogoro, Mkuzi in Muheza and Vugha in Lushoto as examples which became villages through this *modus operandi*.⁸¹⁷

The second method which the government used to set up a village, according to McHenry, was by drawing boundaries around areas of relatively dense population.⁸¹⁸ McHenry gave no examples of the villages which emerged from this method. Kiyaya listed Vugiri in Korogwe, Msalato and Mvumi in Dodoma as among many villages which became Ujamaa villages through this design.⁸¹⁹ Kiyaya also mentioned villages such as Kwasemangube Korogwe that it was founded by the government through the use of force. According to him, people who encountered heavy rains and landslides on the edge of Usambara Mountains were compelled to shift to Kwasemangube.⁸²⁰ Kiyaya argued that McHenry ignored this mode of operation.⁸²¹ However, in his description of the third method, McHenry said that the government's use of force to move people from one location to another was not on account of experiencing a natural disaster.⁸²² Like McHenry, Mnzavas concluded: 'Operation *vijiji* was implemented with high-handedness. Objections were not allowed. The role of those affected by operation *vijiji* 1974 was not to reason why. Theirs was but to comply, the irrationality of the operation notwithstanding.'⁸²³

Sister Magdalene said that, besides the government's use of force to bring people into these villages, the concept of living together in the Ujamaa village was similar to that of the religious communities and therefore had many advantages to these communities and the church at large.⁸²⁴ Of course, being a committed Roman Catholic, Nyerere was aware of these religious communities.⁸²⁵ Although Sister Magdalene and Sister Helena insisted that Nyerere drew his idea of the village's set up from the model of the religious communities such as that of the *Chama cha Mariamu Mbarikiwa*

⁸¹⁷ Shempemba, same interview.

⁸¹⁸ McHenry, *Tanzanian's Ujamaa Villages*, p. 116.

⁸¹⁹ Stuart Kiyaya, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 08 April 2011 at Korogwe.

⁸²⁰ Kiyaya, same interview.

⁸²¹ Kiyaya, same interview, McHenry, *Tanzanian's Ujamaa Villages*, p. 116.

⁸²² McHenry, *Tanzanian's Ujamaa Villages*, p. 116.

⁸²³ The court case of Mohamed Hassan Hole Versus Keya Jumanne Ramadhani, Court of Appeal of Tanzania at Dodoma, 1992, Civil appeal no. 19, as quoted by Helen Kijo-Bisimba and Chris Maina Peter, 'Mwalimu Nyerere and the challenge of human rights' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, pp.152,158n.

⁸²⁴ Sr. Magdalene, same interview.

⁸²⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp.213-228.

(CMM),⁸²⁶ Shempemba was convinced that Nyerere derived his ideal from a variety of sources.⁸²⁷ Being among the people who were sent by the government to Israel in 1963 to live and work in the *Kibotzim*, he experienced a life which he believed could be practiced in his own country.⁸²⁸ Thus, having coming back with a demand for new settlements in rural areas, Shempemba drew a similar conclusion as that which was drawn by many studies about Nyerere's.⁸²⁹ These studies highlighted connecting links between Nyerere's Christian background, the perspectives of his childhood and adulthood, as well as his educational career. For example, before Nyerere had articulated the idea of Ujamaa villages, An Anglican, Martin Kayamba, a son of the Reverend Father Hugh Kayamba, encouraged Westminster to establish African villages.⁸³⁰ He idealised a village as a place for Africans to have own civilization and therefore could have the following features:

- i. Have brick houses with iron roofs and tiles which can be locally produced by the villagers.
- ii. Public worship facilities for Christians and Muslims.
- iii. A dispensary with a ward, a village hall, a school, a playing ground and a good supply of clean water.
- iv. Good bridges over any river.
- v. Few shops owned by black Africans, a market place in the centre of the village for the use of all the surrounding villages and a small postal agency.⁸³¹

Kayamba was brought up during the time when the Sisters of the Community of the Sacred Passion (CSP) played a major role in the social revolution of the people of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Therefore, his vision of an African village could be

⁸²⁶ Helena CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁸²⁷ Shempemba, same interview.

⁸²⁸ Shempemba, same interview.

⁸²⁹ The Book of Acts of Apostles chapter 4, J. Hatch, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, London: Secker & Warburg, 1976; G. Dunheved, *Julius Nyerere: A Biography*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Information Services, 1961; W. E. Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania*, Nairobi: Trans Africa Publishers, 1974; London: Gollancz, 1975; H. Mwenengoha, *Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere: A Bio-bibliography*, Nairobi: Foundation Books, 1976.

⁸³⁰ John Iliffe, "The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba" in John Iliffe *et al*, *Modern Tanzanians: A Volume of Biographies*, Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1973, pp. 88-89.

⁸³¹ Iliffe, "The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba" in John Iliffe *et al*, *Modern Tanzanians*, pp. 88-89.

influenced by that community life of the CSP.⁸³² He also visited Europe several times and that too could have influenced his thinking. Yet, even if Nyerere might have been influenced by these early ideas and the life in the religious communities, the religious communities were for particular groups of people (either women or men) who never married. In this regard, whatever similarities existed between Nyerere's ideas of Ujamaa villages and CMMs community life,⁸³³ the CMM villages were a blend of traditional African life and that of the CSP (European) Sisters, and continued to be a religious community for women.⁸³⁴ The Ujamaa villages which were inclusive⁸³⁵ derived its originality from traditional patterns of African life where:

[...] – the people were equal, they co-operated together, and they participated in all decisions which affected their lives ... the equality was an equality of poverty; the co-operation was on small things; and their government was only the government of their own family unit, and of their clan, or at most of their tribe...⁸³⁶

The state authority decided to establish Ujamaa villages based on this understanding of African life. Thus, Tanzanians were told to go and establish the Ujamaa villages.⁸³⁷ According to Anderson the Tanzanians received the government's order of shifting to these Ujamaa villages with mixed feelings.⁸³⁸ Agreeing with Anderson, Kiyaya and Singano said that many people declined the government's order because moving into new places meant that they would abandon their graveyards (and thus their ancestors) all of which carried spiritual significances to them.⁸³⁹

However, other Tanzanians refused to accept the government's order of moving to Ujamaa villages because they were rich peasants. The Arusha Declaration described

⁸³² Iliffe, *Modern Tanzanians*, pp. 66-94.

⁸³³ Sr. Martha CMM, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁸³⁴ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No: The History of the Community of the Sacred Passion*, Scroll bound copy, (No Date).

⁸³⁵ "Principals Aims and objects of TANU" in *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, p. 2.

⁸³⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 405.

⁸³⁷ Simoni E. Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa, Shempemba, same interview, Ketto, same interview.

⁸³⁸ W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1988, p. 138.

⁸³⁹ Kiyaya, same interview, Singano, same interview.

these rich peasants as feudalists (*makabaila*).⁸⁴⁰ For example, having refused to accept the government order of giving his land to a group of people who wanted to build an Ujamaa village at Ismani in Iringa, one of these feudalists assassinated Dr. Klerru (then the regional commissioner for Iringa).⁸⁴¹ These resistances and the killing of the government's officials provoked the government's use of force to move people into these villages. This meant that some *misheni* had to be abandoned so that the people could join others in the Ujamaa villages.⁸⁴² The abandonment of some *misheni* disappointed the African bishops. However, they kept quiet at that time perhaps because it was too early for them to criticise their own government.⁸⁴³ European missionaries supported the government's plans for two reasons. First, "... in many places old mission houses [were] in [a] bad state of repair and [it was] pointless to keep them".⁸⁴⁴ Second, "... the old _mission station' set up [i.e., a church, a school, a dispensary and hostels had] become unnecessary."⁸⁴⁵ Kihala listed mission stations such as Magila which, until 1946 was the head office of the Diocese of Zanzibar, Mvumi in the Diocese of Central Tanganyika as well as Namasakata in the diocese of Masasi which were vacated.⁸⁴⁶

The authority of the government reported in 1970 that in regions such as Mtwara, Mwanza, Tabora, Tanga and Dodoma people were moving into these villages in larger numbers than in other regions.⁸⁴⁷ Dodoma Region, for example, listed massive movement of people into the Ujamaa villages.⁸⁴⁸ According to Chiwanga, this steady development did not emerge accidentally.⁸⁴⁹ It was through collaboration with the regional officials, Members of Parliament from the region and the _Anglican Church'. Dawson argued that the government promised that people who could join these

⁸⁴⁰ Issa G. Shivji, 'The Village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's' Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. 124.

⁸⁴¹ Shivji, 'The Village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's' Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. 124.

⁸⁴² ASL/ADD/Hotuba ya Baba Askofu Mkuu Sepeku aliyoitwa kwenye Mkutano Mkuu wa Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam, Tarehe 31 Julai, 1983, p. 26. Translation is mine.

⁸⁴³ ASL/ADD/Hotuba ya Baba Askofu Mkuu Sepeku aliyoitwa kwenye Mkutano Mkuu wa Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam, Tarehe 31 Julai, 1983, p. 26.

⁸⁴⁴ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4(III)/The General Secretary of UMCA.

⁸⁴⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/'The Role of Expatriate Today' in the D.C.T Missionary Conference, Dodoma, 17-19 April 1970.

⁸⁴⁶ Edward Kihala, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 05 January 2011 at Kwamkono

⁸⁴⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 7, 156, 306.

⁸⁴⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 7, 156, 306.

⁸⁴⁹ Chiwanga, same interview.

villages would get services as water, hospitals and education and that these promises explained the responses from the people.⁸⁵⁰

The council of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika captured this opportunity with enthusiasm and thus it reported: ~~“~~Because of the new situation which had arisen with the establishment of Ujamaa villages, a different type of ministry is required for them.”⁸⁵¹ The council identified two types of ministries which would be needed in these villages. These were the priestly and catechistical ministries. The diocesan council put up conditions for those who wished to become catechists. First, they should be Anglicans who had already been registered in a village. Second, the Anglican should be willing to give her or his service without pay and thirdly that she or he should accept to be supervised by the pastor of a parish within the village.⁸⁵² This villager would receive some instructions and then would be sent back to the village to become the village catechist. But, if the villager intended to join the ordained ministry, the council demanded from the villager a fulfilment of the following six conditions:

- i. He must be a person who has a true desire to do this type of work, and not someone just chosen by others.
- ii. He must have already entered an Ujamaa village and be a resident and thereby accepted as a member of the village, taking part in the life of the community.
- iii. He should be a Christian well known to members of diocesan council or interviewed by persons appointed by them.
- iv. He should be a youth.
- v. He should be prepared to accept the status of a curate and to be under the supervision of the pastor of his parish.
- vi. He should be fully involved in the life and work of the village and take services on Sunday and bible classes etc. in his free time.⁸⁵³

⁸⁵⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/Peter Dawson, Report to the Africa Committee, 12 October, 1972, p.

1.

⁸⁵¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of the Diocesan Council, 25 August 1970.

⁸⁵² Minutes of the Diocesan Council.

⁸⁵³ Minutes of the Diocesan Council.

A villager who fulfilled these expectations was required to complete an application form and thereafter attend a short course. The council ordered the archdeacons to prepare application forms and to have the conditions typed on the back of the forms. According to the council's minutes, the first recruitment drive included four men namely Habeli Letema, Eliya Chiwanga, Musa Nyawu and Habeli Chisaluni.⁸⁵⁴ Nyawu said that they received some very basic training after which they were ordained and sent to work in their villages.⁸⁵⁵ And according to him, this method of recruiting people for ordination continued for a very long time since then.⁸⁵⁶ According to Chiwanga, because the church did not have any clear clerics' development plan, it started to lag behind the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans who had good number of seminaries.⁸⁵⁷

The council reserved the right of choosing those Anglicans who would be catechists on the discretion of the diocesan bishop and the archdeacons. The bishop received this responsibility eagerly: "What is uppermost in my mind is the need ... to send three girls and three boys from each Ujamaa village to Msalato Bible School in the New Year so that they can return to their villages, or go to the National Service, to witness for Christ."⁸⁵⁸

He raised \$750 from the CMSA to train 1000 catechists for the villages in his diocese.⁸⁵⁹ The diocese was also fully involved in the government's initiatives of adult education in the villages.⁸⁶⁰ Moreover, it implemented cattle project in the Ujamaa villages throughout the diocese.⁸⁶¹ These engagements of the church in the village programs stimulated representatives of the CMSA: "The whole atmosphere of Tanzania is [very revolutionary] ... From the schools where the children of the revolution drill with their little wooden guns, to the village community centres where

⁸⁵⁴ Minutes of the Diocesan Council.

⁸⁵⁵ Musa Nyawu, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 27 August 2011 in Dodoma.

⁸⁵⁶ Nyawu, same interview.

⁸⁵⁷ Chiwanga, same interview.

⁸⁵⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/10/A Letter, Secretary for Africa CMSA, 18 November 1971.

⁸⁵⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/10/A Letter from Federal Secretary to Bishop Madinda.

⁸⁶⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of Diocesan Council 03 February 1971, no. 36, CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of Diocesan Council 13 and 14 May 1969, no.50.

⁸⁶¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of Diocesan Council 03 February 1971, no. 36, CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of Diocesan Council 13 and 14 May 1969, no.50.

political lectures are given, to the daily newspapers which are the voice of the Party, the whole nation is constantly reminded of its socialist aims.⁸⁶²

The villagers were very excited to see the involvement of their church in the developments of the Ujamaa villages. This could be observed in Malecela's appraisal⁸⁶³, Mdimi's analysis⁸⁶⁴ and in some missionary's reports:

[...] – an elder of one of [our churches] who is also the treasurer of the most [Ujamaa] villages told me ... ‘There is no capitalism here. Everything in the village is property of the people. There is no ‘me-ism’ here; ‘me-ism’ is bad ... those who refused to associate themselves with the [Ujamaa] movement would soon be given deadline on which they would have to decide whether they would live as human beings (i.e. in community) or as animals (i.e. in isolation).’⁸⁶⁵

When Nyerere visited Australia the CMSA commended his achievements in the Ujamaa villages saying that⁸⁶⁶: ‘His idealism, his asceticism, and his ability to talk to them [i.e. Tanzanians] in their own idiom, and his readiness to live and work among them as he did [is the essence of the] Wagogo's sudden response to the call to join Ujamaa villages.’⁸⁶⁷ As if it waited to hear these remarks, the synod of the Diocese of Morogoro declared its determination for the Ujamaa villages that:

[...] – the Church should support [the Ujamaa vijijini program] wholeheartedly in order to promote the welfare of community of this country ... [This is because] the most need of development is in the villages where the majority of our Churches are to be found. It is evident, therefore, that this directly concerns the Church. Our knowledge, our gifts, our capacities, our qualifications, our Christian love and our faithfulness are all needed to help our people [in the Ujamaa Villages].⁸⁶⁸

Nyawu connected the history of recruiting people for service in the church with the challenges which the church is currently facing (i.e., lack of trained people on land

⁸⁶² CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/8, East Africa Visit-May/July, 1973, Regional Secretary's Report to the Federal Council Minutes, 1973, p. 40.

⁸⁶³ TL/John Malecela, ‘Christ was Socialist’, in the *Nationalist*, 19 October 1971.

⁸⁶⁴ TL/M. Mdimi, ‘Stirling Opens Church Talks’ in the *Daily News*, 13 December 1973.

⁸⁶⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/8/East Africa Visit-May/July, 1973.

⁸⁶⁶ Marjorie Stanway, *Alfred Stanway: The Recollections of a „Little m’*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991, pp. 205, 235.

⁸⁶⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Report of the Regional Secretary for Africa, September 1974.

⁸⁶⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/A letter from Peter Dawson, CMS Representative for Morogoro and Central Tanganyika to all Missionaries, October 1974.

issues, trained church administrators and records keepers) saying that it will take time to recover. Nyawu's conclusion has some relevance to the general rule applied in other dioceses of the church. The Diocese of Morogoro, for example, used village conventions and open air evangelistic campaigns to call people back to God.⁸⁶⁹ Most of the village evangelists who were involved in this diocesan campaign were ordained after receiving a few weeks training.⁸⁷⁰

According to the bishop of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, the diocese decided to present to the government its farm and village at Kiwanda.⁸⁷¹ A group of forty people who were waiting to start a village received it happily. The bishop raised funds from World Council of Churches and renovated the buildings of the village so that the villagers could have a place to begin their new life.⁸⁷² The church's village at Kwamkono was converted into an Ujamaa village.⁸⁷³ The CSP and CMM Sisters in the Diocese of Masasi were fully involved in the establishment of villages at Kwitonji, and Chiwata.⁸⁷⁴ When Nyerere visited Masasi he was thrilled to test the 'fruits' of the new villages in which the Sisters were involved.⁸⁷⁵

After its synod had declared its support for the policy of Ujamaa villages,⁸⁷⁶ the Diocese of South West Tanganyika listed five conditions as guidelines to the villagers.⁸⁷⁷ However, the conditions had to be restricted to one side of the diocese because the synod had divided the diocese into two – South West Tanganyika and Ruvuma.⁸⁷⁸ Maurice Ngahyoma, the bishop of Ruvuma, opposed the government's plans arguing that the government's officials used too much force to move people to the villages.⁸⁷⁹ While it was true that people were compelled to go to Ujamaa villages,⁸⁸⁰ Archbishop Sepeku asked Ngahyoma to compromise because he believed

⁸⁶⁹ ACT/ADM/Morogoro/Biography of Bishop Gresford Chitemo.

⁸⁷⁰ ACT/ADM/Morogoro/Morogoro Bible College, Student Register for 1969-1988.

⁸⁷¹ ASL/ADZT/Hotuba ya Bwana Askofu in The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, p. 4.

⁸⁷² Hotuba ya Bwana Askofu in The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, p.4.

⁸⁷³ Mary Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 169.

⁸⁷⁴ Sr. Magdalene, same interview.

⁸⁷⁵ Mary Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 145.

⁸⁷⁶ ASL/ADSWT/Mkutano wa Synod Takatifu, Liuli, Octoba 5-7, 1970, p. 3-4.

⁸⁷⁷ Mkutano wa Synod Takatifu, Liuli, Octoba 5-7, 1970, p. 3-4.

⁸⁷⁸ Mkutano wa Synod Takatifu, Liuli, Octoba 5-7, 1970, p. 3-4.

⁸⁷⁹ Stanford Shauri, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 27 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam, ASL/ADR/Miniti za Agenda za Mkutano Mtakatifu wa Kwanza wa Dayosisi ya Ruvuma, Oktoba 22-25, 1972, Liuli.

⁸⁸⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 66.

that the government had good intentions.⁸⁸¹ Sepeku had attended a seminar for religious leaders at Tabora⁸⁸² where Nyerere had challenged the leaders to review the traditions of their religions:

*Nyinyi wenyewe ... hatuoni hasa kwamba mnayosababu ... [inayowafanya] msikubli jambo hili sawa sawa na watazania wengine. Na halafu mkifanya hivyo, mimi naamini ... huenda mnalipa kanisa lenu mwanzo mpya lijisafishe na matakataka ambayo limebeba humo katika safari zake hizo za miaka 2000 iliyopita. Si lazima kanisa matakataka liliyokokota katika safari yake yawe hapa vile vile. Kwa nini iwe hivyo? – We don't see any reason which makes you [religious leaders] refuse this policy while other Tanzanians have accepted it ... You never know, if you accept it, I believe, you may be giving your church a new beginning through which it will clean up itself from all impurities which it had carried over through its long journey of nearly 2000 years ago. There is no reason why the impurities that the church had carried over its history should be here too. Why should it be so?*⁸⁸³

Although Ngahyoma did not attend the seminar, newspapers such as the *Ecclesia* had widely published Nyerere's challenges to the church – *Tunalotaka ni dini si Uzungu* (lit: teach us religion and not Englishness).⁸⁸⁴ Ngahyoma changed his position to join the government efforts perhaps after he had read these challenges in the newspapers.⁸⁸⁵

It can be argued therefore that the government's order for people to move to the *vijiji vya Ujamaa* challenged the church authority.⁸⁸⁶ This was also true with the state authority. The state authority had proclaimed that by 1977 all Tanzanians would be living in these villages.⁸⁸⁷ But the country encountered drought, and consequently there was a shortage of food.⁸⁸⁸ In some areas like Isimani, Iringa Africans were

⁸⁸¹ ACT/Dodoma/ Kumbukumbu za Mkutano wa Halmashauri ya Jimbo, 1970.

⁸⁸² RC/Diocese of Tabora/ Archives for 1969-1978.

⁸⁸³ Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini: Hotuba aliyoitoa Rais Julius K. Nyerere siku ya Kufungua Seminar ya Viongozi wa Madhehebu mbalimbali ya Dini huko Tabora, Jumatatu tarehe 27 Julai 1970*, pp. 41-44. Translation is mine.

⁸⁸⁴ TL/ *Tunalotaka dini si Uzungu-Rais* in *Ecclesia* newspaper, no.197, September 1970, p. 1.

⁸⁸⁵ Samuel Sepeku, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 June 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

⁸⁸⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Report of the Regional Secretary for Africa, September 1974.

⁸⁸⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, *Njaa Si Jambo la Mzaha, Mwanza: Risala ya Rais aliyoitoa Uwanja wa Ukombozi, Mwanza Machi 5, 1981*, Dar es Salaam: Idara ya Habari, 1981.

⁸⁸⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/A Private and Confidential Letter from the Bishop of Central Tanganyika to the Federal Secretary, 14 January 1970.

discriminated by rich peasants⁸⁸⁹ and at Basotu, Hanang another group of rich peasants had opened a court case against the government's allocation of their land to the National Food and Agriculture Company (NAFCO).⁸⁹⁰ The government had to slow down the programme so that it could concentrate on the feeding of its people and deal diligently with these emerging issues.⁸⁹¹ Despite these challenges, there were 13,000,000 Tanzanians who lived in villages by the beginning of 1977.⁸⁹²

According to Sicard, in order to facilitate more progress, administration and development after the drought, the government shifted its attention from the Ujamaa villages (*Vijiji vya Ujamaa*) to development villages (*Vijiji vya Maendeleo*).⁸⁹³ McHenry argued that this shift was the consequence of the failure of *Vijiji vya Ujamaa*.⁸⁹⁴ He however missed the aim of *vijiji vya Ujamaa*. A survey of Nyerere's speeches explained *Vijiji vya Maendeleo* as a development stage of the *Vijiji vya Ujamaa*:

We shall achieve the goals we in this country have set ourselves if the basis of Tanzanian life consists of rural [trade, industry and social communities where people live and work together for the benefits of all]. We can start with extended family villages, but they will not remain family communities, and they must certainly be larger communities than was traditionally the case. Also modern knowledge must be applied by these communities and to them; and the barriers which previously existed between different groups must be broken down, so that they co-operate in the achievement of major tasks.⁸⁹⁵

In view of this emphasis, the education system had to shift too so that it would target the development of the life of the people who mostly lived in rural areas. According to Shempemba, Edward Sokoine resigned his position in the government so that he would pursue further studies on *Vijiji vya Maendeleo*.⁸⁹⁶ Sokoine became the Prime

⁸⁸⁹ Shivji, 'The village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. 124.

⁸⁹⁰ Shivji, 'The village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p.124.

⁸⁹¹ Nyerere, *Njaa si Jambo la Mzaha*.

⁸⁹² Sicard, *African Socialism*, fn. 14a, p. 28 'Spotlight on Tanzania' in *Africa no.66*, February 1977, pp. 112-114.

⁸⁹³ Sicard, *African Socialism*, pp. 28-29.

⁸⁹⁴ McHenry, *Tanzanian's Ujamaa Villages*, p. 116.

⁸⁹⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 347-48, emphasis added.

⁸⁹⁶ Shempemba, same interview.

Minister when he came back from his studies.⁸⁹⁷ Shempemba said that Sokoine devoted his time to the training of development and extension officers who would live and work with the villagers. However, due to the war with Uganda, this plan was shortened. The government revived it during the reform of its local government policy.⁸⁹⁸ The effects of the war with Uganda were enormous, and due to the fact that Nyerere had him as the leader of the course of action, the death of Sokoine in a road accident in 1984 frustrated the idea of *Vijiji vya Maendeleo* and the focus was lost.⁸⁹⁹ In 1985, Nyerere stepped down and there were no more emphasis on the *Vijiji vya Maendeleo*.⁹⁰⁰ Religious extremism took over and the church found itself at ‘war’ with groups of Islamic fundamentalists.⁹⁰¹

3. Reform in the Education Sector and its impacts in the Church

As indicated in chapter one and two in this study, the colonial government had initiated changes in the education sector soon after the visit of a team from the United Nations organisation (UN) to Tanganyika.⁹⁰² However, ‘the education opportunities for the steadily growing population in Tanganyika remained essentially the same’.⁹⁰³ The Ministry of Education reported⁹⁰⁴ that it was because of this shortfall that the government introduced education policy which was implemented for the first time in 1964.⁹⁰⁵ Nyerere pointed out the main purposes of the policy as: ‘to tackle the most glaring shortfalls of education inheritance.’⁹⁰⁶ Nyerere listed these shortfalls of education inheritance as follows. First was the existence of racial and religious discrimination in the education system.⁹⁰⁷ The colonial government had attempted to

⁸⁹⁷ Shempemba, same interview.

⁸⁹⁸ Wizara ya Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa, ‘Hali ilivyo hivi sasa’, *Mpango wa Uboreshaji wa Mfumo wa Serikali za Mitaa Tanzania Bara*, Dar es Salaam: Wizara ya Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa, 25 November 1999, pp. 2- 4

⁸⁹⁹ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁰⁰ ASL/Hotuba ya Baba Askofu‘ in the Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Septemba 6-8, 1989, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁰¹ Hotuba ya Baba Askofu‘ in the Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Septemba 6-8, 1989, pp. 14-15. I discuss more about these religious extremism in chapter seven in this study.

⁹⁰² Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 116-132.

⁹⁰³ A.G. Ishumi and T. L. Malyamkono, ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ in Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari (eds.) *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, London: James Currey; Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota and Trenton: Africa World Press, 1995, p. 48.

⁹⁰⁴ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report of the Ministry of National Education*, Dar es Salaam: Government printers, 1972, pp. 5-8.

⁹⁰⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 296-301.

⁹⁰⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 270.

⁹⁰⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 270.

reduce it but until the end of 1950s all church schools had received students from their own denominations. Nyerere's government proposed the integration of racial and religious systems in schools.⁹⁰⁸ Having used the colonial's education system as vehicle of evangelism and conversion, the 'Anglican Church' regarded this new government's education policy as a threat to its mission. Thus, the church stated: —. [this] means that our old-established schools [will be] taking in non-Anglican and non-Christian scholars [and this is very disappointing]".⁹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the government authorities were aware that the colonial church would not be at ease with changes which affected its opportunities.⁹¹⁰ Despite the church's hostility to these government's changes in the education sector, the integration of Christians and non-Christians in schools opened room for evangelism in the church.⁹¹¹

The second shortfall which the government intended to tackle, according to Nyerere, was the limited education opportunities created by the colonial government. Until the independences, a larger part of the education system was administered by voluntary agencies – religious and non-religious groups.⁹¹² The Church of Province of East Africa owned hundreds of 'bush' schools and nine secondary schools. One of these secondary schools – St. Andrews Minaki - was one of the only three high schools and education archipelagos in the country.⁹¹³ Other education archipelagos were St. Francis at Pugu owned by the Roman Catholics and Tabora Boys at Tabora owned by the government.⁹¹⁴ The church also owned teachers training colleges at Minaki, Magila, Kiwanda, Katoke, Loleza and Ndwika. There were two conditions for a pupil to attend these church institutions. First, a scholar was required to belong to either the CMSA⁹¹⁵ or to the UMCA and second that she or he should pay 'some fees'.⁹¹⁶ The government realised that this would be a hindrance to its purpose of building a

⁹⁰⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 270.

⁹⁰⁹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 4 (III)/Canon Kingsnorth, Report on Tour of East Africa, July-01 September, 1962, p. 1.

⁹¹⁰ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 7.

⁹¹¹ This is highlighted in the proceeding discussion of this chapter.

⁹¹² Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 10.

⁹¹³ Ketto, same interview.

⁹¹⁴ Ketto, same interview.

⁹¹⁵ 'Mary Newell' in *Three CMS Missionaries in East Africa: Keith Cole and Dick Pethy-bridge*, Keith Cole, 1986, p. 82.

⁹¹⁶ ASL/ACT/Education Policy for Mission Schools, 1950.

socialist society.⁹¹⁷ Nyerere's government proposed an expansion of the available educational facilities, especially at the secondary school and post-secondary levels.⁹¹⁸

The third shortfall was the inappropriate content of the curriculums provided by the colonial government. Nyerere's government reported that:

Colonial syllabuses and curricula at both Primary and Secondary school levels had been on the British prototypes, and were in many ways inappropriate to the Tanzanian situation. Thus the establishment, as it was taken over in 1961, was ill-equipped and hardly designed to meet the requirements of an independent African country with strong aspirations for economic and social change.⁹¹⁹

It was proposed therefore that the education provided in all schools should be much more Tanzanian in content.⁹²⁰ According to Shempemba the government took serious preparatory initiatives through which the churches' education secretaries became government employees.⁹²¹ These education secretaries were intended to assist the government in the implementation of the changes. The church reacted:

[Our] top grade African teachers are all being drawn off by the offer of high wages to the Administration, which must be Africanized. Their places are often being filled by Americans. There is a drive for all secondary education to go straight through form I to IV, and there is a danger that in our teacher training colleges we shall get only the G.C.E failures. Mr. Stringer at Korogwe Teacher Training College even thought that we should not be able to get enough scholars next year to carry on.⁹²²

The government introduced another vigorous change on the duration of primary school education from eight to seven years which meant that the standard VIII of the mission schools would become irrelevant.⁹²³ This was followed by another change whereby all public primary schools were kept under the supervision of twenty four local government authorities⁹²⁴ who were renamed district education secretaries.⁹²⁵

⁹¹⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 296.

⁹¹⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 270-271.

⁹¹⁹ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 7.

⁹²⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 271.

⁹²¹ Shempemba, same interview, Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 138, see also in the *Annual Report*, p. 9.

⁹²² RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF 4 (III)/Canon Kingsnorth, Report on Tour of East Africa, 01 July-01 September, 1962, p. 1.

⁹²³ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 13.

⁹²⁴ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 12.

Three of these district education secretaries – Daudi Semkiwa, George Salimu and Joseph Majiyapwani – were drawn from the Church of the Province of East Africa in Tanzania and were sent to Israel for training.⁹²⁶

The most vigorous change took place after the Arusha Declaration. One of the aims of the declaration was to build a self-reliant nation and therefore education had to focus on this aim too.⁹²⁷ Nyerere's paper on "Education for Self-Reliance" which was published in 1967⁹²⁸ described the primary purpose of education as to:

[...] – liberate human beings ... to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society ... to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.⁹²⁹

In view of this purpose, primary schools became economic institutions: "... agriculture [must be] introduced in the Primary School curriculum, and scientific agriculture practices [have to be] taught in the majority of Primary Schools with a view of developing such schools into economic institutions."⁹³⁰ In order to relate farming seasons to school activities, the 1967 primary school year was stretched to the period of January to October, and in future primary school years were to run from November to October. Kiswahili was made the medium of instruction in all government primary schools.⁹³¹ In this case, primary education changed from being a step towards secondary education and became a complete qualification aiming at self-employment in the Ujamaa villages.

The government announced its plans for quick implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the government policy of self-reliance.⁹³² In view of this purpose, the government stated that by the end of 1967 there would be qualified citizens to fill all

⁹²⁵ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹²⁶ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹²⁷ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 8.

⁹²⁸ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection From Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, London and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 267-290.

⁹²⁹ Nyerere, *Education must Liberate Man*, p. 3, Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 268, also in Julius K. Nyerere, *Education must Liberate Man: Speech to the Dag Hammarskjold Seminar on Education and Training*, Dar es Salaam: Dar Business Machine, 1974, p. 3.

⁹³⁰ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 13.

⁹³¹ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 13.

⁹³² CMSA/MLMSS6040/62/Minutes of the Meeting of Committee of the Church Missionary Society of Australia, Thursday 13 April 1967, p. 196.

teaching posts in primary schools throughout Tanzania.⁹³³ According to the spokesperson of the ministry of national education, this meant that no more expatriates would be needed for primary schools.⁹³⁴ The church noted quickly that these changes would affect expatriates who worked in those schools and therefore it was agreed that there should be no more recruitments of expatriates.⁹³⁵ According to Mbwana, the church had to take that decision on the ground that the cost of running the schools was also increasing while supports for education from abroad were decreasing.⁹³⁶ But, according to the synod of the Diocese of Morogoro, the continuing changes within the government's plans had revoked the church's primary aims of winning converts for Christ through these education institutions.⁹³⁷ Therefore, the church discussed about voluntary handing over to the government all its primary schools.⁹³⁸

But while the church was still discussing about the best ways of handing over these institutions the government announced its intention of nationalising all education institutions.⁹³⁹ The Diocese of Central Tanganyika resolved a quick transfer to the government all its primary schools.⁹⁴⁰ The Dioceses of Masasi, Dar es Salaam, Victoria Nyanza, Morogoro, Western Tanganyika and South West Tanganyika did the same through their synods and also through the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT).⁹⁴¹ Although the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga was not against the intention of handing over the schools voluntarily, it put some conditions:

This Synod ... orders the General Secretary of Christian Council of Tanzania to declare to the Minister of Education that;

1. All Districts Commissioners should take responsibilities of all Church Schools which falls under the boundaries of their Districts as soon as possible.

⁹³³ Minutes of the Meeting of Committee of the Church Missionary Society of Australia, p. 196.

⁹³⁴ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 15.

⁹³⁵ Minutes of the Meeting of the Church Missionary Society of Australia, p. 196.

⁹³⁶ Martin Mbwana, Personal files.

⁹³⁷ ACT/ADM/Morogoro/Kumbukumbu za Sinodi, 5-9 Septemba 1968.

⁹³⁸ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 146-147, Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 138, Debora Duncan Honore, *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on His Life and Work*, Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 35-57.

⁹³⁹ ASL/Managing Religious Diversity in Democratic Environment', A Speech delivered by his Excellence Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, President of Tanzania, at Boston University, USA, in the *Guardian*, Dar es Salaam, 28 September, 2006.

⁹⁴⁰ ACT/DCT/Dodoma/Minutes, Diocesan Council, Dodoma, 22-23 April 1970, p. 7.

⁹⁴¹ ACT/DCT/Dodoma/Diocese of Central Tanganyika News Letter, 30 March 1972.

2. Because the transfer of these Schools to the Governments may cause financial difficulties to the budget of the Local Government, this Diocese promises to assist the Budget in three years as follows – 28,500/- for 1968, 19,000/- for 1969 and 9,500/- for 1970.
4. The Government will make open doors for the teaching of Christian Education to continue for all pupils of all denominations.⁹⁴²

The CSP Sisters who ran almost all education institutions in the dioceses of Zanzibar and Tanga, Masasi, South West Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam and Ruvuma, received this decision with some panic and, in 1970, they relinquished their work in all primary schools.⁹⁴³ However, while the church was in a state of Arusha and the CSP Sisters in panic, the government was involved in yet other reforms on secondary education intending to curb the shortfalls which were created by the 1964 plan.⁹⁴⁴

There were varying disagreements as to whether the reforms had brought any change to the education system. For example, although the *Annual Report of the Ministry of National Education* stated that, even though the government declared free secondary education to all, it did not change the 1964 plan⁹⁴⁵ Shempemba said that it enforced more emphasis on self-reliance and thus it introduced a change.⁹⁴⁶ It can be argued however that even if the plan remained focused and the government had declared education free for all, the classification of secondary schools into public and private schools introduced some alterations. This was clearly presented in the two categories of schools as registered by the government:

Public Schools are those whose funds are provided by local Authorities or by Government through grants-in-aid or subventions. These include Government Schools, Local Authorities Schools and Voluntary Agency Schools. Hence Voluntary Agency schools are also known as assisted or aided schools. Private Schools consist of voluntary Authorities Schools, which, though registered as required by law, are not assisted by Government nor by Local Authorities through grants-in aid or subventions. Hence these schools are also known as Unassisted or Unaided Schools.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴² ASL/Synod of Zanzibar and Tanga, 1970, pp.14-15, translation is mine, Honore, *Trevor Huddleston*, pp.14-15.

⁹⁴³ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 147.

⁹⁴⁴ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, pp. 8 and 9.

⁹⁴⁵ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 7.

⁹⁴⁶ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁴⁷ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 12.

St. Mary's Magila which had been a practising school for the Teachers Training College, the Phillip Stoke (later Canon Andrea Mwaka) in Dodoma and the International School at Moshi all fell under the category of unaided schools because they served the able people – the sons and daughters of expatriates.⁹⁴⁸ All the other secondary schools belonging to the church were categorised as grants-in aid schools and were involved on another change:

Secondary Education [will be] of six-year duration from form 1-6 ... At the end of Form 4, a Cambridge School Certificate Examination [will be] held, the results of which [will] provide one of the bases for the selection of students for Form 5 and other types of further education, training, and employment. Similarly, at the end of Form 6, a Higher School Certificate Examination [will be] held, whose results also [will] provide one of the bases for selection to higher education, training and employment.⁹⁴⁹

Therefore while primary education was intended to set the base of education as well as self-employment as a way of enforcing development in the villages, secondary school education centred on producing people for further training and employment. Shempemba observed that this system would introduce a form of elitism⁹⁵⁰ which would contradict Nyerere's intentions.⁹⁵¹ Therefore, he challenged the idea of training the primary school pupils alone for self-employment.⁹⁵² For him the scholars from secondary schools could make the best self-employed persons and they could even train others in the villages if their school trainings could include technical skills.⁹⁵³ Shempemba who was then the regional education officer for Morogoro Region applied his belief to the Kilakala secondary school which was among the nationalised church schools. Kilakala proved that it was possible for a secondary school to feed its own student. Nyerere promoted Shempemba to the post of the deputy director of education in the ministry of national education.⁹⁵⁴ Therefore when the ministry announced that it would Africanise the heads of all secondary schools and colleges in the country, Shempemba was the new deputy director of education. However, the ministry could only initiate the change in boys' secondary schools and teachers

⁹⁴⁸ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 146-147, Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 138

⁹⁴⁹ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, p. 12.

⁹⁵⁰ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁵¹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 275-279.

⁹⁵² Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁵³ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁵⁴ Shempemba, same interview.

training colleges.⁹⁵⁵ Ten of the thirteen girls' secondary schools could not have African heads of schools because there were no qualified women for the posts.⁹⁵⁶ The CSP Sisters were ordered to continue to serve in the girls' secondary school at Korogwe.⁹⁵⁷ They were also compelled to restructure a middle school and teachers college at Loleza so that it would become a high school for girls in the regions of south west Tanganyika.⁹⁵⁸

With the idea of eliminating religious and racial differences through education institutions, secondary schools picked scholars from a variety of backgrounds and trained them as one community.⁹⁵⁹ Unlike primary schools, the secondary schools were all zoned and parents could not decide to send their children to a particular school or choose to study in a boarding or day school.⁹⁶⁰ Scholars, teachers as well as other members of staff for the schools were drawn from one end of the country to the other. Although co-education secondary schools were few, they became new kinds of *Vijiji vya Ujamaa*. While the idea was to reduce racial, tribal and religious differences, it brought a total change of ethos and according to Stanway it raised both adversely and favourably effects to the church:

Muslims insisted that meat be killed only by Muslim butchers, and this created catering problems. On the other hand, there were opportunities to allow Muslim children to mix with Christian Children [and thus a new opportunity for conversion]. In our Diocese one of the most outstanding converts was ... called Abdullah Mohamed ... [who later became] Bishop Alf Mohamed.⁹⁶¹

Nyerere expressed the need for this 'mixture of students' because he believed that: The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania ... was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state ... [and]

⁹⁵⁵ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁵⁶ Ministry of National Education, *Annual Report*, pp. 19-21.

⁹⁵⁷ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 213.

⁹⁵⁸ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 133-134.

⁹⁵⁹ Shempemba, same interview.

⁹⁶⁰ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 138.

⁹⁶¹ Stanway, *Alfred Staway*, p. 138.

various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work.⁹⁶²

In order to comply with the government's education plans, the Diocese of Central Tanganyika (DCT) resolved that as from 01 July 1970, all staff and maintenance grants would be handled by the heads of schools instead of being paid to the DCT Alliance Board of Accounts.⁹⁶³ It was also agreed that all remaining expatriate staff would become employees of the government. Even though the future was uncertain, the government compelled the DCT to combine its resources so that it could build a branch of Mvumi schools at Msalato. This new school became Msalato secondary school for young women. The Alliance secondary school changed its name to become Mazengo secondary school for young men.⁹⁶⁴ St. Paul's at Chidya, the only school which offered secondary education in the southern part of Tanzania and the pride of Anglicans in that part of the country was also restructured to accommodate young men of all religions and from other parts of Tanzania. St. Mary's at Magila accommodated young women from different parts of Tanzania in the preparation for a new secondary school for young women which would be opened at Korogwe.⁹⁶⁵ The teachers training college for women at Magila was amalgamated with Kiwanda teachers training college and then joined St. Andrews College to form Korogwe teachers training college.⁹⁶⁶ The buildings at Kiwanda and Magila were all abandoned. The teachers training college at Loleza was transferred to Butimba.⁹⁶⁷ Katoke and Ndwika teachers colleges were all handed over to the government.⁹⁶⁸ The secondary school at Maganzo in the Diocese of Victoria Nyanza and David Living Stone School in the Diocese of Western Tanganyika were also handed over to the government.⁹⁶⁹ By the end of 1975, the church in Central Tanganyika had only Andrea Mwaka School in Dodoma, Moshi International School at Moshi and Buigiri School for the Deaf in Dodoma.⁹⁷⁰ The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga had Tanga

⁹⁶² Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 269.

⁹⁶³ Minutes of the Diocesan Council, p. 8.

⁹⁶⁴ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 135.

⁹⁶⁵ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 131-42.

⁹⁶⁶ Mary -Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 133-142.

⁹⁶⁷ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 133-134.

⁹⁶⁸ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p.147, Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, pp. 131-142.

⁹⁶⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/ 'Matters of National interest' Africa Committee Minutes, 17 December 1970.

⁹⁷⁰ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p.137, ACT/DCT/Dodoma/Minutes of the Diocesan Council, p. 8.

Nursery School and Kwamkono Polio Hostel.⁹⁷¹ The Dioceses of Dar es Salaam, Masasi, Morogoro, Western Tanganyika, South West Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza were left without a school.⁹⁷²

According to Kivanda and Ketto, the government realised that the young women and men who were brought into boarding secondary schools which were far from their homes, developed a different kind of community life.⁹⁷³ In order to address this challenge, the government instituted compulsory national service training camps.⁹⁷⁴ These camps brought people from different parts of the country.⁹⁷⁵ According to Mtokambali they helped Tanzanians to build a strong sense of nationalism, braveness and hardworking.⁹⁷⁶ However, on the other hand, these camps created a gap in the spiritual growth of the people for two reasons. First, there were no church chaplaincies in these camps. Second, ‘the students’ were not permitted to attend church services outside the camps.⁹⁷⁷ Accordingly, sexual misconduct and harassment against young women were common talks in the residences commonly known in Kiswahili as *mahanga*.⁹⁷⁸ Since the media were all focused on the good intention of the government and almost all were owned by the government there was nowhere to report it.⁹⁷⁹

Therefore, while the government had good intention about its people, there were various shortfalls. However, as Ngoda argued, the church was loyal to the government.⁹⁸⁰ For example, even though there were many unresolved questions especially about church buildings (such as chapels) and land,⁹⁸¹ the church gave its

⁹⁷¹ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 146-147.

⁹⁷² Sepeku, same interview, Chiwanga, same interview.

⁹⁷³ Ketto, same interview, Kivanda, same interview.

⁹⁷⁴ Shampemba, same interview.

⁹⁷⁵ The duration of training changed to six months in 1993 and following the introduction of multiparty system, the camps training were temporary closed.

⁹⁷⁶ Mtokambali, same interview.

⁹⁷⁷ Chiwanga, same interview Kivanda, same interview, Joyce Ngoda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 15 May 2011 at Muheza.

⁹⁷⁸ Ngoda, same interview, Kivanda, same interview.

⁹⁷⁹ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *A Historical and Theological Analysis of Revival Movement (Uamsho) Within the Anglican Church of Tanzania*, Pietermaritzburg: Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005.

⁹⁸⁰ Ngoda, same interview.

⁹⁸¹ CMSA/MLMSS 6040/61/15/Minutes of the Diocesan Council, p. 8.

loyalty to the independent government just as it did during the British rule.⁹⁸² I therefore argue that the transfer of the church schools to the government was both voluntary (as a response to the high cost of the running of these institutions) and obliging (as a response to the nationalisation). It is necessary to emphasise this because, unlike the opinion of many members of the church that the government took over the schools by force, it was the church which enabled the government's takeover of the schools.

First, it was a way of showing the loyalty of the church to the government which it supported from the time of the struggle for independence. Second, it was its response to the circumstances of the time. There are five reasons for this. First, the church realised that transferring its schools to the government would relieve it from the heavy burden of paying teachers, supporting staff and maintenances. Second, the government had declared that there were no needs of expatriate teachers because more Africans were qualified to take over the teaching posts. In view of this, the church had a limited number of qualified staff. Third, it was a way of showing its obligation to the nationalism which it supported from the beginning. Fourth, many of the school buildings were in a state of disrepair with no funds to repair them. Fifth, with the government emphasis on Ujamaa villages, the old setting of mission stations where prominent features such as a school, a church building (chapel), a dispensary and hostels were available had lost its effect on the changing Tanzania.

4. The Church's Reaction to the Reform of Marriage Law

Missionary reports show that issues of marriage had been a challenge to the church even before the independence of Tanganyika and Zanzibar:

[...] – the fact that native law and custom, and Islam ... [and] the non-Christian relations of both parties [held] a large say in the matter, often [made] it extremely difficult for the Christian husband and wife to [find a balance of their rights]. The State marriage ordinances also added to the chaos. [we gave] much consideration and attention to the whole subject of Christian marriage, and with regard to the marriage ordinances [we did]... all [we could] with the Government to

⁹⁸² Minutes of the Diocesan Council, p. 8, ACT/ADM/RTC/Synod of the Diocese of Masasi, July 1967, ASL/ADZT/Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, July 1967.

urge revision. But whatever [was] done at that level, our own pastoral problem [remained], demanding constant study and all possible action with regard to teaching in preparation for marriage, the better equipping of our clergy and all others who [shared] in this work, and perseverance and patience in the face of all the difficulties in the work of reconciliation where marriages [were] broken.⁹⁸³

While these early challenges were caused by the missionaries' use of their own cultural milieu to interpret the African aspects of marriage, the challenges were stronger after the independences. The first critical challenge to the church was raised by the President of Zanzibar when he granted permission to the Muslims in Zanzibar to marry any woman they wanted. President Nyerere also argued that Tanzanians needed to bring revolution in several aspects of their lives in response to their being –oppressed a great deal ... exploited a great deal ... [and being] disregarded a great deal.”⁹⁸⁴ As a result, as Ngoda argued, the Tanzanians who had completed their secondary education and the national service challenged the church's understanding of marriage.⁹⁸⁵ The church had been using the Anglican canon law of marriage as its official guide.⁹⁸⁶ But, due to the existence of the two traditions – the evangelical and the Anglo-Catholic – differences on ideologies were evident.⁹⁸⁷ All dioceses which were carved from the Diocese of Zanzibar inherited ideologies from that diocese which stated clearly that:

The offspring of mixed marriages should not be baptised until of age to answer for themselves, without sufficient guarantee that they be brought up as Christians ... [And] in a marriage between a Christian man and a woman [of other religion] in which the man has deserted his wife, lapsed into [another religion], and lives in adultery, the woman should be permitted, if under our influence, to marry again.⁹⁸⁸

All dioceses which were born off the Diocese of Central Tanganyika had theirs from that diocese. Beidenman described these marriage rules of the Diocese of Central

⁹⁸³ A.G Blood, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, Vol. II, 1907-1933*, London: UMCA, 1957, p. 106, UBL/CMS/G3/A8/02/CMS Executive Meeting, Kiborian, 1911

⁹⁸⁴ 'We are at War' in the *Arusha Declaration*, p. 4.

