

**THE MAKING OF AN AFRICAN
CLERGY IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
IN MALAWI WITH SPECIAL FOCUS
ON THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS
(1898-1996)**

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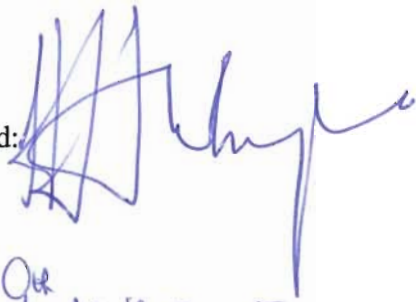
Finally, it is a pleasure to me to dedicate this piece of work to my late mom, Catherine Mbaya. *Ambuye akudalitseni ndiponso akupatseni mtendere. Zikomo.*

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled, *The Making of An African Clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi with special focus on the Election of Bishops 1898-1996*, is my own work and all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

NAME: Henry Hastings Mbaya

Signed:



Date:

9th April, 2005

A List of Abbreviations

COE: Church of England

CMS: Church Missionary Society

CM: Chauncy Maples

UMCA: Universities Mission to Central Africa

SPCK: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

SPG: Society For the Propagation of the Gospel

Chapter One

1. Introduction

The Making of an African Clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi with Special focus on the Election of Bishops (1898-1996)

1.1 Objective of thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to document and discuss the training and development of the African Anglican clergy (1898-1996) specifically focussing on the election of bishops from 1965 to 1996 in the Anglican Church in Malawi. The thesis will chronicle the history of the formation of the African Anglican clergy and the election of African bishops in post-independent Malawi. Discussion will be based on oral history and archival information as well as other secondary sources. The use of oral history in narrating African history is significant. It is the most ancient African methodology known. African history has been stored in memory passed down each century by a generation. It is accessible through human agency transmitted through people's experience of events or stories, which occurred in the contemporary period. In this regard, it has unique dynamism and life about it.

The subject of this thesis is male African priests and bishops, their struggles and experiences, particularly from the perspective of training under the English missionaries. It is not largely about their ministry *per se*, but rather it concerns it in as far as its specific issues directly reflect the training of the African clergy. Much has already been written about the broader scope of the African ministry. Similarly, there is a lot that has been written on some aspects of the African ministry. For instance, the three volumes of *The History of the UMCA* published by the UMCA itself; one by A.E.M Anderson-Morsehead,¹ and two others by A.G. Blood.

1. Anderson-Morsehead, A.E.M., *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859-1909*, vol. i, London: The UMCA, 1955.

This thesis is concerned with the factors that influenced the training of the African clergy and more closely the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi between 1898 and 1996. In other words, it is about the transfer of power or authority from the English missionaries to the emerging Malawian leadership highlighting the shortcomings of the processes. Accordingly, stress will be laid on the manner, circumstances and processes of making clergy, especially bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi. Since all of these persons have been male clergy, the interviews largely but not exclusively reflect that gender. The author recognises that very few women feature in the oral methodology of this study. The topic being the training of the African clergy and the election of bishops who so far are exclusively men in Malawi, there is inevitably a bias towards men as they are the main actors in the story. Most of those who are involved in the election of the bishops are men. However, this does not mean that the author is pleased with the patriarchal structure in the church. To redress this imbalance, I have interviewed four women. The selection of interviewees depended on people who were well informed on this topic. To put the study into context, reference will be made to other countries such as Tanzania, especially in Zanzibar, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

In this regard, I will use a theoretical frame of reference borrowed from the works of four scholars: Edward Said,² John and Jean Comaroff³ and James Scott.⁴ Theories are useful because they assist the writer to probe underneath the surface of events and personalities. More importantly, theories enable a critical engagement with various developments and trends arising out of the interface between the context of colonial order and the emerging new African Church. The consequence of this practice offers the possibility of arriving at a realistic assessment of the process of interaction between white and African priests.

2.Said, E. W., *Orientalism*, New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978.

3.Comaroff, J. and J. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, vol. i, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

4.Scott, J., *Domination and Arts of Resistance: Public and Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

In this regard, initially, I intend to analyse critically the recruiting and training processes of the African clergy, which shape the priests who form a base from which bishops are normally chosen. More particularly, I intend to analyse critically the way in which bishops have been chosen: the issues, factors, and the forces that have determined the outcome of the elections. In this regard, six persons are the special focus of this study; Bishop Donald Arden (1962-1980), Bishop Josiah Mtekateka (1965-1977), Coadjutor Bishop-Elect Henry Chaseta Mikaya (1976-1978), Bishop Peter Nathaniel Nyanja (1978-2005), Bishop Dunstan Daniel Ainani (1979-1985) and finally Bishop Benson Nathaniel Aipa (1986-1996).