⁹⁸⁵ Ngoda, same interview.

⁹⁸⁶ *Katekismo Fupi ya Elimu ya Kanisa*, Zanzibar: UMCA, 1930, *Kitabu cha Sala za Kanisa na Nyimbo*, Nairobi: SPCK and CMS, 1945.

⁹⁸⁷ *Katekismo Fupi ya Elimu ya Kanisa*, Zanzibar: UMCA, 1930, *Kitabu cha Sala za Kanisa na Nyimbo*, Nairobi: SPCK and CMS, 1945.

⁹⁸⁸ ASL/ADZ/Acts of the Synod 1884-1903 of the Diocese of Zanzibar, p. 11. These laws had never been changed and were reflected in the Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga in 1993, p. 20.

Tanganyika.⁹⁸⁹ For example, he has shown that whenever the church was informed that African Anglicans had taken part in the African rituals of marriage and either committed adultery or fornication, they were heavily fined and in some cases banned from the church.⁹⁹⁰ According to Neil this canonical practices was derived from Roman law and from the traditions of the West in the middle ages.⁹⁹¹ In this regard, it held some shortfalls in relation to African marriage customs. However, it was applied to Africans.⁹⁹² In view of the shortfalls held by these canonical practices, at its meeting in Lusaka on February 1970, the bishops of the Anglican Communion in Africa agreed that there was a need for “a pastoral appreciation of the problems arising out of African marriage customs, both rural and urban, in relation to full membership of the church”.⁹⁹³ The bishops asked Adrian Hastings if he could undertake a research which would highlight the need to accommodate some aspects of African culture into Anglican marriage law.⁹⁹⁴ Being a Roman Catholic priest who had decided to live a marriage life, Hastings took this assignment wholeheartedly.⁹⁹⁵

However, Tanzania had already published a White Paper about a uniform law of marriage life and this was to be presented to the National Assembly before March 1970.⁹⁹⁶ This was to say that the government of Tanzania discovered the problem in marriage even before the bishops could see it. The church could not keep itself aside from this opportunity which was provided by the government.⁹⁹⁷ It decided to set up a small commission which involved members of other denominations. The commission comprised two chaplains to the Dar es Salaam University – a Roman Catholic and a Lutheran – and an Anglican, the Reverend Father Graeme Watson of St. Alban’s Church in Dar es Salaam.⁹⁹⁸ It met six times and came up with an assessment to the

⁹⁸⁹ Beideman, *Colonial Evangelism*.

⁹⁹⁰ UBL/CMS/G3/A8/02/CMS Executive Meeting, Kiborian, 1911.

⁹⁹¹ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 391.

⁹⁹² ASL/Maagizo juu ya Ndoa na Hukumu za Kanisa katika Diocese ya Zanzibar, November 1930. These canonical practices remained unchanged until 1971.

⁹⁹³ Adrian Hastings, *Christian Marriage in Africa, Being a Report Commissioned by the Archbishops of Cape Town, Central Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, London: SPCK, 1973, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁴ Hastings, *Christian Marriage in Africa*, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁵ Hastings, *Christian Marriage in Africa*, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁶ LPL/MU/05/005/03/02/Overseas Correspondences’ and Report Files for Africa, Mothers Union Papers, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁷ UD/AC/Bishops’ Reaction: The Government Proposals on a Uniform Marriage Law, 1969.

⁹⁹⁸ LPL/MU/05/005/03/02/Mothers Union Papers, p. 3, Graeme Watson, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 3 April 2011 in London.

government proposal of the marriage law.⁹⁹⁹ This appraisal was then sent to the respective churches for more evaluation. However, in all the diocese of the ‘Anglican Church’, it was only the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga which reacted. When the bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga had received the commission’s report on 16 October 1969, he set a small committee.¹⁰⁰⁰ At its synod of 1970 the committee produced its report to the diocesan synod which came up with the following responses:

1. The Synod accepts most of the information given in the proposal that the law would improve marriage standards in the country.
2. As proposed in the Christian Marriage section, this synod which is of an Anglican church stands on the principles of the Christian teachings of monogamy: one man one wife until death separates them.
3. The age of the bride should not be below 18 and 21 for the groom. Even though international laws allows brides to marry at the age of 15 girls and boys of Tanzania need to be protected until they become mature enough to take marriage responsibilities as wife and husband. In this case even parents or guardians need to be consulted.
4. We agree to announce bans of marriage for 21 days prior to the day of marriage ceremony. However, parents or guardians need to have a copy of the ban and that need it to be published on the newspapers and not only the notice boards.¹⁰⁰¹

According to Watson, the reaction of the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga underlined critical issues as raised in the White Paper:

The rights of women are given great importance ... This is very much welcomed by the Church. This is not only because the Church’s teaching and practices stress the equality of husband and wife. It is because the Church is specifically concerned with the care and protection of the weaker members of society. Not only are women generally physically weaker than men, they are obviously more vulnerable because it is they who bear and wean the children, and therefore have greater burden. At the same time women are, to a greater or less extent, economically dependent upon men, especially here in Tanzania. Moreover , in Tanzania, as elsewhere, they are for the

⁹⁹⁹ UD/AC/Bishops’ Reaction: The Government Proposals on a Uniform Marriage Law, 1969

¹⁰⁰⁰ ASL/Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Sinodi ya 1970, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰¹ ASL/ADZT/Hotuba ya Bwana Askofu, Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Sinodi ya 1970, p. 4.
Translation is mine.

most part behind men in education achievement, and it will clearly be years before there can be really equality of opportunity at every level.¹⁰⁰²

Mndolwa showed that the missionaries intended to build a native church, and in order to reach that end, they relied on local chieftain system under the belief that to convert a chief was to convert the community.¹⁰⁰³ This missions' strategy created gender imbalances not only in education but also in other aspects of life. Thus, even though they were the pioneers of education before colonial rule, had made some efforts to empower women, specific efforts for women's education were put by the government close to the dawn of the independence in Tanganyika.¹⁰⁰⁴ Therefore the challenge of giving right to the women at this stage of the formulation of marriage law would be obvious:

If women are given rights for which the country as a whole is not at present ready, marriage and indeed stable relationship between the sexes could be gravely imperilled ... their social and economic evolution could be held back; and those responsible for education and cultural planning might not be sensitive enough to the need for greater priority to be given for education of girls.¹⁰⁰⁵

Mndolwa has shown that one way through which the church could have empowered women was through ordination which could have given them equal status with the men in the ministry of the church.¹⁰⁰⁶ The Diocese of Central Tanganyika had proposed the ordination of women but no action had been taken.¹⁰⁰⁷ The Diocese of Zanzibar gave reasons for its delay of raising women to the ordained ministry in that women could easily fall into polygamous marriages.¹⁰⁰⁸ Perhaps with the same attitude, no woman was called to the membership of the commission which reviewed the government's White Paper for marriage. No wonder, therefore, that their voice was inhibited. In 1970, the members of the commission (all men) resolved on the behalf of women that:

¹⁰⁰² ASL/Prov. E. A. Dar es Salaam General 1965-1969, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰³ Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana liliko Pwani na Kusini mwa Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, St. Mark's Book Project, 2005, p. 33.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See chapter two

¹⁰⁰⁵ ASL/Prov. E. A. Dar es Salaam, General 1965-1969, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Mndolwa, *Uamsho*, pp. 151-152

¹⁰⁰⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Letter from the Church Missionary Society to the Secretary for Tanganyika CMS.

¹⁰⁰⁸ ASL/The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, pp. 14, 16.

Although it is our conviction that the welfare of the nation best served by monogamous unions, the Church would consider that the Government's practical aim would be best served by discouraging polygamous unions, without making them generally illegal. For example, the government should not allow monogamous marriages legally contracted to become potentially polygamous unions as proposed in the White Paper. In this connection, we would recommend that, in order to promote the dignity and respect of women, any man wishing to marry second wife should be in agreement of his first wife and the consent of her relatives.¹⁰⁰⁹

The government approved three sets of marriage ordinances— Customary, Religious (i.e. Islam, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhism) and Civil Marriages.¹⁰¹⁰ These government's ordinances raised a challenge to the church. The Christians who could not marry in the church because their partner could not change her or his religion opted for civil marriages.¹⁰¹¹ Consequently, many people who had opted to get married in this way were banned from receiving the Eucharist. A meeting of bishops held at St. Mark's Theological College in 1978 under the chairmanship of Archbishop Sepeku had resolved that Anglicans who were involved in civil marriages with Muslims should be ~~allowed~~ to receive the Eucharist on two conditions: they should bring their children for baptism and that they should not be church elders."¹⁰¹² Since many of such Christians were women and the permission for baptising a child came from a husband, the church's restrictions discouraged their church attendance and as a result a good number of them converted to Islam.¹⁰¹³

5. The Church's Reactions to the Government Reform in the Health Sector

Until the Arusha Declaration, under the government medical scheme, the church co-operated with the colonial government to offer medical services to people.¹⁰¹⁴ The co-operation was necessary because, as Mary Gibbons noted, the church had not enough funds to run the hospitals alone.¹⁰¹⁵ On one hand, the church benefitted from this

¹⁰⁰⁹ ASL/Prov. E.A. General 1965-1969, p. 10

¹⁰¹⁰ N. E. R. Mwakasungura, *Sheria ya Ndoa na Talaka*, Tabora: TMP, 1976.

¹⁰¹¹ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/Barua kutoka kwa Canon George Bughe, 20 August 1989.

¹⁰¹² ACT/ADZT/Barua kutoka kwa Askofu Mkuu John, St. Andrew's Archives for 1975-1990.

¹⁰¹³ ASL/ADZT/Rejea ya Amri za Sinodi, Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Zanzibar and Tanga, 1993, p. 15.

¹⁰¹⁴ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 71.

¹⁰¹⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/ A letter from Dr M. J. Gibbons, 23. 1. 50. pp. 1-14.

collaboration with the government in the sense that its hospitals and dispensaries which were widely spread in the country were vehicles of evangelism and conversion.¹⁰¹⁶ In view of this, the Diocese of Masasi had Mkomaindo hospital and dispensaries at Chiwata, Namasakata, Luatala as well as a leprosy centre at Kindwiti.¹⁰¹⁷ The Diocese of Zanzibar had St. Augustine Hospital and St. Elizabeth Maternity Hospital at Magila, St. Francis Hospital at Kwamkono, St. Raphael Hospital at Korogwe as well as its various dispensaries at Kideleko, Kizara, Mkuzi, Bwembera, Kigongoi and Zanzibar.¹⁰¹⁸ The diocese also ran a polio hostel at Kwamkono. The Diocese of South West Tanganyika had St. Paul's Hospital at Liuli, a dispensary and a leprosy centre at Milo.¹⁰¹⁹ The Diocese of Central Tanganyika owned hospitals at Mvumi, Bugufi, Berega and Kilimatinde; dispensaries at Buigiri, Kibondo, Songe, Mamboya and Kongwa. The diocese also owned a Hombolo Leprosy Centre.¹⁰²⁰ The church also co-operated with Lutheran Church of Tanzania in the running of Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC) at Moshi.¹⁰²¹

All these hospitals and dispensaries complemented many others in the country, some of which gave services to people according to their wealth and racial complexions. After independence, the government requested the church to continue with the provision of more medical work and in the training of medical practitioners.¹⁰²² But, the church had its own medical policy which stated that:

Our ultimate aim is to win men for God by showing them the love of God in Christ through the medium of medical work ... [therefore] there should be regular teaching for all in-patients and antenatal cases waiting at the Hospital. Live dressers and nurses are the best evangelists. When these are not available an endeavour should be made to obtain help of an outside evangelist or Bible woman. Persons not only capable of preaching and teaching, but also of dealing personally with patients, are required.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁶ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p.124, Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, pp. 92-132.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.955, July 1962, pp. 102-103, *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities' to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 959, November 1962, p. 175.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.950, p. 21.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no.958, October, 1962, pp. 149-151.

¹⁰²⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/copy of Letter from Dr. M. J. Gibbons, Received on 23.1.50, pp. 1-14.

¹⁰²¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Copy of Letter from Dr. M. J. Gibbons, Received on 23.1.50. pp. 1-14.

¹⁰²² *Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 951, March 1962, p. 36.

¹⁰²³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Memorandum on Medical Policy, 1946 by Dr. M. J. Gibbons, p. 2, UBL/CMS/M/Y/A8/ Archives for 1934-1947.

The government's intentions, on one hand, were to build Ujamaa nation which would put emphasis on:

[...] – the well-being of the people, and the basic assumption been acceptance of human equality ... [and] a belief that every individual man and woman, whatever colour, shape, race, creed, religion, or sex, is an equal member of the society with equal rights in the society and equal duties ... no room for racialism, and no room either for doctrines of aristocracy.¹⁰²⁴

The Arusha Declaration, on the other hand, revived some of the aspects of collaboration between the church and the government on medical work. Nyerere stated that:

One example of this [was] the integration of Government and non-Government medical services, so that available facilities [could be] used to maximum advantages. Thus, 11 voluntary agency hospitals [had] been provided with government funds to function as District hospitals-and some of these [had] been completely handed over to Government ... Also, suitable voluntary agency dispensaries receive[d] Government finance to act as rural health centres, and Government [had] ... increased financial and other responsibility for the running of local authority health services where this was necessary to ensure reliable, good service to the people of the area.¹⁰²⁵

As a consequence of the Arusha Declaration, St. Augustine Hospital and St. Elizabeth Maternity Hospital were amalgamated with Ubwali government health centre and were transferred to Muheza to become a designated hospital for Muheza District.¹⁰²⁶ The amalgamation and the transfer of these health institutions to Muheza affected the buildings at Magila. Buildings of a value of billions of Tanzanian shillings were abandoned at Magila. Mvumi and Kilimatinde Hospitals were designated to the Dodoma and the Manyoni districts respectively.¹⁰²⁷ The Berega Hospital became the Designated Hospital for Rural Morogoro District. Mkomaindo Hospital at Masasi was nationalised to become the referral hospital for the southern regions of the country. These initiatives and the fact that the Ujamaa villagers, though their *msalagambo*,

¹⁰²⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 303.

¹⁰²⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 293.

¹⁰²⁶ Selvester Chizazi, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 20 May 2011 at Muheza.

¹⁰²⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/Minutes of the Meeting of Diocesan Council 22 -23 April 1970.

build simple but hygienic mud huts as dispensaries¹⁰²⁸ increased health facilities in the country. But, the increase of health facilities while a good number of qualified medical practitioners had left the country following the government's emphasis on Africanisation raised a challenge to both the church and the state. The Diocese of Central Tanganyika was very much affected. The bishop of the diocese confronted the state and the CMSA:

Hospitals ... will have to close unless more staffs are available ... if we do not get two or three tutor sisters we will have to close the hospitals. Another urgent request is for missionary pastor at Kilimatinde ... Ujamaa villages and a small communal town, will be established in that area later this year, and a man is needed to minister to the Christians of these villages and to train Tanzanians to minister at Kilimatinde Hospital.¹⁰²⁹

However, very few medical practitioners were able to come because there were more challenges. First, permits for working had been difficult to obtain. Second, the role of missionaries had changed dramatically from directors to disciples, from people who operated with authority to people who should work under authority.¹⁰³⁰ The CSP Sisters who were the main workers in the UMCA hospitals and dispensaries, for example, had their last professed novice in 1973 and because many of them were aging, in 1980 they relinquished their medical work.¹⁰³¹ This raised a challenge not only to the church but also to the government. There has been a shortage of above 50% of medical practitioners in the country ever since.

6. The Church's Reactions to the Reforms of Land

—The British rule established a freehold ownership of land in Tanganyika.”¹⁰³² The church bought its land under this scheme.¹⁰³³ Soon after independence, the government realised that freehold land could be a challenge in its efforts of establishing Ujamaa. The Arusha Declaration stated that land —. is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future

¹⁰²⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 295.

¹⁰²⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/Appeal for Staff by Bishop of Central Tanganyika.

¹⁰³⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/D. C. T. Missionary Conference, Dodoma, 17-19 April 1970.

¹⁰³¹ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, pp. 207-217.

¹⁰³² Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 307.

¹⁰³³ TNA/AB 537.

development.”¹⁰³⁴ In view of this the state authority ~~abolished~~ freehold ownership of land shortly after independence.”¹⁰³⁵

According to Nyerere, the only change which the new government law about land had initiated was to make land a national property.¹⁰³⁶ The effect of this change on the church was obvious: all title deeds and offers had to be reviewed. The church’s land which was bought before 1960 bore the names of the mission groups (the UMCA and the CMSA). The church’s land which was bought after 1960 had the new name (i.e. the Church of Province of East Africa). When the missionaries left there were no proper handing over of important documents.¹⁰³⁷ As a result, many documents could not be found.¹⁰³⁸ Therefore, during the government’s takeover of the church schools and hospitals, already some of the land documents of the missions were missing. In view of this, the church did not have proof of occupancy to some of its land.¹⁰³⁹ The effect of this was the loss of Weti, Pemba, Ziواني cemetery and Fuoni Zanzibar.¹⁰⁴⁰ The nationalised schools and hospitals had church buildings within the same compounds. St. Andrews parish for example was (and still is) in the compounds of Korogwe teachers training college. The old Korogwe primary school is still within the compound of the head offices of the Diocese of Tanga.

Because of the government’s policy that it would not interfere on matters of faith the church continued to use worshipping facilities which fell under the government’s areas of occupancy.¹⁰⁴¹ The church benefited more from this government policy. For example, wherever the church did not have church buildings, the government allowed the church to use some classrooms of the nationalised schools to conduct its services. The church authority felt comfortable within this setting because the land, the schools and hospitals belonged to the nation. Since the nation literally meant the people

¹⁰³⁴ The Land’ in *The Arusha Declaration*, p. 17.

¹⁰³⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 307.

¹⁰³⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 307.

¹⁰³⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF32(XXI)/General Secretary, Report of Tour of East Africa, Canon Kingsnorth’s Tours – Africa 1962/64, RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF4(III)/Universities Mission Trust Limited.

¹⁰³⁸ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF32(XXI)/General Secretary, Report of Tour of East Africa, Canon Kingsnorth’s Tours – Africa 1962/64, Universities Mission Trust Limited.

¹⁰³⁹ ASL/ADD/Taarifa ya Makabidhiano ya Shule ya Minaki kati ya Kanisa la Jimbo na Serikali, 17 May 1974, RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF 32 (XXI)/1/A letter from Financial Secretary to Archdeacon Sydenham, 06 March 1959.

¹⁰⁴⁰ RHL/UMCA-USPG/ SF32(XXI)/1/A letter from Financial Secretary to Archdeacon Sydenham

¹⁰⁴¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/Minutes, Diocesan Council, Dodoma, 22-23 April, 1970, p. 7.

(Tanzanians) and many church members were in the government services, bishops took it for granted that the government would always deal with the church diligently. However, after the Tanzania – Uganda war, some government officials used this opportunity for their own benefit. For example, in 1986 an order was issued by the government to the church to demolish its church buildings.¹⁰⁴² Others utilised the situation to sell portions of land which held names of the missions.¹⁰⁴³ Tanga Nursery School lost its direction and was taken over by a parent committee and some members of the committee sold portion of its land to the Arabs at Chumbageni Tanga.¹⁰⁴⁴ With the continual change of government policy and civil servants, the church found itself at risk of losing its land leases. First, the state authority stopped the churches from using school classrooms as worshipping facilities. Second, dioceses such as Dar es Salaam which gave several acres of its land to the government at Buguruni, lost five acres to the land invaders, and was threatened to lose its four hundred and fifty acres at Mtoni Buza in Temeke municipality.¹⁰⁴⁵ However, because not even a single diocese had trained or employed a qualified person on land issues, it has remained a continuing challenge to the church which demands further research.

7. Chapter Summary

I have presented, in this chapter, various response of the church to the changes initiated by the government following the introduction and implementation of the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. These included the effects caused by the implementation of rural settlement programmes, reforms on the marriage law, and reforms in the sectors of education, health and land. Each of these changes affected the church and Tanzanians. In this regard, this chapter has highlighted how the church and the political authority had reacted to these changes.

Alongside the reactions of the church and the state authority, there were two major findings which I presented here. First, following the implementation of Ujamaa

¹⁰⁴² ASL/ADD/Hotuba ya Baba Askofu John Sepeku aliyoitwa kwenye Mkutano Mkuu wa Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam, Tarehe 31 Julai, 1983, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴³ Chizazi, same interview.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Eustace Mandia, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 21 October 2011 in Dar es Salaam

¹⁰⁴⁵ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania: 1864-2004*, Dar es Salaam, SMTC Project, 2005, p. 57.

villages whereby Tanzanians were called to live in Ujamaa villages most of the mission stations (i.e., the church's villages) and which needed major repairs became unnecessary and therefore the church abandoned them. Both the white missionaries and black Africans joined these Ujamaa villages. I argued that white missionaries were challenged by black Africans in these Ujamaa villages. I argued my case by mentioning a white missionary quoting black African Anglican as saying that all things in the Ujamaa villages were the property of the people and that there was no 'individualism' in those villages. The villager who said these words was a church elder as well as a treasurer of several villages.¹⁰⁴⁶ He was supported by Malecela and Mhogolo. He warned that those who refused to associate themselves with this Ujamaa's emphases would be given a deadline. According to the villager, the missionaries were given conditions – living in community (the government's emphasis) or in isolation. The fact that many missionaries left the country thereafter implies that although the missionaries proclaimed a gospel of unity and love, they practiced individualism which was contrary to the African culture. After the missionaries had left the country, the church was left without qualified personnel because the missionaries did not prepare Africans to take over leadership positions of the church from them. Thus, the African church had to enquire assistance from the mission organisations. The missions' theme 'Come Back to Africa'¹⁰⁴⁷ addressed this challenge.

The second major finding of this chapter concerns the handing over of church schools. Unlike the belief among many members of the church that the government took over the schools by force, I argue that this was not the case. My argument is based on the following facts. First, the church handed over its schools as a way of showing its loyalty to the government which it supported during the struggle for independence. Second, following the needs of the time which emerged as the government continued to implement its plans, the church was obliged to hand over its schools. This chapter has established five reasons for this:

¹⁰⁴⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/8/East Africa Visit-May/July, 1973.

¹⁰⁴⁷ RHL/UMCA-USPG/Come Back to Africa: The Review of the Work of 1962, June 1963, p.10.

- i. The church realised that transferring its schools to the government would relieve it from the heavy burden of paying teachers, supporting staff and maintenances.
- ii. The government had declared that there was no need for expatriate teachers because many Africans were qualified to take over teaching posts. In view of this, the church had a limited number of qualified personnel.
- iii. It was a way of showing its obligation to the cause of nationalism which it supported from the beginning.
- iv. Many of the school buildings needed major repair while the church had no sufficient funds for that purpose.
- v. With the government emphasis on Ujamaa villages, the *Misheni* set up (i.e. a school, a church building, a dispensary and hostels) was no longer needed.

It can be concluded that with the introduction and implementation of various government policies, the church were kept in a motion of continual change. This makes it necessary to have a chapter about the Ujamaa centred church which will highlight changes which the church has gone through while continuing to engage with the Ujamaa goals. In the following chapter, I regard this church as the Ujamaa-centred church.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UJAMAA-CENTRED CHURCH IN TANZANIA (1967-1993)

1. Introduction

In chapters two and three I described how the Ujamaa goals facilitated the breakaway of the church from the Church of the Province of East Africa (CPEA). This breakaway of the church resulted into the formation of the Church of the Province of Tanzania (CPT). In chapter four where my discussion focused on the responses of the church to the implementation of the principles of Ujamaa and the reaction of the state authority to these responses of the church, I referred to the CPT as a Ujamaa-centred church. I indicated in this chapter four that the compliance of the church to the Ujamaa goals dictated changes in several aspects of the church life. This current chapter reviews the impact of these changes on the leadership, theology, liturgy and ministry of the church.

2. The Nature of Leadership in the Ujamaa-Centred Church

In his book, *Freedom and Socialism*, Julius Nyerere notes the experiences which Tanzanians had gone through over years regarding leadership:

In the past years and centuries, we were greatly intimidated and harassed by colonialists. If you stood before a colonial leader to speak or to ask him a question, you would be harassed by his juniors, who would ask you why you spoke or asked questions. This practice instilled fear in the minds of many citizens. The people did not respect their seniors; they simply feared them.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁸ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection From Writings and Speeches*, Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 139.

Chambo has pointed out that, as a result of these fears, that most Tanzanians developed an inferiority complex and syndrome of dependency.¹⁰⁴⁹ Mntambo holds that a similar complex could be noticed in the church as well.¹⁰⁵⁰ Agreeing with Chambo, Mntambo gave examples of the relationships between the white missionaries and the black African Christians, the clergy and laypeople, and between a bishop and his church.¹⁰⁵¹ According to Alfred Stanway, black Africans feared white missionaries because white people were not perceived as practising humility and patience towards black people.¹⁰⁵² Mntambo said that the laypeople feared their clergy not because they carried the message of God, but because they could exclude them from parish membership and by extension from their jobs.¹⁰⁵³ He also said that, taking from the fact that those who were excommunicated from the church lost their jobs and could not get more services related to the church, it instilled fear in many people.¹⁰⁵⁴ Ngoda holds that among the effects of these fears were that some Christians would take part in the daily church services not because they liked them, but because they were forced to attend.¹⁰⁵⁵ As a result, Ngoda has noted that whenever they encountered problems in their lives they would secretly consult a *mganga* (i.e., traditional healer) but not their priests and their medical practitioners. Rowthorne has argued that in the history of the church: “The laity ... [had always been] voiceless, sightless, powerless, invisible mass and badgered.”¹⁰⁵⁶ For Rowthorne, the ordained clergy perceived the laity as the ‘un-anointed ones’ and hence they disregarded them. In Tanzania, this perception had been passed on to Africans by their predecessors (i.e., the white missionaries) and the Africans inherited it without much critique. In view of this, Sundkler was quite on target when he pointed out that:

It [was] not so much the professed and verbally expressed theology of ministry ... [that had shaped] the attitude of African office-bearers [;] it [was] the phenomenology of the ministry: that which was ‘seen’ and observed in the actual practice of the missionary, and his first co-workers condition their outlook.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ernest Chambo, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 10 January 2011 at Muheza.

¹⁰⁵⁰ John Mntambo, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 14 May 2011 at Korogwe.

¹⁰⁵¹ Mntambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁵² CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/‘The Role of the Expatriate Missionary today’, D.C.T. Missionary Conference Dodoma, 17-19, 1970, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵³ Mntambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Mntambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Joyce Ngoda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 10 January 2011 at Muheza.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Anne Rowthorne *Liberation of the Laity*, Harrisburg: Morehouse, 1986, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bengt G. M Sundkler, *The Christian Ministry in Africa* London: SCM Press, 1960, p. 128.

Ngoda affirmed Sundkler's criticism when she stated that the role of the ordained clergy, as viewed by the laity, was that of proprietors of the church.¹⁰⁵⁸ In this regard, it can be argued that the laity perceived the church's leadership as a rude and an authoritarian government. Unlike Ngoda's argument however, Chambo and Lusega noticed a change of this perception which, according to them, was among the effects of the Arusha Declaration on the church.¹⁰⁵⁹ About the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere had stated that:

The Declaration is first of all a reaffirmation of the fact that we are Tanzanians and wish to remain Tanzanians as we develop. Certainly we shall wish to change very many things in our present society. But we shall have stated that these changes will be effected through the process of growth in certain directions. This growth must come out of our own roots not through the grafting on to those roots of something which is alien to our society. We cannot accept any political 'holy book' and try to implement its rulings with or without revision.¹⁰⁶⁰

In view of this position, the State authority pointed out the kind of leadership which Tanzania would need:¹⁰⁶¹

Every ... leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of Capitalism, Feudalism ... hold shares in any company, ... hold Directorships in any Privately-owned enterprises, ... receive two or more salaries, ... or own houses which he rents to others.¹⁰⁶²

It was resolved elsewhere that ~~in~~ order to prevent exploitation it [was] necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour."¹⁰⁶³ According to Bishop Huddleston this meant that whoever earned a living by using another person's labour

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ngoda, same interview.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Chambo, same interview, Manase Lusega, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 18 May 201, Dodoma.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 315.

¹⁰⁶¹ 'Leadership' in *the Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶² 'The Leadership' in *the Arusha Declaration*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶³ 'Good Policies' in *The Arusha Declaration*, p. 18.

was *kupe* (a parasite).¹⁰⁶⁴ The emphasis here was evident: everybody should be self-reliant.¹⁰⁶⁵

Although Nyerere had assured the clergy that these resolutions would not bind them,¹⁰⁶⁶ the church continued unabated towards change. Hence, the relationship between the clergy and the laity which for a long time had been that of a master-servant¹⁰⁶⁷ was also changing. This was reflected in Bishop Huddleston's statement that: "The Church is here to serve in any way it can but no longer to manage or govern ..."¹⁰⁶⁸ He further cemented his argument thereafter: "This, as I see it, is the logical consequences of the Arusha Declaration."¹⁰⁶⁹ Bishop Huddleston believed "that an African bishop would timely fit into this logic of the gospel of self-reliance and self-governing and thus he resigned."¹⁰⁷⁰ In 1968, Gayo Hillary Nyumbu was elected the fifth bishop for the Diocese of Masasi. Similarly, Backer, the bishop of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga resolved that:

[...] – *sasa saa inakaribia ambapo kwa ajili ya mema yote ya Diosisi [sic] imenipasa kupunzika ... isingenifaa mimi nihudhurie* Lambeth Conference [sic] *sasa hivi halafu baadae nijiuzuru ... itafaa sasa Mwafrika achaguliwe kuwa Askofu wa Diosisi* – For the good of this diocese, this is the right time for me to retire ... As I see it, it would be meaningless for me to attend the next Lambeth Conference and then retire thereafter ... an African should be made the diocesan bishop from now on.¹⁰⁷¹

In 1968, Yohana Mwekwalekwa Jumaa was elected the second bishop for the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga.¹⁰⁷² While it can be argued that these were missionary bishops and thus were responding to the pressure of Africanisation, other dioceses which were

¹⁰⁶⁴ Trevor Huddleston, 'The Arusha Declaration', *The State of Anglo-Tanzanian Relations Bulletin*, London: Africa Bureau, 1970, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Huddleston, 'The Arusha Declaration', p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁶ TL/Mapadre pia ni umma-Rais Nyerere awaambia viongozi wa dini" in *Ecclesia Newspaper* no. 197, September 1970, p. 1. Translation is mine.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Simon Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa, John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam, Catherine Kivanda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 18 May 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁰⁶⁸ ACT/ADM/Trevor Huddleston, A Letter to Nalitolela, 02 July 1967.

¹⁰⁶⁹ A Letter to Nalitolela, 2 July 1967.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Julius K. Nyerere, "Challenges in a Poor Country" in Debora Duncan Honore *et al.*, *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.15.

¹⁰⁷¹ ASL/ADZT/Hotuba ya Bwana Askofu', *Diosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Sinodi 1967*, Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga Papers, p. 4. Translation is mine.

¹⁰⁷² Hotuba ya Bwana Askofu.

under the leadership of African bishops were also struggling to fit into this gospel of self-reliance and self-governing. For example, Gresford Chitemo, the bishop of the Diocese of Morogoro held that it was impossible to avoid a shift from a managing and governing church towards that of a serving church.¹⁰⁷³ For him –a living Church is a serving Church [because] the Son of Man came not to be served but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.”¹⁰⁷⁴ Through its public addresses, the State authority pleaded for more radical changes. Nyerere, for example, addressed the public saying that: –*siku za „mapadre’ kuogopwa zimepita ... maana siku hizi wamisionari ni sehemu ya umma na kwa hiyo haifai [waogopwe]* – those days when people feared their ordained ministers are over ... now missionaries are part of the community; they should not be feared.”¹⁰⁷⁵ This was soon after he had spoken to the religious leaders at Tabora where he insisted that:

*Inapofika wakati ambapo taifa limegawanyika katika sehemu mbili watu fulani wananung’nika ... kwamba wanaonewa; na wachache wanaonea ... watu wa dini mnatazamiwa sauti yenu iwe ya waziwazi ... [kusema] mnaonea ninyi – When it comes to a point that the nation is divided into two groups and the people in one of the groups are complaining that they are oppressed by others; your voice as church leaders must be open ... you are oppressing these others.*¹⁰⁷⁶

According to Chiwanga, these were the reasons why conveying the Episcopal leadership close to the people became the focus of the church.¹⁰⁷⁷ As a consequence, he held the synods of the church passed resolutions which to some members looked very radical, if not downright un-Anglican!¹⁰⁷⁸ Although he gave no clear example, the decisions taken by the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga could illustrate such instances. The synod decided to give up the title of archdeacon as well as chancellor for the reason that these had been misused to an extent that it became discriminating and an intimidating titles.¹⁰⁷⁹ While on the one hand, new titles such as rural deans, heads of zones and diocesan education secretaries were introduced to

¹⁰⁷³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/61/15/Morogoro Outreach.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Morogoro Outreach.

¹⁰⁷⁵ TL/Mapadre pia ni umma-Rais Nyerere awaambia viongozi wa dini’, *Ecclesia* Newspaper, no. 197, September 1970, p. 1. Translation is mine and emphasis is added.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzani na Dini: Hotuba aliyoitoa Rais Julius K. Nyerere siku ya Kufungua Semina ya Viongozi wa Madhehebu mbalimbali ya Dini huko Tabora, Jumatatu 27Julai 1970*, pp.17-18. Translation is mine.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁰⁷⁹ ASL/ADZT/Appendices’ in the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod 1970, p. 2.

serve the new attitude – the serving church;¹⁰⁸⁰ on the other hand, the freedom of speech expressed in the constitutions enabled the laity to enquire more changes about the church's leadership. For example, the House of the Laypeople of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga argued that:

*Dayosisi iruhusu watu mmoja mmoja katika mitaa, wenyeji wa mahali pale kabisa anaehiari kujitolea, afundishwe kutoa Missa na mambo fulani fulani yahusikanayo... – The Diocese should allow one lay person from each parish to preside in the Eucharist services and perform other parish duties in the absence of the parish priest.*¹⁰⁸¹

Three thoughts can be extracted from these suggestions. First, the arguments reflected a demand for change in the nature of leadership. The laity demanded the right of attending to some responsibilities which the church believed could only be performed by the ordained people. Partly, this challenge emerged because “[m]any Church teachers [i.e., catechists] and evangelists who had moved to the villages want[ed] to keep their own congregations ... [And] in some case they [were] many ... in one village that the Church [couldn't] afford to pay them.”¹⁰⁸² It can be argued therefore that it was a struggle for leadership position in the village churches. Second, the ordained clergy were besieged by pastoral works which were greatly increasing following the *villagesation*. The transfer of people into the Ujamaa villages had created a new opportunity for evangelism and pastoral ministry while, as the CMSA had reported, the number of the ordained ministers remained the same:

The Church is facing tremendous challenge in the Ujamaa Villages. The old parish system of 30 or more small village churches of 300 or so people is giving way to a parish with six Ujamaa Villages of 4000 or more people in each village. This is tremendous opportunity to reach people in one larger village rather than small villages.¹⁰⁸³

Third, the laity in the Ujamaa church were stirred up by the ‘spirit of change’ created by their involvement in the Ujamaa village life and therefore they could not see any reason why they should not play the same role in their church too. The church reacted

¹⁰⁸⁰ ASL/ADZT/The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod 1974, p. 8, KBSL/ACT/DWT/Archives for 1965 to 1980.

¹⁰⁸¹ Appendices, p. 2. Translation is mine.

¹⁰⁸² CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Extracts from the minutes, Diocesan Council, Dodoma, 07 September 1971, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/‘The Church in Central Tanzania’, the Report to the Africa Committee, 12 October, 1972, p. 1.

to these challenges in several ways. First, in order to solve the problems created by the availability of many catechists and evangelists in one village, some of them were ordained. Their ordination resolved the problem of shortage of the ordained ministers. Secondly, according to Stirling, the church changed its financial regulations.¹⁰⁸⁴ The Diocesan Council of Central Tanganyika, for example, decided that the offerings collected in these Ujamaa village churches should be used as follows:

[...] – 20% C. C. F,¹⁰⁸⁵ 10% to the local parish and the remainder to be used at the discretion of the village Church Council. C. C. F. contributions, either to be paid direct to the Diocesan Office, or to the parish pastor as they please.¹⁰⁸⁶

Mntambo pointed out that because all people were *ndugu* (lit: related to each other),¹⁰⁸⁷ there were debates about the relevance of titles like *bwana askofu* – lord bishop – which, previously was used for bishops, and *waheshimiwa* – venerable and honourable – which were used for archdeacons and for the members of the synods respectively.¹⁰⁸⁸ Nyerere himself was not *bwana* but *ndugu na mwalimu* – a relative and a teacher who had always emphasised that “*–eho ni dhamana*” – leadership is trust.¹⁰⁸⁹ Nyawu, Mbelwa and Chambo said that Nyerere’s emphasis on leadership as trust had direct influence on the ordained people as well.¹⁰⁹⁰ From the year 1970 on, they began to change their attitudes towards the laypeople.¹⁰⁹¹ Chiwanga added that the perception that the ordained ministers were the church’s ruling elite was transformed into the one who served with the people.¹⁰⁹²

Singano noticed a shift from the word *bwana* to another Kiswahili word *baba* – father.¹⁰⁹³ According to him, everyone in the community was *ndugu* but when it came to an ordained person, the laypeople would distinguish him from others as their *baba* which was (and still is) „*ujamaa*’s’ a word denoting the respect given to the role of

¹⁰⁸⁴ Leader Dominic Stirling, *Heroes of the Faith in Tanzania*, Ndanda-Peramiho: PBNP, 1997, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸⁵ C.C.F stands for Central Church Funds.

¹⁰⁸⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/4/Minutes of the Diocesan Council, 25 August 1970, No. 108.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Mntambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Diocesan Synods, 1964, 1967 and 1970.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Musa Nyawu, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 in Dodoma, Mbelwa, same interview, Chambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁹¹ Nyawu, same interview, Mbelwa, same interview, Chambo, same interview.

¹⁰⁹² Simon E. Chiwanga, personal papers on leadership and management.

¹⁰⁹³ Eliya Singano Mpalahole, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 03 January 2011, Dar es Salaam.

men within extended families. According to Singano, since in the traditional community the word *baba* was (and still is) relational, the laypeople's description of their bishop as *baba askofu*, their priests as *baba kasisi*, their deacons as *baba shemasi* and their catechist as *baba katekista* signified their new relationship.¹⁰⁹⁴ This meant that the ordained ministers lived with the people and thus they were respected because of their role in the society just as the extended families respected elders because of their role in the family. In this regard, the title *baba* carried a different relevance if compared to the English word 'father.' Again this was the effect of Nyerere's emphasis on living with the people.¹⁰⁹⁵ He lived with the people and as a result, they recognised him as *mwenzetu* – one of us.¹⁰⁹⁶

The bishops, priests, deacons and catechists practiced it in a different way.¹⁰⁹⁷ They became not only members in the village churches but also of the larger flock – the Ujamaa villagers.¹⁰⁹⁸ However, their total engagement in the Ujamaa life had several effects in their future lives. First, they would not own houses because doing so could contradict the principles of Ujamaa. While this became the reason for some priests to work as part timers, many others enjoyed living in church houses. Therefore, with exception of a few part-time ministers such as Stanford Shauri and Mang'anya from the Diocese of Dar es Salaam and five priests from the Diocese of Central Tanganyika¹⁰⁹⁹, many ordained priests lived in church houses.¹¹⁰⁰ In places where a parish did not own a house, one of the parishioners would offer rooms in their house for their parish priest.¹¹⁰¹ The repercussion of this simplicity of life would be felt during their retirement. When a priest or a bishop retired or died and the church house had to be occupied by another minister, there was no place for him or his family to stay. Mokiwa gave the example of Archbishop Sepeku, who left his family with no home when he died in 1983.¹¹⁰² Mokiwa explained further that the Diocesan Standing Committee of Dar es Salaam gave Sepeku's family a small church house at Buguruni

¹⁰⁹⁴ Singano, same interview.

¹⁰⁹⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/1/Report of the Regional Secretary for Africa, September 1974.

¹⁰⁹⁶ TL/Mapadre pia ni Umma' in the *Ecclesia* newspaper, no. 197, September 1970, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁰⁹⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Extracts from the minutes of the meeting of Diocesan Council held in Dodoma on Tuesday 07 September 1971, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Singano, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/C.M.S Representative's Report for Africa Committee from the Rev. Canon P. D. Dawson, May 1971.

¹¹⁰¹ Singano, same interview.

¹¹⁰² Valentino Mokiwa, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 03 December 2011, Arusha.

in *B80*Dare es Salaam.¹¹⁰³ Agreeing with Mokiwa, Ramadhani mentioned by names some bishops whose dioceses had to find houses for them to live in after they retired.¹¹⁰⁴ He named Archbishop Kahurananga (Western Tanganyika) and some bishops – Chitemo (Morogoro), Mlangwa (Dar es Salaam), Mlele (South West Tanganyika), Chisonga (Masasi), Ngahyoma (Ruvuma), Rusibamaila (Victoria Nyanza), Madinda (Central Tanganyika) and himself (Zanzibar and Tanga) – as examples. Chiwanga concluded that these bishops received the church from the missionaries and brought unity in the church. They retired as financially poor as their nation and their church.¹¹⁰⁵

According to Mokiwa, the model of life which was expressed by these bishops in the ministry shaped their priests, deacons and catechists.¹¹⁰⁶ Mokiwa gave the example of his own father, the Rev. Canon Leonard Mokiwa who, when he retired from the Diocese of Dar es Salaam in 1995, was given but a bible and the bus fare which would only assist him and his family reach as far as Handeni, his homeland. Because he had not built a house for himself, Archbishop Ramadhani decided that he should be given a parish so that his family may use the parish house.¹¹⁰⁷ He eventually became the priest in charge of the Christ the King parish in Handeni.¹¹⁰⁸ While Mokiwa, (who on later years became the bishop of Dar es Salaam and the archbishop of Tanzania), perceived this as shame to the church, the Ujamaa community demanded it:

*Wakristo walipenda kuona kwamba kiongozi wao ni mwenzao, mmoja wao, alietokana na wao na yupo miongoni mwao ... [Kadhalika] Kiongozi nae alijiona kwamba yeye ni mmoja wa Wakristo anaowaongoza na anakubalika, anathaminiwa na kuheshimiwa na Wakristo. Christians aspired to see their church minister as one who belonged to them, drawn from them and lived with them ... The minister had no options; but his was to adhere to this common understanding.*¹¹⁰⁹

¹¹⁰³ Mokiwa, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁵ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁶ Mokiwa, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁸ Mokiwa, same interview.

¹¹⁰⁹ Mkunga H. P. Mtingele, 'Mamlaka katika Kanisa Anglikana na Umoja wa Jimbo', in *Taarifa Kamili [ya] Semina ya Jimbo Kuhusu Umoja, CCT Conference Center Dodoma, 21-25 Agosti, 1996*, p. 61. Translation is mine.

Singano, Lusega and Sallu have pointed out the three roles which the ordained ministers had to perform within their Ujamaa community.¹¹¹⁰ First, because they were fully involved in the community life they had to participate fully on the *msalagambo* – the self-help programmes such as building of schools, dispensaries, roads, cleaning and farming.¹¹¹¹ Ketto gave the example of the *msalagambo* for a church building at Kwamagome village in Handeni in the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga.¹¹¹² Ketto pointed out that the ministers' participation in the *msalagambo* proved to the villagers that even the church buildings belonged to the village and therefore had to be built through *msalagambo*. In this regard, beside their differences in faith, every villager looked at the churches and the church houses in the village as being among the belongings of their village.¹¹¹³ In view of this, wherever a village did not put up a church building, the leadership of the village provided the Christians with a school classroom where they could hold their divine worship services.¹¹¹⁴ Sepeku and the Overseas Committee members of the Australian Church Missionary Society challenged the village church buildings as being too simple and temporary.¹¹¹⁵ However, the fact that these were built by the people themselves without any external aid signified the fulfilment of the self-supporting and self-governing ideologies which the missions had struggled to implement but with minimum successes. Thus, through co-operation with the villagers, the Ujamaa-centred church fulfilled the self-supporting and self-governing principles. This was a total shift from the old pattern of a mission station where a church building, a hospital, a dispensary and a school served the *misheni* and where the ordained clergy served the laypeople from the top of the church hierarchy.¹¹¹⁶

The second task as pointed out by Malonga and Mwamazi was that the ordained ministers had to live by example. Therefore they owned small farms (gardens) and a small animals' cell in which they could keep chickens, goats, sheep or cattle. The priest shared the produce from these projects with others in the extended family and

¹¹¹⁰ Singano, same interview, Lusega, same interview, Cyprian Sallu, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 03 January 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹¹¹¹ Singano, same interview, Lusega, same interview, Cyprian Sallu, same interview.

¹¹¹² Ketto, same interview.

¹¹¹³ Orodha ya mali za Kijiji cha Ujamaa Vugiri, 1979.

¹¹¹⁴ Chuo cha Ibada, St. Mary's Parish, Mlalo, Vugiri, Tanga. 1979-1989, 1990-1996.

¹¹¹⁵ Sepeku, same interview, CMSA/MLMSS6040/155/89/Confidential, Addendum no. I.

¹¹¹⁶ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No: The History of the Communion of the Sacred Passion*, Private Spiral Binding, p. 41

among those in the village.¹¹¹⁷ Mselemu has argued that whenever a guest visited the minister, he or she was a visitor of the other villagers as well.¹¹¹⁸ Henceforth, these farms and animal units would serve three other purposes. First, as source of food and income, it helped the family to entertain guests. Second, it was seen as a gift from God, in that it fulfilled both Ujamaa and the Christian principles of the sharing of resources with one's neighbours. Third, as a fulfilment of the *Kujitegemea*, it implied that the priests were not *kupe*.¹¹¹⁹ As a consequence, the ministers confirmed the State slogan that leaders should be learners and teachers was relevant.¹¹²⁰ Hence, whenever a village did not allocate a portion of land for the building of a local parish church, the leadership of the village was challenged to give it to the priest so that he could have a good 'garden' for others to learn from.¹¹²¹

According to the minutes of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dar es Salaam, even when the ordained ministers were working on their 'gardens' or attending to their animals, they were expected to give first priority to any Christian who would approach them with a pastoral problem.¹¹²² In this regard, pastoral ministry was given a special priority over other activities. Singano, Lusega and Sallu confirmed this when they stated that the ordained clergy had to perform their office and vestry duties with due diligence.¹¹²³ However, according to Mndolwa, the most demanding ministerial activities were not so much holding meetings and the filling of log books, registers and diaries but praying for the sick, counselling and conflict resolutions.¹¹²⁴ According to Singano, because most of the village churches (especially the ones which had no church buildings) had no offices, and many ministers had no proper

¹¹¹⁷ Lusega, same interview, Yosia Malonga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 04 January 2011, Dar es Salaam, John Mwamazi, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 04 January 2011, Dar es Salaam.

¹¹¹⁸ Christopher Mselemu, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 04 December 2011 at Korogwe.

¹¹¹⁹ Mselemu, same interview.

¹¹²⁰ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹¹²¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Minutes, Diocesan Council, Dodoma, 7 September 1971, p. 3, CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/ C.M.S Representative's Report for Africa Committee, May 1971.

¹¹²² ASL/ACT/DD/Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dar es Salam, Minutes 20 May 1978, p. 2.

¹¹²³ Singano, same interview, Lusega, same interview, Sallu, same interview.

¹¹²⁴ William F. Mndolwa, A Historical and theological Analyses of Revival Movement (Uamsho) Within the Anglican Church of Tanzania, Unpublished MTh Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005, pp. 107-147.

training on administration, they used the sitting rooms in their houses as their parish offices.¹¹²⁵ The Overseas Committee of CMSA alerted the church that:

Ujamaa Villages has imposed a major social revolution ... [this] situation [is] demanding better equipped clergy, free to give their full time ministry ... [the fact that] villages are expanding, [it] requires additional churches and office work.¹¹²⁶

No record showed that there was any action taken regarding this advice. Singano gave the example of three unmarried ordained ministers. He argued that these could put all their efforts on the ministry and that for the married priests had triple responsibilities – keeping the church, their family and the villages.¹¹²⁷ Ketto stated that their full participation in the marriage life as husbands gave them a role in their extended families. Therefore, when the priests served all the people in the villages and had extended this to their *jamaa* (the extended family), irrespective of whether they were Christians, ‘Atheists’ or Muslims, they tended to be a convincing witness that the church was a true *jamaa* (family) and that the preaching about God of love, justice and mercy was not a scapegoat gospel.¹¹²⁸ Consequently, the Ujamaa centred church produced very little recorded material for future references. In fact, many Anglicans today often cannot find records of their baptism, confirmation and marriage, or the death and burial records of their loved ones if they visited the village parishes where these services were conducted during the Ujamaa-centred church.

While, on the one hand, the community-centred leadership of the church reduced some duties of the ministers, on the other, it revived the role of women and young people in their church. The fact that the roles of the *jamaa* in the extended family were transferred to the Ujamaa villages made it easier for the villagers to access their priests and this became a cause of change. For example, for the first time in the history of the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga three women (Monica Upanga, Jessie Mhina, and Rhoda Kigua) were elected to represent their parishes in the 1974 synod.¹¹²⁹ This kind of leadership in the church drew its essence from the

¹¹²⁵ Singano, same interview.

¹¹²⁶ Confidential, Addendum no. I.

¹¹²⁷ The three who were not married were John Ramadhani, Philip Mgya and Otto Chiduo

¹¹²⁸ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹¹²⁹ ASL/ADZT/Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga 1974, p. 6.

servant leadership model conveyed by Nyerere. He constantly reminded all leaders that they were servants to the people, and that they rendered service for the empowerment of the people, invigorated the church's teaching on servant leadership known in Kiswahili as *Mhudumu*. Accordingly, the three-fold ministry of ordination (i.e., deacon, priesthood, episcopacy) was referred as *huduma takatifu* (lit: holy order).¹¹³⁰ The house of priests and deacons of the synods would therefore be *Nyumba ya Wahudumu*.¹¹³¹ Because it was a *huduma*, they had to live and serve as *wahudumu*. The *uhudumu* was an Ujamaa logic through which the church became more indigenous in theology, leadership, liturgy and ministry than any other time in its history. For example, there was no white bishop in the entire province by the beginning of 1993. The only white people were serving in social services and they numbered less than ten persons in all.

3. The Theology of a Ujamaa-Centred Church

Nyerere insisted that *Ujamaa ni imani* (lit: Ujamaa was an attitude of mind – *imani*)¹¹³² and that *Kujitegemea* was its practicality.¹¹³³ Anglicans held that an attitude of mind (*imani*) develops in the culture in which it participates and that tradition and reason appeal respectively to the mind of the church (not an individual) as it develops and to the mind of that culture in which the church participates.¹¹³⁴ In this regard, the mind of the church which developed during the implementation of Ujamaa (the culture) was its theology. Hull defines theology as the thinking about faith.¹¹³⁵ The faith, in Hull's perspective, is Christianity which according to Bediako is a result of the total interaction between the Gospel (Jesus Christ) and culture (the total life of any

¹¹³⁰ ASL/ADZT/Synods, 1967, 1970, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995. ACT/Head Office/Dodoma, Provincial Synods, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2003.

¹¹³¹ ASL/ADZT/Synods, 1967, 1970, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995. ACT/Head Office/Dodoma, Provincial Synods, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2003.

¹¹³² Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa': The Basis of African Socialism*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Standard Limited, April, 1962.

¹¹³³ 'The Policy of Self Reliance' in the *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, Pp. 4-18.

¹¹³⁴ *Virginia Report: Report of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, 1997*, sections .3.8-3.3.11.

¹¹³⁵ CCL/Canterbury/John Hull, Notes on New Bishops' Seminar, Canterbury, 24 January 2012, Unpublished Paper.

particular community).¹¹³⁶ Nyerere's speech about the church and society emphasised that churches which do not put weight on the development of people were due to die¹¹³⁷ and that:

The Church should accept that development of people means rebellion. At any given and decisive point in history men decide to act against those conditions which restrict their freedom as men ... the Church must seek to ensure that men can have dignity in their lives and in their work. It must itself become a force of social justice and it must work with other forces of social justice wherever they are, and whatever they are called. Further, the Church must recognize that ... it cannot uplift a man; it can only help to provide the conditions and the opportunity for him to co-operate with his fellows to uplift himself.¹¹³⁸

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw Anglicans pressing their church to bear witness on social issues. However, the gap between the well-established and the young churches raised power crises which destabilised their witness. Duraisingh's challenged the churches of the Anglican Communion that they should refuse the –accord epistemological privilege and adjusting ... to any single church, whatever its intellectual, economic or political strength; however rich its historical background and heritage.”¹¹³⁹ This challenge is particularly important for this section of discussion. It implies that, in Tanzania for the church to become fully Ujamaa-Anglican and more significant, it needed to abandon some practices it had inherited from its founding missionary groups. Nyerere held a similar view:¹¹⁴⁰

[...] – *lazima iweko tofauti baina ya dini na desturi za kizungu ambazo [watazania] wana haki kuzidadi; Maana tunalotaka ni dini sio uzungu ... Na halafu nasema mkifanya hivyo ... huenda ikawa mnalipa Kanisa lenu mwanzo mpya....* there must be a distinction between Englishness which is attached to the religion and which Tanzanians have the right to question it ... because what we want here is religion and not its Englishness ... and if you can do that, as I see it, ... you might be giving your church a flesh start.¹¹⁴¹

¹¹³⁶ Kwame Bediako, –Gospel and Culture: Some Insight From the Experience of the Earliest Church” in *Journal of African Christian Thought, Vol.2, No.2, December 1999*, pp. 8-17.

¹¹³⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development: A Selection From Writings and Speeches 1968-1973*, London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 213-228.

¹¹³⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 215, 219.

¹¹³⁹ Christopher Duraisingh, –The Church: From Babel through Pentecost to Being a Sacrament of God's New Age,” Unpublished Article Episcopal Divinity School, 1988, p.8.

¹¹⁴⁰ Julius K Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzani na Dini*, pp. 41-44. Translation is mine.

¹¹⁴¹ TL/_Tunalotakani dini si uzungu-Rais’ in the Ecclesia Newspaper, no.197, September 1970, p. 1, Nyerere, *Ujamaa wa Tanzani na Dini*, Pp. 41-44. Translation is mine.

Samuel and Sugden who held similar views argued that each Anglican Province had the right of interpreting the role of traditions in its own way:

Third World Churches grew up without a clear understanding of the role of tradition ... in the church. They saw tradition as a question of liturgical correctness, not theological correctness. This means that if Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lambeth Conference, or the English Church practices these things, they become right.¹¹⁴²

Just as Samuel and Sugden raised a challenge to the Third World Churches, the rural deans in the Diocese of Central Tanganyika demanded strongly that: “parishes should be renamed so that they take the name of the Ujamaa [replacing the names of saints unknown to them which were introduced by the missionaries].”¹¹⁴³ According to Dawson, this could highlight the fact that the church had continued to rigorously analyse the context in which it emerged and that this was the essence for the Christians to demand a radical shift from the evolution of adaptation and indigenization to the discernment of God’s work.¹¹⁴⁴ Chiwanga said that the result of this analysis was that the church appreciated what it was and what it ought to be as a church in Tanzania.¹¹⁴⁵ The fact that Christians demanded that their parishes should adopt the names of their Ujamaa villages instead of the names of the saints introduced by the missionaries was significant. According to Singano, names in the African worldview carry important meanings.¹¹⁴⁶ In this regard, their claim to identify their churches by using the names of their Ujamaa villages reflected a demand for a contextualisation.¹¹⁴⁷ The term ‘contextualisation’ received worldwide recognition in 1972.¹¹⁴⁸ In Tanzania, this was the time when Ujamaa was undergoing interpretation, implementation and institutionalisation. The church’s endeavour to relocate the

¹¹⁴² Vinay Samuel and Christopher Sugden *Lambeth: A View from the Two Thirds World*, London: SPCK, 1989, p. 124.

¹¹⁴³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Extracts from the minutes of the meeting of Diocesan Council held in Dodoma on Tuesday 07 September 1971, p. 3.

¹¹⁴⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/Report of the Africa Committee, 12 October 1972, p. 2.

¹¹⁴⁵ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹¹⁴⁶ Eliya Singano, *The Role of Bondei Culture in the growth of Anglican Church in Muheza District*, Unpublished Diploma Research Project, Makerere University, 1978.

¹¹⁴⁷ Chiwanga, same interview. Also in CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/Extracts from the minutes of the meeting of Diocesan Council held in Dodoma on Tuesday 07 September 1971, p. 3.

¹¹⁴⁸ Louis J. Luzbetak, *Christianity and Culture*, New York: Orbis, 1988, p71.

principles of Ujamaa from being political to Christian principles,¹¹⁴⁹ supports Luzbetak's comment that contextualisation describes the various processes by which a local church integrate the gospel message within its local culture.¹¹⁵⁰ This confirm Dawson's conclusion that: "The church has come out in favour of the Ujamaa goals seeing it as the only hope."¹¹⁵¹

Luzbetak's conclusion that: "Today, when speaking of contextualisation as we are, every local church throughout the world is meant ... the Gospel must be inculturated ... in every age,"¹¹⁵² suggests that by the church favouring Ujamaa as its only hope, it had interpreted the Gospel (i.e., Jesus Christ) in the light of the principles of Ujamaa (i.e., the mind of the culture in which it participated). This was the inculturation of the Gospel message. Sybertz and Healey described it this way:

Inculturation is the process of incarnating the good news in a particular cultural context. Most specifically it is a process by which people of a particular culture become able to live, express, celebrate, formulate and communicate their Christian faith and their experience of the Paschal Mystery in terms (linguistic, symbolic, social) that make the most sense and best convey life and truth in their social and cultural environment.¹¹⁵³

In a more dynamic way and in taking African culture into consideration, Justin Ukpong described inculturation as:

The theologian's task [of]... re-thinking and re-expressing the original Christian message in an African cultural milieu. It is the task of confronting the Christian faith and African culture. In this process there is interpenetration of both... There is integration of faith and culture and from it is born a new theological expression that is African and Christian.¹¹⁵⁴

¹¹⁴⁹ Sister Magdalene CMM, group interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 03 August 2011, Dar es Salaam.

¹¹⁵⁰ Luzbetak, *Christianity and Culture*, p. 71.

¹¹⁵¹ J. C. Silvano, *Kanisa katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953-1985*, Nadanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1992.

¹¹⁵² Luzbetak, *Christianity and Culture*, p. 71.

¹¹⁵³ Joseph Healey & Donald Sybertz, *Towards An African Narrative Theology*, Nairobi: Pauline, 1996, p.26.

¹¹⁵⁴ Justin Ukpong, *A Christology & Inculturation: A New Testament Perspective*, in R. Gibellini, *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM, 1994, 40-61.

In the Anglican church of Tanzania, inculturation was possible because, as the Lambeth conference of 2008 asserted, tradition and reason, which in the Anglican faith are the ‘lenses’ through which scriptures should be construed, shape the experiences of the church members as they live their double contexts (i.e., their church and the Ujamaa society).¹¹⁵⁵ As were those contexts, the church members could not separate themselves from these lived experiences.¹¹⁵⁶ This can be noticed in Malecela’s conclusion that even Jesus Christ was a socialist.¹¹⁵⁷ Therefore, Ramadhani was quite right when he concluded that Ujamaa was the reason why Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals in Tanzania had been easily integrated into one church.¹¹⁵⁸ They did so after they had dropped the pride of their traditions (i.e., evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism) in favour of a church of their own understanding. It can be argued therefore that through contextualisation, Ujamaa had become an African method through which the two traditions of Anglicanism could be integrated.¹¹⁵⁹ This is to why I argue that Ujamaa had become a theology of the church. Bosch however has recorded two possible pitfalls in contextualisation which need to be reviewed. First, there is the danger of parochialism or relativism where each context forges its own theology. Second, there is a danger of universalising one’s own theological position making it applicable to all by demanding that others should submit to it.¹¹⁶⁰ While Bosch’s argument can stand as a caution to Anglicans against the tendency of forcing a contextual theology of one province to others, it also advocates the strength of diversities and therefore declares a possible encounter of God with people in any given context. This is what distinguishes the provinces of the Anglican Church worldwide. In this regard, it can be strongly argued that the church’s accommodation of African socialism (i.e., Ujamaa) in Tanzania could be inimitable.

¹¹⁵⁵ ‘Shaping Anglican Insights: Tradition and Reason’ in *Lambeth Reader: The Lambeth Conference, 2008*, London: SPCK, p. 71.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Lambeth Reader: The Lambeth Conference*, p. 71.

¹¹⁵⁷ TL/Malecela, ‘Christ was Socialist’ in *Nationalist* Newspaper, 19 July 1971.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹¹⁵⁹ One of the two countries in Africa which had experienced strong Anglo-Catholicism and Evangelicalism was Tanzania. The second country in Africa was South Africa. The Anglo-Catholicism and the Evangelicalism introduced in South Africa could not merge into one church in South Africa (cf. Ive, Anthony, *The Church of England in South Africa: A Study of its History, Principles and Status*, Cape Town: (Publisher not indicated), 1966). In this regard, the merging of the two traditions in Tanzania was unique.

¹¹⁶⁰ David C. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, Vol.16, American Society of Mission Series*, New York: Orbis, 1991, p. 428.

Nevertheless, the Arusha Declaration stated that all human beings are equal.¹¹⁶¹ And that Africa is one and that there should be no exploitation, no classes of people – a lower class composed of people who work for their living and upper class of people who live on the work of others.¹¹⁶² Nyerere added elsewhere that “the purpose of socialism is the service to man ... in our society.”¹¹⁶³ In view of Nyerere’s argument, Tanzanian socialism was a belief in a particular system of living whereby service to human being was the inclined target. All human-centric systems adhere to this belief. This is very clear in the five marks of mission inherent within Anglicanism. The last two of these marks seek: “... to transform unjust structures of society (and to) strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth.”¹¹⁶⁴ Aspects of preserving the truthfulness of creation and the efforts to transform unjust social structures aim to maintain the image of God in the creation. These marks of mission highlight an Anglican incarnational theology (e.g., God had pitched His tent in the creation and His glory covers it whole); this cannot be restricted to one place.¹¹⁶⁵ In the case of Tanzania, the efforts to eliminate exploitation so that a classless society could be built presupposed this incarnational theology. Since the church had accepted the principles of Ujamaa, this proposed that the principles of Ujamaa become the incarnational theology of the Ujamaa-centred church in Tanzania.

The first mark of mission is to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom.¹¹⁶⁶ This first mark of mission implies that wherever the Anglican Church is, it is not there to be inspired by the creation but rather it is there to inspire the creation. Inspiring the creation can sometimes mean rebelling against all those structures of life which turn human beings from being mere members of the animal kingdom into those who carry the *Imago Dei*. Therefore, the call of Bishop Huddleston to stop the National Bill for Corruption in Tanzania¹¹⁶⁷ and Russell’s call to stop the government’s mistreatment

¹¹⁶¹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 213-218.

¹¹⁶² Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 213-218.

¹¹⁶³ Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, “Socialism is not Racialism: Appendix II”, in *The Arusha Declaration and TANU’s Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, p. 26.

¹¹⁶⁴ Michael Doe, *Saving Power: The Mission of God and the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 2011, p. 43.

¹¹⁶⁵ Joh.1:14

¹¹⁶⁶ Doe, *Saving Power*, p. 43.

¹¹⁶⁷ Huddleston wanted to stop it because of its dehumanising element incorporated into the corporal punishment of the bill. Nyerere, *Challenge in a Poor Country*, p. 14.

of the Persian girls in Zanzibar can be said to be fulfilling the mission of the church. Ujamaa called upon all people to live as human beings:

[...] – the basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is equality ... socialism is not for the benefit of black men or brown men, nor white men nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the service of man regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else.¹¹⁶⁸

In this regard, both Huddleston and Neil were true Wajaamaa. Although Huddleston went back to England, he kept contact with Tanzania through the Britain-Tanzania Society which continued to publish Tanzanian news in its *Britain-Tanzania Society Bulletin*.¹¹⁶⁹ Neil died and was buried in an Ujamaa village church at Makuyuni, Tanga.¹¹⁷⁰ There was a call to accommodate differences and it was lived in the *Vijiji vya Ujamaa*. Of course, there could be challenges in the accommodation of differences. In the case of the Anglican family (the Anglican Communion), it was (and still is) the differences which enabled the people (the *Imago Dei*) to come together once after each eight years as one family (i.e., the Lambeth Conference),¹¹⁷¹ where they would debate without fighting, until consensus could be reached. According to Nyerere, this aspect of arguing from within until accord is reached is also an African tradition.¹¹⁷² In the case of the church in Tanzania, the fact that the house of clergy and that of the laity in the synod of the province which is composed of two different traditions reaches an accord without recourse to discord signifies that Ujamaa helped the church to reach consensus. Malonga argued that this was the result of a common understanding that they belonged to one *jamaa*.¹¹⁷³ In view of this, the grasp of the Ujamaa principles have made the church find its true identity as an African Anglican church. It is from this understanding that the ecclesiology of the Ujamaa-centred church can be derived.

¹¹⁶⁸ Nyerere, "Socialism is not Racialism" in *The Arusha Declaration*, p. 26.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Tanzania Affairs*, Bulletin of the Britain-Tanzania Society.

¹¹⁷⁰ Leader Dominic Stirling, *Heroes of the Faith*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1997.

¹¹⁷¹ Adrian Chatfield, *Something in Common*, Bramcote: St. John's Extension Studies, 1998, p. 25.

¹¹⁷² Nyerere, "Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism" in *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 2.

¹¹⁷³ Malonga, same interview.

4. The Ecclesiology of a Ujamaa-Centred Church

The new life in the Ujamaa villages established a new understanding about what the church meant to Anglicans in Tanzania. For example, when a bishop invited members of his diocesan synod he designated himself in the plural as *‘we’* instead of *‘me’* and asked priests to attend with their parishes.¹¹⁷⁴ Even though the idea of a bishop identifying himself in the plural has its own history in the church, the idea of priests bringing their parishes with them entails an awesome but affirming responsibility of the parish to the diocese and vice versa. According to Singano, this has its correlation with the traditional African life.¹¹⁷⁵ Singano has argued that in the traditional community through which Ujamaa drew its relevance, community life was given the first priority over individuality and thus people would identify themselves by either of their clan names.¹¹⁷⁶ Singano added that an elderly person would be greeted in the plural and the response would also be in the plural.¹¹⁷⁷ According to Chiwanga and Mathias, the life of the community in the traditional villages was made possible through the interplay of three basic values.¹¹⁷⁸ The first was the respect for everyone.¹¹⁷⁹ The second was hard work by everyone, and lastly, mutual caring by everyone.¹¹⁸⁰ In describing these principles Nyerere argued that the traditional African family should live according to the basic principles of Ujamaa.¹¹⁸¹ He added that ~~there~~ there was a sense of mutual responsibility; the man who had food shared what he had, knowing that a time might come when he needed help, and that then he would receive it in his turn.”¹¹⁸² As Nyerere went on to argue, the assumption was made that each person was working to the best of her or his ability. Nyerere concluded that the community members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms.¹¹⁸³ This kind of communication, from Moltmann’s point of view, was a mutual sharing and participation which released more life to the

¹¹⁷⁴ ASL/ADZT/Korogwe/Tangazo la Sinodi, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1985, 1990, 1993.

¹¹⁷⁵ Eliya Singano, *The Role of Bondei Culture in the growth of Anglican Church in Muheza District*, Unpublished Research Project, Makerere University, 1978.

¹¹⁷⁶ Singano, same interview.

¹¹⁷⁷ Singano, same interview.

¹¹⁷⁸ Chiwanga, same interview, Paulina Mathias, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 10 January 2011, Tanga.

¹¹⁷⁹ Chiwanga, same interview, Mathias, same interview.

¹¹⁸⁰ Chiwanga, same interview, Mathias, same interview.

¹¹⁸¹ Nyerere, *‘Ujamaa’*, p. 9

¹¹⁸² Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 312.

¹¹⁸³ Nyerere, *‘Ujamaa’*, p. 9.

participants.¹¹⁸⁴ Through mutual participation in life, Moltmann added, individuals became free beyond the boundaries of their individuality.

Chiwanga pointed out that a combination of Nyerere's statement and Moltmann's conclusion –introduces the idea of *Koinonia*.¹¹⁸⁵ A reflection on the early Christian community's experiences of *Koinonia* opens the way to understanding the mystery of the church.¹¹⁸⁶ In the Kiswahili language, *Koinonia* is described as *Ushirika*, meaning –sharing, doing or holding things together.¹¹⁸⁷ Chiwanga stated that in the Kiswahili language, –*Ushirika* and *Ujamaa* are sometimes used interchangeably to describe mutual sharing and cooperative actions.¹¹⁸⁸ He gave an example that, –a village would be an *Ujamaa* village but an *Ujamaa* village's shop would be referred as *duka la ushirika* (a cooperative shop).¹¹⁸⁹ However, in the Anglican Church, while *Ushirika* has taken its deeper meaning in the liturgy of the Eucharist,¹¹⁹⁰ *Ujamaa* has remained a term for cooperation in other areas of life. Perhaps it was from this understanding that the Eucharist had become *Ushirika* (i.e., they shared the body and blood of Christ together). During the *Ushirika Mtakatifu* (and well as family meals) Jesus was (and still is) invited as a guest. According to Singano, during the *Ushirika Mtakatifu*, Jesus gave His body and His blood to the assembled members of the church and they committed themselves to Him.

By so-doing, the church members were declaring that it was Jesus who enabled them to come together as a worshipping community. However, Chiwanga's argument should be understood from the primal understanding of *Ujamaa* because even the version of the bible he quoted from was translated in 1950. Moreover, there is also a need to understand the link between the Kiswahili words *Jamii* and *Jamaa* and their implications. In the Kiswahili language, the meaning of *jamii* is community and *jamaa* refers to any member(s) of the extended family (the community).¹¹⁹¹ In the Kiswahili language, *shirika* is also defined as sharing or even cooperation. Within the

¹¹⁸⁴ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992, p. 118

¹¹⁸⁵ Simon E. Chiwanga, Notes on the Mhudumu, Unpublished.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission Final Report*, London: CTS, 1987, pp. 5-8.

¹¹⁸⁷ Kamusi ya Biblia, Arusha: Kanisa la Biblia, 1998.

¹¹⁸⁸ Chiwanga, Personal papers, Notes in the Mhudumu.

¹¹⁸⁹ UDL/AC/Biblia na Ujamaa

¹¹⁹⁰ *Kitabu cha Sala cha Kanisa Anglican Tanzania*, Dodoma: CTP, 1995, p. 62.

¹¹⁹¹ Kamusi ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza, Dar es Salaam: IMTU, 2000.

church, *ushirika* was (and still is) used for the Eucharist and Communion of Saints and *Jamaa* as a *Koinonia*.¹¹⁹² *Jamii* was (and still is) used in reference to the Ecclesia. As a result therefore, both *jamii* and *jamaa* delineates the ecclesiology of the Ujamaa-centred church. From this understanding, in 1970, Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics began to worship together in one parish at St. Nicholas in Dar es Salaam.¹¹⁹³ Two services were introduced – the first mass commonly known as lower mass and the second being the sung service, commonly referred to as high mass. While the expectations were that all Evangelicals would attend the first service and Anglo-Catholics the second, in actuality, the first mass became the service for older people and the second for the younger people from both traditions. Both Chiwanga and Ramadhani said that such an ecclesiology made it necessary to develop a common liturgy of the church of the Province of Tanzania.

5. The Liturgy of a Ujamaa-Centred Church

Neil stated that the Anglican Church is a church of the Prayer Book.¹¹⁹⁴ The Canterbury's seminar papers for new bishops states that the life, theology and leadership of a living church is expressed in its liturgy.¹¹⁹⁵ This is because the liturgy turns Christian believers towards God's ultimate purpose and in return, believers express what they believe.¹¹⁹⁶ Bishop Mpango argued that:

Msingi wa Kiroho wa Kanisa la Anglikana ni ibada ... Ibadat imejengwa kwa msingi wa maneno yaliyoandikwa na siyo ya kujitungia. Hivyo ibada hutungwa na Kanisa na ... ibada imekusudiwa ilete umoja maana aina hiyo hiyo ya kitabu cha ibada hutumiwa na waumini wa Makenisa yote. Anglican spirituality is Liturgical. The Liturgy is composed by the church and thus personal utterances have no space ... The Liturgy promotes unity simply because all liturgies of

¹¹⁹² *Wamwamini Nani*, Ndanda: BP, 1975, p.25, *Kitabu cha Sala cha Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania*, Dodoma: CTP, 1995.

¹¹⁹³ Chiwanga, same interview, Log Book, St. Nicholas and African Martyrs, 1970.

¹¹⁹⁴ Stephen Neil, *Anglicanism*, London: Mowbray, 1977, p. 20.

¹¹⁹⁵ CCL/Canterbury/Bishop and the Liturgy in the Anglican Church, Seminar papers for new bishops, Canterbury, 30 January 2012, p. 6.

¹¹⁹⁶ CCL/Canterbury/Bishop and the Liturgy in the Anglican Church, Seminar papers for New Bishops, Canterbury, 30 January 2012, p. 6.

the church are drawn from one source (The Book of Common Prayer).¹¹⁹⁷

In his interview, Watson states that before the Arusha Declaration, Anglicans in Tanzania had several books for prayers.¹¹⁹⁸ Chapter two of this study has shown that this was because the Anglican Church of Tanzania came from two traditions – Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics – which developed liturgies according to their own predilections and ideologies. Lusega, Malonga and Singano gave a long list of books which were used by the Anglican Church.¹¹⁹⁹ There was the *Kitabu cha Sala kwa Watu wote*, a *Kialamu*¹²⁰⁰ – a translation of the 1662 Prayer Book.¹²⁰¹ This was used by the Evangelicals. Accompanying this was the liturgical hymnal – the *Nyimbo Standard* – which was a *Kialamu* translation of traditional English hymns¹²⁰² and some songs which were derived from the Great East African Revival.¹²⁰³ According to Singano, the Anglo-Catholics had the Zanzibar Rite – a *Kimlima* translation of the Latin Missal, first introduced by Bishop Frank Weston in 1921 after he had dismissed the use of the 1662 Prayer Book.¹²⁰⁴ Ramadhani added that the Zanzibar Rite was the liturgy for Eucharist services.¹²⁰⁵ Ramadhani listed several other small books which had other several other prayers. *Sala I*, for example comprised all daily prayers – morning, afternoon, evening, night prayers and a two year calendar of lessons.¹²⁰⁶ There was also the *Sala II* which had prayers which Christians could recite during their private devotions. The *Sala III* also included occasional prayers. These were prayers for dedicating the church vestments, blessing of pregnancies, harvest festivals and others. The last was *Hazina ya Sala* which consisted of several prayers which were not included in the other books. Prayers such as for the consecration of holy

¹¹⁹⁷ Gerald Mpango, “Uanglikana Kiroho-Anglican Spirituality: Mtazamo, Mwelekeo na Msimamo wa Kanisa Anglikana katika mambo ya Kiroho” *Kandusi, Taarifa ya Semina ya Jimbo Kuhusu Umoja*, p.21. Translation is mine.

¹¹⁹⁸ ASL/Graeme Watson, Bishop John Sepeku Died 1983, Notes Prepared for Mr. Augustiono Ramadhani in 2004, p. 4.

¹¹⁹⁹ Lusega, same interview, Malonga, same interview, Singano, same interview.

¹²⁰⁰ Kialamu is Kiswahili accent spoken mainly in the coast of Kenya.

¹²⁰¹ Malonga, same interview.

¹²⁰² UDL/EAC/*Kitabu cha Sala za Kanisa na Nyimbo*, Pamphlet, Nairobi: SPCK and CMS, 1945.

¹²⁰³ UDL/EAC/*Nyimbo Sitini za Kanisa*, Pamphlet, Nairobi: CMS, 1945.

¹²⁰⁴ Kimlima is a Kiswahili accent spoken in mainland Tanzania. The 1662 Prayer Book was introduced by Bishop Edward Steer in 1874 in Zanzibar, Moriyama, J. Tomakazu, *The Evolution of an African Ministry in the Work of the Universities Mission to Central Africa in Tanzania: 1864-1909*, London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, London University, 1984, p. xiii.

¹²⁰⁵ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²⁰⁶ UDL/EAC/*Sala Fupi ya Kanisa*, Zanzibar: UMCA Press, 1928.

water and its sprinkling were all included in this book.¹²⁰⁷ Augustino Sekihola referred to *Nyimbo za Dini*, a Kiswahili version which utilized the tunes of the English Hymnals, as a companion to all these other books of prayer.¹²⁰⁸ Meanwhile, there was also, as from 1960, a liturgy of the Church of East Africa which, as said earlier was developed by the Bishop of Uganda in 1963 and therefore, even though it brought unity, it did not involve ideas from the other East African countries.¹²⁰⁹ During his visit to the country, Kingsnorth noted the liturgical discrepancies in the church:

They have two period-pieces and an exotic calendar. The period-pieces are 1662 and Swahili rite (vintage Anglo-Catholicism). A new liturgy for all Africa... produced by the Archbishop of Uganda which is being tried out in a few places and could be the basis anyway of an agreed liturgy for the [East African] Province. In South-West Tanganyika, they have modernized the Swahili Mass: the celebrant sits at the sedilia for the ~~mass~~ of the catechumen.” This, I thought, would have been more effective if there had been no asperges or censuring of altar at the beginning, and if the celebrant had not put on his chasuble until after the sermon.¹²¹⁰

The church became autonomous at a time when the State was propagating unity. It was observed that these liturgical and books of prayers needed deep and sensible revision.¹²¹¹ Contrary to Watson’s argument that Archbishop Sepeku had compelled the church to use the liturgy of the Province of East Africa,¹²¹² the provincial constitution invited the dioceses to confine themselves to the use of these older liturgies until the province would bring in a united liturgy.¹²¹³ The aim was to reduce confusion in the church and the infringement of Anglican theology which was largely expressed in these prayer books.

A theological and liturgical panel setup by the province in 1970 collected all these liturgies and prayer books for the purpose of composing a new Tanzanian Prayer Book.¹²¹⁴ The occasional services became the starting point for the liturgical

¹²⁰⁷ *Hazina ya sala*, London: SPCK, 1956.

¹²⁰⁸ Augustino Sekihola, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 30 December 2011 in Tanga.

¹²⁰⁹ RHL/SF4 (III)/Canon Kingsnorth’s Tours-Africa, 1962/1967? p. 7.

¹²¹⁰ RHL/SF4 (III)/Canon Kingsnorth’s Tours-Africa, 1962/1964, p. 7.

¹²¹¹ ASL/ Watson, *Bishop John Sepeku*, p. 4.

¹²¹² ASL/Watson, *Bishop John Sepeku*, p. 4.

¹²¹³ *Constitution of the Church of the Province of Tanzania*, 1970, Article 4.

¹²¹⁴ ASL/ADD/John Sepeku in *Salaam, Gazeti la Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam*, No.1, 1995, p. 6.

reform.¹²¹⁵ At its synod of 1974, the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, for example, introduced a series of changes on its occasional services.¹²¹⁶ Marriage vows which used to be one-sided – a man declaring to marry a woman – were changed to involve both parties (with the woman declaring to marry the man).¹²¹⁷ Whenever there was a burial service of a cleric, the coffin which carried priest's body was laid close to the altar facing the congregation but this was not the case when the coffin was put into the grave.¹²¹⁸ According to Mbulinyingi, this change reflected a sense of unity because a priest, who faced people in the service, was also to be buried in the same graveyard with other Christians.¹²¹⁹ According to Ramadhani, this was followed by a change in the setting of alters so that the priest would face the congregation, where the altar is placed in front of the officiating priest.¹²²⁰

Singano also mentions a significant change in the intercession where the liturgy purposefully omits a prayer for the reigning British monarch and, in its stead introduces a prayer for the Tanzanian government and all those in authority in other part of the world.¹²²¹ However, while the sense of unity in public worship was strong, when the provincial liturgical committee presented the draft of the expected provincial liturgy, there were divergences in thinking.¹²²² For example, a strong opposition came up when a proposal was presented to the synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga.¹²²³ Bishop Jumaa had to persuade the members to accept it on the grounds that other dioceses had already approved it.¹²²⁴ Ramadhani said that this was an expected resistance because the liturgical reform which finally brought about the Zanzibar Rite was initiated by the Diocese of Zanzibar which had its head office at Magila, Muheza in Tanga.¹²²⁵ Any change to this liturgy, according to Ramadhani, was perceived as a loss of the identity and the inheritance of the diocese. Ramadhani added that those who were present during the approval for the shift from the 1662 Prayer Book to the

¹²¹⁵ ACT/Head Office/Dodoma/Taarifa ya Mkutano wa Kwanza wa Jimbo la Tanzania, 1970, p. 10.

¹²¹⁶ ASL/ADZT/Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, pp. 8-9.

¹²¹⁷ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970.

¹²¹⁸ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, p. 9.

¹²¹⁹ Mathiya Mbulinyingi, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 3 December 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹²²⁰ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²²¹ Singano, same interview.

¹²²² ACT/Head Office/Dodoma/Minutes of the Provincial Synod, Dodoma, 2 to 4 November 1973.

¹²²³ ASL/ADZT/ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1974, pp. 10 and 11.

¹²²⁴ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1974.

¹²²⁵ Ramadhani, same interview.

Zanzibar Rite had now passed away and the new generation knew no other liturgy than the Zanzibar Rite. According to Ramadhani this was the reason why the provincial liturgical committee advised that the church should introduce the new liturgy at ‘a snail’s pace.’ This was agreed.¹²²⁶ After it had been tested during the provincial synod in 1976¹²²⁷ and at the Lambeth Conference in 1978, the liturgy was approved for use on the first Sunday of each month.¹²²⁸ Ramadhani has shown that when Anglicans realised that their former liturgies were not inclusive in the sense that it was the priest who said almost all the prayers and other members were simply there to reciprocate their ‘amen,’ and that this new liturgy welcomed the participation of every member, they received it with joy.¹²²⁹ The first diocese to declare the full use of the new liturgy in all of its services (except in the case of Requiem Mass) was Dar es Salaam (1979) followed by the Diocese of Western Tanganyika (1980), Central Tanganyika (1980), South West Tanganyika (1981), Zanzibar and Tanga (1982), Masasi (1982), Ruvuma (1983) and Victoria Nyanza (1983).¹²³⁰ In this regard, Archbishop Sepeku had already tested and witnessed the practicability of his liturgical reform before he died.¹²³¹ The first version of the intended prayer book was published three years after his death.¹²³²

The reform of the liturgy went hand-in-hand with the emergence of ‘new brand’ of a revival movement that was associated with John Edmund (the brother of Archbishop Sepeku) and the nationalisation of schools. Because the schools were the places where liturgical music was previously taught there were more emerging reforms especially on church music.¹²³³ The young people from the schools where the revival had its foothold found themselves uncomfortable with the kind of worship and singing in the church. Therefore, they introduced their own, which in some places, was accompanied by the use of traditional drums, clapping of hands, shouts of joy, as well as

¹²²⁶ ASL/ADZT/ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1974, pp. 10 and 11.

¹²²⁷ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/Church Province of Tanzania papers, Synod, 1976, *Ibada ya Ushirika Mtakatifu*, Dodoma.

¹²²⁸ *Ibada ya Ushirika Mtakatifu*,

¹²²⁹ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²³⁰ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²³¹ Askofu Mkuu John Ramadhani, ‘Hotuba ya Ufunguzi’ in *Kandusi, Taarifa ya Semina ya Jimbo Kuhusu Umoja*, pp. 5- 6.

¹²³² Askofu Mkuu John Ramadhani, *Hotuba ya Ufunguzi*, pp. 5-6.

¹²³³ Mndolwa, *Uamsho*, pp. 235-238.

dancing.¹²³⁴ These new forms of worship raised a strong debate as to whether drums, dancing and clapping could be used in the church worship. The older generation, including priests, understood it as irrelevant, but the young people forced it into the church. This led to several clashes between the parish leadership and the young people. In view of this, the Council of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika approved it and thus *Cigogo* dances were accommodated into church worship.¹²³⁵ Young people organised themselves and formed bands of choirs which later became strong church choirs such as *Uvuke* (Diocese of Central Tanganyika). This was followed by the Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro which approved Tumaini Choir at St. James Church in Arusha. Other choirs which were approved included: *Nazareti* (Diocese of South West Tanganyika) and *Harvest* (Diocese of Morogoro). When the young people in the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga heard that other dioceses had allowed youth choirs, they pressed their own parish councils to do the same. When the agenda was presented to the synod, it had to be discussed over two days:

Shauri hili [je ngoma zitumike Kanisani au la] lilipelekwa lizungumzwe katika nyumba zote mbili na majibu yao ni kama ifuatavyo: - Nyumba ya Wahudumu wamekubali kuweko mlango wazi ngoma zitumike ikikubaliwa na Halmashauri ya mtaa. Nyumba ya Laity [sic] wamekataa kabisa ngoma zisitumike kanisani. Ilipobidi kupiga kura kutafuta ukweli uko wapi waliyokataa ngoma zisitumike kanisani ni 55 na waliyokubali zitumike ni 20 tu. Shauri likakatika kwamba limekubaliwa ngoma zisitumike kanisani. The discussion about whether drums and dancing should be allowed in the church worship had to be returned to the two Houses for more consideration and when the two Houses had discussed it in two days they came up with the following answers: The House of the Priests agreed on conditions that it should be left on the jurisdiction of the Parish Church Council. The House of the Laity expressed disapproval of it. But when it was observed that there was a necessity of resolving it by voting, 55 members voted against it and 20 members voted for it. The final decision was reached that drums and dancing should be prohibited in the worship.¹²³⁶

But, such decisions, according to Ramadhani who confused his attendances at the synod of the diocese of Dar es Salaam¹²³⁷ and that of Zanzibar and Tanga,¹²³⁸ pushed

¹²³⁴ Singano, same interview.

¹²³⁵ Nyawu, same interview, Malonga, same interview.

¹²³⁶ ASL/ADZT/Minutes of the Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, 1974. The Translation is mine.

¹²³⁷ ASL/ADD/Kumbukumbu za Mkutano wa Sinodi, 5- 8 Julai 1968.

the young people outside the church.¹²³⁹ In order to maintain the young people in the church and because of the demands from village churches, some parish priests allowed it without consulting their bishop. Consequently, this led to the emergence of what Fergus King has called the *Nyimbo za Vijana* (youth songs) an offshoot of the current brand of gospel music.¹²⁴⁰ According to Kabudi, the church produced a combined hymnal book from selected hymns from the two existing hymnals as well as some *Nyimbo za Vijana* as a response to these challenges.¹²⁴¹ However, the new hymnal was never applied in parishes and thus very few people knew about it. On the other hand, the first version of the provincial prayer book which had been published in 1986¹²⁴² was revised and the new version *Kitabu cha Sala cha Jimbo* was published in 1995.¹²⁴³ It can thus be concluded that the life of the Ujamaa community dictated to a large extent the change in the style of worship and of church music. Nevertheless, the lack of well-trained liturgists and church musicians caused the church to fail in its task of accommodating more necessary changes as demanded by the youth choirs. As a result, even though it adopted a united liturgy in which the Eucharist is *Ushirika* and the Communion of the Saints is also *Ushirika* which are aspects of Ujamaa, the church (especially in the townships and cities) was not able to incorporate traditional dances into its liturgical music. As a consequence, in most urban churches when the choirs sang, members of the congregation just watched them and joined in praising them by clapping hands at the end of their dancing. When the congregation sang, the choir watched it.¹²⁴⁴ In this regard, the link between the two had not been established and the consequence could be the death of the old-style hymn book as gospel music continues to capture the feelings and imaginations of the young people who today are the majority in the church.

¹²³⁸ ASL/ADZT/Kumbukumbu za Mkutano wa Sinodi, 1970

¹²³⁹ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²⁴⁰ Fergus J. King, 'Nyimbo za Vijana: Biblical Interpretation in Contemporary Hymns from Tanzania' in Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube Shomanah, (eds.) *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends*, Brill: Leiden, 2000, pp. 360-373.

¹²⁴¹ ASL/SMTC/Palamagamba Kabudi, Ardhii, St. Mark's Theological College, 15 July 1997.

¹²⁴² UDL/EAC/The Liturgy of the Church of the Province of Tanzania, Pamphlets, Dodoma: CTP, 1980, 1986.

¹²⁴³ Donald Mtetemela, 'Maelezo ya Kitabu cha Sala cha Jimbo', *Kandusi, Taarifa ya Jimbo kuhusu Umoja*, pp. 48-58.

¹²⁴⁴ Ketto, same interview.

6. Ministry in a Ujamaa-Centred Church

The Lambeth Conference challenged the Anglican provinces as early as 1968 to serve the role of a suffering servant.¹²⁴⁵ Nyerere's vision was to build a true African socialist community in which all people would live as equal members of the one community (Tanzania).¹²⁴⁶ The context of Tanzania in which this community was to be built was marked by the values of the extended family (i.e., traditionally-held values). In some cases, these traditional values held some dehumanising elements. The expectation of the Lambeth Conference of the 1968 was for the church to become the voice of the voiceless whenever the rights of the community were under threat. In Tanzania, the church fulfilled this expectation. For example, following an increase in the theft of state property, the government passed a Bill which introduced into law a minimum sentence of two years imprisonment plus twelve strokes of the rod at the beginning of the sentence to a convicted person and twelve immediately before his or her release."¹²⁴⁷ The use of the rod as a means of punishment did not come from the traditional Tanzania context, but had been used by the German colonial leaders between the years 1884 and 1919.¹²⁴⁸ The Tanzania government adopted this method of punishment from its colonial background. In this regard, it had been incorporated into traditions of the extended family through which Ujamaa life derived its relevance.

It emerged that when the government declared its intention of using a rod as a means of punishment, the church reacted against this government's intentions. Representing the church, Bishop Huddleston, a great supporter of Ujamaa and a friend of Nyerere, summoned the government to stop the Bill not on the basis that people should not be incarcerated, but because of its dehumanising elements expressed by the use of the rod."¹²⁴⁹ As a result, the law on corporal punishment was amended. In this regard, Kapalila's argument that the church should be engaged in human-centred programmes to the benefit of human beings regardless of whether their religious or social

¹²⁴⁵ ASL/ADZT/Lambeth Conference, 1968, *Synod of The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, 1970*, Appendices.

¹²⁴⁶ TL/Julius K. Nyerere, 'Socialism is not Racism', in *Nationalist Newspaper*, 14 February 1967.

¹²⁴⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, *Challenge in a Poor Country*, p. 14.

¹²⁴⁸ Frank Weston, *Black Slaves of Prussia: An open Letter Addressed to General Smuts*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, also in Mndolwa, *Uamsho*, pp. 61-62.

¹²⁴⁹ Nyerere, *Challenge in a Poor Country*, p. 14.

affiliation was correct.¹²⁵⁰ Huddleston's reaction suggested that the Ujamaa-centred church in Tanzania fulfilled the call of the Lambeth Conference.¹²⁵¹ However, with the exception of the Weston's letter to General Smuts,¹²⁵² these kinds of ministries were rare before the implementation of Ujamaa. This was very clear in the report of the Bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga:

*Kazi ya Kanisa ... ni kazi ile ya Bwana wake: ile ya Mtumishi ateswae ... Hatuna budi kukiri kwamba mara nyingi tumeshindwa kutumika kwa [sic] Bwana wetu alivyotumika. Hivyo basi kwa watu wengi, ndani na nje, Kanisa huonekana mara nyingi kama chuo binafsi, chenye kuhifadhiwa na kupendelewa – The ministry of the church is that of its Lord: that of a suffering servant ... It is unfortunate that our attempt to reach the extent of the ministry of which our Lord has called us, has never been successful. Consequently therefore, in and out, the church has been perceived as privileged, protected, and privately owned club.*¹²⁵³

In an effort to show the role of churches in the Ujamaa, Nyerere pointed out that: —. if the church is interested in man as an individual, it must express this by her interest in the society of which those individuals are members.”¹²⁵⁴ This was a challenge to the church to integrate forms of social change in the education, healthy, economy and spiritual life of the people of Tanzania. However, schools were nationalised and, even though few hospitals were retained under grant-in-aid schemes, many hospitals were nationalised. In this regard, the ministry of the church to the community was carried out through the self-help programmes. By so doing, the church was in tune with the new mood in Tanzania and had maintained relevance towards society as one missionary had noted: —There is a tendency for Christians to be so caught up in the affairs and responsibilities of the Ujamaa village causing them to drift slowly away from the Church.”¹²⁵⁵ This took place because Nyerere had challenged Tanzanians, whereby he expressed the view that: —Certainly socialism in Tanzania will be built by

¹²⁵⁰ Luzwilo Dan Kapalila, 'The Role of the Church in Socialist Tanzania' in *African Theological Journal*, Vol.10, no. 1, Ussa River, 1981, p. 56.

¹²⁵¹ Nyerere, *Challenge in a Poor Country*, p. 14.

¹²⁵² Weston, *Black Slaves of Prussia*.

¹²⁵³ ASL/ADZT/ Mkutano wa Lambeth 1968' in *the Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, 1970*, Appendices. The translation is mine.

¹²⁵⁴ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo: A Selection from Writing and Speeches, 1968-1974*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1974, p. 219.