Though this aspect of study touches on the more personal life of the individuals, there is informed consent on personal issues involving the various role players that I deal with in chapters nine, ten and eleven. At the present moment, the Anglican Church in Malawi has gone beyond these controversies and has embraced the troubled period of her history with a sense of maturity.

The setting of this study begins in 1898 the year when the UMCA ordained its first African clergy, Augustine Ambali, Eustace Malisawa and Yohana Abdallah in Malawi. This year is significant because it marked the beginning of the first ordination of an African priest thereby raising the local leadership by the Anglican missionaries of the UMCA in Malawi. I conclude in 1996 precisely because this is the year when the newly created diocese of Northern Malawi chose to elect not a Malawian bishop but a white bishop, which suggests that problems had characterised the election of Malawian bishops.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The core of the problem under investigation is that the history of training the African clergy has not been adequately recorded, neither has the history of the election of the African bishops been sufficiently documented. Though what is available through publication is not entirely negative about the Africans' life and ministry as such,

references to some aspects of the African leadership available at least at Malosa archives in Malawi tend to be negative. With the exception of such missionaries as William Percieval Johnson and Donald Arden, the UMCA missionaries in Malawi tended to gloss over some positive aspects of the African contribution. In this area, there seems to be a gap between what has been published and what has not been published. Moreover, if it were supposed that the African priests were capable, why did the UMCA not raise them to the highest leadership sooner?

Sometimes negative missionary view of the African tended to prejudice the missionaries against sharing power with the Africans. For instance, in 1898, the UMCA missionary bishop, Charles Smythies justified the delay of the Africans' ordination and ministry on the basis of his conception that the African culture was too weak to enable them to assume the European oriented ministry. He asserted that, "Africans are too weak and liable to fall. They are slaves of past centuries of racial weaknesses and of racial conditions which militate against them, and the white missionary has got to face the necessity of shepherding them for long years to come."⁵ Consequently missionaries like Smythies looked forward to the day when the Africans would assume higher responsibilities in the remote future. With the change of times, from the 1960s missionary attitudes began to change shifting from paternalism to being ready to share responsibilities with Africans almost as equals.

In 1921, another UMCA bishop, Cathrew Fisher commented that "[he] may not live to see African bishops ruling great bodies of African clergy."⁶ In this regard, missionary history serves to emphasise the missionary as the agent of change in the African society. It seems to stress mainly the positive things that the missionaries could do for the African, while not emphasising enough the positive aspects of the latter. In this approach to history, the ministry of the African evangelists appears to exist only as an appendage to the "wonderful" work of the missionaries.

5. Ward, G. *Life of Bishop Smythies*, London: UMCA, 1898, pp. 191-192.

6. *Central Africa*, June 1924, no. 493, xli. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

Mission history is geared to the missionary cause rather than to bring out the empirical cause of the events. It is lopsided rather than objective. Using archival research and oral history in this thesis, I will try to argue against this view. This thesis will offer an alternative explanation that the inability of the Africans to shoulder positions of higher responsibility in the church until the 1960s was largely due to the missionaries' monopoly of power, the missionary view that closely associated ordination and ministry with European power.

In other words, missionaries tended to guard against sharing this power with their African counterparts more fully. Thus, I will argue in chapter four and subsequently, that the missionaries' designation of a lower form of education, particularly theological education, for a low level of ministry exclusively for the Africans tended to ensure the missionaries' monopoly of power over the Africans. It will be illustrated that by the late 20th century these missionary attitudes and practices impressed on the Africans tended to undermine the potential of the African clergy to assume the responsibilities of higher leadership in the missionary church.

Similarly, there is virtually no recorded history about the election of bishops in Malawi. The history available about succession of bishops in Malawi is very scanty. Moreover, it does not provide us with adequate information to enable us to understand the difficulties and the challenges that the church has been facing in Malawi. Largely, the reason for this is that the matter of election is regarded as a closed chapter once they are over.⁷

So much secrecy surrounds the issue, that it seems to be shrouded in mystery. The researcher intends to unveil some of the secrets surrounding this issue. Having said this, it should be noted that there were some missionaries like Archdeacon William Percieval Johnson who positively affirmed the ministry of the African clergy by interacting with them in a manner that confirmed them. For instance, Bishop Trower lamented about the use of the vernacular rather than the English language at a theological college in

7. See for instance, interview, Bishop T. T. Naledi with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 18/5/01; Father M. T. M. Mwamba with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 20/5/01.

Likoma. He desired that the Africans at Likoma be trained in a systematic manner as at the Presbyterian Mission of Bandawe. Significantly, Bishop Arden worked very hard to improve the training and the welfare of the African clergy between 1962 and 1980.

The matter of the election of bishops is a sensitive issue because it largely concerns certain aspects of the private lives of individual officials in the church. Perhaps because of its sensitive nature, it has not attracted many researchers; hence, it is not fully documented. Because of this, this history mainly lies in the memories of individual church members. The process of retrieving the historical facts of private life can sometimes affect even the very transmission of the oral information.

The researcher countered this possibility by providing an atmosphere and environment in which a fairly honest history could surface. It is precisely because of the sensitive nature of the subject that oral history methodology will feature fairly prominently in this study, since rarely are the proceedings of the elections made available to the public.

I will try to record history as viewed by some African clergy and bishops and laity. It is hoped that the uncovering of the suppressed voices in the recruitment and training processes of the African clergy and the election of bishops will throw light on some of the problems that the Anglican Church in Malawi has been facing in the 20th century.

1.3 Literature Review

No written published documents concerning exclusively the subject of the selection, or recruitment, and training of clergy and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi are available. However, available literature in general focuses on some aspects of training, and ministry of the African clergy, which are crucial to this study.

G.W. Wilson's *The History of the UMCA*⁸ was published in 1936. It condenses the history of the UMCA into one volume. Wilson presents the rise and the development of the African ministry as the peak of the achievement of missionary work. H. M. Smith's biographical work *Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar*⁹ highlights the struggles that Bishop Weston went through in his ministry in the diocese of Zanzibar. One of these struggles related to the training of the African clergy. In a particular case Weston threatened to call for a temporary halt on the ordination of the African clergy in 1912 on the premise that one African priest had "fallen". There are three major volumes of *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*; one written by A.E.M Anderson-Morsehead (1955), and two volumes by A.G. Blood volume ii (1957), and volume iii (1962).

While the first volume gives a good perspective on the start and development of the early African ministry between 1859 to 1909, it does not provide an indepth study of the issues that came to bear on the process leading to the formation of clergy. Instead, in general, it alludes to some moral lapses, or weaknesses in the character of African clergy often portrayed as the obstacles to the advancement of the African ministry.

R. G. Stuart's work, *Christianity and the Chewa: The Anglican Case: 1885-1950*¹⁰ is invaluable in the sense that it provides a background of the political cooperation and in some cases identification between the colonial government and the Anglican Church. Stuart also illustrates the UMCA's reaction to the Chewa culture.

In his work, *Malawi: the History of the Nation*¹¹, presenting the missionary work sympathetically and sensitively in the spirit of nation building in postindependent Malawi, Brigadal Pachai avoids the more controversial aspects of missionary history.

8. Wilson, G. W., *History of Universities Mission to Central Africa*, London: UMCA, 1936.

9. Smith, H. M., *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, London: UMCA, 1941.

10. Stuart, R. G., *Christianity and the Chewa: The Anglican Case: 1885-1950*, Ph D thesis, University of London, 1974.

11. Pachai, B., *Malawi: A History of the Nation*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1973.

Like the previous writer, John Weller and John Linden, (eds.) *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*¹² wrote during the postindependent era in Central Africa. They give a useful comparative overview of the development of the African ministry in these three countries setting it in the context of the political transition from colonial to postindependent era stressing, the contribution of the African clergy.

While Weller and Linden have not substantially departed from the line taken by Anderson-Morsehead and Blood, there are, however, exceptions with regard to their assessment of certain aspects of Anglican history. For instance, they make critical comments regarding the episcopate of Cathrew Fisher about his rather unsympathetic and pessimistic attitude to the African ministry, and his unreadiness to ordain African clergy in particular.

Fisher's attitude and sentiments must be put into the context of the impact of the UMCA educational policy on the Africans, missionary structures, social and political context of the colonial order. To understand Fisher's unsympathetic attitude towards the African ministry, it will be necessary to make a crossreference to similar attitudes of his contemporary brother bishop, Frank Weston towards the African ministry.