¹²⁵⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/134/21/Report to the Africa Committee, 12 October, 1972, p. 2

Tanzanians.”¹²⁵⁶ Hence, the Anglicans in the Ujamaa villages were driven by the nature of this call: ‘You are Tanzanians and not English.’ Since the government had put it in the open that religion was a personal matter, villagers put their religion on whatever they were doing in the village. Perhaps this was the reason why the Anglicans in the villages could not make the separation between their village life and their village church. Archbishop Ramadhani commented that this was because the nature and style of ministry of a church was always determined by the nature of the community in which the church had practiced its ministry.¹²⁵⁷ This was to propose that the nature and style of the ministry of the church was not different from the nature of the Ujamaa communities in the villages and towns. Perhaps this was the reason why as Chiwanga put it, whether by original plans or joyful celebrations of the opportunities created by Ujamaa, the church was passionately engaged in building community campaigns both in the villages and towns.¹²⁵⁸ Since the communities and the church were strongly interwoven and focused on the government’s planned villages and towns, and the same units of development, the success of the plans became a *bona fide* blessing for the long-held socialist vision for Tanzania. Accordingly, there was a mutual understanding which brought back good relationships and cooperation between church members with their Muslim brothers and sisters:

*Waislamu tukubali kushirikiana nao katika mambo ya kuwaoza watoto wa ndugu zetu ambao ni wa kabidhi kwetu na pia katika shughuli za kuisha hakiki au vilio na pia kushiriki katika mambo ya galo au mwaliko au tendeza (zungulusa). Kuacha hayo tutapoteza urithi mkubwa wa utamaduni wetu – We should cooperate with our Muslim brothers and sisters in all social issues which may include marrying the children who had been entrusted to us by our diseased relatives, issues related to tribal initiation rites such as galo, mwaliko or tendeza as well as rituals related to death and burials of our *B85* surely ‘deceased’ relatives. Unless we do so, we shall lose most of our customs.*¹²⁵⁹

The church worked very hard with the government in the implementation of Ujamaa projects. Nyerere was so pleased to see that involvement of the church in the

¹²⁵⁶ TL/Julius K. Nyerere, ‘Socialism is not Racism’, in *Nationalist Newspaper*, 14 February 1967.

¹²⁵⁷ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹²⁵⁸ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹²⁵⁹ Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Synod, 1970, p. 8. Formerly Christian participation on these practices was strictly prohibited. *cf.* synods of 1884, 1887, 1903, 1908, 1911, 1921, 1927, 1930, 1934, 1948, 1951, 1954, 1964.

community life. He praised the church in 1977.¹²⁶⁰ There were also new developments in the relationship between the Salvatorians and Anglicans in Masasi.¹²⁶¹ Even though the new relationship in Masasi could be developed following the worldwide movement on interdenominational relationships,¹²⁶² there were internal arrangements also present within Tanzania.¹²⁶³ If compared to the established traditional African community in which faith, race, colour, or status were rarely given any importance,¹²⁶⁴ the church was becoming more African in every aspect. Both the UMCA and the CMSA had strived to build such a church but it was the Ujamaa which realised it. The divided missionary church which cut across family, clan and ethnic ties was coming to an end. Instead, Ujamaa-moulded families, clans and tribes were being built into one community. Since the church was (and still is) called to build the Kingdom of God in which family, clans, tribe, racial and ethnicity will not have a place, Ujamaa life revitalised this divine call of the church.

7. Chapter Summary

This chapter analysed the leadership, theology, ecclesiology, liturgy, and ministry of the Ujamaa-centred church in Tanzania. The discussion in this chapter has shown that the changes which were brought by Ujamaa also implied changes in the church. In the area of leadership, I argue that whereas debate about the church's accommodation of Ujamaa was suppressed by politicians who also were members of the church, there was vigorous interpretation of the Ujamaa goals at the grass root. A significant incidence was the call to rename parishes so that they could take on the names of the Ujamaa villages. The fact that this was raised by the church's Rural Deans, who represented their deaneries in the Standing Committee, reflects the fact that the church went through a rigorous process of reflection on its theology at the grassroots level. It had long-term effects upon the church. Even though some bishops kept naming new village parishes according to saints, the name of a village in which the church was

¹²⁶⁰ Martin Mbwana, Personal Files, Paper Cuttings, Mwalimu alipongeza Kanisa la Jimbo, 03 September 1977.

¹²⁶¹ ACT/ADM/RTC/Archives for 1970-1983.

¹²⁶² 'Unity' in *ACC-4: Report of the Fourth Meeting, 1979*, London and Ontario, Bocarado and Church Army Press, 1979, Pp. 1-16.

¹²⁶³ ACT/ADM/RTC/Archives for 1970-1983.

¹²⁶⁴ Kapalila, "The Role of the Church in Socialist Tanzania" in *African Theological Journal*, p. 56.

built, ultimately became the name of the church. This brought back the sense of ownership of the church to the village community. This understanding brought in the ecclesiology of the Ujamaa-centred church which I present in this chapter as *Ushirika* and *Jamaa*.

This chapter also highlighted the fact that the Eucharist was celebrated in the sense of the Ujamaa community where Jesus is welcomed as an invisible guest who offers His body and blood to the assembled community. This ecclesiological theme is also reflected in the liturgical reforms undertaken by the church. Although the liturgical reforms took place at a time when other denominations (especially the Roman Catholic Church) were also reforming theirs, in Tanzania, it can be argued that the Anglican Church underwent these changes essentially because of its accommodation of the principles of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. For example, while Tanzania was still a member of Commonwealth of Nations where the sitting monarch of the United Kingdom was prayed for as a leader appointed under God, the church changed the rubric in honour of the president and those in authority in Tanzania. Whereas the church in other countries which used to be under the British rule and which had the Anglican Church as a state church would pray for the sitting British monarch, this was not the case in Tanzania. The change of rubrics related to marrying Anglicans in the church and the burial services of priests was significantly influenced by the church's accommodation of Ujamaa. I did not come across any literature which had depicted this liturgical reform and therefore I present it here as a finding.

These important changes in the church presupposed factors enabling the blending of the Ujamaa with the church. The chapter which follows will discuss this question in depth.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ASPECTS OF ANGLICANISM WHICH HELPED THE CHURCH TO ACCOMODATE THE POLICY OF UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA

1. Introduction

The discussion in chapter five focused on the effect of the principles of Ujamaa on the leadership, theology, ecclesiology, liturgy and ministry of the Ujamaa-centred church. This present chapter turned to highlight those aspects of Anglicanism which enabled the church to accommodate the principles of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. In view of this, the analysis within this chapter consisted of the following two sections: Anglicanism's accommodating aspects of Ujamaa and the differences between Anglicanism and the Ujamaa.

2. The Accommodating Aspects of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea within Anglicanism

2.1. Sharing a Common Ground between a Guest and a Host

The Anglican Communion Network for Interfaith Relations (ACNIR) used the reports of the previous Lambeth Conferences (i.e., 1968, 1978, 1988 and 1998) to develop an idea of a guest and a host.¹²⁶⁵ By using these reports, the ACNIRs members stated that, as ambassadors of Christ, God calls Anglicans (and other Christians) to meet,

¹²⁶⁵ The debate about sharing common ground between a guest and a host had been part of the discussions in the 1968, 1978, 1988 and the 1998 Lambeth Conferences. See *Jews, Christians and Muslims: The Way of Dialogue*, *Lambeth Conference 1988*, *Embassy, Hospitality and Dialogue: Christians and People of Other Faiths*, a Report by Bishop Michael Nazir-Ali to the Lambeth Conference 1998. <<http://www.lmebthconference.org/1998/documents/report-3/pdf>> [Accessed 20 May 2011].

greet, and acknowledge their dependence upon each other, of others, and of God.¹²⁶⁶ By using Jesus' command to His disciples: –whatever house you enter, first say, Peace to this house,“¹²⁶⁷ the members of the network suggested that this command introduced the image of an interaction between a host and a guest. The anticipation was that, during the interaction, the host was expected to exercise hospitality to her or his guest.¹²⁶⁸ There were true and false hospitalities. True hospitality was anticipated in this case and this should not be measured by convictions but rather by expressing it in a practical way. Hence, when any host met a guest, the anticipation was that they would engage in sharing hospitality in a practical way. Through the sharing hospitality, both the guest and the host would be re-evangelised as they graciously encounter God's presence in their midst. This was among the central themes of the four canonical Gospels – God calls His people to welcome one another¹²⁶⁹ through which they experience His presence.¹²⁷⁰ However, as the members of ACNIR argued, welcoming a guest involved several serious challenges especially if she or he was unknown to the host:

Our guest may be suspicious, fearful or hostile, as we may be when we are guests. There may be failures to reciprocate on either side. It is [also] possible to use the practice of hospitality, not truly to accept and to recognize one another, but rather to suppress differences through superficial bonhomie.¹²⁷¹

Whereas experiences in the practice of hospitality could involve embarrassment, the network members challenged the church to understand that being embarrassed, perplexed and vulnerable was part of a call to meeting others as both guests and hosts. They argued further that it was in welcoming one another that people become truly enriched by one another.

In view of this, the Church of England (i.e., the British missionaries' sending church) became a guest when it sent its missionaries to Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It became a host when it received its first converts there. These first converts became hosts to the

¹²⁶⁶ *Generous Love: Truth the gospel and the call to love, A report of the Anglican Consultative Council*, London: Anglican Consultative Council, 2008.

¹²⁶⁷ Lk.10:5-9.

¹²⁶⁸ *Generous Love*.

¹²⁶⁹ Hebr.13:1-2.

¹²⁷⁰ Lk: 24:28-32,

¹²⁷¹ *Generous Love*.

new converts and to any new missionary who came to Tanganyika and Zanzibar. These converts were guests when they were sent to evangelise other people in the *ujamaa* villages. Through this exercise, a new *ecclesia* (i.e., the indigenous church as proposed by Venn) emerged.¹²⁷²

Therefore, the various reactions of the missionaries analysed in this study were indicators of the perplexities, embarrassments and vulnerabilities as the missionaries encountered their hosts (i.e., the people and their culture) in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The reaction of the Africans to the British missionaries was to be the same, because they too were both the guests and the hosts of the missionaries.

Since the two missions of the established *ecclesia anglicana* aimed at establishing an indigenous church in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, they too became a host to the new developments (i.e., the struggle for the independences and granting of the independences to the two countries, the union of the two countries and the Arusha Declaration and its aftermath). Surrounded by these new developments, the indigenous church founded by the British missionaries established its roots through hosting these new developments. While chapters four and five of this present study described how the missionaries and the indigenous church accommodated these new developments, Doe's conclusion that, actually, Anglicanism ~~is~~ not a system or a confession but a method, a use, [and] a direction¹²⁷³ suggests that these reactions were not unique because Anglicanism could easily host new development which emerges in the context it exists. In agreeing with Doe, Chiwanga has stated that this was the reason why the two missions were quickly transformed into a church during the struggle for political independence and that it accommodated the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.¹²⁷⁴ A similar line of thought was held by the bishop of Central Tanganyika when he commended the struggle for the Tanganyika's independence as it developed into a movement for nationalism that:

¹²⁷² Report by Bishop Michael Nazir-Ali to the Lambeth Conference.

¹²⁷³ Michael Doe, *Saving Power: The Mission of God and the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 2011, p. 48.

¹²⁷⁴ Simon Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa.

We in the Church should be the first to recognise these aspirations as right ... [even if] different individuals may hold different views on how and when these things can be [or] should seek to bring the desired end to pass as rapidly as it proves possible.¹²⁷⁵

The bishop of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika shared the same view, but with some reservations:

In Africa as a whole politics are uppermost in people's minds and prides ... but it is important to emphasize that the outset of the kingdom of God goes on whatever happens in the world, that the work may be made easier or more difficult by political events, but it cannot be controlled by them [...].¹²⁷⁶

The Editor of the *Review of the Work* was also in the same line of thought:

The Church cannot keep out of the political and social problems that beset the new nations ... the proportion of leaders who are Christians is much greater than the proportion of Christians to the population generally. There are considerable numbers of Anglicans in leading positions such as Mr. Kamaliza in Tanganyika.¹²⁷⁷

These arguments illustrate well, as Edwards did, that Anglicans believe that there ought to be some correlation between religion (i.e., Christianity) and politics.¹²⁷⁸ Hence, besides Nyerere's emphasis that religious beliefs should remain personal and that religion and politics should not be blended,¹²⁷⁹ – an attitude through which politicians in Tanzania such as Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru became anti-religious,¹²⁸⁰ the church embraced these changes under the influence of the world of politics. In this regard, Emile Durkheim's assumption that usually the interrelationship and interdependence of the social institutions of a society leads into one institution affecting the others and ultimately the whole, whereas the whole can also affect one or

¹²⁷⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/56/10/Bishop of Central Tanganyika, *Charge to Synod*, 10 June, 1959.

¹²⁷⁶ ASL/Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, p. 5.

¹²⁷⁷ ASL/Come back to Africa: The Review of the Work 1962, p. 10.

¹²⁷⁸ ASL/ ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, 1960, p. 10, David L. Edwards, *What Anglicans Believe*, Oxford: Mowbray, 1974, p. 101.

¹²⁷⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection From Writings and Speech, 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 12-19.

¹²⁸⁰ Raphael Shempemba, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 11 August 2011, Dar es Salaam.

all the social institutions¹²⁸¹ works very well in the Anglican understanding of politics and religion. Edwards illustrated this when he stated that while religion ought to inspire human beings with the vision of God's love for human beings, "politics ought to drive men into loving action to help those in need – according to their own conscience ..."¹²⁸²

Bediako has argued that Christianity should be a result of the total interaction between the 'Gospel' and culture.¹²⁸³ The report of the Anglicans in Mission states that human beings are cultural beings and that religion is part and parcel of culture¹²⁸⁴ and in Bediako's terms "an open ended sense of tradition, history, identity and continuity").¹²⁸⁵ According to Edwards, Christianity calls its adherents to "express love by active service, whether by taking a political role or by quietly trying to help those people around them."¹²⁸⁶ The Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) has pointed out that the call upon governments to observe justice in their policies and action cannot be separated from this Christian responsibility.¹²⁸⁷ In this case, Winston Ndungane's suggestions to the ACC were right on target: "... in accordance with God's purpose the moral function of the state is the coordination of human life in such a way that good life is provided."¹²⁸⁸ Ndungane has added that it should be the church's role to assist this task of articulating the moral content of the function of the state and the definition of the good life. This view is also shared by Mbelwa who insists that the church should always be ready to articulate the ethical side of the functions of the State.¹²⁸⁹

Although Ndungane and Mbelwa never indicated anywhere that they have been influenced by Article #38 of the Thirty Nine Articles of Faith of the Church of

¹²⁸¹ Structural Functionalism (Emile Durkheim, 1858-1917) in Donald Kisilu Kombo and L. A. Delno Tromp (eds.), *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*, Nairobi: Paulines, 2006, p. 56.

¹²⁸² Edwards, *What Anglicans Believe*, p. 101.

¹²⁸³ Kwame Bediako, "Gospel and Culture: Some Insight From the Experience of the Earliest Church" in *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol.2, No.2, December 1999, pp. 8-17.

¹²⁸⁴ ASL/Anglicans in Mission: *A Transforming Journey, A Report of Missio, the Mission Commission of the Anglican Communion, to the Anglican Consultative Council, meeting in Edinburgh, Scotland, September 1999*, pp. 27-28.

¹²⁸⁵ Bediako, 'Gospel and Culture', p. 8.

¹²⁸⁶ Edwards, *What Anglicans Believe*, p. 101.

¹²⁸⁷ ASL/Many Gifts One Spirit: Report of ACC-7, 1987, p. 99.

¹²⁸⁸ ASL/Bonds of Affections: Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 13.

¹²⁸⁹ Germano Mbelwa, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 12 January 2011 at Lushoto.

England, their arguments bear similar emphasis if compared with the Article (i.e., Anglicans should see their vocation as being lived out in every area of life).¹²⁹⁰ Thus, even though Neil was of the opinion that currently not all provinces of the Anglican Communion accept the Thirty-nine Articles,¹²⁹¹ the enquiry on politics as part of the task to Anglicans cannot be separated from their witness to the world.”¹²⁹² Members of the Fifth Anglican Consultative Council were to also hold this position:

[...] – Jesus is the Centre of our life commitment ... [even though] there [are] many different emphases which [arises] out of faith responses to particular situation and callings [...] Our lives are enriched as these differences [are] acknowledged and shared. Mission is one, which can be approached in two complementary ways: Starting from the proclamation of God as revealed in Jesus Christ; and discovering that the reality of God as revealed in Jesus Christ comes alive on becoming involved in the struggles of all people on both sides of spiritual, material, social, economic, or political oppression.¹²⁹³

Bishop Akiri said that this is the reason why Anglicans had been participating actively in the transformation of social, economic and political life worldwide.¹²⁹⁴

According to Nyerere, Ujamaa which drew its relevance from the Tanzanian context was both political¹²⁹⁵ and universal.¹²⁹⁶ Nyerere added that the universal focus of socialism was in the service of humanity.¹²⁹⁷ However, Nyerere’s articulation of African socialism indicated that the human relationship with God had to remain a matter for him or herself alone.¹²⁹⁸ Under these considerations and as Kivanda has indicated, Ujamaa could be said to bear no similarities with Anglicanism.¹²⁹⁹

¹²⁹⁰ *Kitabu cha Sala kwa Watu Wote*, Nairobi: SPCK, 1945, p. iii.

¹²⁹¹ Stephen Neil, *Anglicanism*, Oxford: Mowbray, 1977, p. 400.

¹²⁹² The Anglican Church of Tanzania was one of those Provinces in the Anglican Communion which do not comply with the Thirty-nine Articles as its doctrines (*cf.* Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 400). Yet the Dioceses founded by CMSA in Tanzania still hold onto these Articles (*cf.* *Kitabu cha Sala kwa Watu wote*) and therefore in some sense it is part of the Anglican Church professions.

¹²⁹³ ‘The Gospel and People’ in *ACC-5*, pp. 24-25.

¹²⁹⁴ Mwita Akiri, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 29 January 2011, Canterbury.

¹²⁹⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 12-14.

¹²⁹⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 12, see also the preceding pages in this chapter.

¹²⁹⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 4-9.

¹²⁹⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 12-13.

¹²⁹⁹ Catherine Kivanda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 18 May 2011, Dar es Salaam.

But, as a host, the church in Tanzania played a significant role to welcome this guest (i.e., the Ujamaa). In view of this, there were some common features shared between the two parts which need to be discussed here.

2.2. Common Ground Between Anglicanism and Ujamaa

In chapter one of this study, I referred to Nyerere stating that Ujamaa was a method. Again, in the preceding section of this chapter, I cited Doe arguing that Anglicanism is also a method.¹³⁰⁰ In view of these statements, the first common ground shared by both the Anglicanism and the Ujamaa is that they are both methods. To illustrate how the two have shared this common ground, I use Omari's statement. Omari has described the word Ujamaa from its technical socio-economic and political meaning from the Arabic root *jamaa* (i.e., to comprise and to include), and its derivative *jamaat* (i.e., society) and *jamiyyat* (i.e., religious confraternity).¹³⁰¹ As a result, this makes Ujamaa more than a political phenomenon. This illustrates well the reason why even though Nyerere insisted that Ujamaa had no theology,¹³⁰² the interaction between the two made the Ujamaa the theology of the Ujamaa-centred church.

According to Omari, the abstract form of Ujamaa (i.e., *jamaa* – the extended family) is derived from the Kiswahili language, –(an African *lingua franca*).¹³⁰³ This abstract form of Ujamaa was another feature which eased the interaction. It actually made Tanzanians conform to what Anglicans had been emphasising – *Binadamu Wote ni Ndugu Zangu* (lit: –I believe in human brotherhood and sisterhood¹³⁰⁴). In his interview, Singano said that Tanzania had become a domicile of people of different races (i.e., blacks, whites, brown and mixed races).¹³⁰⁵ According to him, these were different people who held different understandings of what it meant to be human and African and in that case the Ujamaa confession that all these are brothers and sisters

¹³⁰⁰ Doe, *Saving Power*, p. 48.

¹³⁰¹ C. K. Omari, 'Ujamaa' in *African Journal of Theology*, 1976, p. 63.

¹³⁰² Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 14-19.

¹³⁰³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 2.

¹³⁰⁴ Nyerere, 'Ujamaa': *The Basis of African Socialism*, p. 7. For the Anglican emphasis about this see the discussion about the theology of the Ujamaa centred Church in chapter five of this present study.

¹³⁰⁵ Eliya Singano, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 03 January 2011, Dar es Salaam.

and that they are equal, denotes the Christian doctrine of the *Imago Dei*.¹³⁰⁶ Singano's sympathy was also highlighted by the bishop of Zanzibar when he reported that:

[...] – the integration of races in the Church has made great advances ... Much has been achieved through the Church Councils, Sunday Schools for the Children, Bible Study and Discussion Groups, and regular opportunities for meeting socially.¹³⁰⁷

In a similar way, the Arusha Declaration states that differences will always be there but these should not eliminate the fact that after all –every individual has a right to dignity and respect.¹³⁰⁸ Consequently, the church and Ujamaa held a similar understanding about human rights. As a result, the church hosted the Ujamaa (‘the guest’) without much debate.

The second common ground shared by both Ujamaa and Anglicanism was on the elements which binds their community. For example, bonds of affections worldwide hold Anglicans together as a family.¹³⁰⁹ *Undugu* holds the Ujamaa community together as a family. *Undugu* is an aspect of human affection. Thus, as Anglicanism complies with the fact that all human beings are born out of a mutual history but from different contexts¹³¹⁰ and Ujamaa acknowledge that human beings ought to be religious¹³¹¹ the church found the principles of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* a harmonious guest. Of course, the process was not easy at the beginning, but as was argued earlier, difficulties were caused by the incomprehension, pre-eminence and vulnerability through both the rules and regulations of the church and the principles of the Arusha Declaration.

The third common ground was that both the Ujamaa and the church advocated a classless society which facilitated the integration of the two. This gave birth to the incarnational theology of the Ujamaa-centred church. The incarnational theology of

¹³⁰⁶ Singano, same interview.

¹³⁰⁷ ASL/... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, p. 10.

¹³⁰⁸ ‘The TANU —Cred’, in *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967, p. 1.

¹³⁰⁹ Bonds of Affection, p. 13.

¹³¹⁰ ‘The Anglican Way: Signposts on a Common Journey’, in the *Lambeth Reader*, London: SPCK, 2008, p. 10.

¹³¹¹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 13.

the church conveyed equality within inequalities.¹³¹² Singano has said that gender and race are the two main inequalities within human beings which cannot be refuted because they are grounded in creation.¹³¹³ The bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga has stated that languages and differing rites can sometimes cause problems for combined worship in the church and that these barriers should be solved patiently.¹³¹⁴ According to Nyerere, Ujamaa organised these inequalities to serve the equality of human beings.¹³¹⁵ This too has been a concern of Anglicanism:

Anglican Church members should be helped to become aware of their membership in a world-wide community – in which there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one in Christ”; and that they are also members of human community in which God has made of one blood all nations of men [*sic*] to dwell on the face of the earth.¹³¹⁶

The proceedings of the ACC present this Anglican concern of equality imagery thus:

The Church is to be understood ... as a pilgrim people called to a journey whose goal is nothing less than God’s blessed Kingdom embracing all nations and all creation, a sign, instrument and foretaste of God’s purpose to sum up all things with Christ as head (Eph.1.10). ‘Pilgrim People are dynamic. They are in movement and driven by a deep compelling will to accomplish a hope and live out a commitment; drawn by a goal that will unify, fulfil, and complete their faith and life.’¹³¹⁷

In this regard, when Nyerere challenged the leadership of the church that they should revise their religious traditions because Tanzanians sought a religion but not the ‘Englishness’ attached to it, he was advocating for the dynamism of a pilgrim people (i.e., the church needed to become Tanzanian in every aspect of its expression). Because the authority of the church had already stated that politics needed to be inspired and inspiring the Ujamaa could be done through accommodating the policy it

¹³¹² Section 6.3 in chapter five of this study.

¹³¹³ Singano, same interview.

¹³¹⁴ ... Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959, p. 10.

¹³¹⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 4.

¹³¹⁶ ASL/Report of the Fourth Meeting, Acc-4, p. 42.

¹³¹⁷ ASL/ ‘A Pilgrim People’ in Bonds of Affections, Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 1. The image of a Pilgrimage People is quoted from The Anglican the Anglican-Reformed International Commission Report of 1984.

designated,¹³¹⁸ the church complied with the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. This opened a new door for evangelism especially in the Ujamaa villages. The government also benefitted from the church's compliance with Ujamaa through the nationalisation of its schools, hospitals and land whereby all Tanzanians qualified to use its services.

This line of thinking makes it necessary to discuss the fourth common ground which Ujamaa and Anglicanism have shared in Tanzania. The analyses in chapter two of this present study has shown that both the UMCA and the CMSA aimed at building an indigenous church in Tanzania and that each had been counselled about the risks of importing into Tanzania the church known to the missionaries in their home countries. Even though the implementation of the different ideologies of the missions and the involvement of the government affected the missions' intention, the missionaries had commonalities which held them together. According to the ACC, these commonalities included the witness of the Scriptures, traditions, creed statements, reason, the saints, and forms of worship.¹³¹⁹ In the list of the cohesions which held the two missions together, the ACC included the *consensus fidelium*.¹³²⁰ Through this camaraderie, Anglicans in Tanzania found some answers to the question about what they ought to believe and in that case they joined the 'pilgrimage' of the worldwide community. This concept of the pilgrimaging community influenced the Theological Education Committee for the Anglican Communion which concluded that context and history contributes greatly to the essence of Anglicanism.¹³²¹ Hence, just as there are varieties of socialism, so there are varieties of Anglicanism (i.e., the result of the pilgrim of people in different context and history after they had received the 'Gospel' preached by the British missionaries). History is about change which happens to a particular group of people in a given context. Change aims to improve things and not to make them perfect. This holds up Archbishop Ramsey's statement that:

The Anglican credentials are its incompleteness, with the tension and the travail in its soul. It is clumsy and untidy; it baffles nearness and logic. For it is sent not to commend itself as ~~the~~ the best type of

¹³¹⁸ ASL/ACT/DZT/_Hotuba ya Askofu' Sinodi ya Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, 1970, p. 2.

¹³¹⁹ ASL/_What is Anglicanism?', ACC-6, pp. 72-73.

¹³²⁰ What is Anglicanism?', ACC-6, pp. 72-73.

¹³²¹ The Anglican Way: Signposts on a Common Journey in the *Lambeth Leader*, p. 10.

Christianity,” but by its very brokenness, to point to the universal Church wherein all [Christ] have died [*sic*].¹³²²

This sounds similar to Nyerere’s ideas for the Ujamaa. In his description of his choice of the word Ujamaa for the Tanzanian socialism Nyerere could state:

The word ‘ujamaa’ was chosen for special reasons. First, it is African word and thus emphasizes the African-ness of the policies we intend to follow. Second, its literal meaning is family-hood; so that it brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as we know it ... for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it. We have deliberately decided to grow, as a society, out of our own roots, but in particular direction and towards a particular kind of objective. We are doing this by emphasising certain characteristics of our traditional organisation, and extending them so that they can embrace the possibilities of modern technology and enable us to meet the challenge of life in the twentieth century world.¹³²³

In the history of the Lambeth Conference as an instrument of Anglicanism, provinces in the Anglican Communion adopt teachings which might not be accepted by other provinces within the Communion.¹³²⁴ This has led Condry to argue that from its second meeting, whenever the Lambeth Conference was called, people would say a time had come for the end of the Anglican Communion but only to find that the church as a global body continued to thrive.¹³²⁵ This perception is also reflected in the report of the members of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission (Communion, Conflict and Hope).¹³²⁶

According to Mwita, disagreements on issues of faith and order within the Communion were the central factors which facilitated the church to become what it

¹³²² A.M. Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, London: Longman and Green Co., 1936, p. 220. Also in Stephen W. Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, Oxford: Mowbray, 1978, p. 3.

¹³²³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 2.

¹³²⁴ This is very clear in the debates over polygamous marriages brought by Churches in Africa and Western Asia, Ordination of Women and same sex Marriages brought by the Episcopal Church of United States of America.

¹³²⁵ CCL/Canterbury/George Condry, Seminar Papers on Anglican Communion, Canterbury, 29 January 2011.

¹³²⁶ *Communion, Conflict and Hope: The Kuala Lumpur Report of the Third Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission*, London: The Anglican Communion Office, 2008.

is.¹³²⁷ With this understanding, Mwitā argued that even the church's accommodation of the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* was done in the same line of thought. Mwitā went on to state that the church in Tanzania achieved this because Ujamaa did not bring any major doctrinal errors. If it had, the Lambeth Conferences of 1968, 1978, 1988 would have reflected this fact.¹³²⁸ If this has been the case, the accommodation of Ujamaa by the church would have raised disagreements simply because it was an issue to Tanzania alone which would have had very little relevance to the other provinces.¹³²⁹

In his interview, Ramadhani said that the debate about the need for the church to comply with Ujamaa was done in the village churches and at the synods and that because the people had already lived the 'ujamaa life' before, it was not difficult for them to understand the government's aspirations.¹³³⁰ Although Ramadhani's assumption maintains Bediako's argument that the African pre-Christian religious practices are the memories that underlie the identity of Christians in the present,¹³³¹ for Ketto, the history and type of leadership which the church had during the introduction and implementation of Ujamaa could not stimulate more debate.¹³³² The arguments of Ramadhani and Ketto may reflect the fact that Anglicans in Tanzania were generally satisfied by the way the state had articulated the Ujamaa. This clarifies why, unlike Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, Anglicans accommodated the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as introduced by the state authority.

Commenting on Ramsey's statement about the brokenness and incompleteness of the Anglican Communion, Kivanda and Singano have argued that the traditional extended family through which Ujamaa derived its relevance had its own incompleteness, brokenness and internal conflicts.¹³³³ According to Singano, these conflicts usually were dealt within the context of the Ujamaa family.¹³³⁴ Likewise, the internal dissensions were compromised within the Anglican understanding of the extended

¹³²⁷ Mwitā, same interview.

¹³²⁸ Singano, same interview.

¹³²⁹ Mwitā, same interview.

¹³³⁰ John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 16 May 2011, Dar es Salaam.

¹³³¹ Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in modern Africa*, Oxford: Regnum, 1999, pp. xvi-xviii.

¹³³² Ketto, same interview.

¹³³³ Kivanda, same interview; Singano, same interview.

¹³³⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 35-39.

family (i.e., the Anglican Communion). The example of Bishop Burrough of Mashonaland in (former Southern Rhodesia), and a delegate from the Province of Central Africa who felt it right to withdraw from the first Anglican Consultative Council Meeting at Limuru in Kenya can illustrate this conclusion.¹³³⁵ The bishop expressed his deep regret at breaking the unity of the council because he felt that the report of the World Council of Churches (WCC) about issues of racism in Central Africa were at best presumptuous. Thus, the bishop was –onvinced that the vote commending the [WCCs] program to combat racism could only be interpreted as a support to groups actively engaged in violence against Rhodesia.”¹³³⁶ But, before withdrawing, Bishop Burrough said to the members that he did so regretfully because he had much love and thanksgiving for the Council and that it was unfortunate that he had to dissociate himself from its resolutions.¹³³⁷ Although he had to defend his nationality, he gave the Council his blessing. Burrough’s withdraw from the Council was just one among many other cases which sometimes threatened the unity of the –Anglican extended family”.¹³³⁸ According to Ketto, the traditional African extended family would reach a similar conclusion.¹³³⁹ Ketto however ratified the fact that when it happened that a family member threatened the unity of the family, elders would not wait for him or her to decide, rather they would immediately withdraw him or her.¹³⁴⁰ Similar circumstances have been expressed by A. M. Babu in the Ujamaa community:

I argued my case against the nationalisation of small businesses before the Central Committee, I showed how it would damage the economy, raise the cost of distribution, dislocate the business system, and cause even more problems. And I said it was not a socialist priority ... I argued this for three hours. The next day they took the decision to nationalise commerce as though nothing had happened.¹³⁴¹

¹³³⁵ ASL/ ‘The Times is Now’ in ACC-1, Resolution No 17, p. 28.

¹³³⁶ The Times is Now, Resolution No. 17, p. 28.

¹³³⁷ The Times is Now, Resolution No. 17, p. 28.

¹³³⁸ Adrian Chatfield, *Something in Common*, London: St. Johns Extension Studies, 1998.

¹³³⁹ Ketto, same interview. Ketto said that usually those who would be ousted from the extended family would be people like witches and people who suffered from incurable diseases.

¹³⁴⁰ Ketto, same interview. Ketto said that usually those who would be ousted from the extended family would be people like witches and people who suffered from incurable diseases.

¹³⁴¹ Amrit Wilson, *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania*, London: Pluto Press, 1989, p. 135.

Ramadhani said that, while in its councils the State used Ujamaa as a method of reaching agreements, the church also used it at its synod and parish church councils.¹³⁴²

The fifth common ground which both Ujamaa and Anglicanism shared in Tanzania was, as highlighted by Neil, in that political factors can favourably influence the life of a church.¹³⁴³ Nyerere declared these favourable conditions:

[...] – it is the institution of the Church, through its members, which should be leading the attack on any organisation, or any economic, social, or political structures which oppress men, and which denies to them the right and power to live as sons of a loving God.¹³⁴⁴

According to Nyerere —. man lives in society. He becomes meaningful to himself and his fellows only as a member of that society.”¹³⁴⁵

The sixth Anglican Consultative Council stated that the church ought to evangelise, convert and baptise.¹³⁴⁶ However, in the case of Tanzania, the church developed a society of its own kind, in other words, the Anglican Church community in Tanzania. But, since the targets of the two Anglican missions were to set up an indigenous (or native) church in Tanzania, it implied that the missionaries were concerned not only with individuals but with the needs of all human beings as members of society. George Mbaruku has argued that this ideal must be fulfilled through saving, teaching and healing.¹³⁴⁷ In her interview, Kivanda stated that the ministry of saving, teaching and healing, in which all the missions were involved in, each reflected the ‘ujamaa’¹³⁴⁸ because the pastoral visits, worship and ministries all aimed at caring for the people.¹³⁴⁹ Moreover, produce from the mission farms was used within the

¹³⁴² Ramadhani, same interview.

¹³⁴³ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 390.

¹³⁴⁴ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development: A Selection From Writing and Speeches (1968-1973)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 226-227.

¹³⁴⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 216.

¹³⁴⁶ *The Time is Now*, p. 42.

¹³⁴⁷ George Mburuku, ‘We Must Not Wait’ in *Central Africa: Journal of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 957, September 1962, p. 133.

¹³⁴⁸ I am using the word ‘ujamaa’ here in lower case because Kivana spoke about it according to the primary understanding of the word. This distinguishes it from the documented Ujamaa of Nyerere.

¹³⁴⁹ Kivanda, same interview.

mission villages.¹³⁵⁰ In Shenk's view, Venn idealised this kind of church.¹³⁵¹ However, in Venn's ideal, this church did not need to be a missionary-dominated body, but rather an indigenous body, with the intention of reaching the ultimate establishment of a self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending system in the indigenous context. –At the centre of Venn's' ideal was the establishment of an indigenous system of leadership”¹³⁵² which would be responsible for dealing with political issues.¹³⁵³ These intentions of the church reflect *Africanisation* which the authority of the government also implemented. In this regard, the state's declaration of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as its national policy was a fulfilment of the church's aspirations and as a consequence, the church accommodated the principles of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. This is to say that, the teachings of Ujamaa were not only similar to the pastoral teachings of Nyerere's church as advocated by Rwelamila and Silvano,¹³⁵⁴ but also underscored the teachings of Anglicanism.

The sixth common ground upon which both Ujamaa and Anglicanism held in common was given by George Mbaruku.¹³⁵⁵ For him, the church's involvement in socio-economic and political issues was to be admired and highly appreciated in the country. Of course, this was the reason why the government sought the church's assistance in the fight against what Nyerere called ‘the three great enemies of humanity’ (i.e., ignorance, diseases and poverty). Nyerere argued that the fight against ignorance and diseases could only be won when –poverty would be defeated.”¹³⁵⁶ The church believed that its fight against poverty was not because it was a necessary evil, but instead was often the result of social, economic, political and religious systems marked by injustice, exploitation and oppression.¹³⁵⁷ This aspect of Anglicanism held much in common with the aspirations of the national policy:

Poverty and injustice are Enemies of Peace, poverty is a de-stabilizer;
[sic] and so is gross injustice. If we want Peace and Stability we must

¹³⁵⁰ Kivanda, same interview.

¹³⁵¹ W. R. Shenk, *Henry Venn-Missionary Statesman*, New York: Orbis Books, 1983, pp.106-109.

¹³⁵² Shenk, *Henry Venn-Missionary Statesman*, p. 106-109.

¹³⁵³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/60/14/ Regulations, p. 11.

¹³⁵⁴ J. B. Rwelamila, *Tanzanian Socialism-Ujamaa and Gaudium et Spes*, Rome: Academia Alfonsiana, 1988, J. C. Silvano, *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953-1985*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1992.

¹³⁵⁵ Mbaruku, *We Must Not Wait*, pp. 133-134.

¹³⁵⁶ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 235.

¹³⁵⁷ Bonds of Affection, Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 59.

work for Development, and development in Equity. In other words if we want peace we must work for social Justice; for in any society Peace is a product of Justice. That is the link we make between Peace and Development: the Development of people.¹³⁵⁸

In view of this, the church was obliged to submit its institutions to the government during the nationalisation. The church believed that the best way to save humanity from injustice was through its response to immediate human needs and pressing for social transformation as a true outcome of its evangelisation:

Those [Anglicans] who do not feel it is a part of Christian mission to be involved in social or political action should be reminded that their very non-involvement lends tacit support to the status quo. There is no escape: Either we challenge the evil structures of society or we support them.¹³⁵⁹

It was within this framework that Archbishop Michael Ramsey had challenged Anglicans to give themselves in the unselfishness service of both the state and the community, and that they would find this service in political parties or even outside such parties.¹³⁶⁰ In the same line of thought, the editor of *The Guardian (UK)* was to argue: ‘the presence of convinced Anglicans in public life would help to thwart some of the politics’ potential danger of appealing to prejudice instead of reason.’¹³⁶¹

In his interview, Ketto stated that the church becomes indigenous when it involves social, economic and political factors as vital elements of conversion in its evangelisation.¹³⁶² Kivanada added that this idea and that raised by the editor of *The Guardian* were the main reasons why the missionaries were involved in the building of hospitals, dispensaries, and schools, as well as engaging school learners in various life-skill activities such as boy scouting, girl guides, and academic debate clubs.¹³⁶³ Chiwanga said that the missionaries considered these social services not only as important components for evangelisation but also as a means of supporting the rights

¹³⁵⁸ Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, *Africa Today and Tomorrow*, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Printers Limited (No Date), p. 51.

¹³⁵⁹ Bonds of Affection, Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 59.

¹³⁶⁰ LPL/ _The Role of Christian,‘ in *Guardian* newspaper (UK), Friday, 22 May 1970, p. 219.

¹³⁶¹ The Role of Christian, p. 219.

¹³⁶² Ketto, same interview.

¹³⁶³ Kivanada, same interview.

of any human being.¹³⁶⁴ This confirms Shivji's argument that the churches offered an arena of human rights activities which have not yet been used to the fullest. Because the principles of the Ujamaa aimed to help Tanzanians to become a community which would stand for the rights of each individual person, the church accommodated it without much resistance.

The seventh mutual ground upon which both Ujamaa and Anglicanism shared in Tanzania was the approach used by the church in the implementation of its vision and that used by Nyerere during the implementation of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. There are five essentials which need to be reviewed in this section. First, while the Anglican missionaries used Anglicanism as a technique of drawing people from their extended families into their mission villages, Nyerere used the principles of Ujamaa to draw people to the *Vijiji vya Ujamaa*. The missions' villages looked attractive but were not permanent. In this case, the Christians in many of these villages were a 'pilgrim people' and because of this it had become easy to move them into the Ujamaa villages. Furthermore, just as there were new extended families emerging in the mission villages, when people from different clans and tribes were married, similar people of different clans and tribes became married to each other within the Ujamaa villages.¹³⁶⁵ A village such as Kerege comprised of villagers from more than twenty tribes who could marry each other.¹³⁶⁶ Therefore, it can be strongly argued that the new families which emerged out of the mission villages facilitated the integration of people into the Ujamaa villages and towns, and that Kiswahili, which was the first language to be transcribed by the missionaries, became the language of the new breed.

Second, the ideal of the Anglican missions – building a native church in Tanzania – was essentially realised in these Ujamaa villages.¹³⁶⁷ Since the state had already attained self-government, the remaining goal was self-reliance.¹³⁶⁸ Both self-government and self-reliance (i.e., self-support) were Anglican ideals.¹³⁶⁹ Bishop Huddleston quoted Nyerere by saying: 'For the purpose of the Church is man – his

¹³⁶⁴ Chiwanga, same interview

¹³⁶⁵ For a clear and full description of this change, see chapter five of this present study.

¹³⁶⁶ TL/ 'Kanisa la Pamoja kwa Kijiji cha Ujamaa' in *Ecclesia* Newspaper, no.193, May, 1970, p. 1.

¹³⁶⁷ Marjory Stanway, *Alfred Stanway: The Recollection of a 'little m'*, Canberra: Acorn Press, 1991, pp. 118, 177.

¹³⁶⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 169-171.

¹³⁶⁹ Shenk, *Henry Venn-Missionary Statesman*, pp. 106-109.

human dignity and his right to develop himself in freedom ...”¹³⁷⁰ But, in Nyerere’s view, –the development of man and to work for the development of man must mean the development also of that kind of society which serves man which enhances his well-being and preserves his dignity.¹³⁷¹ At its meeting at Limuru, Kenya, the Anglican Consultative Council observed that –... the links between development of individual person and the development of community and the world community are one chain.”¹³⁷² On the one hand, the members of the council added that the process of development within the world is of vital importance to anyone who believes that this is truly God’s world.”¹³⁷³ On the other, the council realised a challenge: –At times ... [the church] work[ed] in isolation, picking up the casualties that governments overlook[ed].”¹³⁷⁴ Yet, from the 1970s onwards, this attitude of the church to work in isolation began to change:

We are now ... often working alongside governments and are in a position to ask the type of questions that need to be asked about government programmes ... we believe that the main role of the church in relation to development –... is to influence public opinion, to arouse people’s awareness everywhere, to make them feel that [development] is not a question of technical assistance but of genuine co-operation.¹³⁷⁵

In view of this, working with the government was an accepted practice of the time. In the words of Edwards, –the best way of honouring that great Anglican tradition was to carry on the battle for a better society.”¹³⁷⁶ In Tanzania, this tradition was carried out by the establishment of departments of development in each diocese beginning with the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga and Central Tanganyika.¹³⁷⁷ It can be argued therefore that Ujamaa challenged the church to engage itself in to the development programmes. By so doing, the church corrected its deep-rooted weakness because, as the council stated, it relied on the long history of uncritical acquiescence in the

¹³⁷⁰ The Right Reverend Trevor Huddleston CR, ‘The Person Nyerere,’ in *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari (eds.), Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1995, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁷¹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 216.

¹³⁷² *The Time is Now*, p. 25.

¹³⁷³ *The Time is Now*, p. 25.

¹³⁷⁴ *The Time is Now*, p. 26.

¹³⁷⁵ *The Time is Now*, p. 26.

¹³⁷⁶ Edwards, *What Anglicans Believe*, p. 101.

¹³⁷⁷ Joseph Ngerenza, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 14 May 2011, Dar es Salaam. Ngerenza was the first Diocesan Development Officer of the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga as well as provincially.

prevailing social order.¹³⁷⁸ In the case of Tanzania, these background elements prevented the church from preparing African Anglican clergy to the level of Nyerere.¹³⁷⁹ Of course, there was Simon Chiwanga and Martin Mbwana.¹³⁸⁰ Mbwana attained his first Degree at the Trinity School of Ministry in New York in the US and was made Provincial Secretary shortly after completing his studies.¹³⁸¹ Sadly, he never got much time to concentrate on theologically articulating his contexts.¹³⁸² Chiwanga impressed Nyerere by a striking piece of work presented at the Tanzania-wide Pastors' Conference in Dodoma in May 1971, whereupon Nyerere advised him to join the world of politics.¹³⁸³ In taking this advice and entering the political arena, Nyerere duly appointed Chiwanga minister of education.¹³⁸⁴ But, even with him, it took time to convince his bishop for the need of pursuing graduate studies.¹³⁸⁵ Even though he finally pursued a first degree at the University of Dar es Salaam, Chiwanga was still junior to Nyerere in issues of political and philosophical articulation.¹³⁸⁶ If he could have aspired to the level of Nyerere's calibre, he might have linked the Tanzanian context through which Nyerere derived his philosophical articulation of Ujamaa with that of Anglicanism, which besides its complexity, would not be much different from:

[That] which was not necessarily English in origin, which recognised a common Anglican identity, which gave some definition to that identity, and which did not mention Englishness' as a defining characteristic.¹³⁸⁷

Singano went on to argue that even though this could not be a satisfying designation of Anglicanism, it could be a helpful beginning for the articulation of what it meant to be Anglican in Tanzania.¹³⁸⁸ But, as was noted earlier, in 1983 the Sixth Anglican Consultative Council introduced a new meaning of Anglicanism on the basis of the

¹³⁷⁸ The Time is Now, ' p. 26.

¹³⁷⁹ When Tanganyika received its independence from the British, the highest academic qualification was Masters which was held: Julius K. Nyerere (Roman Catholic), John Keto (Anglican) and Kidaha Makwaiya (Muslim).

¹³⁸⁰ Chiwanga, same interview, ASL/Martin Mbwana, Personal files.

¹³⁸¹ Mbwana files.

¹³⁸² Mbwana files.

¹³⁸³ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 183.

¹³⁸⁴ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 183.

¹³⁸⁵ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹³⁸⁶ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 183.

¹³⁸⁷ Chatfield, *Something in Common*, p. 25.

¹³⁸⁸ Singano, same interview.

1948 Lambeth Conference's understanding of the term.¹³⁸⁹ This interpolation conceded the ethos of Anglicanism that:

It is a way of thinking and feeling that has developed over the centuries which calls for an acceptance of measures of diversity, an openness, tolerance and mutual respect toward others ... the past was not radically discarded, but it was subjected to examination in a new spirit of enquiry that sought to apply the gospel to the whole of life.¹³⁹⁰

Accordingly, such an Anglican ethos relates well with Nyerere's thoughts of Ujamaa in three important respects. First, the past was seriously considered. Second, in order to ensure that the people cared for each other's welfare in a socialist society, a correct attitude of mind is more needed than a rigid adherence to a standard political pattern.¹³⁹¹ Third, it was stated that:

The real truth is that the principles of socialism are relevant to all human society at all stages of technology and social organization. But their application has constantly to be worked out afresh according to the objective conditions prevailing in the time and place. There is no book which provides all the answers to these problems of application; there is no socialist road map which depicts all obstacles and provides a path through or around them. In fact we have no alternative but to hold fast to the principles of socialism – to understand its characteristics – and then apply the accumulated knowledge of man to the continuing and changing problem of man.¹³⁹²

According to the ACC, Anglicanism "calls for an acceptance of measures of diversity, an openness, tolerance and mutual respect towards others."¹³⁹³ Nyerere has shown that this was so in the case of Ujamaa:

In truth it is necessary ... to think about ... policies ... and about how our institutions can serve the people of our society. To try to divide people ... into groups of "good" and "bad" according to their skin colour, or their nation origin, or their tribal origin, is to sabotage the work we have just embarked upon. We should decide whether a person is efficient ... and whether he is carrying out his task loyally.¹³⁹⁴

¹³⁸⁹ ASL/Bonds of Affections, Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 73.