Though addressing the Tanzanian context of the 20th century, Mkunga H. P. Mtingele, *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa Today*¹³, Mtingele deals with the issues of the election of bishops in the context of the Anglican Church in the diocese of southwest Tanganyika. The strength of Mtingele's work lies in the writer linking the problem of electing bishops to the missionaries creation of tribally based churches in the Church of South West Tanganyika.

12.Weller, J., and Linden, J., *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984.

13.Mtingele, M. H. P., *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa Today, A Critique of Its Influence and Impact*, MA (T S), Open University of the UK, Unpublished Master's Thesis, St. John's College, Nottingham, 1995.

Mtingele asserts the critical role of other external influences such as bribery on the outcome of the elections in the diocese of Southwest Tanganyika and elsewhere in Africa, respectively. While Mtingele's work tries to offer a plausible explanation for the problem of dissensions and power struggles facing the Anglican Church today in Africa, he fails to recognise the critical role of the missionary structures in shaping the issues of identity such as tribal or social identity.

However, with regard to this work we get closer to the very heart of this thesis. The purpose of the present study is to account for the hidden problems *inter alia*, maintaining power surrounding leadership, fight for leadership, and intrigue in influencing episcopal succession in the Anglican Church in Malawi. In the light of the process of recruitment, selection of clergy, and particularly the election of bishops, it seeks to record a thorough critical history of the African clergy. It will attempt to use oral stories hitherto lying buried in the minds of churchmen and women in Central Africa to construct a history that will address among other matters the problem of succession of bishops since at least 1961.

Unfortunately, most of the current published work on the church in Malawi leans heavily on the official history cited above. Most of the secondary sources rely on the earliest official historical account that is uncritical of the missionary stance. There is a need to go beyond the mere events of the Anglican missionaries' activities in their relationship with the Africans to the depth of the issues at play in the power relations amongst them.

1.4 Hypothesis

This thesis rests upon the following hypothesis: shortcomings in the processes of recruitment, selection, and training of clergy, and the election of bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi have contributed to the problems of the emergence and exercise of leadership. The generally held common assumption is that the selection of clergy for training and especially the election of bishops are beyond the factor of human agency. It is generally held that the outcome of the selection of clergy or

election of bishops is exclusively the result of divine intervention. However, this thesis explores another perspective. I contend that the role of human agency was an equally important factor in determining the final outcome of the process of electing the bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi between 1965 and 1996. This study will draw from the field of social science.

1.5 Methodological considerations

This study uses oral sources fairly extensively, especially in the last two chapters. Recent developments in historical studies demonstrate the invaluable role that this approach plays in recreating the past. For instance, the groundbreaking work of Tosh in retrieving the stories of the colonised in Africa is a good example. Oral history and oral tradition are two forms through which knowledge is communicated orally.¹⁴ The former refers to the more immediate recollections of people, the hearsay accounts and their circumstances through the interviews. Following a selection of witnesses, the historian interviews the former about the past. Likewise, in this study, the researcher has selected priests and lay people, the latter both male and female, who experienced or heard about the experience of the training of clergy or election of bishops.

Oral sources are meant to make available the hidden stories of particular events or people located in the past. However, Tosh cautions us about the difficulties that arise in this approach, especially as conducted by a professional historian.¹⁵ It is illusory to suppose that what the informants narrate represent 'pure truth' or reality of what actually happened. The final product of the interview is affected by a number of factors. Amongst others, the selection of the subject, the terms used to analyse the subject which may be conveyed to the informant, and place of interview and more importantly social position of the interviewer *visàvis* that of the interviewee.¹⁶

14. Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History, Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, London and New York: Longman, 1984, p. 172.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Oral tradition, on the other hand, concerns the passing on of stories by word of mouth from one generation to another over a period of time.¹⁷ In this respect, unlike oral history, oral tradition does not arise from immediate experience. Though little surviving in highly industrialised nations of the West, this form of history still plays an important role in the transmission of history in the non-western countries especially Africa.¹⁸ Finally, oral history differs from oral tradition in that while the former concerns a select and limited number of people, the latter refers to a tradition and a process involving a broader spectrum of people.¹⁹

This study has made a considerable use of oral history methodology. As a discipline, relative to its history, oral history entails theory and content. Critically important to this approach is the technique employed in the interview within the historical purview of the study. In this respect, accounts of the eyewitnesses of or firsthand participants in events and circumstances are elevated to the value of historical evidence.