¹³⁹⁰ Bonds of Affections, p. 73.

¹³⁹¹ Nyerere, „Ujamaa’: *The Basis of African Socialism*, p. 1.

¹³⁹² Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 19.

¹³⁹³ Bonds of Affections, p. 73.

¹³⁹⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 260-261.

The Anglican Church in Tanzania accepted the principles of *Ujamaa* in this regard. Accordingly, these two principles brought to the mind of Tanzanians the idea of mutual involvement in the family as known to them.¹³⁹⁵

Third, the building of *Ujamaa* on a Tanzanian design involved getting on with *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and work) and *Kujenga Taifa* (building the nation). In the words of Mary-Stella, this –meant putting hands to the plough and shoulders to the wheel.”¹³⁹⁶ The Anglican missionaries and their African adherents (especially pupils in the boarding schools)¹³⁹⁷ had been doing this from the commencement of the missions.¹³⁹⁸ But, as Mary-Stella put it, this time it meant *Africanisation* (i.e., Europeans yielding place to Africans in every walk of life).¹³⁹⁹ Nyerere was to clearly state the reason behind it:

It is true that we in Tanzania [during the struggle for the independence] campaigned on the grounds of human equality; that has helped us. But the problem African knew was that of discrimination against the African majority ... therefore the first and far most vocal demand of the people after independence was for Africanisation.¹⁴⁰⁰

As highlighted earlier, the Europeans yielding place to Africans was the missions' idea. Therefore, the church would not reject it during the implementation of the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. However, the conclusion of the Anglican Consultative Council seemed to challenge it:

Christians and non-Christians alike have often gone beyond by demanding a Jesus or Church which gives support to their preconceived desires and to preconceived idea of society.¹⁴⁰¹

Nyerere's ideal was for a classless society¹⁴⁰² and it was on this understanding that he had to explain why *Africanisation* was indispensable:

¹³⁹⁵ Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, pp. 9-10.

¹³⁹⁶ Julius Nyerere, *Maendeleo ni Kazi: Hotuba ya Rais wa Chama Kwenye Mkutano Mkuu wa TANU wa 16*, Dar es Salaam, National Printing, 1973.

¹³⁹⁷ ASL/ADZ/ Scheme for an Education System' in the Acts of the Synods: 1884-1903, Diocese of Zanzibar, p. 10.

¹³⁹⁸ Mary-Stella, CSP, *She Won't Say No: The History of the Community of Sacred Passion*, Scroll Bound Copy, (No date), p. 133.

¹³⁹⁹ Mary-Stella, *She Won't Say No*, p. 133.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁰¹ ASL/ACC-3, p. 23.

[This] ... deliberate policy of 'Africanisation' of the public service was being pursued in the full recognition that this was itself discriminatory. For before all citizens could be treated equally, it was necessary to rectify the position in which the nation's civil service was dominated by non-Africans, and to make it reflect in some measure the composition of society. Therefore, until January 1964, Africans were appointed and promoted in preference to anyone else, and many of their promotions were very rapid and involved the suspension of normal qualification requirements about experience and education.¹⁴⁰³

Singano, Ketto and Kivanda said that even though there were few Africans who were put into leadership positions, the church was the first to appoint Africans regardless of their perceived inadequacy in managerial and administrative skills.¹⁴⁰⁴ Unlike them, Singano argued that the process of Africanising leadership in the church dictated change in the government.¹⁴⁰⁵ Chiwanga assigned the call to Africanise leadership to a common slogan which according to him, was promoted by those who struggled for independence.¹⁴⁰⁶ Chiwanga's statement is based on the assumption that it was the government which initiated the *Africanisation* of leadership. Perhaps this was the case, but the first African to be appointed to a senior post in the public service was Dustan Omari who was made District Commissioner. This was after Yohana Omari had already been made an assistant bishop for the Diocese of Central Tanganyika. It can be argued therefore that even though the slogan was on the agenda of TANU during the campaign for independence,¹⁴⁰⁷ it was a church ideology and because of that the church found it easy to accommodate Ujamaa. It should be remembered however that it was not until the attainment of the political independence of both Tanganyika and Zanzibar that some political authorities were to propagate the idea of *Africanisation* with passion. Therefore, the question which could arise is why did the church which was ahead in the process of *Africanisation* feel threatened by the government's emphasis upon it. Nyerere clarified this when he stated:

But the problem [Africans] knew was that of discrimination against the African majority. We therefore asked, 'Why are there no African

¹⁴⁰² Nyerere, 'Ujamaa': *The Basis of African Socialism*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 269.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Singano, same interview, Ketto, same interview, Kivanda, same interview.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Singano, same interview.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 27.

District Commissioners, administrators, supervisors, secretaries, etc.?” and often this was transposed into, “Why are there Europeans or Asians – this and that?” Humanity took second place in this struggle very often ... therefore, the first and far most vocal demand of the people after independence was [*Africanisation*]. They did not demand localization –indeed, the most popular thing would have been for leaders to deny citizenship to non – black residents. Still less did the people demand socialization; they simply demanded the replacement of white and brown faces by black ones.¹⁴⁰⁸

According to Bishop Stanway, this made a stigma of being European.¹⁴⁰⁹ But Nyerere had clearly stated that his government would not interfere with religious matters or revoke the citizenship of its people on the basis of their colour.¹⁴¹⁰ The editor of *Lengo* noted that Nyerere’s statements liberated the church in the sense that its role as implied in the biblical revelation was revived.¹⁴¹¹

Hardy argued that it was such requirements of nationalism and Ujamaa with regard to the church that made it possible to participate actively in self-reliance schemes.¹⁴¹² Hardy’s argument has some similarities with that of Hills that the church authorities realised that self-reliance would led to self-development and therefore this understanding spurred the church to co-operate in the development of Ujamaa villages which included agricultural projects and literacy campaigns.¹⁴¹³ Bartlett added that this understanding also made it possible for the church to allow some of its leaders to participate in the work of the government as in the case of the three diocesan education secretaries and the Rev. Simon Chiwanga.¹⁴¹⁴

The case of Chiwanga’s appointment is significant. Chiwanga who also became provincial secretary and later the first bishop of Mpwapwa after he had been a minister of national education and the founding director of *Chuo cha Mipango*

¹⁴⁰⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁰⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/133/20/ DCT Missionary Conference, Dodoma, 17-19 April 1970, p. 2.

¹⁴¹⁰ Ketto, same interview.

¹⁴¹¹ The Arusha Declaration, 1969, ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/Lengo Newspaper, 1973, no. 122/3 and 1973, p.1, no. 123, 1974, p.1.

¹⁴¹² Paul Hardy, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 05 April 2011, London.

¹⁴¹³ Hardy, same interview, Elizabeth Hills, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 08 April 2011, Shoreham. This is also reflected in the ACT/ADCT/Dodoma/*Report of Standing Committee, Diocese of Central Tanganyika*, 1970.

¹⁴¹⁴ Chiwanga, same interview, ‘Enzi Hizo’, News Bulletin, TBC 1, Dar es Salaam, 07 July 2011.

(National Planning College) in Dodoma¹⁴¹⁵ became minister in his own merit and not because he was an Anglican priest. Instead, his involvement in both the church and the state revived the Anglican belief in the necessity of linking the church and state and this enabled the church to develop more trust in the state authority. In view of this, just as the church did not reject the government's request of using the gifts and talents of Chiwanga in the world of politics, the State authority released its director of higher education in the ministry of education (John Ramadhani) when Archbishop Sepeku requested that he should join the priesthood.¹⁴¹⁶ Ramadhani, whose grandfather, Cecil Majaliwa, was the first African to become a priest in Tanzania and with whom the UMCA missionaries had hoped would become the first bishop of the Ruvuma areas, became the second African to hold the post of principal of St. Mark's Theological College in Dar es Salaam.¹⁴¹⁷ Just as Chiwanga prospered in the world of politics, Ramadhani prospered in the ordained ministry. Soon after the conclusion of his theological studies in Edinburgh, he was made a deacon and the principal of the college in 1978.

Just as the Ujamaa community had accepted the responsibility of making Dar es Salaam the headquarters of the freedom fighters, the college trained freedom fighters from Namibia, South Sudan, Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)), South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, Malawi and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) for the church ministry in their home country.¹⁴¹⁸ The appointment of Ramadhani as deacon and to become the principal of such a large and influential theological college which had several priests as members on its staff was unusual and it was doubtless facilitated by the church's involvement in the Ujamaa.¹⁴¹⁹ This could be noted in the fact that two years later after he had been ordained priest he became the second African bishop in the Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga (1980) and five years thereafter he was made the third archbishop of Tanzania and served longer than his

¹⁴¹⁵ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹⁴¹⁷ Jerome T. Moryama, 'Building a Home Grown Church', in Daniel O'Connor, *et al.*, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1701-2000)*, London: Continuum, 2000, p. 341. Ramadhani later became the second African bishop for the diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Archbishop of Tanzania and finally the seventh bishop of Zanzibar.

¹⁴¹⁸ ASL/SMTC/Log Book.

¹⁴¹⁹ Ramadhani, same interview.

predecessors. Ramadhani, who never served in a parish (i.e., either as a deacon or priest) retired as the seventh bishop of Zanzibar.

Fourth, Chatfield considered this link between the church and state to entail an Anglican recognition that God is as much involved in the world as in the church.¹⁴²⁰ This finds agreement with Neil and Stanway's argument that besides the fact that the Anglican missionaries used policies which reflected their own past, there were some local traditions and political situations¹⁴²¹ in Tanzania which held several connections to their past and this was because of the aspects of continuity of the religion.¹⁴²² This perception finds accord with Bediako's view that Christianity has always been African.¹⁴²³ Kivanda gave examples that the confirmation class had much in common with the teaching for *Jando* and *Unyago* (boys and girls initiation rites) and that the clerical vestments which were worn by the clerics and the bishops replicated the traditional chiefs' attires.¹⁴²⁴ Kivanda also depicted a similarity between the authority given by the church to the bishop and the authority of a paramount chief given by the traditional community.¹⁴²⁵

The past which Kivanda spoke about was the foundation of both the African Anglican church¹⁴²⁶ and the Ujamaa in Tanzania.¹⁴²⁷ But that was the past which had raised challenges to both the church and the state on leadership, management and administration. Both the church and the state had appointed or promoted people to the posts according to their perceived incompetencies, and some even had to be replaced as they proved unsuitable to the increasing demands made upon them.¹⁴²⁸

According to Chiwanga, while the appointment of people to leadership positions in the church was delayed on the basis that many of the basic institutions of African

¹⁴²⁰ Chatfield, *Something in Common*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁴²¹ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 391

¹⁴²² Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, p. 107.

¹⁴²³ Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, pp. xvi-xviii.

¹⁴²⁴ Kivanda, same interview.

¹⁴²⁵ Kivanda, same interview.

¹⁴²⁶ Mndolwa, *Uamsho*, pp. 33-94.

¹⁴²⁷ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 2.

¹⁴²⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 269-270, W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1977, pp. 142-145, Ramadhani, same interview.

society were unfavourable to Christianity;¹⁴²⁹ leadership positions in civil society was attained on the merit of being Tanzanian.¹⁴³⁰ Whereas the missionaries raised some doubts (as in the case of the first African priest in Tanzania, the Reverend Cecil Majaliwa, who worked very well in Masasi but never trusted by the missionaries) that Africans could ever offer moral leadership, the Ujamaa community believed that all human beings were equal and that attaining leadership was an indication of the confidence in which they were held by those who they were called to lead.¹⁴³¹ In this regard, since many Africans were given leadership positions after attaining independence, it can be argued that the church was challenged by the state. For example, while the same bishops who argued that there were no Africans who could qualify as assistant suffragan bishops in the UMCA dioceses, their views changed a mere two years after independence. This was after Nyerere had published his first article entitled „*Ujamaa*’: *The Basis of African Socialism*.¹⁴³² This article, which was widely publicised and widely read, may have positively affected the bishops’ decisions. According to Stanway, the church in Tanzania became a province of the Anglican Communion through its new knowledge about Africans.¹⁴³³

Neil has said that the special element which constitutes an Anglican Province is its right to elect its own diocesan bishops.¹⁴³⁴ Weston had also stated that Anglican bishops idealised a diocese as a local expression of the universal church which ignores human distinctions based on colour, caste, class, money and others, and that such a diocese solves for its members the problem of capital *vis-a-vis* labour.¹⁴³⁵ The Anglican Consultative Council went on to add that:

[...] the Bishop in council is responsible for the maintenance of the Church in apostolic faith and practice. The ‘Bishop in Council’ concept is expressed in synodical government where the Bishop deliberates with clergy and laity on all significant issues.¹⁴³⁶

¹⁴²⁹ Simon E. Chiwanga, Personal Papers on Leadership Training.

¹⁴³⁰ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁴³¹ ‘The Leadership’ in *The Arusha Declaration and TANU’s Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, p. 19.

¹⁴³² Nyerere, *‘Ujamaa’: The Basis of African Socialism*.

¹⁴³³ Stanway, *Alfred Stanway*, pp. 103-118.

¹⁴³⁴ Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 391.

¹⁴³⁵ ASL/ACT/DZ/Frank Weston, *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress*, London: SPCK, 1920, Frank Weston, *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress 1923*; London: Society of SS Peter and Paul, 1923, pp. 179-186.

¹⁴³⁶ *Bonds of Affections*, pp. 74-75.

While this could be viewed as elitism and hierarchism in Anglicanism as expressed by the presence of bishops, clergy and laity, it resembled the division of labour as expressed in the Arusha Declaration whereby, even though everyone was *ndugu*, there were the leaders and ‘the led.’ In the Ujamaa, the leaders were appointed to positions of central and local government. The last in the chain of leadership who was always said to be the first was the Ten Houses Leader commonly known in the Kiswahili language as the *Balozi wa Nyumba Kumi* (lit: ambassador to the ten houses). The *Balozi* would ensure that the people within the ten houses lived as *ndugu*. John Edmund who was nicknamed as *mtu wa Mungu* (lit: God’s elect) copied this system of leadership when he realised that the church was waning spiritually.¹⁴³⁷ By going from house to house and appointing leaders who would lead prayers in these houses, Edmund initiated a spiritual movement which became the foundation of small worshipping communities in the church.¹⁴³⁸ These chosen individuals were later to become church elders.

While in the parishes people of different religious background came as *ndugu* to be prayed for their material and immaterial needs, in the Ujamaa community people of different religious backgrounds shared the results of these prayers when these needy people received the answers to their prayers and intercessions.¹⁴³⁹ This interrelations and interdependences between the church and the community stirred up the incorporation of the church into the Ujamaa community.

In her interview, Ngoda noted the relationship between the leadership ladder in the Ujamaa community and that of the church whereby the first leader who can be consulted by Christians in the parish was (and still is) the church elder commonly known in the Kiswahili language as *Mzee wa wa Kanisa* (lit: church elder), and the last (who eventually becomes the first) being the diocesan bishop.¹⁴⁴⁰ By being the last in the chain of leadership, a bishop becomes a servant of all.¹⁴⁴¹ Service to all is an aspect of Christian socialism. However, even though Anglicanism puts stress on

¹⁴³⁷ Joseph Namata, A. *Edmund John: Mtu wa Mungu*, Dodoma: CTP. Toleo lenye Masahihisho, 1990.

¹⁴³⁸ Namata. *Edmund John: Mtu wa Mungu*.

¹⁴³⁹ Mbwana Files.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Joyce Ngoda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, 15 May 2011, Muheza.

¹⁴⁴¹ CCL/Canterbury/The Bishop and Liturgy, Unpublished papers 2012, p. 2.

Christian socialism, in the Ujamaa, an Anglican bishop could only be a true socialist if he could:

[...] – not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies. He does not form an alliance with the ‘brethren’ for the extermination of the ‘non-brethren’. He rather regards all men as his brethren – as members of his ever extended family.¹⁴⁴²

This was the case in the Ujamaa community. Bishop Weston had argued that a bishop should be the father of his flock, accessible to all, and a constitutional governor (i.e., ruling in and with his synod of priests), in harmony with the laity, sitting in a provincial synod, representing the universal church to his diocese, but exercising a veto upon its resolution, as well as having a seat in a constitutional General Council under a constitutional ‘Pope-of the ecclesia.’¹⁴⁴³ The tendency of a bishop to become a ‘constitutional father’ and who holds a veto on the decisions of the synod which according to Chiwanga was adopted from the British monarchical model,¹⁴⁴⁴ needed a new interpretation in the emerging autonomous church and the nation. This was the reason why there had been reforms in the church constitution. While the church was reforming its constitution, the government was also reconstructing its own and which Nyerere had opted for one which would not serve just a small group of people in Tanzania:

The constitution of Tanzania must serve the people of Tanzania. We do not intend that the people of Tanzania should serve the constitution ... We would be making a big mistake if we treated the amended constitution as sacred text, which must not be criticized or amended under any circumstances. The constitution ... is sacred in one sense in which it provides a framework within which both the Government and the laws can be changed at the will of the people.¹⁴⁴⁵

Even though the church’s constitution needed not to be similar to that of the nation, it would be meaningless to contradict it. The debate about the need to review marriage

¹⁴⁴² Nyerere, ‘Ujamaa’: The Basis of African Socialism, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴³ Frank Weston, *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress*, London: SPCK, 1920, Frank Weston, *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress 1923*, London: Society of SS Peter and Paul, 1923, pp. 179-186.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Chiwanga, same interview.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952-1965*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 261-265, 1968; pp. 35-49, esp. pp. 36-40.

and land laws analysed in chapter four of this present study should stand as an example. In such a case it was the review of the law that the government had initiated which enabled the church to review its own constitution. This line of thought holds up Kingsnorth's conclusion that the Church ~~was~~ becoming African in ethos and government."¹⁴⁴⁶

Fifth, the emphasis on villages was common in both the church and the Ujamaa community. According to Sunkler and Steed, who ignored the fourth type, before the government had placed emphasis on living in the Ujamaa villages, there were three types of villages: Christian, Islam and traditional African, each facing one another.¹⁴⁴⁷ A Christian village, according to Sunkler and Steed, was symbolised by its stone buildings and the structured elitism of its community.¹⁴⁴⁸ At the bottom of the Christian villages' elitism were a group of Africans who also had their own category. For example, at the bottom of the Africans were the *Wageni* (lit: visitors). Although Wills grouped these people into one group of *Wadadisi* (lit: inquirers), they were two groups: the inquirers and the invited. These were people who were set in a cross roads between their past and the new – European Christianity – and held no own decisions yet. They were people who lived outside the mission village – in the other types of villages and visited the Anglican village either regularly or irregularly for the purpose of acquiring social services such as employment, European medicine and education. To a larger extent, Anglicans lived in mission villages. Even though there was elitism and hierarchism, there was some serious sense of prayer and work, sharing of produce and witnessing to the other people around these villages. According to Weston, Anglicans needed to concentrate on such ~~external~~ manifestation of its faith so that it might make people see the Naked Christ of Calvary as the ideal and the Coloured Christ of Nazareth' as the centre of their

¹⁴⁴⁶ From the General Secretary in *Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to central Africa*, Vol. LXXX, no. 950, February 1962, p. 35.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Bengt Sunkler and Christopher Steed (Eds.), *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 545-546. Justin Willis, *The Nature of a Mission community: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Magila - Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, London: Oxford University Press, 1993, Gale Group, 2004, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Sunkler and Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 545-546. Wills, *The Nature of a Mission Community*, p. 9.

belief.”¹⁴⁴⁹ In this regard, it can be argued that Nyerere’s call to Ujamaa villages was a revitalisation of the Anglican focus on community life.

Nyerere however was to achieve this in different ways. According to Rasmussen, in the Ujamaa community, the national policy and the building of Ujamaa were more important than individual behaviour.¹⁴⁵⁰ He finally concluded that in the Ujamaa village the biggest sin was laziness, for *Mtu ni kazi* (lit: ‘everyone should work’) and *Kazi ni uhai* (lit; ‘work is the essence of life’).¹⁴⁵¹ But, the fact that even work had to be done thorough collaboration with others, it made it difficult to have lazy people in the villages. Therefore, Rasmussen’s statement that “in the Ujamaa community the individual can only be excommunicated if he refuses to work for a long time”¹⁴⁵² needs to be balanced by the reality that it was those who exploited others by not collaborating with others who could be excommunicated.¹⁴⁵³ In the traditional ‘ujamaa’ villages, the failure to collaborate with others was seen as witchcraft. In these village communities, witchcraft was equal to exploitation. This was the case in the Ujamaa villages as well. A witch is not lazy. He or she works alone or in a group with other witches. A witch exploits others because he or she plays down the work of others. In this case, exploitation is more than being lazy. Therefore, the biggest sin in the Ujamaa villages was any kind of exploitation.¹⁴⁵⁴

Although in the church villages collaboration was emphasised, laziness was sin. But sin was not limited to being lazy. For example, as Willis and Beidelman have shown, an individual was excluded from the Anglican village when the other members or the church decided that such individuals must be excluded from the community on account of their sin (i.e., ‘beer’ drinking, polygamy, false utterance or adultery).¹⁴⁵⁵ Thus, it was more of how the individual behaved in his or her private life than a

¹⁴⁴⁹ Frank Weston, *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress*, London: SPCK, 1920, Frank Weston, *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress 1923*; London: Society of SS Peter and Paul, 1923, pp. 179-186.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Lissi Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations in Africa: The Cases of Northern Nigeria and Tanzania Compared*, London: British Academic Press, 1993, p. 89.

¹⁴⁵¹ Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁵² Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁵³ ‘Absence of Exploitation’ in the *Arusha Declaration*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵⁴ ‘A Poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon’ in *The Arusha Declaration*, pp. 5-8.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Willis, *The Nature of a Mission Community*, T. O Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Social Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

matter of his or her social behaviour. Because sin was connected with guilt as an inner feeling, one had to accept what the church authority had decided. This made sin, in Rasmussen's terms, an ~~in~~individual behaviour."¹⁴⁵⁶ The church used Scripture, tradition and reason to judge these individual behaviours. According to Leonard:

[...] – a person is redeemed, not in isolation, but by incorporation into the Body of Christ, of which the local congregation of the Church Militant is the immediate expression and embodiment. It is within membership of that body that the believer is enabled to learn to live out the meaning of his baptism.¹⁴⁵⁷

Although baptism distinguishes the two, this particular aspect of Anglicanism held much in common with aspects of Ujamaa villages where *mtu ni watu* (lit: I am because we are).¹⁴⁵⁸ However, the Anglicans villagers seemed to depend on the leadership of the church than to each other. A report from the bishop of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika highlighted this dependency:

A ... priest said that freedom is all very good but let us not set our hearts upon it, because we shall soon be sighing for flesh-pots of Egypt ... A Headmaster said; ~~the~~ events in the Congo have shown that Church leaders here should not be in a hurry to hand over responsibilities to Africans." [And earlier the Archbishop was requested that] do not let the European go.¹⁴⁵⁹

In the Ujamaa villages, people would rather look to each other than to a particular group of individuals.¹⁴⁶⁰ The fact that there had been a time when villagers in the Ujamaa villages had built Anglican churches through self-help schemes without putting their religious affiliation into considerations, affirmed that where Christians are *Wajamaa*, the church also becomes part of the *Ujamaa*. This signifies, as Rasmussen has said, that Christians had often been stimulating Ujamaa and villagesation, just as the Christian congregation has been stimulated by the Ujamaa.¹⁴⁶¹

¹⁴⁵⁶ Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations in Africa*, pp. 89-90.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Graham Leonard, 'What we hold dear-USPG', *CMS/USPG Consultation, 8-10 February, 1973*, Oxford: Church Army Press, 1973, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, pp. 217-223.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Baptize the Nations: UMCA Review of 1960, Westminster, UMCA, 1961, p. 37.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations in Africa*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁶¹ Rasmussen, *Christian-Muslim relations*, p. 89.

Besides these similarities between Anglicanism and Ujamaa, the main difference was that Anglicanism was religious while Ujamaa was political. As a consequence, while the Ujamaa community in Tanzania (Anglicans included) dedicated itself to building a united community, Anglicans had another role given by their church. Being a religious-based organisation, the church focused on the conversion of ‘pagans’ and witnessing to nominal Christians so that they would embrace Christianity and join the Anglican Church for the purpose of inheriting eternal life.¹⁴⁶² In order to ensure the spiritual growth of its converts, the church encouraged its converts to express their maturity through full participation in securing a their role as Christian workers, caring for the poor, transforming the economic and political system for the purpose of facilitating liberation from poverty and other kinds of oppression.¹⁴⁶³ These earthly struggles had its heavenly reward in eternity. Therefore, its reactions to political, economic and social issues had to focus on this central purpose.

Ujamaa never referred to the eternity.¹⁴⁶⁴ In this regard, while it was clearly stated in the Arusha Declaration that among the principle aims and objects of Ujamaa were that all people received equal opportunities, irrespective of race, religion or status, the church divided the Ujamaa community into two (i.e., Anglicans and non-Anglicans). In this case, it would raise its voice only when it felt that the latter group was plundering its interests. The two incidences of Bishop Huddleston’s challenging the state authority of Tanganyika to stop its Bill regarding the use of corporal punishment and Bishop Russell’s criticism of the State authority in Zanzibar analysed in this study stand as examples. This points out that while the church accommodated Ujamaa it did not lose its own vision.

3. Chapter Summary

The analysis presented in this chapter is a response to the need to present the factors which enabled the church to accommodate Ujamaa. This made it necessary to review the aspects of both Anglicanism and African socialism in the context of the Tanzanian

¹⁴⁶² Some Priests of the Anglican Communion, *Infallible Fallacies: An Anglican Reply to Roman Catholic Arguments*, London: SPCK, 1953, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶³ Bonds of Affections, Proceedings of ACC-6, p. 59.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 12-14.

situation. Accordingly, I have established eight main features which enabled the church to accommodate the principles of Ujamaa. These are stated as follows.

- i. Both Anglicanism and Ujamaa were foreign in Tanzania and therefore they welcomed each other as a guest and host and vice versa.
- ii. Both Ujamaa and Anglicanism are methods and not systems and therefore were subject to change. In this regard, while the ‘ujamaa’ through which the Anglican missions built the indigenous church was changing to become a policy (the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*), the church also followed this trend.
- iii. Ujamaa had elements of both self-reliance and self-government. The Anglican missions had been practicing these under their “three Self’s of mission” (i.e., self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing). In this case, it was easy for the church to accommodate the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.
- iv. The Anglican missions had villages that were built close to the traditional ‘ujamaa’ villages. When the government implemented the principles of Ujamaa through its policy of *Ujamaa Vijijini*, there was not much resistance because the church had been practising the village concept long before the attainment of political independence. As a consequence, the church felt comfortable with the Ujamaa.
- v. Anglicans believe that there should be some correlation between religion and the world of politics. Accordingly, the church accommodated Ujamaa as a political phenomenon on the ground that politics is part of human life and that it needed to be inspired by the church. It was from this understanding that the church allowed the Rev. Simon Chiwanga to become a Member of Parliament and eventually, Minister of Education. This was considered a means of inspiring political decisions. The government’s release of Ramadhani for the priesthood suggested that there existed a mutual understanding between the state authority and that of the church.
- vi. The hierarchy of the Ujamaa community was similar to that of the indigenous church. Edmund John utilised this hierarchy to establish small worshipping communities which had some impact on the Ujamaa community.

- vii. Ujamaa put strong emphasis on the equality of human beings. The church was to stress the same, hence and it became easy for the church to practice the policy.
- viii. The Anglican missions aimed at building an indigenous church in Tanzania. The policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* was derived from the indigenous community life which was the target of the missions. In other words, the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* fulfilled the missions aspirations and that is why it became easy to bring it into the life of the church.

All these above factors enabled Anglicans to accommodate Ujamaa as they were introduced by the State authority unlike the Lutherans and the Roman Catholic Church communities which produced written guidelines to their churches. Besides these similarities, there were also disparities. A clear difference was the fact that Anglicanism was religious and therefore held the concept of the ‘_here and hereafter’ while Ujamaa was purely political. This difference had brought some clashes between the State and the church. The church raised its voice whenever it felt that its interests were being plundered. The government’s authority on its side challenged the church leadership to become more aware of the fact that they were Tanzanians. As a result, there had been a common understanding that the church was Tanzanian and thus it continued to play a role in the building of the nation. It should thus be emphasised that just as Ujamaa had brought change to the church, so to the church had brought change to the state which had declared *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* its policy. In the next chapter, I intend to discuss the effects of the fall of Ujamaa in the church and state relations in Tanzania.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FALL OF UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA AND ITS EFFECTS IN THE CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS (1978-2005)

1. Introduction

In chapter six I described the features which helped the church to accommodate the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. My main focus in this present chapter is to highlight the effects of these changes on the relationship between the church and the state. For the purpose of reaching that end, I have divided it into two sections namely: The church's reactions to the factors which led to the fall of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and the response of the state authority to these church reactions and the reaction of the church to the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and the government responses.

2. The Church's Reactions to the Factors which contributed to the Fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* and Response of the State Authority

There were several internal and external factors which contributed to the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. A number of studies have discussed these factors.¹⁴⁶⁵ The internal factors, for example, had been discussed in detail by writers such as Kamuzora who made a critique of the vision of Nyerere on economic developments.¹⁴⁶⁶ According to him, Nyerere's economic policy focused on reducing the level of poverty in rural Tanzania and show successes and failures. Starting with the failures, Kamuzora listed low growth of economy between 1960 and 1967 (i.e., the growth rate being 4.3-5 per cent per annum),¹⁴⁶⁷ lack of committed people and

¹⁴⁶⁵ Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Pambazuka Press, 2010.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Faustin Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development' in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Pambazuka Press, 2010, pp. 93-104.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development,' p. 96.

good leadership,¹⁴⁶⁸ lack of coordination between the ministries, local government, TANU and the planning structure, lack of coordination within individual systems,¹⁴⁶⁹ power of decision-making being over-centralised within political, planning and ministerial organisations, and poor regional integrated development programmes.¹⁴⁷⁰ Although the Ujamaa policy encountered all these problems, Kamuzora has also shown its successes (i.e., it built an egalitarian society¹⁴⁷¹ and increased literacy to 91 per cent).¹⁴⁷²

Another writer was Kamata. He criticised Nyerere's ideas on land.¹⁴⁷³ According to him, Nyerere's view on land, labour and money was problematic. He argued that Nyerere missed the point that "under certain conditions of a production system land, labour and money can be transformed into commodities, and this was why he gave little attention to the economic benefits of these commodities."¹⁴⁷⁴ Unlike Kamuzora and Kamata, Shivji's analysis of the concept of the Ujamaa villages in Nyerere's thought and political practice, acclaimed the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* for its focus on the development of the people.¹⁴⁷⁵

However, at some point Shivji too argued against Nyerere. For example, he argued that Nyerere held a broad vision of social development and was extremely articulate in communicating it politically to his people. But he never understood the underlying political economy outlying underdeveloped economy in the international capitalist system.¹⁴⁷⁶ The consequence of this Nyerere's unawareness was the failure of the transformational approach recommended and supported by the World Bank.¹⁴⁷⁷

Shivji added that because of Nyerere's constant emphasis on the development of the small peasant, he made no distinction between national capitalism and comprador

¹⁴⁶⁸ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development', p. 97.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development', p. 98.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development', pp. 99-100.

¹⁴⁷¹ Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development', p. 93.

¹⁴⁷² Kamuzora, 'Nyerere's vision of economic development', p. 102.

¹⁴⁷³ Nq'anza Kamata, 'Mwalimu Nyerere's ideas on land' in Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africas Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, pp.105-118.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Kamata, 'Mwalimu Nyerere's ideas on land', p. 106.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Issa G. Shivji, 'The village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice' in Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africas Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, pp. 120-132.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Shivji, 'The village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice', p. 122.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Shivji, 'The village in Mwalimu's thought and political practice', p. 121.

capitalism” and, as a result, national companies such NAFCO (National Agricultural and Food Company) ran counter to Nyerere’s philosophy of *ujamaa vijijini*.¹⁴⁷⁸ He finally concluded that Nyerere did not capture the political economy aspect of his central emphasis on the village” because he did not understand or appreciate the political economy of imperialism.”¹⁴⁷⁹

Other writers who addressed internal factors which failed the policy was Throup who commented on Zanzibar after Nyerere¹⁴⁸⁰ and Maoulidi who discussed the racial and religious tolerance in Nyerere’s political thought and practice.¹⁴⁸¹ Several issues were raised in these studies. Throup, for example, highlighted the mid-1970s economic crisis which led Zanzibar to face economic demises and that these had raised challenges for political activities:

[...] – the islands’ economy was in deep trouble. They had a trade deficit of [Tshs.] 265 million ... food production ... also declined by 122,335 tons and the area under cultivation fell from 145,166 to 116,888 acres. Rice cultivation declined particularly sharply by 5,478 acres, but land under cassava, beans and groundnuts also diminished. Food imports accounted for 75 per cent of Zanzibar’s foreign exchange expenditure.¹⁴⁸²

Unlike Throup and the other writers mentioned in this section, Kamuzora added to his list the economic crises from the mid-1970s (i.e., a drought in 1973-1974, the oil crisis in 1973, more droughts in 1974-1975 and another oil crisis in August 1978) as being among the internal factors which prevented Ujamaa from achieving its esteemed goal. Apart from these internal factors, Kamuzora also mentioned external factors which, to a large extent, caused many problems for Ujamaa (i.e. the impact of ideologies of the United Kingdom Prime Minister (Margaret Thatcher), the president of the United States of America (Ronald Regan) and IMF policies which called for the reduction of the role of government and established conservative agendas,¹⁴⁸³ the

¹⁴⁷⁸ Shivji, ‘The village in Mwalimu’s thought and political practice’, p. 124.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Shivji, ‘The village in Mwalimu’s thought and political practice’, p. 132.

¹⁴⁸⁰ David Throup, ‘Zanzibar after Nyerere’ in Michael Hood et al, *Tanzania After Nyerere*, London: Pinter, 1988, p. 190.

¹⁴⁸¹ Salma Maoulidi, ‘Racial and religious tolerance in Nyerere’s thought and political practices’ in Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africas Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, pp. 134-147.

¹⁴⁸² Throup, ‘Zanzibar after Nyerere’ in Michael Hood et al, *Tanzania After Nyerere*, p. 190

¹⁴⁸³ Kamuzora, ‘Nyerere’s vision of economic development’, pp. 101-103.

breaking up of the East African Community in 1977 and the Tanzania – Uganda War 1979).¹⁴⁸⁴

Other factors such as the impacts of ideologies of the IMF, World Bank and oil crisis also played the role in the fall of Ujamaa but as far as the Anglican Church was concerned the role of the war should not be underestimated. The cost of the war between Tanzania and Uganda, for example, affected all Tanzanians (i.e., including Anglicans): –The war cost Tanzania \$250 million ...¹⁴⁸⁵ It was without doubt that this cost of the war was only approximate. This was because if the number of people (both civilians and those in the military) who died in the war was included here, it would produce different figures of the cost that Tanzania incurred. In view of this, I argued that the cost of the war touched not only material things but also the spiritual life of the people. Tanzania (Tanganyika especially) had its last experience of war between the years 1914 and 1918 after which the Germans surrendered to the British.¹⁴⁸⁶ Zanzibar had its last war (i.e., the revolution) in 1964. I argued that the Uganda – Tanzania War revived bad memories of these previous wars. My argument relied on the fact that just as it happened in the World War I and the Revolutions in Zanzibar, families which lost their loved ones in the Tanzania — Uganda War needed not only spiritual but also material support from the church. The church supported widows and orphans of the war, and yet when the battle was over and Tanzania became the winner, the government carried the further responsibility of keeping peace and stability in Uganda.¹⁴⁸⁷

This presence of Tanzania in Uganda after the war affected the relationship between Tanzania and Kenya.¹⁴⁸⁸ Kenya postponed its plans for opening its boundaries with Uganda and Tanzania after the war arguing that Tanzania was becoming a threat to

¹⁴⁸⁴ Kamuzora, ‘Nyerere’s vision of economic development’ in Chachage and Cassam (eds.), *African Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. 101.

¹⁴⁸⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/‘East Africa: Tanzania’, Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

¹⁴⁸⁶ The World War II was never fought in Tanganyika although people were derived from Tanganyika to fight in other countries.

¹⁴⁸⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/‘East Africa: Tanzania’, Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

¹⁴⁸⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/‘The Church of the Province of Tanzania’, the Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1980, Reports 56.

other countries in the region.¹⁴⁸⁹ Because of the historical link between the church in Tanzania and Kenya, Nyerere sought the intervention of the church. In his interview, Sepeku said that President Nyerere counselled Archbishop Sepeku to meet Festo Olang', the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Kenya.¹⁴⁹⁰ They met and arranged a meeting which brought together the leaders from the Christian Councils of the two countries. At this meeting it was agreed that the two national leaders should meet to resolve their misunderstandings. Two church delegations were formed and were sent to meet the two national leaders separately. The first which was led by Archbishop Olang' was sent to meet the president of Kenya. The second delegation which was led by Archbishop Sepeku was directed to meet the president of Tanzania.¹⁴⁹¹ The two teams facilitated the meeting of the two presidents, but they ended up without resolving their differences and thus the border remained closed.¹⁴⁹² This continued closure of the border between the two countries not only barred the exchange of trade but also hampered the mission of the church. The CMSA reported that:

The border with Kenya is still closed ... For travel the border closure means that people cannot travel between the two countries except with special permits ... In terms of Custom duties it now has come to the stage that things imported from Kenya will be treated the same way as goods imported from Overseas i.e., they will have import duty as well as sales tax to buy things in Nairobi and bring them to Tanzania. It raises the question as to whether people should attend Language School in Nairobi.¹⁴⁹³

According to the report of the CMSA, the authority of the state focused mainly on the feeding of the army and the victims of the war and, in that case, basic human needs such as sugar, soap, bread and clothes were in short supply in the country.¹⁴⁹⁴ The result of this shortage of basic human needs and the closure of the border between Kenya and Tanzania could be perceived through the rise of corruption, crimes and

¹⁴⁸⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/'The Church of the Province of Tanzania', the Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1980, Reports 56.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Samuel Sepeku, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 06 June 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁴⁹¹ Sepeku, same interview.

¹⁴⁹² CMSA/MLMSS6040/37c/4/'East Africa', the Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Report. 1.

¹⁴⁹³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/'East Africa: Tanzania', the Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1978, Report. 12.

¹⁴⁹⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/'East Africa: Tanzania', the Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

price escalation in the country.¹⁴⁹⁵ The report of the CMSA which, in 1975, praised Tanzania for its political, economic and social transformation,¹⁴⁹⁶ in 1978 expressed pessimism on Tanzania's future:

A very considerable problem for the development of the nation is the amount of corruption that seems to take place. Also the amount of crime in the cities does not seem to improve but ... has grown worse than the last year. Mwanza seems particularly bad.¹⁴⁹⁷

As a result, eighteen out of sixty priests in the Diocese of Central Tanganyika decided to go for a part-time ministry in the church.¹⁴⁹⁸ The decision taken by these clergy affected St. Philip's Theological College. The college faced a great shortage of tutors and thus it had to close down.¹⁴⁹⁹ St. Mark's Theological College encountered similar challenges and thus it could not reopen its diploma course which it ran with Makerere University of Uganda. Whereas the church encountered this challenge of having few ministers, the country encountered two other tragedies in which the ministry of the church would be needed:

[...] – the heavy rains experienced this year widely throughout the country [increased more problems]. Many roads and bridges have been washed away and many supplies by roads ... add greatly to the cost. Linked very much with the rains has been a cholera epidemic ... Quarantined areas created problems of food shortages ... Economic development continues very slowly and there are many reasons for this. Oil prices ... play havoc ... the control of world trade by the industrialised nations [plays a role too].¹⁵⁰⁰

The CMSA reported a year later that eleven out of the remaining missionaries from Australia had decided to leave the country because of these problems,¹⁵⁰¹ but another member of the CMSA mentioned a different reason:

¹⁴⁹⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/ _East Africa: Tanzania', Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

¹⁴⁹⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/'East Africa', Report of the Overseas Secretary for the Year Ending 30 June 1975, Report A.

¹⁴⁹⁷ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/'East Africa: Tanzania' in the Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1978, Reports 12.

¹⁴⁹⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1978, Report. 14.

¹⁴⁹⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_Ordination', the Report of the Overseas Committee, August 1978, Reports 14.

¹⁵⁰⁰ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_East Africa: Tanzania', Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

¹⁵⁰¹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/Report, the Overseas Committee, August 1980, Report. 60.

We have missionaries here who have never led a Sunday school class or group and further more seem utterly bewildered at the prospect of trying. (This was in English not Swahili). Many are unable to speak simply for a few minutes about a verse from the Bible. When required to do this at a weekly English speaking prayer meeting many fall back on reading an article or some thoughts from a Christian book or magazine.¹⁵⁰²

While the missionaries' incompetence could have been caused by their failure to attend the language school in Nairobi where they could be taught elementary bible studies, the church received them without questioning their competence because it needed labour. The church, as the government, used all possible means to come back to the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.¹⁵⁰³ Pearson suggested that missionary organisations should encourage their countries to support the government of Tanzania¹⁵⁰⁴, and the missionary organisations should assist the church in any way that could fit in with their plans.¹⁵⁰⁵ The Federal Council of the CMSA put conditions to this, that unless Tanzania withdrew from Uganda, donor countries (i.e., Western countries) would not support it.¹⁵⁰⁶ The donor countries also placed their own restrictions on assistance to Tanzania, arguing that it would make the country more dependent on aid from other countries.¹⁵⁰⁷ However, while political leaders in Tanzania were aware that the future was uncertain, they continued to give hope to the citizens by saying: "we do not need aid here; problems would be solved just around the corner".¹⁵⁰⁸ Perhaps this was the reason why these political leaders used the church leaders to help the community without publicising the help the church could give.¹⁵⁰⁹ As a result, most of the small amount of material support that the missions of the church could give to the government ended in the hands of some political leaders who sold some of these

¹⁵⁰² CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_St. Philip's Theological College, Kongwa' in the Minutes of the Federal Council of the Church Missionary Society of Australia, 04-05 August 1980, Report. 56.

¹⁵⁰³ CMSA/MLMSS6040/'Tanzania 1980 and C.M.S. Australia Policy' in Overseas Committee Addendum no. 1, 04 December 1980.

¹⁵⁰⁴ CMSA/MLMSS6040/'Tanzania 1980 and C.M.S. Australia Policy', Overseas Committee, Addendum no. 1, 4/12/80.

¹⁵⁰⁵ CMSA/MLMSS6040/'Tanzania, Addendum no. 1, 4/12/80.

¹⁵⁰⁶ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_Tanzania', Home Secretary's Report, 04-05 August 1980, Report 55.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Tanzania, Home Secretary's Report to Federal Conference, 4-5 August 1980, Report 55.

¹⁵⁰⁸ CMSA/MLMSS6040/'Tanzania, Addendum no. 1, 4/12/80.

¹⁵⁰⁹ CMSA/MLMSS6040/371c/4/_East Africa: Tanzania', Report of the Overseas Committee, July 1979, Reports 1 and 2.

commodities at a *bei ya kuruka* (escalated price). This increased *magendo* (corruption) and therefore very little hope could be visualised.¹⁵¹⁰

The authority of the church used its pulpit and its choirs to air the church's voice against all these challenges. The Tumaini Choir in Arusha, for example, challenged the *magendo na kuruka* through its songs as being devilish and that Christians should not be involved in it. In this regard, the argument raised by Sabar was very true. Sabar argued that as governments of the Third World Countries plummet in the wake of corruption, economic failure and political repression, people turn to the churches and other organizations to champion their interests and to exert pressure on the politicians.¹⁵¹¹

According to Mapuri, the political party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) heard these voices and came up, in 1981, with a strategic plan aimed at controlling the *magendo na kuruka*.¹⁵¹² Commonly known in Kiswahili as *vita dhidi ya wahujumu uchumi* (lit: the fight against corruption), the plan raised more challenges. President Mwinyi, the successor of Nyerere, said that a person who owned even a small poultry farm of about fifty fowls was harassed simply because the Arusha Declaration had stated that such a person was not a socialist.¹⁵¹³ In this regard, the *vita dhidi ya wahujumu uchumi* added more troubles to the people. It could not change the situation. The charge of the bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga for the 1982 synod presented it in this way:

Everyone is giving reasons for these problems we are facing ... but while we know that our country has been praised for its policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*, some politicians were excellent preachers but not exercisers of it ... What we are experiencing now is a fall of rule of law and order. It is against what we have been emphasising all these

¹⁵¹⁰ Tanzania 1980 and C.M.S. Australia Policy' in Overseas Committee Addendum no. 1, 4/12/80.

¹⁵¹¹ Sabar, *Church, State and Society in Kenya*, p. 6. G. Sabar—Friedman, 'The Power of the Familia: Everyday Practices in the Anglican Church of Kenya'; *Church and State*, No 38, Spring 1996, pp. 377-97, G. Sabar-Friedman, 'Church and State in Kenya, 1986-1992: The Churches' involvement in the "Game of Change"' in *African Affairs*, no. 96, 1997, pp. 25-52, S. Alexander, 'Religion and National Identity in Yugoslavia', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982, F. Holmquist and M. Ford, 'Kenyan Politics: Towards the Second Transition?', *Africa Today*, Vol. 2, no. 45, 1998, pp. 239.

¹⁵¹² Chama cha Mapinduzi Website. Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? La Hasha. <<http://www.ccmtz.org/jarida/page21-21.htm/>>. [Accessed 16 May 2012].

¹⁵¹³ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, Maamuzi ya Zanzibar, 1991, p. 9.

years ... All of us have participated in this fall.... Priests, for example, are no longer ready to accept transfers. Their main concern is about the cost of that transfer.¹⁵¹⁴

American Pentecostals turned the problems into an opportunity.¹⁵¹⁵ They came up with basic commodities such as soap, sugar, clothes and other things needed by the people.¹⁵¹⁶ They gave them to the people. They also gave new hope to the troubled people through prayers.¹⁵¹⁷ Many Anglicans (and Christians from other mainline churches) joined these Pentecostal churches.¹⁵¹⁸ The bishop of the diocese of Central Tanganyika reported:

Our work of more than a century is now endangered by the Pentecostals. They have come with their cheap material things. Our people are joining them in great numbers....we are surprised that they are casting their nets on the water ponds which they never built it.¹⁵¹⁹

The Pentecostals were not alone for the Muslims too took it as an opportunity. They strongly propagated their faith arguing that the hardships were caused by Nyerere who used Christian principles to introduce economic policies in the country. They argued that because these policies were failing, Tanzania should get rid of Christianity.¹⁵²⁰ These claims provoked the bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga to report that:

Many years ago, people in this country lived without religious tensions. But, we have started to experience changes in these recent years. Some people have dared to offend believers of other religions. And is shame that there are religious groups which are determined to get rid of Christianity in this country. We are aware that these groups are receiving funds and human resources from other countries).¹⁵²¹

¹⁵¹⁴ ASL/ADZT/ 'Hotuba ya Baba Askofu' in the Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga: Sinodi, Julai 27-30, 1982, Korogwe, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵¹⁵ ACT/ADZT/Waraka wa Kichungaji, June-Septemba 1983.

¹⁵¹⁶ ACT/Dodoma/Sauti ya Jimbo, 1984

¹⁵¹⁷ Sauti ya Jimbo, 1984

¹⁵¹⁸ ACT/ADZT/Waraka wa Kichungaji, June-Septemba 1983.

¹⁵¹⁹ Sauti ya Jimbo, June –September, 1983.

¹⁵²⁰ Joseph Wandera, Christian-Muslim Co-existence in the Light of Sacred texts and Present Contexts with special reference to Mihadhara in Nairobi Kenya, Unpublished Article, No date.

¹⁵²¹ ASL/ADZT/ 'Hotuba ya Baba Askofu, ', Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga, Sinodi, Tarehe 6-8/9/1989, p. 15. Translation is mine.

According to Mapuri, this was a new era which needed new clear policies.¹⁵²² Mapuri was supported by President Mwinyi who, in his public address to the nation, stated that changes were needed because the generation of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* was giving way to a new generation:

Ndugu Wazee, Msahafu wa Waislamu unasema „LIKULLI AJALIN KITABU’ [sic] Mwingereza mmoja kaitafasiri aya hiyo hivi: „TO EVERY AGE ITS BOOK’ [sic] yaani “Kila zama ina Kitabu (Mwongo) chake”. Na sisi Wana-CCM¹⁵²³ tunakubali kuwa “kila Zama zinazihitaji kuwa na Mwongozo wake”. – My dear elders, the Islamic Holy Book states that ‘LIKULLI AJALIN KITABU’ which someone translated it into English as: ‘TO EVERY AGE ITS BOOK’ meaning ‘every generation writes its own (policy) book’. All CCM members agree that ‘every generation needs to have its policy.’¹⁵²⁴

Agreeing with Mwinyi on the one hand, Mapuri said that the country faced several challenges following the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe and that this affected the development plans of the government.¹⁵²⁵ On the other hand, Mwinyi said that some of these challenges were internal:

Tatizo letu ... ni lile la uchumi tegemezi.... kwamba uchumi wetu ni duni mno ... Wakati Azimio la Arusha lilitutaka tujitegemee, hali halisi ni kuwa tumekuwa wategemezi wakubwa ... Tumetegemea watu wengine, kwa njia ya ruzuku na mikopo ... Hii ni hatari. – Our challenge ... has been economic dependence ... The Arusha Declaration called for self-reliance but our economy did not support this requirement. We have been depending on interests and loans from others. This is dangerous.¹⁵²⁶

According to Mwinyi, these instances prompted the National Executive Committee (NEC) of CCM to call a special convention in 1991 in Zanzibar.¹⁵²⁷ Both Mwinyi and Mapuri emphasised that the NECs resolutions in Zanzibar (commonly known as

¹⁵²² Mapuri, *Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea?*, p.1.

¹⁵²³ CCM are initials for Chama cha Mapinduzi, a party which was formed in 1977 after the merger of TANU and ASP.

¹⁵²⁴ ACT/Dodoma/Ali Hassan Mwinyi, ‘Kila Zama na Mwongozo wake’, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar: Hotuba ya Mwenyekiti wa CCM, Rais Ali Hassan Mwinyi wakati akizungumza na wazee wa Chama, Viongozi wa Taifa, Mashirika ya Umma na Watu Binafsi juu ya ufafanuzi wa maamuzi ya Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa katika Kikao chake cha Zanzibar, Diamond Jubilee, Dar es Salaam, tarehe 25/2/1991*. p. 2. Translation is mine.

¹⁵²⁵ Mapuri, *Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea?* p. 1.

¹⁵²⁶ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991, p. 3. Translation is mine.

¹⁵²⁷ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991.

Zanzibar Resolutions) did not change the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.¹⁵²⁸ Unlike Mwinyi and Mapuri, I argued that because it amended the Arusha Declaration, it changed the policy¹⁵²⁹ and I am verifying my position in the following ways. In his interview, Shempemba, for example, said that following the Zanzibar Resolutions, in one of the Parliament sessions which he attended as a member of the Bumbuli constituency, it was resolved that Tanzania should drop the Kiswahili word *ndugu* which insisted on family-hood. After a long debate the Parliament resolved that *waheshimiwa* (honourable) should replace *ndugu* when referring to leaders.¹⁵³⁰ In this regard, Parliamentarians and other people in the authority became *waheshimiwa* and other ordinary people became the *wananchi* (lit: citizens). The gap between the *wananchi* and *waheshimiwa*, as Shempemba said, started to show up.

Chiwanga argued that the Zanzibar Resolution did not change the essence of Ujamaa – the ‘ujamaa’ – and that it would take time to let it go.¹⁵³¹ However, the binding factor of Ujamaa was *undungu* and since this was changed, the essence of the Ujamaa would also change. This conclusion supported Archbishop Ramadhani’s argument that with the shift from single party to multi-party, and from the Ujamaa to the free market economy, the ‘ujamaa’ was also inclined to change, if necessary efforts such as the ones taken by Nyerere they continue to be ignored.¹⁵³² In this regard, Manji was right that: “whatever criticism many of us may have had during [Nyerere’s] lifetime – and continue to have – about some of his policies, there is no getting away from the transformation that he brought about.”¹⁵³³

¹⁵²⁸ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, ‘Lazima Twende na Wakati’, Maamuzi ya Zanzibar, 1991, p. 1, Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea?

¹⁵²⁹ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, Maamuzi ya Zanzibar, 1991.

¹⁵³⁰ Shempemba, same interview.

¹⁵³¹ Simon Chiwanga, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 26 August 2011 at Mpwapwa.

¹⁵³² ASL/ADZT/‘Mageuzi’, Hotuba ya Baba Askofu, *Dayosisi ya Zanzibar na Tanga: Sinodi, Tarehe 3-6 August 1993*, p. 11.

¹⁵³³ Firoze Manji, ‘How we wish you were here: a tribute to Mwalimu Nyerere’, Chachage and Cassam (eds.), *Africa’s Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p. ix.

3. The Fall of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea and its Consequences on Church and State Relations

President Mwinyi's conclusion that each generation should write its own book¹⁵³⁴ implied that when the NEC reviewed the Arusha Declaration in 1991 it wrote a new 'book' (i.e., the Zanzibar Resolutions).¹⁵³⁵ Mbilinyi stated that some 'books' created environments which enable corruption, individual pursuit for power and domination of the poor.¹⁵³⁶ A comparison between Mbilinyi's remarks and my analysis of the factors which contributed to the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* can be used to highlight the fact that the Zanzibar Resolutions invalidated the leadership ethics which the Arusha Declaration had stated clearly.¹⁵³⁷ President Mwinyi listed several amendments which went from limiting Tanzanians to receiving more than one salary to allowing them to gain more from different activities.¹⁵³⁸ He also mentioned the lifting of the ban for renting houses.¹⁵³⁹ According to Mwinyi, these resolutions also allowed Tanzanians to own shares in the government's companies and in any other multi-national companies.¹⁵⁴⁰ According to Nyerere these changes dropped the leadership ethics and qualifications:

In 1991 ... the requirements of the [leadership] Code were heavily watered down by the N.E.C. [National Executive Council] meeting in Zanzibar on the grounds that it was so restrictive as to be out of tune with the needs of the time. The changes meant, for example, an end to the prohibition of Leaders' participation in the ownership and running of private business, exempted spouses from any rules at all, relaxed the rules against landlordism and those which originally restricted the employment of other human beings for private profit. In practice, virtually all other rules regulating the conduct of Leaders have since then also fallen into disuse – including the requirement that Ministers report regularly to the President on their assets, wealth, and non-salary income.¹⁵⁴¹

¹⁵³⁴ ACT/Dodoma/Ali Hassan Mwinyi, *Mamuzi ya Zanzibar*, p. 2.

¹⁵³⁵ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵³⁶ Marjorie Mbilinyi, 'Reflecting with Nyerere on people-centred leadership', Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kamapala: Pambazuka Press, 2010, p.78.

¹⁵³⁷ Mbilinyi, 'Reflecting with Nyerere on people-centred leadership', Chachage and Cassam (eds.) *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, p.78.

¹⁵³⁸ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991, pp. 4-11.

¹⁵³⁹ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991, pp. 4-11.

¹⁵⁴⁰ ACT/Dodoma/Mwinyi, *Maamuzi ya Zanzibar*, 1991, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴¹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, Harare: African Publishing Group, 1995, p. 15.

In his campaign for presidency, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete said that President Mwinyi opened the ‘doors and windows’ which the Arusha Declaration had closed.¹⁵⁴² Kikwete added that President Mwinyi intended to allow ‘fresh air to get into Tanzania.’ When Tanzanians saw these opened ‘doors and windows’, they nicknamed President Mwinyi as *Mzee Ruksa* (lit: a grand-parent who removed restrictions). Mapuri regarded this as an immediate need for Tanzania following challenges which were brought by the collapse of socialism in other countries.¹⁵⁴³ As a result, as Kikwete said, ‘dusty, houseflies and other dangerous insects’ got in easily into the economic, social, political and religious life of Tanzania.

The opening up of the ‘doors and windows’ which the Arusha Declaration had closed led the country into several other challenges.¹⁵⁴⁴ For example, some politicians from Zanzibar and others from the mainland Tanzania demanded a break away from the Union.¹⁵⁴⁵ Other politicians demanded a shift from the monopoly of a single party to multi-party democracy. Furthermore, the *wananchi* complained that the Indians, the people of other races and politicians saw themselves as a superior class.¹⁵⁴⁶ This gave birth to naming the *wananchi* as the *walalahoi* (lit: people who are not sure of their immediate future) and of the people of other races and politicians as *magabachori* (lit: people who are sure of a good life). According to Nyerere, following these challenges, the government formed a presidential committee commonly known in Kiswahili as *Tume ya Nyalali* (lit: Nyalali’s Commission) which came up with two suggestions.¹⁵⁴⁷ First, Tanzania should change its status from two governments (i.e., Zanzibar and Tanzania) to three governments (i.e., Tanganyika, Zanzibar and the Union - Tanzania). Second, because many people were not ready for the multi-party system, Tanzania should retain the single party system. In 1992, the NEC dropped the committee’s suggestion that Tanzania should retain the single party system.¹⁵⁴⁸ But, according to Nyerere this decision opened more challenges.¹⁵⁴⁹ On 10 January 1993,

¹⁵⁴² Jamii Forum Website. Ahadi za Mheshimiwa Kikwete. <<http://www.jamiiforums.com/jukwaa-la-siasa/233241.html/>>. [Accessed 13 March 2012].

¹⁵⁴³ Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? Lahasha, p. 3

¹⁵⁴⁴ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, pp. 4-7.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? Lahasha, p. 3

¹⁵⁴⁶ Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? Lahasha, p. 3

¹⁵⁴⁷ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Mapuri, Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? Lahasha, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 24-26.

for example, Zanzibar announced that it had joined the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC).¹⁵⁵⁰ Some members of the Union Parliament understood this as a violation of the constitution of the Union.¹⁵⁵¹ Parliamentarians from Zanzibar argued that because Tanzania had been a member of the Commonwealth¹⁵⁵² and had a representative from the Vatican,¹⁵⁵³ it was right for Zanzibar or even Tanzania to join the OIC. Forty four members of the Parliament from mainland Tanzania argued that unless Zanzibar withdrew from the OIC, it had declared itself a nation and therefore Tanganyika too had the right to become a separate nation.¹⁵⁵⁴ This was followed by a protest on August 1993.¹⁵⁵⁵

According to Nyerere, President Mwinyi seemed to support the position held by the Zanzibarians¹⁵⁵⁶ perhaps because he was a Zanzibarian.¹⁵⁵⁷ Kolimba argued against Nyerere saying that Mwinyi was in tune with the worldwide spirit for change.¹⁵⁵⁸ With this opposition from Kolimba who was one of the chief advisers of the president, Nyerere was convinced that the president was misguided by his chief advisers: Hon. John Malecela (then the Prime Minister) and Hon. Horace Kolimba (then the General Secretary of the ruling party — CCM).¹⁵⁵⁹ According to Dilunga, while Mwinyi and Malecela reserved their comments, Kolimba decided to confront Nyerere by using articles published on the newspapers which were owned by the CCM.¹⁵⁶⁰ Dilunga added that because Kolimba did not want to disclose himself, he used a pseudonym Alex Kowe.¹⁵⁶¹ These confrontations made for an uneasy relationship between Nyerere and the State House.¹⁵⁶² These conflicts were the underlining reason for

¹⁵⁵⁰ Lawrence E. Y Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religions and Politics in Tanzania from 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005, p. 208, n159.

¹⁵⁵¹ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁵² The people of Zanzibar perceived this as an Anglican organization.

¹⁵⁵³ The people of Zanzibar understood that the embassy of Vatican represented the Roman Catholic Church.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Endnote 159 in Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religions and Politics in Tanzania from 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005, p. 208.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Sepeku, same interview.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Raia Mwema Newspaper Website. Godfrey Dilunga, *Nini kilichotokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere?* <[http://www.raia-mwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-I, ii, iii, iv/](http://www.raia-mwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-I,ii,iii,iv/)>. [Accessed 13 May 2012]. Kolimba's articles can be read in the *Uhuru* newspaper of 8 November 1994, p. 7 and of 18 November 1994, p. 7.

¹⁵⁶¹ Dilunga, *Nini kilichotokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere?*

¹⁵⁶² ACT/Dodoma/*Nyerere Akosa Mapokezi Ikulu*, in the *Wakati ni Huu*, 11 October 1994.

Nyerere's weep¹⁵⁶³ and the underlining arguments of his book: *Uongozi wetu na Hatima ya Tanzania (Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania)*.¹⁵⁶⁴

Both Malecela and Kolimba were Anglicans who had shown interest in becoming the successor of President Mwinyi after his retirement in 1995.¹⁵⁶⁵ Challenging Nyerere's ideas was perhaps the best strategy for capturing public attention. In fact, they already covered the 'vacuum' which Nyerere had said was caused by the personal weakness of President Mwinyi.¹⁵⁶⁶ In view of this, Nyerere threatened to quit CCM and join the opposition if Kolimba and Malecela were made the CCM candidate for the General Election in 1995. Because of Nyerere's unquestionable integrity, the ruling party opted to retain him.¹⁵⁶⁷ Consequently, both Malecela and Kolimba lost their posts. Eventually Kolimba threatened to join another party. He died before mentioning the name of the political party he wished to join.¹⁵⁶⁸ Zanzibar withdrew from the OIC¹⁵⁶⁹ and the members of Parliament who sought the breakaway from the Union dissolved their group.¹⁵⁷⁰ The country entered its first General Election under the multi-party system in 1995 and Benjamin William Mkapa (a Roman Catholic believer), the CCM candidate, thrived at the poll. According to Kikwete, Mkapa, who also secured his position as the president of Tanzania at the General Election of 2000, tried to clean up the 'dust, the houseflies and other dangerous insects which had entered' during Mwinyi's regime.

Mkapa who was well known by his philosophy of *Zama za Ukweli na Uwazi* (lit: a period of sincerity and honesty) introduced several macroeconomic policies which allowed people from other countries to invest in Tanzania. The government privatised almost all its business firms. It also enhanced the quality of higher education by giving back to the churches and the Muslims communities some of the institutions which were nationalised as a result of the Arusha Declaration. Mazengo Secondary

¹⁵⁶³ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*. See for especially his explanation on pp. 62-78.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Dilunga, 'Nini kilichotokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere?'

¹⁵⁶⁶ Dilunga, 'Nini kilichotokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere?'

¹⁵⁶⁷ Rafael Shempemba, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 11 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Jamii Forum Website. Miaka 15 ya Kifo cha Kolimba. <<http://www.jamiiforums.com/jukwaa-la-siasa/233241-miaka-15-ya-kifo-cha-horace-kolimba.html>>. [Accessed 13 March 2012].

¹⁵⁶⁹ Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent*, p. 208, n159.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Shempemba, same interview.

School in Dodoma, for example, was given back to the church. The bishop of Tanga claimed back Korogwe Teachers Training College and the government promised to give it back to the church in 2009.¹⁵⁷¹ The bishop of Masasi used this opportunity to claim back Mkomaindo Hospital.¹⁵⁷²

Mkapa's regime faced several challenges, however. For example, both Christian and Islamic extremist groups were on the increase. The Islamic extremists who, according to the editorial comments of *Majira* and *Sunday Observer* newspapers, 'opened doors for the Arabic neo-slavery' had taken hold during Mwinyi's regime in Tanzania.¹⁵⁷³ Some newspapers cautioned Tanzanians to be watchful with all kinds of religious extremism.¹⁵⁷⁴ Similar cautions were issued earlier by the Lutherans through its Bagamoyo Declaration,¹⁵⁷⁵ the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT)¹⁵⁷⁶ and later in 1998 by the Tanzania Episcopal Council (TEC).¹⁵⁷⁷ Both the TEC and the CCT cautioned that unless Muslims desisted from their endeavours to publicly discredit Christianity there would be bloodshed.¹⁵⁷⁸ It took only a few weeks after the TEC's counsel for the bloodshed to happen on 13 February 1998 at Mwembechai in Dar es Salaam.¹⁵⁷⁹ This was followed by the burning of several churches and Christian institutions in different parts of the country.¹⁵⁸⁰ For example, following a clash between a group of *Unswar Sunna* (Islamic fanatic group) from Dar es Salaam and *Biblia ni Jibu* (Christian fanatic group) an Anglican parish at Daruni was burnt to ashes in May 1998.¹⁵⁸¹ A priest from the diocese of Western Tanganyika reported to his bishop that two village churches had been destroyed at Kasulu soon after a *mihadhara* conducted by another Islamic fanatic group from Dar es Salaam.¹⁵⁸²

¹⁵⁷¹ Akiri R. Mwita, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 29 January 2012 in Canterbury.

¹⁵⁷² Sr. Lucia CSP, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 8 April 2011 in Shoreham.

¹⁵⁷³ *Majira* Newspaper, Dar es Salaam, 13 March 1998, *Sunday Observer* Newspaper, Dar es Salaam, 5 July 1998.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Majira* Newspaper, Dar es Salaam, 13 March 1998, *Sunday Observer* Newspaper, Dar es Salaam, 5 July 1998.

¹⁵⁷⁵ ASL/CCT/Waraka wa Kichungaji Kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa nchini.

¹⁵⁷⁶ ASL/CCT/Waraka wa Kichungaji Kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa nchini.

¹⁵⁷⁷ St. Joseph's Cathedral, Files for 1990-1995.

¹⁵⁷⁸ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/CCT/Waraka wa Kichungaji Kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa nchini, no date.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Mbogoni, *The Cross Versus the Crescent*, p. 171.

¹⁵⁸⁰ ACT/DZT/Korogwe/Barua, Askofu Mkuu Ramadhani, Oktoba 23, 1998.

¹⁵⁸¹ ACT/ADZT/Korogwe/Barua, Askofu Mkuu Ramadhani, Oktoba 23, 1998.

¹⁵⁸² ACT/ADWT/Kasulu Bible College/Barua, Mkuu wa Kanda ya Kigoma, No date.

The government reacted by forming a reconciliation committee involving Muslims and Christians. The University of Dar es Salaam decided to take this as a research focus and, therefore, its Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) concentrated on these new developments.¹⁵⁸³ Whereas the government's committee for reconciliation and REDET helped to ease the tension, Zanzibar, which was a stronghold of most of these radical groups, reverted back to its historical political turmoil.¹⁵⁸⁴ In Pemba, for example, the General Election of December 1995 ended up with the police shooting the *walalaho* who were motivated by the Civic United Front (CUF) to protest against the election results.¹⁵⁸⁵ The CUF's leadership refused to accept the results of the Election on the ground that the leadership of CCM had annulled the CUF's victory. Shempemba said that many people died there during the clash whereas many others ran to Mombasa, Kenya and Tanga (on the mainland Tanzania). According to him, for the purpose of resolving the conflict, several referendums were signed between the two political parties, but these could not end the pursuit for power. He added that both the United Nations Organization and the African Union requested Nyerere to mediate in the conflict but, perhaps because he was from within Tanzania, he declined the proposal. Nyerere suffered from leukaemia and died in 1999 while Zanzibar was still turbulent.

There were several other allegations pointed at the government which highlighted dissatisfaction and distrust of the people of Tanzania with their government. At Mererani, for example, the CCT complained that some investors exported the Tanzanite gemstones without paying taxes while leaving the people there in severe poverty.¹⁵⁸⁶ The CCT also challenged the government about the Ashanti and Anglo-Gold mines in Mara and Geita which drove people off their land without compensating them appropriately.¹⁵⁸⁷ The *wananchi wa kawaida* from Mbeya complained that a government minister had sold Kiwila Coal Mine to himself. The members of Parliament from Mara Region complained that the North Mara Gold

¹⁵⁸³ Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration of the University of Dar es Salaam Website. Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET), 10 Workshop on Democratic Transition in East Africa. <http://www.redet.udsm.ac.tz/documents_storage/2008-3-28-8-36-35_07.pdf>. [Accessed 18 April 2012].

¹⁵⁸⁴ David Throup, 'Zanzibar After Nyerere' in Michael Hood *et al.*, *Tanzania After Nyerere*, London: Pinter, 1988, pp.184-192.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Shempemba, same interview.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Shempemba, same interview.

¹⁵⁸⁷ ASL/Mali Asili ya Taifa, CCT DVD player, 2005

Mine was polluting the source of the River Mara which the people in Mara depended on as their source of water and that citizens had stated to experience skin diseases.¹⁵⁸⁸ There were also complaints about animals from the National Parks and logs from national forests that were exported, but with minimum benefit to the people of Tanzania. Perhaps this was the reason why Ndunguru lamented:

Kambarage Nyerere ... why didn't you tell us, expose us and prepare us [for] the turmoil and struggles that have now engulfed us? Why didn't we continue to build ourselves, our capacities and our attitudes? And recognise the potential that is within us? ... Why weren't we encouraged and persuaded to think beyond our limitation? [Why couldn't we] serve our country and be dully recognised for our efforts? We remained suffering as we looked in awe at those outside our borders ... We invited them in ... they saw that which we never saw in ourselves. They've come to take it. And here we remain. Still ... having peace.¹⁵⁸⁹

These new developments affected the church in various ways. First, some of the church members claimed a breakaway from the church. When the government refused to license them, they dissolved their group. Some of them joined Pentecostal churches while others registered House to House Prayer Ministry (HUMANN) as an independent ministry. In this regard, HUMANN which was founded by John Edmund (the brother of Archbishop Sepeku) for the purpose of ministering to the people and which, although it was (and still is) under the leadership of Cyprian Sallu (an Anglican and the successor of Edmund), became an ecumenical ministry. Second, Archbishop Ramadhani, who had led the church from 1985, stated that due to the increasing challenges an energetic archbishop should take over from him.¹⁵⁹⁰ Therefore, he announced his intention of retiring.¹⁵⁹¹ The Standing Committee of the province asked him to extend his term for three years so that it could arrange seminars and workshops to strengthen its unity before the archbishop retired.¹⁵⁹² Each diocese of the church held seminars, the main agenda being the response of the church to multi-party democracy. These diocesan seminars were followed by provincial

¹⁵⁸⁸ ASL/Mali Asili ya Taifa, CCT DVD player, 2005

¹⁵⁸⁹ Neema Ndunguru, 'But Dear Mwalimu', a poem in Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹⁵⁹¹ Ramadhani, same interview.

¹⁵⁹² 'Dibaji', in Emanuel J. Kandusi, *Taarifa: Semina ya Jimbo kuhusu Umoja*, CCT Conference Centre Dodoma, 21-25 Agosti, 1995, p. iv.

seminars and workshops. At one of these provincial workshops the members resolved that:

There is a need to amend the system of electing a diocesan bishop ... adding more people from the parishes to the electoral house would resolve the problems ... the Provincial Office should also publicise the biographies of the candidates.¹⁵⁹³

The first diocese to conduct an election under the amended rule was South West Tanganyika which, after Bishop Charles Mwaigoga had died on 26 April 1997, remained without a bishop.¹⁵⁹⁴ According to the CMM Sisters, for the first time in the history of the church, there were campaigns for the episcopacy which started soon after the death of Mwaigoga.¹⁵⁹⁵ Although Archbishop Ramadhani had used his sermon during the burial of Mwaigoga to counsel the Christians of the diocese of South West Tanganyika against tribal and party politics in the church, this could not prevent them from conducting the election on the lines of their tribal and party relationships.¹⁵⁹⁶ John Mwela was elected the fourth bishop of the diocese on 28 October 1997 and was consecrated on 25 January 1998.¹⁵⁹⁷ His consecration caused more tribal conflicts. The Christians in Njombe and Makete argued that they needed a bishop from their own ranks and not someone from the shores of Lake Malawi where both Mwaigoga and Mwela came from.¹⁵⁹⁸

According to Mtingele, in order to end the conflict, the provincial authority decided to divide the diocese into the Diocese of South West Tanganyika and the Diocese of Southern Highlands.¹⁵⁹⁹ John Mwela was translated to Mbeya where he would inaugurate the new diocese.¹⁶⁰⁰ At its synod which ended up in violence, the Diocese

¹⁵⁹³ 'Mamlaka katika Kanisa Anglikana' in *Kandusi Taarifa: Semina ya Jimbo*, p. 99. The translation is mine.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, St. Mark's Book Project: SMTC, 2005, p. 81.

¹⁵⁹⁵ The CMM Sisters, group interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 3 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁵⁹⁶ ASL/ADSWT/Hotuba ya Askofu Mkuu, Mazishi ya Askofu Charles Mwaigoga, Njombe, Tarehe 30 Aprili 1997.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Mkunga H. P. Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today: A Critique of its influence and impact*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Open University of UK, St. Johns College Nottingham, 1995.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 81.

of South West Tanganyika elected John Petro Simalenga on 12 October 1998, but when the results were announced, the members of the Provincial Electoral Committee were brutally beaten by a group of Christians.¹⁶⁰¹ These Christians tore apart the boxes of votes and set fire to the election and results papers.¹⁶⁰² Even though Simalenga was from Njombe, he was not consecrated because those who were defeated in the election opened a court case.¹⁶⁰³ While the court case was still in progress, the diocese slipped back into more tribal conflicts and some of the church properties were destroyed and others were stolen.¹⁶⁰⁴ The Standing Committee of the diocese decided to invite a white missionary bishop for the post. Michael Westall became their choice.¹⁶⁰⁵ Thus, Westall became the sixth bishop of the diocese.¹⁶⁰⁶ This made him the only white bishop in the whole province of twenty one dioceses.

In his thesis, Mtingele showed that a similar situation had happened in the Diocese of Victoria Nyanza in Mwanza.¹⁶⁰⁷ John Changae who originally came from Tanga was elected the third bishop of the Diocese of Victoria Nyanza.¹⁶⁰⁸ Although Mtingele noted that Changae was rejected because he was not Msukumu,¹⁶⁰⁹ there was another reason. Anglicans in Mwanza rejected him on the basis that he was from the Anglo-Catholic tradition.¹⁶¹⁰ In this case, Changae's rejection was on the basis of tribe and church tradition. Archbishop Ramadhani challenged Changae to come back to Tanga (his home place and an Anglo-Catholic diocese) where he would become an assistant bishop in preparation for taking over the diocese from him when he retired.¹⁶¹¹ Changae refused, but only to find that some of his priests and lay people were organising more violence against him. As a result, he was beaten several times and severely wounded.¹⁶¹² Unlike the Diocese of South West Tanganyika, however, the

¹⁶⁰¹ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁰² ACT/ADZT/Askofu Mkuu/ Taarifa ya Uchaguzi wa Dayosisi ya South West Tanganyika, Oktoba 14, 1998.

¹⁶⁰³ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁰⁵ ASL/ADSWT/paper cutting, Uchaguzi wa Askofu wa Njombe.

¹⁶⁰⁶ ACT/ADSWT/Archives for 1986-1999. I am aware that after the retirement of Westall in 2008, John Simalenga succeeded him.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today*, p. 98.

¹⁶⁰⁸ ACT/ADZT/Barua, Askofu John Changae, 22 Januari 1997.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today*, p. 98.

¹⁶¹⁰ ACT/ADZT/Barua, Askofu John Changae, 22 Januari 1997. The Wasukuma are the people of Mwanza. Changae was a Bondei from Tanga.

¹⁶¹¹ ACT/ADZT/Barua, Askofu Mkuu John Ramadhani, 27 Januari 1997.

¹⁶¹² ACT/ADZT/Barua, Askofu John Changae, 29 Agosti 1997.

diocese of Victoria Nyanza continued with their African bishop who finally gave up in favour of someone from Sukumaland and the evangelical tradition.

In the Diocese of Dar es Salaam, it was the diocesan bishop who turned out to be violent. The bishop forced the widow and children of the late archbishop Sepeku to vacate and surrender the diocesan houses.¹⁶¹³ The children of Sepeku refused, arguing that their father had received several houses from his friends and given them to the diocese because he did not want to enrich himself.¹⁶¹⁴ The bishop continued to put pressure on them until the diocesan standing committee intervened.¹⁶¹⁵ Under the instruction of the diocesan standing committee, the family of Archbishop Sepeku retained the church houses.

The bishop of Dar es Salaam also wrote to the CMM Sisters demanding that they handed over all the nursery schools they started and which they were running in the diocese.¹⁶¹⁶ The Sisters submitted to the bishop's order, but because there were no preparations for their management, the schools were closed down.¹⁶¹⁷ The struggle for power in the diocese of Dar es Salaam took another direction when the bishop reached retirement age. Archbishop Sepeku and his successor (Christopher Mlangwa) were both from Tanga.¹⁶¹⁸ The bishop of Dar es Salaam had reached retirement age and did not want a priest from Tanga to become his successor.¹⁶¹⁹ Meanwhile, he had prepared no one from other parts of the country to take over from him.¹⁶²⁰ He therefore opted to remain in the position. The diocese fell into internal conflicts.¹⁶²¹ However, finally in 2002, Valentino Mokiwa (Mzigua from Tanga) was elected the fourth bishop of Dar es Salaam.¹⁶²²

¹⁶¹³ ASL/ADD/Barua, Askofu Basil Sambano, 21 Machi 1998.

¹⁶¹⁴ ASL/ADD/Barua, Julius Sepeku, 26 Mei 1998.

¹⁶¹⁵ ASL/ADD/Kikao cha Halmahsauri ya Kuduma, Dayosisi ya Dare s Salaam, Oktoba 18, 19998. p. 3

¹⁶¹⁶ The CMM Sisters, group interviews conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 3 August 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁶¹⁷ The CMM Sisters, same interview.

¹⁶¹⁸ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, pp. 83-88.

¹⁶¹⁹ Mndolwa, *Historia ya Kanisa Anglikana lililoko Kusini na Mashariki mwa Tanzania*, pp. 83-88.

¹⁶²⁰ ACT/Dodoma/Barua, Halmashauri ya Kuduma ya Daysosisi ya Dar e Salaam, Tarehe 28 Julai 2000.

¹⁶²¹ ACT/Dodoma/ Kumbukumbu za Kikao cha Halmashauri ya Kudumu, 5 November 2000.

¹⁶²² ACT/Dodoma/Press Release, 7 September 2002.

It was thought that the election of Mokiwa to the episcopacy would end these internal conflicts, but the Anglicans who by origin were from the Diocese of Central Tanganyika wrote to Archbishop Mtetemela to demand certain parishes for their evangelical worship.¹⁶²³ The archbishop challenged them, as did Bishop Yohana Madinda in the 1970s that their bishop was the bishop of Dar es Salaam and therefore they should listen to him.¹⁶²⁴ However, with the assistance from the bishop of the Diocese of Central Tangayika, they took over the Keko Mwanga, Tungi and Mazizini parishes and were determined to take the Vingunguti and Minyonyoni parishes too. At Galigonga in Iringa, it was Anglo-Catholic Anglicans who demanded services in the Anglo-Catholic tradition.

The shift from single party to multi-party also facilitated the change of the status of the president of Zanzibar in the Union government (i.e., from being vice president to a minister.¹⁶²⁵ While the aim was to control the challenges which could emerge in case two different political parties were in power on the two sides of the Union,¹⁶²⁶ this change was also reflected in the church. The Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga was divided into two: Tanga with its head offices at Korogwe, and Zanzibar at Mkunazini. Philip Baji (a Bondei from Muheza, Tanga) was elected the first bishop for Tanga, and the archbishop emeritus, John Ramadhani (a Zanzibarian), became the seventh bishop of Zanzibar.¹⁶²⁷ In terms of the number of its priests and Christians, the diocese became the smallest in the province and the Anglican Communion.

From these experiences, it can be argued that the shift from the principles of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* to *rukasa* challenged the church to change too. However, while the change in the government was guided by policies, the church had no clear policy which could guide it. This was because, as was said earlier, Anglicanism was not (and still is not) a system, it was a method. Eventually, the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, who had clear policies, became the leading churches in Tanzania.¹⁶²⁸

¹⁶²³ ASL/ADD/Barua, Waumini wa Mapokeo ya Kiinjili, 3/1/2003.

¹⁶²⁴ ASL/ADD/Barua, Waumini wa Mapokeo ya Kiinjili, Dar es Salaam, 5/2/2003.

¹⁶²⁵ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, pp. 24-26.

¹⁶²⁶ Nyerere, *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, pp. 24-26.

¹⁶²⁷ ASL/ADZT/Ibada ya Kuwekwa Wakfu Philip Dunstan Baji, Askofu wa Kwanza wa Dayosisi ya Tanga, Chuo cha Ualimu Korogwe, 26 Novemba 2000.

¹⁶²⁸ 'Utangulizi', *Msimamo wa CCT Kuhusu Hali ya Nchi*, CCT, p. 1.

4. Chapter Summary

This chapter served two purposes. The first was to highlight the factors which contributed to the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*, the ways through which the church had responded to it and how the state elites reacted to these responses of the church. In view of this, the discussion showed that external and internal factors contributed to the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. Although other factors affected the country and these have been fully covered in other studies, the major issues on which this study has concentrated have been the effects of the Tanzania — Uganda War. This was because the role of the church during this war was not been depicted by other writers. This war affected the Ujamaa-centered church in Tanzania in various ways as I showed it in the following paragraphs.

Tanzania's presence in Uganda raised suspicions in Kenya that it had a hidden agenda. Kenya continued to close its borders and thus the relationship between the two deteriorated. I argued that Nyerere's decision to involve the church in the peace negotiations indicated that he trusted the role of the church in the peace mediation processes. Although the border remained closed, in so far as this involvement of the church had not been mentioned by any other writer, this made it a significant finding in this study. First, as said in chapter one, Nyerere was very close to Archbishop Sepeku, and second, he welcomed the contribution of all religious leaders.

The increase of crime, corruption and price escalations was the Tanzanians' reaction to the effects of the war and it indicated the beginning of the collapse of the *undugu*. Although politicians continued to promise Tanzanians that solutions were at hand, this was not the case. The church and other religious bodies were involved in seeking assistance from abroad. Even though some of the aid ended up in the hands of some politicians, the church's support to people in need through ways which the government had advised signifies that the church continued to be loyal to the government. However, because the economy was collapsing, religious bodies such as the church could not remedy the situation. This made it necessary to bring in a new policy (i.e., the Zanzibar Resolutions) which changed the Arusha Declaration.

The second purpose of this chapter was to analyse the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*, its effect on the church and the relations of the church and the state in that fall. In view of this, I have demonstrated that although the politicians kept saying that the Resolutions of Zanzibar did not change the Arusha Declaration, it did change them. President Mwinyi's statement that each generation creates its own policy and that the members of the ruling party (i.e., CCM) approved it, proved that the generation which brought in the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* was over. In view of this, the state authority declared its support for a free market economy and a multi-party system through which Tanzanians nicknamed their president *Mzee ruksa*. Although the shift from a single party to a multi-party system was a worldwide phenomenon and a need of the time, it brought significant effects on the church in Tanzania. First, it revived the disunity of the two traditions of the church. As a result, Anglicans from the evangelical tradition demanded churches for their own worship in Dar es Salaam, and the Anglo-Catholics at Galingonga (Iringa) demanded theirs from the diocese of Ruaha. Second, it revived tribal politics and thus the episcopal elections reflected what was happening in the political field. Even though Mtingele had described the incidents of the attack on Bishop Changae of the diocese of Victoria Nyanza and the beating of the provincial electoral committee in the diocese of South West Tanganyika,¹⁶²⁹ he ignored the fact that these resulted from the impact of politics on the church. His assessment of the challenges posed by the bishop of Dar es Salaam ignored the bishop's threats to the children of the late Archbishop Sepeku. I argue that all these changes in the church were because the government had shifted its focus from *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* to *ruksa*, and thus the political, social, economic and religious life was changing very fast in Tanzania. Third, the *ruksa* created a 'vacuum' in the religious life of the people. The religious fundamentalists tried to occupy it. However, they occupied it violently. The burning of churches caused hatred among religious believers who had lived harmoniously for more than thirty years. Since the church had not developed a policy to respond to these new challenges, it used the Christian Council and church choirs as a forum to challenge the government. But it did so by frequently referring to the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. In this regard, the major finding of this section was that although the policy and life in Tanzania changed, the

¹⁶²⁹ Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today*.

church continued to embrace the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as its theology. This was one of the challenges experienced by the church.

The Zanzibar Resolutions dropped the leadership ethics and qualifications and this gave rise to individualism and pursuit of power. For example, while *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* addressed unity as power (*umoja ni nguvu*), after the Zanzibar Resolution the impression was that individual possessions was ‘the power’. The easiest way to acquire possessions was to have access to national resources. These were accessed through politics. Under Ujamaa despite the greed of some individuals on the whole politicians tended to serve the common good. I argued that since the fall of Ujamaa the impression was that public servants served more their interests than that of the nation. This perception challenged ordained ministers to strive for wealth. The easiest way to get rich was to become a bishop. In view of this, just as politicians used the parliamentary constituencies for their campaigning, the dioceses became ‘the battle field’ for the episcopacy. Thus, whoever gained the victory was sure of good life. Nevertheless, because other people needed it, tensions continued. In this case, unlike the Ujamaa centred church where episcopacy was a ministry, episcopacy became a possession after the fall of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. The major finding of the study in this section was, therefore, that episcopacy had changed from being an office for the service of all, to being an office for service to the minority (those who had assisted the candidate during the campaign). The case of Changae in Mwanza who refused the offer from the archbishop to shift to Tanga stood as a show case. This was another challenge that the church experienced.

It can be strongly argued, therefore, that the challenges which the church experienced were because of the total change in the economic, social and political life of the country. As it served colonial masters under the colonial regime Anglican Church in Tanzania tended to follow the government of the day. While this flexibility had pastoral advantages it also raised ethical issues such as corruption, individualism, tribal politics and pursuit of power.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Introduction

In this final chapter I present the conclusions that emanate from the previous chapters of this study, and thereafter present some recommendations. My research findings and experiences in the church bear my imprint throughout this chapter. But before summarising my findings, let me present the limitations of my study.

2. Limitations of the Study

This study is certainly not without its limitations. The main limitations which I encountered during the process of collecting data were as follows.

First, during the process of collecting data in Tanzania, the diocese of Tanga conducted its search for a new bishop. The electoral synod which was held at Korogwe on 22 July 2011 elected me the new bishop of the diocese. This affected my collection of data especially in the relationship with my interviewees. Before I became a bishop, for example, the interviewees were very relaxed during the interview sessions, but soon after my consecration I noticed changes in the ways my interviewees responded to my questions. Some of them tried to hold back some of the information thinking that I could take action against them. Such actions illustrated the fact that the relation between a bishop and his church was that of a ruler and ruled instead of an overseer and sisters and brothers in Christ. In this study, I consider such relationships between a bishop and his church as among the effects of the fall of Ujamaa.

Second, in Tanzania, the officials of the ruling Party – Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) refused to grant me permission to access information which was kept at their offices in Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. Although there was not any strong reason for that refusal, the restriction may reflect the confidentiality of the records which were kept in these archives. Therefore, for this study, information relating to party politics had to be derived from oral interviews.

The last limitation was encountered mainly during the interviews when some of my interviewers preferred their interviews not to be recorded by a tape recorder. While this reflected the sensitivity of the information, I had to adhere to ethical standards and accept this limitation.

3. Summary and Major Findings of the Study

The main question which prompted me to undertake this study was about the response of the ‘Anglican Church’ to Ujamaa and how that had affected the church’s relationships with the state authority in Tanzania. I developed three research questions for the purpose of gathering facts for this main question of the study. The first research question was on the subject of the Anglicans’ reactions to the struggle for independence, the new state regime, the introduction of Ujamaa and the response of the state authority to these Anglicans’ reactions. Following this need to review that history, I decided to investigate the various challenges experienced by the church during the struggle for independence and when political authority changed from a colonial to an independent state. I fulfilled this objective in chapter two and three of this study.

In chapter two I presented an overview of the changes which Tanzania had gone through from 1955 to 2005. I demonstrated that, while holding similar ideologies, the two Anglican missions (UMCA—Universities’ Mission to Central Africa and CMSA— Church Missionary Society of Australia), followed these ideologies according to different traditions, the result of which was an identity crisis in the membership of the church. For example, the Evangelicals regarded themselves as either CMSA or Low Church Christians while the Anglo-Catholics proudly regarded themselves as either UMCA or High Church Christians.

I also argued that, although the efforts to bring the two traditions into a church started as early as 1914, it was not until 1960 that these efforts produced results. This was when the missions formed the Church of the Province of East Africa. I explained the reasons why there were delays in the formation of the church because the strong Evangelicals could not envisage themselves sharing common ground with the strong Anglo-Catholics. In the whole region of East and Central African this was a problem for Tanzania alone. The coming of the Church of the Province of East Africa which was politically inclined could not eliminate the identity crises of the members of the church. This confusion and pride of traditions (which, for the purpose of this study I regarded it as Anglicanism) persisted for ten years, after which it was suppressed by Ujamaa. The Ujamaa-centred church which emerged in 1970 (i.e., the Church of the Province of Tanzania) was an African socialist church.

Following this discussion, I found three main stages of the church and state relations which for the purpose of this study I named the pre-Ujamaa church (1955 to 1967), the Ujamaa-centred church (1967 to 1991), and the post Ujamaa church (1992 to 2005). The discussion in all other chapters (i.e., chapter three to seven) focused on these stages.

In chapter three, I focused my attention on the role of the church in the struggle for national independence, the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the Arusha Declaration. I identified all major factors contributing to the changes which the church passed through from 1955 to 1967 regarding the church and state relationships as well as issues of gospel and culture in Tanzania.

The first factor which influenced change was the adjustments to the education and health system introduced by the government after the visit of a team from the United Nations (UN) in 1955 which ordered Westminster to reorganise education and health systems in Tanganyika in preparation for Tanganyika's self-rule which was to take place, it was thought, twenty-five years later. Since the missions used these social services as their major vehicles of evangelism and conversion, the government's change of policy on these services created a misunderstanding between the missionaries and their government. The church demanded clear policies from the

government about its role regarding the provision of these social services. Westminster provided guidelines for the implementation of the policy soon after the visit of the UN commission.¹⁶³⁰ The implementation of the policy created panic and confusion among some missionaries. Moreover, it facilitated interaction, not only between the Anglicans from the two traditions of the church, but also between the Anglicans and people from other religious persuasions. I argued that this interaction of people benefitted both the church and the government. On the side of the church, it brought the Anglo-Catholics and the Evangelicals into contact (in schools especially). On side of the government, it enabled the training of more people in schools and the reaching out to more people through health facilities. I also argued that these interactions of people raised more awareness of the need to attain independence from Great Britain. In this regard, my major finding in this section of the study was that the UNs commission facilitated the transition process.

The second factor which influenced changes was the change in the political atmosphere in Tanganyika. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed at this time. Nyerere used his knowledge of the worldwide colonial administrations he gained during his studies in Edinburgh to influence change in the trade union (Tanganyika African Association – TAA) and from which TANU emerged. The TANUs agenda of nationalism increased more awareness by the people in Tanganyika that they were sisters and brothers and that they could make Tanganyika an independent nation. Although the TANUs agenda for nationalism was not liked by some missionaries and government officials, it brought Tanganyikans together. The unity among Tanganyikans which was spurred on by the movement for nationalism proved to the administrators at Westminster that the timeframe for self-rule in Tanganyika had to be revisited. Some form of mutual confidence between Sir Richard Turnbull, the Governor of Tanganyika, and Nyerere (the leader of the TANU) sprang up from these supports perceptions. I argued that the church used its members and this mutual confidence between the Governor and Nyerere to support the TANU. My major finding in this section of the study was therefore that there was already a spirit of cooperation between the future independent government and the church before independence.

¹⁶³⁰ Briggs, *Independence Day: Newala*, *Central Africa, Vol. LXXX, no. 950*, p. 28.

Following my finding of this spirit of cooperation, I identified a third factor having influenced change, namely that the church was fully involved in the struggle for the independence. While in chapter two I showed how the church was involved indirectly in the preparation for the independence (through provision of social services such as education and health), in chapter three I focused on its direct involvement in the struggle for the independence. I highlighted in chapter three that the church supported the TANU through its synod resolutions (i.e., the case of the synod of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika) and writings (i.e., the case of Reverend Father Neil Russell and the CMSAs authority). I explained that the church was involved directly in the struggle for independence because it believed that nationalism was in a way a good thing as it revitalised the church's ideology of building an indigenous Anglican Church in Tanganyika.

However, the church's involvement in politics was disturbed when Nyerere resigned from the office of prime minister and when their plans for Kambona to take over from Nyerere could not materialise. Nyerere's return to power gave the church a new energy in the sense that the church knew him well especially after having used him to speak about Tanganyika while he was a student in Great Britain. Nevertheless, Nyerere's dislike of *Africanisation* (i.e., replacing Europeans and Indians by Africans in the government services) deteriorated his relationship with the army and the workers' union. The intensity of the matter led into army mutiny. The church (i.e., through Bishop Sepeku) provided a hiding place for the president. This marked my third major finding that during the struggle for independence to the period of independence, the church became as loyal to the government as it had been with the colonial government in Tanganyika.

Just as the church had participated in the independence struggle in Tanganyika, so it did in Zanzibar. The church consecrated Neil Russell and ordered him to concentrate on the Islands themselves. I argued that this happened when the missionaries knew that Westminster planned to grant independence to the Arabs in Zanzibar.¹⁶³¹

¹⁶³¹ RHL/UMCA-USPG/SF46B/Neil Russell, UMCA Africa and Christians, an Article for publication.

Although it was not under the order of the church, the African Anglicans led a revolution against the Arab rule in Zanzibar. However, after they had attained independence, Zanzibar went into a political turmoil. I argued that the church (i.e., through Bishop Russell) was involved in the change of government which brought in Karume as the new president and which also concluded the rule of Okello there. I also argued that, following this involvement of the church in the revolution and change of government's authority, the bishop could not comprehend that his friend (the president), whom he had helped in several ways, would take into his possession the Persian young women and then disregard Christians. Even though they were in the minority in Zanzibar, for the president to allow Muslim young men to marry any one they wanted would weaken Christianity there. The bishop rebuked the president publicly, the result of which was the deportation of the bishop from Zanzibar.