Another expert in the field of oral history, Paul Thompson affirms the importance of such an approach when he says, “all the exact words are used as they were spoken; and added to them are social clues, the nuances of uncertainty, humour or preference, as well as the texture of the dialect.”²⁰ But as Tosh asserts, “whereas scientists can often create their own data by experiment, historians are time and again confronted by gaps in the evidence.”²¹

This study endeavours to fill some gaps in knowledge in seeking to understand for instance why the Anglican Christians of Likoma in 1996 opted to elect a white bishop and not a Malawian bishop. A historian can attempt to bridge a gap, so Tosh states, “by developing sensitivity as to what might have happened derived from an imagined

17.*Ibid.*, p. 172.

18.*Ibid.*

19.Mogashoa, H., “Correcting the ‘Baptist’ History on William Duma (1907-1977): an Oral history contribution”, published in Denis, P., (ed.) *Orality, Memory and the Past*, See also Tosh *op. cit.*, p. 182.

20.Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past, Oral History*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 108.

21.Tosh, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

picture which has taken shape in the course of becoming immersed in the surviving documentation.”²²

In this study, oral sources serve largely to fill in the gaps in the subject matter that exist in the available written sources. Essentially no distinction exists between oral history and written sources as the latter are in fact mainly the final product of the process of the former. A need often arises to complement written sources with oral sources. A church history written primarily from the view of the religious angle of the missionary institution will tend to gloss over the economic and political factors that might have a bearing on the work of the missionaries.

Similarly, another weakness of written sources is that an outsider’s view dominates the insider’s view. Frequently, the institutional history tends to undermine the contribution of the local people. Taking oral sources seriously, that is, the view of the subordinate groups as important, will enable us to counterbalance what Philippe Denis in quoting James Scott describes as the “public transcript” of the dominant mostly contained in the archive.²³ Since the documented narrative is essentially the view of the powerful which ignores or suppresses the voice of the subjugated, there is need to make the voice of the latter heard. However, as it will be noted below, in this study, at least in some instances, the archival sources tend to yield the view of the dominated.

However, the nature, character and texture of oral source material call for an intelligent assessment and evaluation. Chief amongst the problems that the researcher confronted was the lack of chronological precision and informants telling events not in an orderly manner in which they occurred. Some of my informants could not remember the exact dates of events of meetings, while others at least tried to recollect some of these with a fair measure of precision. From the point of view of a history which has a linear approach this causes problems.

22.*Ibid.*

23. See Denis, P., “The Use of Oral Sources in African Church History” in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, vol. ii., Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, April, 1995, p. 32.

A common problem was a tendency of the informants to recreate the past. There are cases where the informants wittingly or unwittingly tried to glorify the past or give their own interpretation of the past events. This became obvious when the sources tried to justify their actions despite the fact that they were considerably removed in time from the event. Because of the sensitive nature of the subject, other informants were so constrained that perhaps because of fear of reprisals they resorted to communicate in cryptic language.²⁴ It was only when confidence was won that they began to narrate events more confidently.

There were also cases whereby, perhaps because of the sensitive nature of the subject, others gave the official version of the story. To try to rectify some of these problems, however, during the very last stages of the field research the researcher resorted to cross-examining the informant with archival material at hand.²⁵ I followed this approach in correspondence as well. The advantage of this was obvious. Making the interviewees aware that the researcher had some prior knowledge of some events, in some cases restrained them from the tendency to exaggerate.

Other problems included uncritical narration of events, consequently interviews turned into hearing stories some of which though peripheral to the main subject matter nevertheless did not in the least impoverish the process.

1.6 Theoretical Tools

The processes of formation of African leadership occurred as a result of a “transaction”, an interaction, a certain degree of crosscultural exchange between the European missionary and the African convert in late 19th century East Africa. The study of Christianity in Africa is a matter that goes beyond the domain of religious change. As

24. See interview, Father Mchakama with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 24/2/00; Father M. Zingani with the author, Namiwawa, Blantyre, 27/5/01.

25. See interview, Father James Amanze with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 21/5/01; Bishop Peter Hatendi, 31/5/01, Anonymous NS, Harare, 30/5/01.

the Comaroffs asserted, “it is part and parcel of the