Furthermore, I argued that the fact that the Anglican missions were fully involved in the making of Tanzania should not be ignored in the sense that African Anglicans were in the front line in Tanganyika and Zanzibar's political achievements because their church was the church of the state. Their presence in both the church and the state stimulated the smooth translation of power from the colonial administration to the independent state in Tanganyika. This could have been the case in Zanzibar too if the British could have left the results of the General Election to determine the destiny of the country. In view of this, I argued that, Ludwig's argument that Lutherans played a major role needed to be balanced by the fact that Anglicans were ahead of the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics when it came to their participation in the political liberation of both Zanzibar and Tanganyika. It was true that the Roman Catholic Nyerere was the main character in the struggle for the independence in Tanganyika, but this should not alter the fact that both in Zanzibar and Tanganyika Anglicans were in the front line. I have proved my facts by mentioning several significant people in this study who played key roles in the making of the two countries. Anglicans such as Yustino Mponda, Dunstan Omari, John Ketto, John Lupia, John Okello, Adam Mwakanjuki, Oscar Kambona, Job Lusinde, Michael Kamaliza, Bishop Edward Steer, Bishop Frank Weston, Bishop John Sepeku, Bishop Neil Russell, Bishop Edward Straddling, Bishop Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Alfred Stanway were just a few names among many which history should not overlook.

I also argued that unlike the transfer of power to Africans which was smoothly effected in the government in Tanganyika, there was a quick appointment of Africans to positions of leadership in the church without having any training. This suggested that, unlike in the government, the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, the first priority of the authority of the Anglican missions was on government's handing over power to Africans in 'Tanzania'. Perhaps this was the reason why Ludwig concluded that Anglicans did not consecrate a bishop until after independence. However, he missed the point that although the Roman Catholics were the first to have African bishops they were followed by the Anglicans and not Lutherans. The Anglicans consecrated Yohana Omari at Namirembe in Uganda in 1955. This was three years after the Roman Catholics had consecrated their first African bishop in 1952 and five years before Lutherans had theirs in 1960. Ludwig ignored the fact that Omari represented the Christian Council of Tanganyika (including Lutherans) at the Tanganyika's Independence Day on 9 December 1961. I therefore argued that although Omari was an assistant bishop, the fact that the Roman Catholic missionaries had appropriate plans for the transfer of power to Africans unlike the Anglican missionaries cannot change the historical fact that Anglicans had Omari as an African bishop before independence.

After these events, I presented the church's reaction to the Arusha Declaration. The declaration introduced the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. While Ujamaa was the ideology, *Kujitegemea* was a political strategy of implementing the goals of Ujamaa. The church (the missionaries especially) compared Ujamaa with Marxism and Leninism. I argued that the missionaries accused the independent leaders of Marxism was not necessarily because they were not familiar with African culture. I also argued that even if there were connections between Ujamaa and any other political ideologies, those were just similarities and not influences on Nyerere's ideas. However, in this chapter, I just gave an introduction to the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* because this point was developed in chapters four and five.

In chapter four, I showed how the change of leadership of the Anglican Church in Tanzania which happened in 1970 facilitated more changes in attitudes towards Ujamaa. This change of leadership in the church enabled the implementation of

African ideas (i.e., the church implemented the goals of Ujamaa). I argued that Ludwig's statement that the Anglican Church in Tanzania cooperated with the government in the implementation of the policy of the Ujamaa abided to this finding. However, because Ludwig did not explain how the church was involved in the implementation of the policy, I come with the following reasons to account for the participation of the church in the implementation of the rural settlement programme, reforms on the marriage law, and reforms in the sectors of education, health and land.

First, following the implementation of Ujamaa villages whereby Tanzanians were called to live in Ujamaa villages most of the mission stations (i.e., the church's village) and which needed major repairs became unnecessary and therefore the church abandoned them. Both the white missionaries and black Africans joined these Ujamaa villages. I argued that white missionaries were challenged by black Africans in these Ujamaa villages. I argued my case by mentioning a white missionary quoting black African Anglican as saying that all things in the Ujamaa villages were the property of the people and that there was no 'me-ism' in those villages. The villager who said these words was a church elder as well as a treasurer of several villages.¹⁶³² The villager warned that those who refused to associate themselves with this Ujamaa's guidelines would be given a deadline. According to the villager, the missionaries were given conditions – living in community (the government's emphasis) or in isolation. These were clearly elements of the church of the New Testament. I argued that the fact that many missionaries left the country thereafter implied that although the missionaries proclaimed the triune God (i.e., gospel of unity and love), they practised individualism which was contrary, not only to the gospel they preached but also to the African culture in which they lived their faith. After the missionaries left the country, the church was left without qualified personnel because the missionaries did not prepare Africans to take over leadership positions of the church from them. Thus, the African church had no option but to plead to the missionary groups for assistance. I argued that this was the essence of the missions' theme 'come back to Africa.'

Second, the clergy and laity of the 'Anglican Church' were fully involved in the Ujamaa villages. I argue that the involvement of the ordained ministers in the

¹⁶³² CMSA/MLMSS6040/63/8/East Africa Visit-May/July, 1973

communities' development programs affected the church in two ways. First, it reduced time for their office work and as a result the church produced very little recorded information. Second, it enabled them to practise the government's slogan (i.e., leaders should be learners and teachers). My major finding in this section of the study is that the gap which the church is currently experiencing regarding recorded information is because its ordained ministers did not have much time for office work.

Third, in opposition to the belief held by the members of the 'Anglican Church' in Tanzania that the government took over the church schools by force, I argued that the church handed over the schools both voluntarily and obligatorily. There were several reasons why this was necessary. First, it was its way of showing its loyalty to the new government which it supported in the struggle for independence. Second, the church was obliged to handover its schools in accordance with the challenges of the time which emerged as the government continued to implement its plans. I established five reasons why the church felt obliged to hand over the schools to the government. First, the church realised that transferring its schools to the government would relieve it from the heavy burden of paying teachers, supporting staff and maintenance. Second, the government declared that there was no need for expatriate teachers because more Africans were qualified to take over the teaching posts. This government declaration limited the number of the church's qualified teaching staff following the departure of many missionaries and new ones would not get visas. Fourth, many of the school buildings needed major repair but the church had limited funds for repairs. Finally, with the government emphasis on Ujamaa villages, the *misheni* setting (i.e., a school, a church building, a dispensary and hostels) was becoming unnecessary. The fact that not even a single writer had mentioned these factors regarding the Anglican Church handing over its schools and hospitals to the government marked a major finding to this study.

These findings reveal a shift from the colonial government's restructuration programmes of the social services. Whereas the colonial government did not takeover schools and hospitals during its reorganisation of these social services in 1950s, the new state authority opted to nationalise schools and some hospitals. I argued that the church's handing over of the schools to the new government affected both the government and the church. The church freed itself from the duty of governing and

controlling educational institutions. The government increased the enrolment of non-Anglican and non-Christian scholars in these schools. The church was left with the sole supervision of theological training at St. Philip's and St. Cyprian's colleges. The theological training was separated from other kinds of training, and because the church had put its energy into teachers training colleges from where it drew students for theological training, after the nationalisation of these colleges, the church reorganised itself. It either received retired government officers (as in the case of the Dioceses of Zanzibar and Tanga, Masasi, Ruvuma, Southern Highlands, Kagera, Victoria Mwanza and Dar es Salaam) or recruited villagers (in the case of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika and Morogoro). My major finding in this section of the study was that this reorganisation failed to provide the church with many competent and energetic church leaders who were greatly needed.

In chapter four I also discussed the change of marriage law and land policy. The government's change of marriage law resulted into the change of the church's canonical practices regarding marriage. My finding in this section was that following this change Anglicans were able to marry people of other faiths through civil marriages than any other time in the history of the church in Tanzania.

The change of land policy affected the church in two ways. My first finding in this section was that since the church had been changing (i.e., from missions to the Church of the Province of East Africa (CPEA) and from CPEA to the Church Province of Tanzania), title deeds and land leases which had these old names should have been changed immediately, but after the changes the documents retained their old names. The missionaries did not handover properly the leadership of the church to Africans when they left. As a result some of these documents were not handed over to Africans. The missionaries did not train Africans on land issues. Thus, when they left the country, the church was left without skilled personnel on land issues and perhaps some of these documents were just thrown away. In this regard, when the church gave its land to the villages it could not give them the leases or the deeds because they were nowhere to be found. My second finding was that the government communalised land and therefore land could not be sold easily. The effect of this change on the church was that it could not use land as collateral when it required bank loans. In this regard

the church's ability to pay its workers declined and became poorer. Because of its allegiance to the Ujamaa life, I named this church the Ujamaa-centred church.

My focus in chapter five was mainly on the leadership, the theology, the ecclesiology, the liturgy and ministry of this Ujamaa-centred church. First of all I discussed the type of leadership developed by this church. I argued that the changes which were happening in the government regarding leadership inspired the leadership of the church too. My finding was that the requirements for ethical leadership which were set by the Arusha Declaration were applied in the church and thus clergy could not own houses, cars, or shares in national and private firms.

Since the Ujamaa-centred church used the requirements for ethical leadership as recommended in the Arusha Declaration, I thought that the matter would be discussed theologically by the church within the framework of the Arusha Declaration but it did not for the following reasons. First, the church did not develop African theologians of Nyerere's calibre with the ability to challenge his ideas. Second, its influential laity such as John Malecela, who were members of the provincial synod as well as ministers in the government, said that Jesus was a socialist and provoked the leadership of the church to accept the ideology. Third, Nyerere and other government officials critically challenged the church to discard its Englishness and focus on indigenous expressions of the religion which would make it more Tanzanian. These arguments suppressed debates of the matter at the top level of the church's leadership. As a result, the church accommodated Ujamaa as it was worked out by the government. I argued that the adoption of Ujamaa made it the theology of the Ujamaa-centred church. Since there was no study which specifically dealt with the theology of the Anglican Church of Tanzania regarding Ujamaa, the voices which could bring into the light the grassroots theology were silenced. In this study I presented the call to rename parishes so that they could take the names of the Ujamaa villages. I argued that the fact that this was raised by the church's Rural Deans, who represented their deaneries in the diocesan standing committees, reflects the fact that, although some influential lay members of the church suppressed discussions in the synods, there were rigorous theological reflection processes at the grassroots. I argue that this had long lasting effects in the church in the fact that even though some bishops kept naming new village parishes by using names of saints, the name of a village in which

a village church was built became the name of the church. I finally argued that this naming of the church by using the names of villages brought back the sense of ownership of the church to the village communities.

After identifying the theology of the Ujamaa-centred church, I focused on its ecclesiology which, using Chiwanga's notes, I concluded was *ushirika*. I argued that the Eucharist was celebrated in reference to Ujamaa community where Jesus was welcomed as an invisible guest who offered His body and blood to His hosts (i.e., the assembled community). I argued that the impact of the *ushirika* ecclesiology in the church was that it solidified the union between the two traditions of the church (i.e., Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals). This unification of the two traditions was also reflected in the liturgical reforms which the church undertook to respond to challenges of the time. Although the liturgical reforms happened at the time when other denominations (especially the Roman Catholic) were also reforming theirs, I argued that in Tanzania the 'Anglican Church' underwent these changes significantly because of its accommodation of the principles of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. I explained my argument by the fact that while Tanzania was still a member of the Commonwealth nations where the Queen of the United Kingdom was prayed for as the leader, the church changed the rubric in honour of the president and those in authority in Tanzania. Therefore, whereas the church in other countries which used to be under the British and which had the Anglican Church as a state church would pray for the Queen, this was not the case in Tanzania. Again, the rubrics' change from a man to marry a woman to a woman and a man declaring to marry each other and a coffin carrying a body of a priest being placed facing the worshippers during a burial service but not in the graveyard, signify the shift from the colonial to the Ujamaa church. The church updated its music, simplified its usages and customs and modified its vestments. By using Kiswahili and experimenting new services, especially in the realms of the charismatic movement and healing ministries, the church developed its first liturgy which unified the two traditions of the church. The first edition was tested at the 1978 Lambeth Conference and in 1979 was introduced for the first time in Tanzania. My finding was that these changes in the liturgy of the church were significant for Tanzania.

Since in chapters three, four and five I highlighted some factors which facilitated the church's accommodation of Ujamaa, it became necessary to show the underlining similarities and differences between Ujamaa and Anglicanism. This was to respond to my second research question about whether there were any similarities and dissimilarities between Ujamaa and Anglicanism. My aim was to analyse aspects of Anglicanism which have helped the church to accommodate Ujamaa and if these have any relations with the challenges which the church is currently experiencing. I fulfilled this purpose in chapter six of this study where I strongly argued that Anglicanism, as was the case with Ujamaa, was not a system but a method and thus could be applied to any contexts. I argued my position on the basis of the following five facts.

The first was the fact that both Ujamaa and Anglicanism were foreign to Tanzania. I used the idea of a guest and host to describe this foreignness of Anglicanism and Ujamaa in Tanzania. My argument was that just as Ujamaa¹⁶³³ was a foreign ideology, Anglicanism too was foreign. Anglicanism became a host to Ujamaa (foreign ideology) and Ujamaa became a guest to Anglicanism (hosting ideology). Since Anglicanism was a method as well as Ujamaa, Anglicanism found Ujamaa as a safe guest. I extended this resemblance into other aspects of the connections between Ujamaa and Anglicanism. These are issues such as Ujamaa's emphasis on self-reliance and self-governing. I argued that both self-reliance and self-governing were emphasis of Anglicanism (*cf.* the three self's of mission – self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing I discussed in chapter five of this study). In this case, it was easy for the church to accommodate the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.

The second similarity between Ujamaa and Anglicanism was the concept of *villagisation*. I argued that since the Anglican missions had villages (mission stations) which were built close to the traditional 'ujamaa' villages when the government implemented the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* through its policy of *Ujamaa Vijijini*, there was not much resistance because the church had been practising the village concept long before independence. Thus, the church felt comfortable with the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*.

¹⁶³³ Tanzanians were aware of ujamaa but Ujamaa with the capital U was a new phenomenon.

The third equivalence between Anglicanism and Ujamaa was the Anglicans' belief that there should be some correlations between religion and politics. I argued in this study that the church accommodated the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as a political phenomenon on the ground that politics was part of human life and that it needed to be inspired by the gospel. I defended my argument by using the following fact. The church allowed the Reverend Simon Chiwanga to become a Member of Parliament and eventually a minister of education on the ground of he would influence political decisions.

The fourth similarity which appertained to both Ujamaa and Anglicanism was the hierarchy of the Ujamaa community which was similar to that of the indigenous church. I argued that Edmund John utilised this hierarchy to establish small worshipping communities which had some impacts on the Ujamaa community too and this was the essence of the current practices of these communities in the Tanzanian churches.

The fifth resemblance between Ujamaa and Anglicanism was their emphasis on the equality of human beings and thus I argued that it became easy for the church to practise Ujamaa. The last connection between Anglicanism and Ujamaa was the context. I argued that just as what make Anglicanism were history and context and that, in this regard, Anglicanism had become a worldwide phenomenon, so was socialism. My point was that the fact that Anglicanism resulted from history and context made Anglicanism vary from one part of the world to another. I argued that Tanzanian Anglicanism should not necessarily be similar to other brands of Anglicanism. Similarly, Ujamaa derived its meaning from indigenous culture though it was a worldwide phenomenon (i.e., socialism). I therefore argued that what made Ujamaa become Tanzanian was history (i.e., the past experiences of the people of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) and context (i.e., the need of bringing together various divided groups of people into one society). My major finding in this section was therefore that in the end, there were convergences between Ujamaa and Anglicanism. These convergences contributed to some challenges which the church experienced. I argued my position in the following paragraphs of this chapter.

However, besides these similarities, there were also disparities. A clear difference was the fact that Anglicanism was religious and therefore held the concept of the here and hereafter, while Ujamaa was purely political. This difference brought some clashes between the state authority and the church. The church raised its voice whenever it felt that its interests were threatened. The government on their side challenged the church leadership to become more aware of the fact that they were Tanzanians. As a result, there had been a common understanding that the church was Tanzanian and thus it continued to play its role in the building of the nation.

Having underlined the integration of Ujamaa and Anglicanism in Tanzania, and in the light of Durkheim's theory that such interrelation and interdependence resulted in one affecting the other and ultimately the whole, whereas the whole also affected one or all of the social institutions in the society,¹⁶³⁴ it was obvious that the failure of one could affect the other. My sub-question three which actually I developed following Ludwig's argument that Ujamaa came to an end towards the end of the 1990s and that these years marked the turning point in church and state relations in Tanzania (*cf.* section 5.4 in chapter one of this study), focused on this subject. Following Ludwig's argument, and in link with my own findings that in fact the church accommodated Ujamaa in its fullness, a research question which guided my investigation was whether there were any consequences for the 'Anglican Church' after the government Tanzania had abandoned Ujamaa. My objective was to identify the factors which led to the failure of the Tanzanian model, the church's reactions to these factors and the state's responses to these church reactions. My main argument was, as many other writers had said,¹⁶³⁵ that Nyerere's policy had some shortcomings but those would not have caused the fall of Ujamaa if internal and external events had not disrupted the implementation of the policy. The external factors included an oil crisis, pressure from Great Britain, USA and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Tanzania—Uganda War whereas the internal factors included natural disasters such as drought and floods, and a lack of skilled labour. The state authority reacted to these internal and external disruptions by amending the Arusha Declaration the result of which was the Zanzibar Resolutions of 1992.

¹⁶³⁴ Emile Durkheim, 'Structural Functionalism' in *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction* edited by Donald Kisilu Kombo and Delno L. A. Tromp, Nairobi: Paulines, 2006, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶³⁵ Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Pambazuka Press, 2010.

Although the factors which influenced the government to make that decision were covered in other studies,¹⁶³⁶ the major issue on which this study concentrated was the consequences of the Tanzania—Uganda War. This was because the role of the church during this war was not depicted by the other writers. This war had affected Tanzania in various ways. The first major effect of the war was that it forced the presence of Tanzania in Uganda. This presence of Tanzania in Uganda raised suspicions from Kenya that Tanzania had political interests in Uganda. My finding was that Nyerere decided to involve the church in the peace negotiations. This decision of Nyerere illustrated the government's trust in the church in the peace mediation process. First, as I said in chapter one, Nyerere was close to Archbishop Sepeku, and second, he openly invited religious leaders to work with the government.

The second major effect of the war was the rise of crime, corruption and price escalations in Tanzania. In this study I argued that these phenomena represented the Tanzanians way of reacting to the effects of the war and thus explained the beginning of the collapse of the *undugu*. I argued my position by saying that although politicians continued to promise Tanzanians that solutions were at hand, this was not the case. The church and other religious bodies were involved in seeking assistance from abroad (*cf.* section 3 in chapter seven in this study). Even though some of the aid ended up in the hands of some politicians, my conclusion was that the church's support to the people in need through ways which the government had advised signified that the church continued to be loyal to the government.

I also argued that these effects of the war contributed to the fall of Ujamaa, and that although politicians kept saying that the Resolutions of Zanzibar did not change the Arusha Declaration, it did change it. My arguments were as follows. First, President Mwinyi's statement that each generation created its own policy and that the members of the ruling party (i.e., CCM) approved it, confirmed that the generation which brought in the policy of the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* was over. In view of this, the state authority declared a free market economy and multi-party system through which

¹⁶³⁶ Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (eds.), *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Pambazuka Press, 2010.

ordinary Tanzanians named their president *Mzee ruksa*.¹⁶³⁷ Although the shift from a single party to a multi-party system was a worldwide phenomenon and thus had become a need of the time, it brought significant effects in the church in Tanzania. First, it revived the disunity of the two traditions of the church. As a result, Anglicans from the Evangelical tradition demanded churches for their own worship in Dar es Salaam, and the Anglo-Catholics at Galingonga (Iringa) demanded theirs from the Diocese of Ruaha.

Second, it revived tribal politics and thus the episcopal elections reflected what was happening in the political field. I defended my argument by using the following examples. Even though Mtingele had described the incidents of the attack on Bishop Changae of the Diocese of Victoria Mwanza, and how the members of the provincial electoral committee were beaten during the episcopal election in the Diocese of South West Tanganyika¹⁶³⁸, he had not shown that these were the impacts of politics in the changing Tanzania. Again, his assessment of the challenges posed by the bishop of Dar es Salaam ignored the bishop's intimidations of the late Archbishop Sepeku's children. I argued in this study that all these conflicts were because the government had shifted its focus from *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* to *ruksa* and thus the political, social, economic and religious life was changing very fast in Tanzania.

I also argued that the *ruksa* created a 'vacuum' in the religious life of the people which the religious extremists occupied violently. As shown in chapters two, three and four, under Ujamaa Islam and Christianity were in good terms because the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* stated clearly that religion and politics should not be blended. There was no clear policy which addressed religion and politics after the fall of Ujamaa. Religious extremists occupied this weakness. Ansar Sunnah and Mujahidah (Islamic groups) for example, used their Quaran and the Bible to challenge the legitimacy of Christianity. Christians used *Biblia ni Jibu group* (the

¹⁶³⁷ Samuel Maumba Sepeku, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 07 June 2011 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁶³⁸ Mkunga H. P. Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa today: A Critique of its influence and impact*, PhD Thesis, Open University of UK, St. Johns College Nottingham, 1995.

Bible is the answer) to challenge Islam.¹⁶³⁹ As a result, relation between the two religions changed after the fall of Ujamaa. The burning of churches explained in chapter seven in this study raised hatred between the believers of the two religions who had lived harmoniously for three decades. ‘The Anglican church’ used Christian Councils and church choirs as its forum to challenge the government. But it did so by frequently referring to the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*. In this regard, there were two major findings in this section of the study. The first finding was that although the policy and life in Tanzania had changed, the church continued to embrace the *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* as its theology. The second finding was that religious tolerance in Tanzania ended after the fall of Ujamaa. This was one of the causes of the challenges experienced by the church after the fall of Ujamaa.

I argued that, as the Zanzibar Resolutions dropped the leadership ethics and qualifications, individualism and pursuits for power was in the increase. While Ujamaa emphasised unity as power (*umoja ni nguvu*), an individual’s possessions became ‘the power’ after the Zanzibar Resolution. The easiest way to acquire possessions was to have access to national resources. These were accessed through politics. As a result, while in Ujamaa ‘a politician was a servant to all’, after the Zanzibar Resolutions, ‘a politician meant being honourable (rich and powerful)’. Tanzanians looked at politics as the easiest way of getting rich. This perception led the ordained ministers to believe that had to work for wealth and not for the kingdom of God. The easiest way to get rich was to become a bishop. In view of this, just as politicians used the parliamentary constituencies for their campaigning, the dioceses became ‘the battle field’ for the episcopacy. Thus, whoever gained the victory in the episcopal election was looked at by other ordained priests as *ameuchinja* (lit: is sure of a good life). Because those contestants who did not triumph at the poll needed this good life, tensions continued in the church. In this case, unlike the Ujamaa-centred church where episcopacy was a ministry, after the fall of Ujamaa the office of the episcopacy, virtually, became a possession. A major finding of the study was therefore that the episcopacy had changed from being an office for the service for all to being an office for the minority (those who had assisted the candidate during the campaign).

¹⁶³⁹ Wandera, Joseph, Christian-Muslim Co-existence in the Light of Sacred texts and Present Contexts with special reference to Mihadhara in Nairobi Kenya, Unpublished Article, No date.

The case of Changae in Mwanza who refused the offer from the archbishop to move to Tanga supported my argument and finding.¹⁶⁴⁰ I also argued that actually the challenges which the church experienced came from the fact that there was a need for change. As Archbishop Ramadhani commented, a post-Nyerere Tanzania would need to pay greater attention to building and consolidating a system which would strengthen the *undugu* that Nyerere had aspired to for many years. For unless this was done perfectly Tanzania would lose, within the near future, its pride of being an ‘island of peace’.¹⁶⁴¹

Finally, I argued that under Ujamaa the Mothers Union and TAYO have disappeared because of the existances of the strong political bodies such as the UWT (*Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania* i.e., Tanzania Women Organisation) and *Umoja wa Vijana* – Tanzania Youth League) of the ruling party.¹⁶⁴² The emergence of multi-party system at the fall of Ujamaa weakened the UWT and the *Umoja wa Vijana*. Each political party created its own own organisations for women and youth. As a result TAYO and MU reappeared as a group at the fall of Ujamaa. In chapter one I indicated that there are gaps in the history of the Anglican Church in Tanzania which needed to be filled. My study is bridging some of these gaps. The fact that there are still gaps in the history of the church in modern Tanzania makes me suggest further research.

4. Suggestions for Further Research

In this section I presented the suggestions that emanated from the analysis. There were five suggestions from which researchers and the church could benefit. I derived the first suggestion from my data collection in Tanzania. During the process of collecting data, I realised that archival documents of the church were widely spread. As I indicated in chapter one and in one of the sections of this chapter of this study, I had to travel to five different countries to derive this information. In the dioceses and parishes of the church in Tanzania, there was no effort to ensure that all files and registers were safely preserved. While it was true that record keeping could be a very expensive exercise for the church, because these records represent the identity of the

¹⁶⁴⁰ Cf. discussion on the fall of Ujamaa in pp.236-247 in this study.

¹⁶⁴¹ John Ramadhani, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 16 May 2012 in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁶⁴² Joyce Ngoda, interview conducted by Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa on 15 May 2011 at Muheza.

church, any mishandling would lead to identity crisis in the church. A clear example was the difficulty which the diocese of Zanzibar experienced regarding land issues. More dioceses would soon experience the same problem because there had been no proper system of keeping records. My suggestion was that since the church owned a university in Dodoma where the head offices of the church were also located, it should create a department of record keeping and use the department of history to create a system through which documents from the head office, institutions and dioceses could be kept in a digital format. Perhaps the church authority could learn from the Anglican Churches of Uganda, Kenya and Southern Africa which had established their own archival departments.

However, archives do not carry the whole truth. In order to bridge gaps which could be found in the archives, there was a need to develop a scheme through which oral memories could be retrieved. I realised that there was so much information which was kept in the memory of the people. Some of these people who remember some very crucial issues regarding the history of the church were old. If these people died, this information would be lost for ever. My suggestion regarding the retrieval of these oral memories was that the School of Theology and Religion of the University of KwaZulu-Natal should collaborate with the Department of History at St John's University in Dodoma to develop a programme which would enrich the church, the nation, Africa and strengthen joint research initiatives in African universities. The easiest way could be to use students who were doing their research in these fields.

As far as the history of Christianity in Tanzania was concerned, my study to a large extent bridged a gap in the history of the Anglican Church of Tanzania. However, my study had a particular focus. There was a need, as I indicated in chapter one, to fill the gap in the history of the CMS in Tanzania between 1907 and 1950. There was also a need to revisit the history of the UMCA from 1864 to 1957 which so far as it was, was one sided. Africans' voices in these histories were inhibited. Moreover, the history of the sodalities of the church was not properly recorded. This was the case with the history of the *Chama cha Mariamu Mbarikiwa* which was the church's religious community for the women. There was also a need to study the reasons why the religious community of women was growing, whereas all attempts to establish a religious community for men had always failed. The church could use the students

studying theological studies to work on these gaps. The church could also encourage academic bishops to write by creating a special fund at its publishing house (i.e., Central Tanganyika Press).

In this study I have indicated issues around the empowerment of women. There was no study why Anglicans in many dioceses gave very little thought, not only to ordaining them, but also to allowing them to pursue theological studies. Although the provincial constitution had kept the door open for dioceses to ordain women, only two out of the twenty-seven dioceses had dared to ordain women. There was a need to conduct research in this area too. My suggestion was that the ordained women should be given opportunities to conduct these researches so that they would provoke better understanding of the subject.

As I said before, my study had a particular focus and therefore I have not dealt in full with issues like church and money. So far as my data collection was concerned, I have not come across with any written work about this subject regarding the Anglican Church of Tanzania. While the church receives aid, donations, tithes and loans, it would be very interesting to know how all these contributed to the problems which the church is currently experiencing. Perhaps the church could use its members engaged in financial management or commerce to undertake such studies for its future benefit. There was also a need to research issues related to the two traditions of the church. As I indicated it, following the fall of Ujamaa, the traditional differences came back as they were before independence. Since in other countries such as Australia, Great Britain and South Africa where these traditions were all expressed but where such tensions were not so pronounced, there was a need to conduct a study which could unveil reasons why these differences were becoming more pronounced in Tanzania. My final recommendation is related to the emergence of religious extremism. As I have indicated in this study, it seemed whenever a Muslim president was about to finish his term, Islamic extremism gained strengths. This had been the case with the presidency of Mwinyi and Kikwete. It would be very interesting to know why the country experienced religious extremism only when a Muslim president was about to finish his term. So far as the focus of this study was concerned, I presented my findings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

1.1. Oral Sources

Name	Occupation/Status	Date	Place
Adamu Mwakanjuki	A retired Military Officer and Minister in the government of Zanzibar (Anglican)	01 January 2011	Dodoma, Tanzania
Cyprian Sallu	A leader of House to House Prayer Ministry (Anglican)	03 January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
David Wakati	A retired Director General of Radio Tanzania (Anglican)	03 January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Eliya Singano	A reverend canon and Chaplain of St. Mark's Centre (Anglican)	03 January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Joseph Ngereza	Deputy Director for Finance and planning at St. Mark's Centre (Anglican)	03 January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
John Mwamazi	A retired Vicar General of the Anglican Diocese of Dar	04 January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania

Josia Malonga	es Salaam A retired reverend canon of the Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika	04January 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Edward Kihala	A retired reverend canon of the Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga	05January 2011	Kwamkono, Tanzania
Petro Simalenga	A retired member of parliament and reverend canon of the Anglican Diocese of South West Tanganyika	06January 2011	Njombe, Tanzania
Marko Mwafute	A retired reverend canon of the Anglican Diocese of South West Tanganyika (Anglican)	06January 2011	Njombe, Tanzania
Anthony Banzi	The Diocesan Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Tanga	10January 2011	Tanga, Tanzania
Musa Shekimweri	Tanga Regional Chairperson of Revolution	10January 2011	Tanga, Tanzania

	Party-CCM (Muslim)		
Paulina Mathias	A retired social worker (Anglican)	10 January 2011	Tanga, Tanzania
Ernest Chambo	A retired District Director and General Secretary of the Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga	10 January 2011	Muheza, Tanzania
George Chambai	A retired teacher of a mission school (Anglican)	11 January 2011	Muheza, Tanzania
Germano Mbelwa	A retired priest and Police Officer (Anglican)	13 January 2011	Lushoto, Tanzania
Hugh Prentice	A retired CMSA missionary (Anglican)	14 March 2011	Sydney, Australia
David Craig	A retired UMCA missionary, Director of CSPK London	18 March 2011	London, England
Marion Bartlett	A retired UMCA medical doctor (Anglican)	04 April 2011	Linfield, England
Paul Hardy	A retired	05 April 2011	Bromley,

	reverend canon and UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)		England
Graeme Watson	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	06 April 2011	London, England
Jacqueline CSP	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	07 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Jane-Theresa CSP	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	07 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Lucia CSP	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	07 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Thelma-Mary CSP	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	07 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Dorothy CSP	Aretired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	08 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Philippa CSP	The CSP's Mother Superior and retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	08 April 2011	Shoreham, England

Rhoda CSP	A retired UMCA/USPG missionary (Anglican)	08 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Elizabeth Hills	A retired USPG missionary (Anglican)	09 April 2011	Shoreham, England
Hilda-Mary CSMC	The CSMC's Mother Superior (Anglican)	13 April 2011	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
John Ketto	A retired member of the transitional parliament	14 May 2011	Korogwe, Tanzania
John Mntambo	A retired Farm Manager (Anglican)	14 May 2011	Korogwe, Tanzania
Dorothy CMM	An Anglican Sister and Head of the CMM House in Tanga	15 May 2011	Tanga, Tanzania
Joyce Ngoda	A retired Secretary of Mothers Union	15 May 2011	Muheza, Tanzania
John Ramadhani	A retired archbishop of the Anglican Church of Tanzania	16 May 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Gerald Mpango	A retired Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Western Tanganyika	17 May 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania

Catherine Kivanda	A retired Educationalist (Anglican)	18 May 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Stanford Shauri	A retired Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Ruvuma	27 May 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Samuel Sepeku	A retired reverend canon of the Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam and the first Dean of Students at the University of Dar es Salaam	07 June 2011	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Otto Chiduo	An Anglican priest of the order of the Society of Saint Francis of Assisi	03 August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Gloria CMM	The Mother Superior of CMM Sisters	03 August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Helena CMM	An Anglican CMM Sister	03 August 2011	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Magdalene CMM	A retired Mother Superior of CMM Sisters	03 August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Martha CMM	An Anglican CMM Sister	03 August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Stuart Kiyaya	A retired	03 August	Dares Salaam,

	reverend canon of the Diocese of Tanga	2011	Tanzania
Raphael Shempemba	A retired member of parliament (Lutheran)	11August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
AugustinoRamad hani	A retired Chief Justice of Tanzania (Anglican)	15August 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania
Simon Chiwanga	A retired Minister of Education and Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mpwapwa	26August 2011	Mpwapwa, Tanzania
Manase Lusega	A retired of the Anglican Diocese of Mpwapwa	27August 2011	Dodoma, Tanzania
Musa Nyawu	A retired Anglican priest of the diocese of Central Tanganyika	27August 2011	Dodoma, Tanzania
Emmanuel Mnkai	An Anglican priest and Youth Coordinator in the Anglican Diocese of Tanga	09September 2011	Korogwe, Tanzania
Eustace Mandia	A Justice (Anglican)	21October 2011	Dares Salaam, Tanzania

Valentino Mokiwa	The archbishop of the Anglican Church of Tanzania and the Bishop of Dar es Salaam	2December 2011	Arusha, Tanzania
Mathiya Mbulinyingi	A retired coordinator of CCT's Radio Programs and an Anglican reverend canon of the Diocese of Tanga	03December 2011	Korogwe, Tanzania
Christopher Mselemu	A retired Administrator (Anglican)	4December 2011	Korogwe, Tanzania
Augustino Sekihola	An Anglican Chorister	30December 2011	Tanga, Tanzania
Rowan William	The archbishop of Canterbury	26January 2012	London, England
Mwita Akiri	The Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Tarime	27January 2012	Canterbury, England
Elias Chakupewa	The Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Tabora	30January 2012	Canterbury, England
Yohana Mtokambali	A priest from the Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam and a PhD candidate	02 April 2012	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

1.2. Archival Sources

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Head Office, Dodoma (ACT/Head Office):

- Provincial Synods, Dodoma, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2003;
- Kumbukumbu za Mkutano wa Halmashauri ya Jimbo, 1970;
- Constitution of the Church of Province of Tanzania, 1970;
- Sauti ya Jimbo Newsletter, 1984;
- Hotuba za Rais, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, 1991;
- Wakati ni Huu Newspaper, 1994;
- Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam, Barua, 2000;
- Halmashauri ya Kudumu, 2000;
- Press Release, 2002.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam (ACT/ADD):

- St. Albans Visitors' Book, 1960, St. Albans Log Book, 1960;
- St. John's Parish, Tegeta, Chuo Cha Ndoa, 1990-2005.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese Morogoro, Morogoro (ACT/ADM):

- Biography of Bishop Gresford Chitemo;
- Bishop Omari, Note Book, 1962/63;
- Kumbukumbu za Sinodi, 1968;
- Morogoro Bible College, Student Register for 1969-1988.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Dodoma (ACT/ADCT):

- General Secretary, A letter to Bishop Alfred Stanway, 1958;
- Minutes of the Meeting of the Diocesan Council, 1970;
- News Letter, 1972;
- Muhtasari wa Mkutano wa Maaskofu wa Kianglikana wa Kenya na Tanzania, 1978;
- Ratiba ya Safari za Askofu Mkuu, 1979.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Masasi, Masasi (ACT/ADM):

- Trevor Huddleston, A Letter to Nalitorela, 1967;
- Rondo, Kikao cha Maaskofu, 1967;
- Rondo, Archives for 1970-1983;
- Synod, 1967.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar, Korogwe (ACT/ADZ):

- Neil Russell papers, A letter to Bishop William S. Baker, 1964;
- Administration, A Letter from Bishop Burt, 1964;

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Diocese of Western Tanganyika, Kasulu (ACT/ADWT):

- Kasulu Bible College;
- Archives for 1986-1999.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga, Korogwe (ACT/DZT):

- Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), Waraka wa Kichungaji Kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa nchini;
- Lengo Newspaper, no. 122/3, 1973 and no 123, 1974;
- Church Province of Tanzania papers, Synod, 1976;
- Waraka wa Kichungaji, June-Septemba 1983;
- Ndoa, 1989;
- St. Andrew's Archives for 1975-1990;
- Askofu John Changae, 1997,
- Barua , Askofu Mkuu Ramadhani, Katibu Mkuu wa CCT, 1998;
- Askofu Mkuu, Taarifa ya Uchaguzi wa Dayosisi ya South West Tanganyika, 1998.

Anglican Church of Kenya, ACSO, (ACK/ACSO):

- CPEA/3/'Province of the Anglican Churches in East Africa.

Archbishop Sepeku Library, Dar es Salaam (ASL):

- Yet Away Rejoicing: UMCA Review of 1959;
- Sunday Observer Newspaper, 1998;
- Majira Newspaper, 1998;

- Mali Asili ya Taifa, CCT DVD player, 2005;

Anglican Communion, Consultative Council (AC/ACC):

- ACC-1 to ACC-7.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Province of East Africa (ACT/Prov. E. A):

- Education Policy for Mission Schools, 1950;
- Barua ya Kichungaji ya Maaaskofu, 2003;
- Prov. E. A. Dar es Salaam General 1965-1969;
- Katiba ya Tayo, 1970;
- Background information prepared for the Consultation held in Dodoma, 1974;
- Makabidhiano ya Shule ya Minaki, 1974;
- Tume ya Mafunzo ya Jimbo, Dar es Salaam, 1975;
- Tamko la Maaskofu, Mzumbe Morogoro, 2001;
- Wito wa Maaskofu Kuchangia Chuo Kikuu cha Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania, 2003;
- Bishop John Sepeku Died 1983, Notes Prepared for Mr. Augustino Ramadhani, 2004;
- Barua, Askofu Basil Sambano, Julius Sepeku, 1998;
- Barua, Julius Sepeku, Askofu Basil Sambano, 1998.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Ruvuma, Songea (ACT/ADR):

- The South-West Tanganyika Quarterly News Letter, 1965;
- Minutes of the Diocese of South West Tanganyika Conference, Liuli, 1954;
- Synod, 1972.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Diocese of South-West Tanganyika (ACT/ADSWT):

- Diocese of South West Tanganyika Synod, 1959;
- Paper cutting, Uchaguzi wa Askofu wa Njombe;
- Mkutano wa Synod Takatifu, Liuli, 1970;
- Hotuba, Askofu Mkuu, Mazishi ya Askofu Charles Mwaigoga, Njombe, 1997.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, St. Mark's Theological College (ACT/SMTC):

- Taarifa ya Askofu Basil M. Sambano, Mwenyekiti;
- Kamati ya Mlezi, Chuo cha Marko Mtakatifu;

- Log Book, 1969-2003;
- Ardhi, 1997.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Diocese of Zanzibar (ACT/ADZ):

- Synods 1884-1903, Acts of the Synods of the Diocese of Zanzibar;
- Frank Weston, Reports of the Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, 1923;
- Maagizo juu ya Ndoa na Hukumu za Kanisa katika Diocese ya Zanzibar, 1930;

Anglican Church of Tanzania, (ACT/Martin Mbwana):

- Personal files.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam (ACT/ADD):

- Kumbukumbu za Mkutano wa Sinodi, 1967;
- Standing Committee, Minutes, 1978;
- Hotuba, Askofu John Sepeku, 1983;
- Salaam, Gazeti la Dayosisi ya Dar es Salaam, no. 1, 1995;
- Barua, Waumini wa Mapokeo ya Kiinjili, Askofu Mkuu Mtetemela, 2003;
- Barua, Askofu Mkuu Mtetemela, Waumini wa Mapokeo ya Kiinjili, Dar es Salaam, 2003;
- Halmashauri ya Kuduma, 1998;
- TAYO Eater Beach Report, 2008.

Anglican Church of Tanzania, Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga (ACT/ADZT) :

- Synods : July 1967, 1970, 1982, 1989, 1993;
- Tangazo la Sinodi, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1985, 1990, 1993;
- Ibada, Philip Dunstan Baji, Chuo cha Ualimu Korogwe, 2000;
- Diocese of Zanzibar Synod 1959 and Diocesan Constitution, 1959;
- Chuo cha Ibada, St. Mary's Parish, Mlalo, Vugiri, 1990-1996.

Anglican Diocese of Masasi, Rondo Theological College (ACT/ADM) :

- Rondo Theological College, Fr. Briggs, UMCA Africa and Christians, Newala Local Council: Paper, Sept. 1955;
- Harlod G. O. Wilkins, _St. Cyprian's College in Diocese of Masasi, 1955;
- Log Book, Namasakata-Rondo, 1960.

Canterbury Cathedral Library, Canterbury (CCL/Canterbury):

- Seminar for new bishops;
- Bishop and the Liturgy of the Church.

Church Missionary Society-Australia, MLMSS 6040 (CMSA/MLMSS6040):

- 3 (Series 2: Volumes 1-4) File: CMSA Federal Executive Minutes 1928-69;
- 45 (Series 3.2.1: Volumes 1-2) File: Committee For Africa Minutes 1937-75;
- 54 (Series 3.2.2: Box 8) File: ADCT –Council Minutes and Circulars
- 56 (Series 3.2.2: Box 10) Files: Africa Committee, Bishop of ADCT;
- 58(Series 3.2.2 Box 12) File: Inter-Diocesan Committees-Tanzania and Kenya;
- 59 (Series 3.2.2: Box 13) File: Miscellaneous Reports and Minutes – ADCT;
- 60 (Series 3.2.2: Box 14) Files: Tanzania-CMS Representative 1966-72, Tanzania-Inter-Diocesan Committee 1964-65;
- 61 (Series 3.2.2: Box 15), Files: ADCT (1964-74), ADM (1966-74), ADVN (1965-73), Africa Committee Minutes (4 Files- 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964);
- 62 (Series 3.2.3: Vol.1) Minutes of Tanganyika Regional Committee, 1937-57;
- 63 (Series 3.2.4: Box 1), Files: Secretary- Tanganyika Mission 1948-52, 1947-48, 1953-1955, Tanganyika Committee Minutes 1945-53;
- 64 (Series 3.2.4; Box 2), Files: ADCT Council Minutes 1938-52, Federal Secretary Correspondence 1938-52, Miscellaneous 1948-49;
- 89 (Series 3.5: Volumes 1-7) Minutes of the Overseas Committee 1975-1981;
- 90 (Series 3.6: Box 1) Files: Press Releases 1991-94, Correspondence General 1985-94;
- 96 (Series 3.6: Box 7) Files: Africa General;
- 108 (Series 3.7: Box 2) Files: General: Tanzania Assistance Plan 1985-88, General: Grants and Bursaries to East Africa 1987-90, General Correspondence;

- 115 (Series 3.9.1: Box 2) Files: Church of Province of East Africa 1927-28, Staff for Tanganyika 1927-28, Bukoba, Tanganyika 1930-31, Secretary Tanganyika Mission 1931/1931;
- 116 (Series 3.9.1: Box 3) Files: Secretary-Tanganyika Mission 1928-30, Bishop G.A Chamber –Bishop of Central Tanganyika;
- 117 (Series 3.9.1: Box 10) Files: Field Files Asia and Africa;
- 123 (Series 3.9.1: Box 10) Files: Tanganyika-ADCT-Division 1963, Tanganyika-Bishop ADCT Correspondence 1963-64;
- 133 (Series 3.9.1: Box 20) Files: Bishop –ADCT 1956-64, Bishop Stanway –ADCT 1961-69, Tanganyika 1961-62, Tanganyika general 1964-70, Diocesan Minutes 1960-71, ADCT General 1966-71, Division of ADCT 1961-62, 1965-66;
- 134 (Series 3.9.1: Box 21) Files: CMS Secretary 1961-62, CMS Representative 1961-62, 1962-64, 1964-70, Interdiocesan Committee 1964-70, CMS Representative –ADCT and ADM 1970-71;
- 155(Series 3.9.1Box 89) File: Confidential, Addendum no. I;
- 371(C. Vol. 4) Report of the Overseas Secretary for the Year Ending 30 June 1975.

Kasulu Bible School, Anglican Diocese of Western Tanganyika (KBSL/ADWT):

- Archives for 1965 - 1980.

Kenya National Archive, MSS (KNA/MSS):

- 61/666/Association of East African Theological Colleges;
- 61/532/Diocese of Mombasa.

Rhodes House Library, Universities' Mission to Central Africa-United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (RHL/UMCA-USPG):

- UMCA-SF Series: SF46B, SF (III), SF84 (I-III), SF63A, SF15(CV), SF63A, SF63A,SF6, SF32(XXI)/1, SF4/3, SF15XV, SF35 (1-3), SF 5,6,8 and 9, SF4 (III), SF4(VII), SF 84 (I-III), SF4, SF35 (1-3), SF (III);
- UMCA Box Series: (A-A1) UMCA bishops, (A2-A3) Community of Sacred Passion, S.S. M and Medical History and Reports, A4(V)

Particular dioceses, (B1) General Council and Constitution, (B5-6)
UMCA propaganda and organisation;

- UMCA Annual Reviews: 1948-63, 1954-55, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964.

Lambeth Palace Library, British Council of Churches, Division of International Affairs (DIA), (LPL/BCC/DIA):

- Church of Province of East Africa, Overseas Correspondences and Report Files for Africa;
- Mothers Union Papers;
- Ramsey Papers, vol. 1978, 1970;
- The Guardian (UK), Friday, 22 May 1970.

National Museum of Tanzania, (NMT):

- A picture of the Elected Members of TANU, 1958.

Roman Catholic Church, Tabora (RCC/Tabora):

- Archives for 1969-1978.

Roman Catholic Church, Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam (RCC/ADD):

- St. Joseph's Cathedral, Files for 1990-1995.

Tanganyika Library, (TL):

- The Nationalist Newspaper, February, 1967, 19 October 1971;
- The Ecclesia Newspaper, no. 197, September 1970;
- The Daily Newspaper, 13 December 1973.

Tanzania National Archive, (TNA):

- AB 537.

University of Birmingham Library, Church Missionary Society Repository, (UBL/CMS):

- G3/A8/02/CMS Executive Meeting;
- M/Y/A8/Archives for 1934-1947;
- Prov. E. A, SW Tanganyika General, 1961-69.

University of Dar es Salaam Library, East Africana Collection UDL/EAC):

- Biblia na Ujamaa;
- Sala Fupi ya Kanisa, 1928;
- Kitabu cha Sala za Kanisa na Nyimbo, 1945;
- Nyimbo Sitini za Kanisa, 1945;

- Bishops' Reaction: The Government Proposals on a Uniform Marriage Law, 1969;
- The Liturgy of the Church of the Province of Tanzania, 1986;

1.3. Printed Documents

Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission Final Report, London: CTS/SPK, 1987.

Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, London: UMCA, 1950.

Central Africa: Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, London: UMCA, 1958.

Central Africa: The Journal of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, London: UMCA, 1962.

Church Missionary Intelligencer: A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information, 1869.

CMS Outlook, 1956.

CMS Historical Records, 1954-1955.

Communion, Conflict and Hope: The Kuala Lumpur Report of the Third Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, London: The Anglican Communion Office, 2008.

Constitution of the Church of the Province of Tanzania, Dodoma: CTP, 1970.

Generous Love: Truth the gospel and the call to love, A report of the Anglican Consultative Council, London: Anglican Consultative Council, 2008.

Kandusi, Emanuel J., (ed.). Taarifa Kamili ya Jimbo kuhusu Umoja-CCT Conference Centre, Dodoma, 21-25 August, 1995.

Katekismo Fupi ya Elimu ya Kanisa, Zanzibar: UMCA, 1930.

Kitabu cha Sala cha Kanisa Anglican Tanzania, Dodoma: CTP, 1995

Kitabu cha Sala Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1986.

Kitabu cha Sala za Kanisa na Nyimbo, Nairobi: SPCK and CMS, 1945.

Liturgia, Kanisa la Jimbo la Tanzania, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1984.

Mkapa, W. Benjamin. Hotuba ya Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Mheshimiwa Benjamini William Mkapa, Akifungua Mkutano wa Kimataifa

- wa Maaskofu na Wachungaji wa Kanisa la Anglikana Tanzania, IDM-MZUMBE, Julai 12, 2001, Morogoro: Mpiga Chapa Mkuu wa Serikali, 2001.
- Nyerere, J. K. *Ujamaa': The Basis of African Socialism*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Standard Limited, 1962.
- _____. *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952-1965*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1966.
- _____. *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1968.
- _____. *Ujamaa wa Tanzania na Dini*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1970.
- _____. *Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo: A Selection from Writing and Speeches, 1968-1974*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1974.
- _____. *Njaa Si Jambo la Mchezo: Risala ya Rais aliyoitua Uwanja wa Ukombozi, Mwanza Machi 5, 1981*, Dar es Salaam: Idara ya Habari, 1981.
- _____. *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, Harare: African Publishing Group, 1995.
- _____. *Africa Today and Tomorrow*, Dar es Salaam: The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 1997.
- Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, *Mpango wa Uboreshaji wa Mfumo wa Serikali za Mitaa Tanzania Bara*, Dar es Salaam: Wizara ya Tawala za Mikoja na Serikali za Mitaa, 25 November, 1999.
- TANU. *Maendeleo ni Kazi*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1973
- TANU. *Tanzania: Party Guidelines/Mwongozo wa TANU*, Richmond: LSM, March 1973.
- TANU. *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967.
- The United Republic of Tanzania, *Annual Report of the Ministry of National Education, 1967*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1972.
- UMCA. *Maagizo Juu ya Ndoa na Hukumu za Kanisa katika Diocese ya Zanzibar/Directions with regard to Marriage and Public Discipline in the Diocese of Zanzibar*, Zanzibar: UMCA Press, November 1930.
- Virginia Report: Report of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission*, 1997.
- Wamwamini Nani*, Ndanda: BP, 1975.

2. Secondary Sources

2.1. Books, Chapters of Books and Journal Articles

- Anderson, William, B. 'A Brief Account of Christianity in Tanzania', *Occasional Research Paper, (ORP) Christianity in Contemporary Africa: Tanzania*, vol. XIII, no. 67, December 1972.
- _____. 'A History of the Kenya Churches' in D. Barrett (ed.), *Kenya Churches Handbook: The Development of Kenyan Christianity 1498-1973*, Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House, 1973.
- _____. *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1988.
- Anderson-Morshead, A. E. M. *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, vol.1, 1859-1909, London: UMCA, 1930.
- Bailey, Martin. *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A Study in Political Integration*, The Program of Eastern African Studies, IX, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1973.
- Bediako, Kwame. *Theology and identity: the impact of culture upon Christian thought in the second century and in modern Africa* Oxford: Regnum, 1992.
- _____. 'Gospel and Culture: Some Insights for our time from the experience of the Earliest Church' in *Journal of African Christian Thought*, vol. 2, no. 2, December 1999, pp. 8-12.
- _____. *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience*, Cambria: Paternoster, 2000.
- Beidelman, T. O. *Colonial Evangelism: A Social Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Bergen P. J. *Development and Religion in Tanzania: Social Soundings on Christian Participations in Rural Transformation*, Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1981.
- Blaut, James. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, New York: NY; The Guildford Press, 1995.
- Blood, A. G. *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, vol. II, 1907-1933, London: UMCA, 1957.

- _____. *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, vol. III, 1932-1959, London: UMCA, 1962.
- Bonk, J. *Missiology: An International Review*, vol. III, No. 3, July 1980.
- Bosch, David, C. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, vol. 16, *American Society of Mission Series*, Maryknoll: NY; Orbis, 1998.
- Broomfield, Gerald. *Constitutional Episcopacy*, London: SPCK, 1944.
- _____. *Towards Freedom*, London: UMCA, 1957.
- Caplan, Pat. *African Voices, African Lives: Personal Narratives from a Swahili Village*, New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Chama Cha Mapinduzi. *CCM Constitution*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Standard, 1977.
- Chachage, Chambi and Annar Cassam (eds.). *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Kampala: Pambazuka Press, 2010.
- Chatfield, Adrian, *Something in Common*, London: St. Johns Extension Studies, 1998.
- Civille, J. R. 'Ujamaa Socialism: an analysis of the Socialism of Julius K. Nyerere in the light of Catholic Teaching', in W. R. Duggan and R. J. Civille, *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationalism*, Maryknoll: NY; Orbis 1976.
- Clayton, Anthony. *The Zanzibar Revolution and Its Aftermath*, London: C. Hurst & company, 1981.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol.1, Chicago: IL; University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff. *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa: Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Chicago: IL; Chicago University Press, 1997.
- Denis, Philippe. 'Oral History in a wounded Country' in Jonathan Draper, *Orality, Literacy, and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, Semeia Studies, vol. 16, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Studies, pp. 205- 216.
- Doe, Michael. *Saving Power: The Mission of God and the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 2011.
- Duggan, R. W. and R. J. Civile (eds.). *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationalism*, Maryknoll: NY: Orbis, 1976.

- Dunheved, G. *Julius Nyerere: A Biography*, Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Information Services, 1961.
- Edwards, David L. *What Anglicans Believe*, London: Mowbrays, 1974.
- Evans, G. R. and Robert J. Wright (eds.). 'The Church of Province of Tanzania,' in *The Anglican Tradition: A Handbook of Sources*, London: SPCK, 1991, pp.489-490.
- Fleming, Donald, C. *Kamusi ya Biblia: Ufafanuzi Maalumu wa Mambo na Majina ya Biblia kwa watu wa Siku Hizi*, Arusha: Kanisa la Biblia, 2005.
- Forster, Peter, G. 'Religion and the State in Tanzania and Malawi' in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3-4, 1997, pp. 163-184
- Frostin, Per. *Liberation Theology in Tanzania and South Africa: A First World Interpretation*, vol. 42, *Studia theologica Lundensia*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1988.
- Hastings, Adrian. *A History of African Christianity: 1950-1975*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1979.
- _____. *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Hatch, J. *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1976.
- Healey, Joseph & Sybertz, Donald, *Towards An African Narrative Theology*, Nairobi: Pauline, 1996
- Hyden, Goran. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry*, London: Heinemann, 1980.
- Holmquist, F. and M. Ford. 'Kenyan Politics: Towards the Second Transition?' in *Africa Today*, no. 45, vol. 2, 1998, pp. 236-237.
- Honore, Deborah, Duncan. *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*: Oxford: Oxford university Press, 1988.
- Infallible Fallacies: An Anglican Reply to Roman Catholic Arguments*, London: SPCK, 1953.
- Illiffe, John (ed.). *Modern Tanzanians: A Volume of Biographies*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.
- _____. *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: London: New York: Melbourne: CUP, 1979.
- Ive, Anthony. *The Church of England in South Africa: A Study of its History, Principles and Status*, Cape Town: Church Information Service, 1966.

- Kijanga, P. A. S. *Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania*, Usa River: Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, 1978.
- Kamusi ya Kiswahili - Kiingereza*, Dar es Salaam: IMTU, 2000.
- Kamusi ya Kiswahili - Kiingereza*, Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili, 2001.
- Kapalila, Luzwilo Dan, 'The Role of the Church in Socialist Tanzania' in *African Theological Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, pp. 52-58.
- Kariuki, James, N. *Tanzania's Human Revolution*, London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979.
- King, Q., (ed.). *Robin Lamburn - From a Missionary's Note Book: The Yao of Tunduru and other Essays*, Fort Lauderdale: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers, 1991.
- KING, F. J., 'Nyimbo za Vijana: Biblical Interpretation in Contemporary Hymns from Tanzania' in Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube Shomanah, (eds.) *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends*, Brill: Leiden, 2000, pp. 360-373.
- Knox, Elizabeth. *Signal on the Mountain: Gospel in Africa's Uplands Before the First World War*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991.
- Kweka, E. *Church and State in Tanzania*, Minnesota: St. Paul, 1973.
- Lambeth Reader: The Lambeth Conference, 2008*, London: SPCK, 2008.
- Lennard, T. J. *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam: The Eagle Press, 1955.
- Leonard, Graham. 'What we hold dear-USPG' in *CMS/USPG Consultation, 8-10 February, 1973*, Oxford: Church Army Press, 1973.
- Legum, Colin and Geoffrey Mmari (eds.). *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1995.
- Lennard, T. J. *How Tanganyika is Governed*, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala: The Eagle Press, 1955.
- Ludwig, Freider. *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of a changing Relationship 1961-1994*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Maddox, Gregory, H. 'The Church and Cigogo: Father Stephen Mlundi and Christianity in Central Tanzania' in *East African Expression of Christianity* edited by Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1999, pp. 150 -164.

- Magesa, Laurent. 'Towards a Theology of liberation for Tanzania', in *Christianity in Independent Africa* edited by Edward Fashole-Luke, London: Rex Collins, 1978, pp. 511-515.
- Maples, Chancy. *The African Church and Its Claims upon Universities: A Sermon Preached on Behalf of The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, on Sunday, October 26th, 1879, at All Saints' Church Cambridge*, Cambridge: W. P. Spalding, 1879.
- Mary-Stella, C. S. P. *She Won't Say No: The History of the Community of the Sacred Passion*, Scroll Bound Copy (No Date).
- Mews, S., (ed.). *Religion and National Identity*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982.
- Mbogoni, Lawrence, Y. E. *The Cross Versus The Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from 1880s to 1990s*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005.
- McGrandle, Piers. *Trevor Huddleston: Turbulent Priest*, New York: Continuum, 2004.
- Moltmann, Jürgen. *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001.
- Mwansasu, Bismack, U. and Cranford Pratt (eds.). *Towards Socialism in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1979.
- Mwenengoha, H. *Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere: A Bio-bibliography*, Nairobi: Foundation Books, 1976.
- Namata, Joseph A. *Edmund John: Mtu wa Mungu*, Dodoma: CTP. Toleo lenye Masahihisho, 1990.
- Neil, Steven. *Anglicanism*, London: Mowbray, 1977.
- Okullu, H. *Church and Politics in East Africa*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1974.
- Oliver, Roland and Gervas Mathew (eds.). *History of East Africa, vol.1*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- Peterson, Don. *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale*, Brentwood: Westview Press, 2002.
- Porter, Andrew. 'The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Twentieth-Century Colonial Encounter,' in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire* edited by Brian Stanley Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 79 -107.

- Pratt, Cranford. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania-1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Ramsey, A. M. *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, London: Longmans, 1936.
- Rasmussen, Lissi. *Christian-Muslim relations in Africa: The Cases of Northern Nigeria and Tanzania Compared*, London: British Academic Press, 1993.
- Resnick, Idrian, N. *The Long Transition: Building Socialism in Tanzania*, London: Monthly Review Press, 1981.
- Reed, Colin. *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1999.
- _____. *Walking in the Light: A History of the East African Revival*, Canberra: Acorn, 2001.
- Rowley, Henry. *The Story of the Universities' mission to Central Africa: From its Commencement under Bishop Mackenzie to its withdraw from the Zambesi (Zambezi)*, London: Sounders and Otley, 1867.
- Rowthorne, Anne. *Liberation of the Laity*, Harrisburg: Morehouse, 1986.
- Runcie, Robert. *The Unity We Seek*, London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1989.
- Rwelamila, J. B. *Tanzanian Socialism-Ujamaa and Gaudium et Spes: two convergent designs of integral human development*, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis, Academia Alfonsiana, Institutum Superius Moralis, 1988.
- Sabar-Friedman, G. 'The Power of the Familia: Everyday Practices in the Anglican Church of Kenya' in *Church and State*, no. 38, Spring 1996, pp. 377-397.
- _____. 'Church and State in Kenya, 1986-1992: The Churches' involvement in the -Game of Change'' in *African Affairs*, no. 96, 1997, pp. 25-52.
- Sabar, Galia. *Church, State and Society in Kenya: From Mediation to Opposition 1963-1993*, Oxon: Frank Cass and Co., 2002.
- Sachs, William L. *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Sadleir, Randal. *Tanzania: Journey to Republic*, New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1999.
- Shivji, I. G. *The Concept of Human Rights in Africa*, London: CODESTRIA, 1989.
- Silvano, J. C. *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara (1953-1985)*, Ndanda: Benedictines, 1992.
- Smith, W. E. *Nyerere of Tanzania*, Nairobi: Trans Africa Publishers, 1974.

- Smith, Mynard, H. *Frank Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston 1871-1924*, London: SPCK, 1926.
- Stanway, Marjory. *Alfred Stanway: The Recollections of a „Little m’*, Canberra: Acorn, 1991.
- Stanley, Brian (eds.). *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, Grand Rapids: Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans, 2003.
- Stirling, Leader. Dominic, *Heroes of the Faith*, Ndanda-Peramiho: BPNP, 1997.
- Stöger-Eising, Viktoria. –Ujamaa revisited: indigenous and European influences in Nyerere’s social and political thought”, in AFRICA, *Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 70, no. 1, 2000, p. 118-143.
- Structural Functionalism (Emile Durkheim, 1858-1917) in *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction* edited by Donald Kisilu Kombo and Delno L. A. Tromp, Nairobi: Paulines, 2006, pp. 56-57.
- Sundkler, B. G. M., and Christopher Steed (eds.). *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- _____. *The Christian Ministry in Africa*, London: SCM Press, 1960.
- Tanzania Affair, A Britain-Tanzania Society Bulletin. *The Nyerere Years: Some Personal Impressions by his Friends*, Kent and London: Headley Brothers, 1985.
- Taylor, John V. *Christianity and Politics in Africa*, London: Penguin, 1957.
- Ukpong, Justin, A Christology and Inculturation: A New Testament Perspective, in Gibellini, R., *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM, 1994.
- Were, G. S. and D. A. Wilson. *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*, Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1968.
- Wilson, Amrit. *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania*, London: Pluto Press, 1989.
- Walls, Andrew, F. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of the Faith*, New York, NY: Orbis, 1996.
- Ward, Kelvin and Stanley, Brian, (eds.). *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity: 1799-1999*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Westerlund, D. *Ujamaa na Dini: A study of some aspects of society and religion in Tanzania, 1961-1977*, Stockholm: ANL, 1980.
- Weston, Frank, *Black Slaves of Prussia: An Open Letter Addressed to General Smuts*, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.

Williams, Peter, C. *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, Leiden: Brill, 1990.

Willis, Justin. *The Nature of a Mission Community: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: the Mission in African History: Bonde in what is now Tanzania*, London: Oxford University Press, 1993.

2.2. Unpublished Dissertations and Research Projects

Akiri, Mwita, R. *The Church in Tanzania: An Analysis and Assessment of Church Growth in the Evangelical Wing of the Church of Province of Tanzania (Anglican)*. MTh. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1995.

Barnes, J. I. *Partnership in Christian Mission*. PhD. Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.

Challo, Anna, *Umaki Katika Dayosisi ya DMK/Kiteto*. Certificate Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, 2003.

Chinyong'ole, Johnson, J. *The Anglican Church and Poverty in Tanzania: A Review of Development Programs in the Diocese of Morogoro*. MTh. Dissertation, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.

Giblin, J. *Famine, Authority and the Impact of Foreign Capital on the Handeni District of Tanzania, 1840-1940*. PhD. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin, 1986.

Loan, George, Caleb. *Caring for Widows According to Biblical Models: The Role of the Anglican Church of Tanzania in Contemporary Society*. MA. Dissertation, Trinity College, Bristol, 2009.

Lupaa, Devota, *Umaki Katika Dayosisi ya Rift Valley*. Certificate Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, Kongwa, 2003.

Magesa, L. *Ujamaa Socialism in Tanzania: A Theological Assessment*. PhD. Thesis, Saint Paul University, Ottawa, 1986.

Mndolwa, Maimbo W. F. *A Theological and Historical Analysis of Revival Movement (Uamsho), Within the Anglican Church of Tanzania*. MTh. Dissertation, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2004.

- Moryama, Jerome, T. *The Evolution of African Ministries in the Work of the Universities Missionary to Central Africa*. PhD. Thesis, London University, London, 1984.
- Mtingele, Mkunga H. P. *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa Today: A Critique of its Influence and Impact*. PhD. Thesis, Open University of UK, St. Johns College Nottingham, 1995.
- Mugaragu, Isaya J, *A Critical Study of Women Ordination in the Anglican Church of Tanzania*. Diploma Research Project, St. Philips Theological College, Kongwa, 2003.
- Munga, Anneth N., *Uamasho: The Study of the Proclamation of the Revival Movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania*. PhD Thesis, Lund University, 1998.
- Ngayula, Amos, Verian, *Umuhimu wa Mwanamke Kanisani hasa katika Dayosisi ya Rift valley*. Certificate Research Project, St. Philip's Theological College, Kongwa, 2005.
- Oliello, John K. *The Gospel and African Culture: Polygamy as a Challenge to the Anglican Church of Tanzania-Diocese of Mara*. MTh. Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.
- Prentice, Hugh, *Kongwa: A History of the College of St. Philips*. MTh. Dissertation, University of London, London, 1997.
- Singano Eliya, *The Role of Bondei Culture in the growth of Anglican Church in Muheza District*, Diploma Research Project, Makerere University, 1978.

2.3. Occasional Papers

- Bahendwa, Festo, L. *Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania*, *CSIC Papers* no 5, September 1991, pp. 14-17.
- Duraisingh, Christopher. *The Church: From Babel through Pentecost to Being a Sacrament of God's New Age*, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, 1988.
- Hope, David (ed.). *Tanzania Speaks to the Church of England: Comments from the Church of England Delegates to the Partners in Mission Consultation in Tanzania in August 1986*, Pamphlet, Library of Trinity College, Bristol.

Mndolwa, Maimbo, W. F. Shambaa Culture and Christian Conversion. Seminar Paper, APMC, Akropong Akuepem, 2004.

_____. *Mdumange: The Essence of the Shambaa Christianity*. Seminar Paper, Korogwe, 20 January 2006.

Prichard, Andreana, Industrials and School-Girls: The Education of a Female Intellectual Elite in East Africa, Unpublished paper, 31 May 2006.

Sicard, V. S., and S. O. Msangi. Islam in Tanzania, *CSIC Papers Africa*, no. 5 September 1991, pp.1-13.

Stirling, L. D. (ed.). The History of Tanzania Christian Medical Association, Pamphlet (No Date).

Wandera, Joseph, Christian-Muslim Co-existence in the Light of Sacred texts and Present Contexts with special reference to Mihadhara in Nairobi Kenya, Unpublished Article, No date.

2.4. On Line (Internet) Sources

CBC Interactive Business Network Resource Library. The nature of a mission community: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde: the mission in African history—Bonde in what is now Tanzania. <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2279/is_n140/ai_13293795/pg_18/?tag=content/> [Accessed 29 April 2010].

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Jarada la Mkereketwa website. Je Tumeachana na Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea? La hasha. <<http://www.ccmtz.org/jarida/page21-21.htm/>> [Accessed 12 April 2012].

Government Publications Relating to Africa in Microform Website. Government Publications Relating to Tanganyika, 1919-1961. Publication no. R96996. <<http://www.microform.co.uk/guides/R96996.pdf/>>. [Accessed 26 August 2011].

Jamii Forum Website. Miaka 15 ya Kifo cha Kolimba. .
<<http://www.jamiiforums.com/jukwaa-la-siasa/233241-miaka-15-ya-kifo-cha-horace-kolimba.html/>>. [Accessed 13 March 2012].

Jumuiya ya Uamsho wa Kiislamu Website. Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar and Tanganyika.<http://victorian.fortunecity.com/portfolio/543/nyerere_and_islam.htm/> [Accessed 06 November 2011].

Lambeth Conference 1998 Website.
<<http://www.lmebthconference.org/1998/documents/report-3/pdf>>.[Accessed 20 May 2011].

Mundus Website. Universities' Mission to Central Africa.
<<http://www.Mundus.ac.uk/cats/11/1050.htm/>> [Accessed 28 March 2010].

Raia Mwema Newspaper website. Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi I. <<http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/nani-alichochea-jeshi-kuasi-mwaka-1964/>> [Accessed 06 November 2011].

_____. Nani alichoea Jeshi Kuasi II. <<http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/nani-alichochea-jeshi-kuasi-mwaka-1964/>> [Accessed 06 November 2011].

Raia Mwema Newspaper website. Nini Kilitokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere? I. <<http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-I/>>, [Accessed 13 May 2012].

_____. Nini Kilitokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere? II. <<http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-II/>> [Accessed 13 May 2012].

_____. Nini Kilitokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere? III. <<http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-III/>> [Accessed 13 May 2012].

_____. Nini Kilitokea kati ya Kolimba na Nyerere? IV. <<http://www.raia.mwema.co.tz/nini-kilichotokea-kati-ya-Kolimba-na-Nyerere-IV/>> [Accessed 13 May 2012].

Society of American Archivists. - Appendix - How to do an Oral History Project. <<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/cfpm/oralhist.doc/>> [Accessed 02 March 2010].

Society of American Archivists. Guidelines for a Graduate Programme in Archival Studies. <http://www.archivists.org/prof-education/ed_guidelines.asp/> [Accessed 18 March 2010].

Tanzania National Website. Presidential Speeches. <<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/presidentiallibraryf.html/>> [Accessed 01 May 2010].

Tanzania National Website. Poverty Eradication. <<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/poverty.html/>> [Accessed 29 April 2010].

The Anglican Church of Tanzania Website. History of ACT. <<http://www.anglican.or.tz/>> [Accessed 30 April 2010].

The Archbishop of Canterbury Website. ‘The Different Roles of the Archbishop of Canterbury’ <<http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/>> [Accessed 20 July 2010].

Website of the Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration of the University of Dar es Salaam. Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET):10th Workshop on Democratic Transition in East Africa. http://www.redet.udsm.ac.tz/documents_storage/2008-3-28-8-36-35_07.pdf/. [Accessed 18 April 2012].

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LISTS OF ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

1. Introduction

This appendix locates archival sources which are mentioned in this study. As said in chapter one, these documents were derived from different locations. These included Australia where CMSA records were kept, Kenya and Uganda where most of the documents related to the Church of Province of East of East Africa were found. Other countries included England and Tanzania. Documents related to colonial governments, UMCA and BCMS were all found in England. The Ujamaa-centred church in Tanzania did not report much to the mission organisations and therefore most of the documents were either letters, minutes of synods and committees of the church most of which were found in Tanzania as indicated in the following section.

2. Tanzania

- i. **Tanzania National Archives:** This archive is located in Goa Street in the City of Dar es Salaam. A researcher needs a letter of endorsement from a recognised authority to access documents kept in this archive. There are few German records which also appear in John Iliffe's book, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.¹⁶⁴³ German Rule, pp.211-212. These have been catalogued and renumbered and prefixed with the letter G. There are also some records related to the British rule which includes: British Secretaries records dating between 1916 to about 1953 and few British departments' records prefixed LD for Labour department and RTU for Registry of Trade Unions. Other British record includes the British Provincial and Districts records. These have been centralised

¹⁶⁴³ John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 211-212.

and are listed in the Fourth Annual Reports of the Archive 1967-1968 which provide accession of numbers on pages 9-15. There are also copies of District Books and private deposits. The private deposits include Mission diaries from Magila, Mkuzi, and Umba (Anglican Diocese of Tanga) as well as records related to land titles and schools. These are prefixed with the letter AB.

- ii. **Archbishop John Sepeku Library:** There is a small collection of archival documents in this library. The library is at St. Mark's site, a Centre of Saint John University, Buguruni Malapa along the Uhuru Road in the City of Dar es Salaam. This centre was formerly known as St. Mark's Theological College. In this archive there are personal deposit of diaries and note books of Canon Roger Lamburn, log books from St. Andrews College Minaki and research papers conducted by various people. There are also minutes of synods and committees, letters and other documents which are kept in boxes named after each diocese of the Anglican Church of Tanzania. Boxes from the diocese of Zanzibar, Zanzibar and Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, and Dar es Salaam have many documents. Boxes from other dioceses are either having small files or are empty. There are also personal papers of Reverend Cannon Martin Mbwana, the first African priest to become the principal of the college as well as the first provincial secretary. All these documents are not catalogued. Researchers who need to access documents which are kept in this archive need to make prior arrangement with the leadership of the Anglican Church of Tanzania.
- iii. **Tanganyika Library:** This Library is located along Bibi Street in the City of Dar es Salaam. There is, at the ground floor, a room which is specifically for researchers. Found in this room are volumes of bound newspapers dating from 1920s to 1980s. These newspapers include: Ecclesia, Lengo (Target), Nationalist, Mfanyakazi and Uhuru. Found in this archive is also articles such as Ujamaa na Dini by President Nyerere. Researchers need to register at the reception desk where he or she will pay a membership fee in Tanzanian currency and will be given

a card which will give her or him access to the archive for a year. At the reception desk, researchers from abroad needs to provide their passports as well as endorsement letters from their sponsoring organisations.

- iv. East Africana Collection:** This is a special collection within the library of the University of Dar es Salaam. The University is located on the hills of the city of Dar es salaam between Mwenge and Ubungo. Found in this special collection are government publication, United Nations documents, Mission diaries from the diocese of Masasi, a volume of papers on constitutional development dating from 1950, Maji Maji Research Project (MMRP) which was conducted by the University between 1968 and 1969, Pamphlet which shows development of the liturgy of the Church of Province of Tanzania, various essays and research papers. For a researcher to consult these documents, prior arrangement with the librarian of the university is required. There is also a membership fee which is paid on arrival.
- v. St. Cyprian Theological College:** This is at Rondo in the district of Lindi. The library at this college keeps unpublished papers and minutes of the diocese of Masasi which formerly were vaguely kept by Brother Anthony of the Society of St. Francis of Assisi. Researchers can access these documents by making prior arrangements with the principal of the college.
- vi. Bagamoyo Mission, Tabora Diocese and St. Joseph Cathedral Archive:** These are Roman Catholic repositories. The Bagamoyo mission archive is located at Bagamoyo and the archive of Tabora Diocese is in the town of Tabora. St. Joseph Cathedral located along Kivukoni Street. These archives keep unpublished papers and diaries of the church. There is a fee of accessing these documents which is paid on arrival.
- vii. Kasulu Bible School:** In the library of this Bible school which is located at Kasulu, Kigoma, there are minutes of synods, committees,

correspondences and financial records of the Diocese of Western Tanganyika. Researchers who need to use this collection need to write to the principal of the college. More time may help to find relevant documents because the documents are not catalogued.

- viii. **Mackay House:** This is the head office of the Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika in Dodoma. There are several files, minutes of synod, committees, financial records and publications which are kept vaguely in this office. Researchers are not allowed to access these documents except through a permission from the bishop of the diocese.
- ix. **Magila:** This is the first mission station of the Anglican Church on the mainland Tanzania. It is in the district of Muheza of Tanga region. Archives which once were dumped at Korogwe are now kept here. There various files, prayer books, log books and diaries from parishes of the diocese of Zanzibar, Zanzibar na Tanga and Tanga which are kept here. In order for a researcher to consult the documents at Magila, the bishop of Tanga should be contacted.

3. Kenya

- i. **Kenya National Archive:** This archive is located in the city centre of Nairobi between Tom Mboya and Moi Streets. There is a fee which is paid on arrival. Residence of East Africa pays the fee in Kenyan currency and others will pay in dollars. Available in this archive are various government and mission records. I was allowed to use records related to the Anglican Church in East Africa. These are Church Missionary Society Africa (Group 3) Missions which also includes CMS mission work in South Africa. Related archives are kept in two formats. The first is microfilms. These are numbered 83, 19-99, 100-103, 169, 170-179, 180-189, 190-199, 200-213, and 255-256. The second format is hard copies. Records related to Tanzania is numbered A6 (from 1876 to 1885). This was the period when the work was part of the Nyanza mission. Number A5 which is between 1886 and 1907 is for

records which relates to Tanzania when the work of CMS formed part of the East Africa mission. The Tanzania items for the period 1900-1907 were entered in the East Africa precise book 'P' prefixed with letters G3. Each precise book which relates to Tanzania is kept with the Tanganyika series numbered A8. Original papers from the missions are given letter O. Outgoing letters under the committee of correspondence are numbered L1. Those outgoing letters from Group 3 Committee are numbered L2. Mission books are numbered M. Documents from 1952 catalogue are numbered by using a pencil on the front of the papers. The call number of all documents is MSS followed by accession number and file number. Files which are of specific importance to this study are: MSS/61/162, MSS/61/488, MSS/61/529, MSS/61/532, MSS/61/561, MSS/61/666, MSS/61/1055, MSS/61/1056, MSS/61/1056, MSS/61/1057, MSS/61/1058, MSS/61/1059, MSS/61/1062, and MSS/61/1063. Permission to photocopy some of these documents was granted by the archivists.

- ii. **Anglican Church of Kenya Archive:** This archive is in a room within the offices of the Anglican Church of Kenya which is located at Garden Avenue, Kilimani in Nairobi. In this room, records are kept in boxes which are given special numbers. Unlike Kenya National Archive, this archive does not have an archivist or guides to researchers. Access to documents is very limited. A researcher has to write to the archbishop before he or she can be allowed to access the files. Records which drew special attention to this study are kept in boxes numbered ACK/AC50/AC/1 and ACK/AC50/AC/3. Photocopying the records is strictly prohibited.

4. Uganda

- i. **Makerere University Library:** This library keeps some occasional research papers which were conducted by students from East Africa at time when the Makerere was the only University in East Africa. At the reception desk, researchers need to provide letters of introduction from

their institutions and will be required to pay membership fee in Ugandan currency. Records which related to this study were in series number PSF 299.6 M34 No.8 and PSF 299.6 M34 No.6.

- ii. **Archive of the Bishop of Uganda:** It is part of Uganda Christian University at Mukono, Uganda. There are 223 boxes kept in this archive. Researchers are advised to contact the archivist or the librarian of the university in advance of their intended visit. Researchers from East African member states will pay a fee in Ugandan currency on arrival. Researchers from other countries will pay in either American Dollars or United Kingdom Pounds. Photo coping of documents is strictly prohibited. The records kept here include organisational and administrative files, correspondences, programs, publications and financial dating from 1911 to 1964. These records are arranged in six series: Administration/ governing bodies, General files-Correspondences, Central program units, Regional activities, publications and writings, legal or financial records. Records which were relevant to this study were found in sub-series numbered 56, 57, 58, 59, 60 and 61.

5. Australia

- i. **State Library of New South Wales:** This library is along Macquarie Street in Sydney. There are various archival documents kept in this library. The thirty year rule is applicable in this library. A researcher needs to obtain permission of accessing CMSA records from any of the following CMSA officials: the Federal Secretary, the Mission Personnel Secretary or the Finance and Administration Secretary. There are forms from both the library and CMSA which a researcher fills. These forms are then scrutinised by the authorities and only thereafter the permission can be given. Photocopying of records kept here is granted by CMSA authorities. Records which relates to this study are prefixed MLMSS 6040. These documents are offsite and therefore have been given offsite call numbers. These numbers are written on the boxes which also have a serial number.

Documents which were of specific importance to this study are shown in the bibliography of this study.

- ii. **Head Office Library of CMSA:** There is a library located at 51Druitt Street, level 5 in Sydney. In this library, there are records of the proceedings of the meetings of Federal Council and of its committees. All accessible records were in bound volumes. The call number of all these records is MLMSS 6040/371C/4. All rules which apply to State Library of New South Wales apply in this library too.

6. Great Britain

- i. **Lambeth Palace Library:** This Library is located along Lambeth Palace Street in London. Researchers are required to fill forms and submit these forms to the librarian prior to their visit. A fifty year rule applies in all archival documents kept in this library. In this library, there are various documents related to the worldwide Anglicanism. Records relevant to this study were found in the Archbishop Fisher as well as the Mothers Union files.
- ii. **Trinity College Library:** This Library is located on the hill of Stoke in Bristol. There are various seminar papers about Tanzania kept in this library. Relevant documents to this study included Islam in Tanzania: Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania by S von Sicard and Festo L. Bahendwa, Caring for widows according to biblical models: The role of the Anglican Church of Tanzania in contemporary society by George Caleb Loan, Tanzania speaks to the Church of England: Comments from the Church of England delegates to the Partners in Mission in Tanzania in August 1986 and Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa: The cases of Northern Nigeria and Tanzania compared by Liss Rasmussen. In order to consult records which are kept in this library a researcher need to make prior arrangements with the authority of the library.

- iii. **Rhodes House Library:** This Library is within the compounds of the University of Oxford. Researchers need to make arrangements with the librarian before their visit. On arrival, the researcher pays a fee after which he or she will be given a card which will grant her or him access to the library. The library has three collections of papers. There are those records which relates to UMCA. These are kept in packets listed by dioceses and episcopates and were given numbers SF, A, B and D. Records which were relevant to this study were found in the SF, A, B and C Series. SF comprises files, mainly, of correspondences relating both to home organisation and the African dioceses. Although some earlier records are included, most is dated 1920-1980. The numbering system is complex. A research need to familiarise herself or himself before getting into the boxes. The A series is also complex. For example A-A1 (xxix) is mainly about UMCA bishops. A2-A3 has mixed files for religious communities (i.e., CSP and SS), medical history and reports. A4-A4 (iv)1 are for particular dioceses. B series too has several categories. Similarly, C, D and L series are having several categories.

The second collections of papers were those of the Fabians' Colonial Bureau. Relevant records to this study were those which included correspondence with politicians in Tanganyika during the 1950s. These were found in boxes 121-123. The third collections of papers in this library are mainly papers of former British Colonial Officers and their families. According to Louis, these were collected by the Oxford Colonial Records Project.¹⁶⁴⁴

¹⁶⁴⁴ See Louis B. Frewer, *Manuscript Collections of Africana in Rhodes House Library, Oxford*, 1971.

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF CONSENT I



THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA

Archbishop: The Most Rev. Dr. Valentino Mokiwa General Secretary: The Rev. Canon Dr. R. Mwita Akiri, PhD

1 September 2010

To Whom It May Concern

RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR REV.CAN.MAIMBO W.F. MNDOLWA

This letter serves to certify that the above-mentioned is a Tanzanian Anglican Priest and a bona fide student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal who will be conducting his research titled "From Anglicization to Africanization: The Anglican Church and Ujamaa in Tanzania (1955-2005)" as part of his course for PhD on History of Christianity in Africa. The researcher needs to collect data and necessary information related to the research topic from both archival and oral sources. In line with the above information you are requested to provide the researcher with needed assistance that will enable him to complete the research successfully.

The period by which this permission has been granted is from **1st October 2010 to 30th December 2011**. The researcher is requested to submit a copy of the report (or part of) to the General Secretary of the Anglican Church of Tanzania for documentation and references. The researcher is also encouraged to disseminate research findings to the key Education Stakeholders.

Yours faithfully,

The Most Rev. Valentino Leonard Mokiwa,

Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Tanzania

APPENDIX III
LETTER OF CONSENT II



To Whom It May Concern

**RESEARCH TRIP OF REV. CANON MAIMBO WILLIAM FABIAN
MNDOLWA**

This letter serves to introduce Rev. Can. Maimbo William Fabian Mndolwa, a Tanzanian Anglican Priest and bona fide PhD student registered at the University of KwaZulu-Natal for a thesis on —From Anglicanism to African Socialism: The Anglican Church and Ujamaa in Tanzania (1955-2005).” Mndolwa is required by the University to collect information on this topic. He needs to access information in Tanzania, Kenya (Anglican and National Library Archive, Nairobi) and Uganda (Makerere University Archive) for two weeks of January 2011, Australia (New South Wales State Library, CMS office, and Victorian State Archives) for three weeks in March 2011 and the United Kingdom (UMCA/USPG archives in Rhodes House Oxford and London, and CMS archives in Birmingham) for three weeks of March and April 2011.

Mndolwa will need a visa to Kenya, Uganda, Australia and the United Kingdom. His scholarship covers all living and research costs. He will also need your permission to consult all necessary documents as said. I write to see if you could provide him with assistance so that he may complete his research work successfully. On completion of the research the findings will disseminated to all education stakeholders.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "P. Denis". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looped "P" and a long, sweeping underline.

Prof. Philippe Denis
10 January 2011
History of Christianity Programme
SCHOOL OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY - Pietermaritzburg
Postal Address: Private Bag X01, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.
Telephone: +27 33 260 5540 Facsimile: +27 33 260 5861.

APPENDIX IV

REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW

Dear Participant,

My name is Maimbo William Fabian Mndolwa, an Anglican priest and canon, from the diocese of Tanga in Tanzania. I am currently studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. My study involves conducting research. I have chosen to work on the Anglican and Ujamaa in Tanzania. I would like to ask your kind cooperation in answering my questions during my research visit. Attached with this request are kinds of the questions which you will be asked to answer.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the response of the Anglican Church to political independence and Ujamaa with its effects on the political authority in Tanzania.

How to answer my Questions

We expect you to use Kiswahili or English as familiar languages in your response to these questions. So please feel free to use any of the two languages.

Participation and cooperation in this study

We always want to hear from you. Your decision will not influence your church membership or your job. You may refuse to answer my questions even if you previously agreed to participate. Do not hesitate to tell us if you changed your mind.

Confidentiality

The information you provide us will be used for this study only. All the information we obtain will remain strictly confidential and your answers will never be identified. We are firmly committed to protecting your privacy. If you have further questions about this study, please feel free to contact us. Thank you!

Our contact details are as follows:

School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Private Bag X01, Scottsville, PMB, 3209, South Africa,
Rev. Can. Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa (+255, 784814932, +27780923751)
PhD student of SORAT-UKZN E-mail:imba612@yahoo.com
Prof. Philippe Denis (+2733 346 2308), History of Christianity Program
SORAT-UKZN E-mail:Denis@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX V

QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH FOR MISSIONARIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

A. General particulars of all interviewers

- | | | | | |
|------------|--------|-----------------------|------------|----|
| 1. Name | 2. Age | 3. Marital status | 4. Diocese | 5. |
| Education | | 6. Position in Church | 7. Sex | 8. |
| Occupation | | | | |

B. Sample Questionnaires

1. Do you remember your first entry to Tanganyika/Tanzania?
2. Can you explain in a few sentences things that make you feel proud of being serving Tanganyika/Tanzania?
3. How many mission/diocesan synods/council have you attended between 1955 and 2004?
4. Do you remember discussing anything about State and the mission relation in these synods.
5. Do you remember any mission's support to the struggle for political independence
6. In 1961, Tanganyika received its independence; can you explain the feelings the Missionaries' had about Tanganyika's independence?
8. On 12 January 1964, Zanzibar received its independence and, three months after, Tanzania was born.
 - a) What were the effects of the independence of Zanzibar on the mission?
 - b) Were there any challenges that the mission faced after Tanganyika and Zanzibar had merged?
9. During the reign of the British the Mission was the State Church. How would you describe the relation between the Mission and the new political authority after independence and especially before the Arusha declaration?
10. In 1967, Tanzania declared Ujamaa its way forward. What was the reaction of the missionaries towards this declaration?

11. The colonial, and later the independent government, worked together with the missions in education and health sectors for years. What were the missionaries' reactions after the national policy of nationalization was declared?
12. Do you remember anything that the church had done to support the policy of Ujamaa villages?
13. Do you see any crossing lines between Ujamaa and Anglicanism?
14. By 1950s the missionary bishops were so concerned about the fall of marriage vows among its African adherents. In 1971 the government introduced marriage reform. How was the church involved in these discussions?
15. What do you think are the differences between Ujamaa and Anglicanism?
16. In 1960 UMCA diocese in Tanganyika merged with CMS dioceses in Kenya and Tanganyika to form the East African Province.
 - a) What made bishop of Mombasa became the archbishop of the province?
 - b) Was there any challenges faced during the election process?
 - c) Why was it that the Province of East Africa had to be divided into two in 1970?
 - i) Was it because of political pressures from Tanzania?
 - ii) Was it because the traditional differences of the dioceses in Tanzania?
 - iii) Was it questions about leadership?
17. While CMS consecrated Yohana Omari assistant bishop in 1955, he never became diocesan bishop while the others consecrated with him became diocesan bishops.
 - a) Why do you think he was denied such position?
 - b) Could this be the cause of his immediate death?
18. When you were in Tanzania was there any time that you felt that the government was interfering in church matters too much?
 - a) What do you think were the reasons?
 - b) How did the church react?
19. Was there any time that the government officials felt that the church was too much involved on political matters? Can you mention the reasons?
20. Are there some aspects of the Tanzanian Anglicanism that you would like to see changed or modified?
 - a) Can you mention these aspects?
 - b) Can you give reasons why these should be improved or changed?

Appreciations: Thank you for your time and your valued responses to my questions.

APPENDIX VI
CONSENT FORM FOR THE INTERVIEWS

I-----agree that I
have read the questions and promises to provide the researcher with all information I
know related to the subject of the study.

I am doing this on my own conscience.

Signature-----Date-----

Note: Please be assured that you can change the decision even if you signed this form.

APPENDIX VII

OMBI LA USHIRIKI WAKO KATIKA UTAFITI KUHUSU HISTORIA YA KANISA ANGLIKANA TANZANIA

Ndugu mshiriki,

Ninaitwa Maimbo William Fabian Mndolwa ambae ni Kasisi na Kanoni kutoka Dayosisi ya Kanisa Anglikana Tanga. Kwa sasa ni mwanafunzi wa historia ya Ukristo katika Chuo Kikuu cha KwaZulu-Natal huko Afrika Kusini. Masomo yangu yanahusisha utafiti na kwa hiyo ninatafiti historia ya Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania. Ninakuandikia kuomba ushiriki wako katika kujibu maswali nitakayouliza wakati nitakapopita kufanya utafiti huu. Mfano wa maswali hayo nimeambatanisha katika ombi hili.

Lengo la Utafiti: Kusidio kuu la utafiti huu ni kuona jinsi Kanisa Anglikana lilivyoandaa wazalendo kuelekea Uhuru, lilivyopokea serikali ya kizalendo, Ujamaa na jinsi viongozi wa serikali walivyochukuliana na hali hiyo na matokeo yake.

Jinsi ya Kijibu Maswali yangu: Maswali yangu nitayauliza kwa Kiswahili rahisi. Ila pia yapo ya Kiingereza kwa wale watakojisikia kuzungumza lugha hiyo. Tafadhari uwe huru kuzungumza nami katika lugha mojawapo ya hizo.

Uhusika na Ushiriki wakati wa utafiti: Lengo letu nikupata mawazo na maoni yako. Hata hivyo, mawazo na maoni hayo hayataathiri kwa namna yoyote ile uumini wako wala kazi yako. Pia hutalazimishwa kujibu kushiriki hata kama mwanzoni ulionesha nia hiyo na kwa hiyo uwe huru kutuambia kama utabadili mawazo yako.

Usiri wa Utafiti: Maelezo utakayoyatao yatumika katika utafiti huu tu. Hatutamshirikisha Askofu wako, Kasisi wako wala mwajiri wako kuhusu maelezo uliyoyatoa. Tunakuhakikishia kwamba maelezo yako yatakuwa siri kati yako na sisi na kwamba kila utakachoeleza tutakitunza kwa siri sana. Huku tukishukuru sana kwa utayari wako, tunakuomba kama utahitaji maelezo yoyote ya ziada kabla ya siku ya mazungumzo usisite kuwasiliana nasi kwa anuani zifuatazo hapa chini:

School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Private Bag X01, Scottsville, PMB, 3209, South Africa,
Rev. Can. Maimbo W.F. Mndolwa (+255, 784814932, +27780923751)
PhD student of SORAT-UKZN E-mail:imba612@yahoo.com
Prof. Philippe Denis (+2733 346 2308), History of Christianity Program
SORAT-UKZN E-mail:Denis@ukzn.ac.za.

APPENDIX VIII

HOJAJI ZA UTAFITI KWA LUGHA YA KISWAHILI

A. Maelezo kwa mtu binafsi

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Jina | 2. Umri | 3. Je umeoa/Umeolewa |
| 4. Dayosisi yako | 5. Elimu yako | 6. Nafasi yako katika Kanisa |
| 7. Jinsia yako | 8. Kazi yako | |

B. Hojaji kuu

1. Je unaweza kueleza kwa ufupi maisha yako tangu kuzaliwa?
2. Unakumbuka ulianza kuwa Mkristo lini?
3. Je wakati huo ndio ulipoingia Uanglikana?
4. Tafadhari eleza kwa kifupi unavyojisikia fahari kuwa Mwanglikana?
5. Je umeshawahi kuhudhuria Sinodi yoyote kati ya mwaka 1955 hadi 2004?
6. Kama ni ndio unafikiri ni Sinodi ipi/zipi unaikumbuka/unazikumbuka sana?
7. Unafikiri ni kwa nini Sinodi hii/hizi unaikumbuka/unazikumbuka sana?
8. Je ulishawahi kuwa mjumbe wa Kamati yoyote ya Dayosisi katika kipindi cha mwaka 1955 hadi 2004?
9. Kama jibu lako ni ndio, je unakumbuka wajibu wa kamati hiyo?
10. Je katika Kamati na Sinodi hizi kuna wakati wowote ambao mlijadili kuhusu Kanisa na Ujamaa?
11. Kama jibu lako ni ndio, eleza kwa ufupi mjadala huo ulihusu nini hasa?
12. Je unakumbuka mambo mliyokubaliana?
13. Je unakumbuka jambo lolote linaloonesha Kanisa kuunga mkono siasa ya Ujamaa Vijijini?
14. Je Kanisa lilipokeaje utafishaji wa mali za Kanisa uliofanywa na serikali?
15. Je Kanisa lilishirikishwa kwa namna yoyote ile katika mjadala wa kubadili Sheria ya ndoa?
16. Je unafikiri Ujamaa na Uanglikana ni sawa?
17. Je kuna wakati wowote katika maisha yako ambapo uliona kana kwamba serikali inaingilia mno mambo ya Kanisa?
18. Unafikiri sababu zilikuwa ni zipi?
19. Je kwa mtazamo wako unafikiri kuna wakati wowote ambapo unafikiri Kanisa lilikuwa linajiingiza mno katika siasa?

Shukrani: Nakushukuru sana kwa kujibu maswali yangu kwa ufasaha.

APPENDIX IX

KIAPPO CHA MAKUBALIANO KUHUSU UTAFITI HUU

Mimi _____
nakiri kwamba nimesoma kwa makini sana na kuelewa malengo na madhumuni ya utafiti huu na kwa hiyo naahidi kwamba nitashirikiana na mtafiti kumpa maelezo atakayohitaji kwa kadri ya ufahamu wangu.

Natambua kwamba sikulazimishwa kushiriki na kwa hiyo niko huru kujitoa pia nikiona vema kufanya hivyo.

Sahihi _____ Tarehe _____

Kumbuka: Utapewa muda wa kujiandaa vya kutosha kujibu maswali haya mapema na hata muda wa kushauriana na ndugu na jamaa kuhusu ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu.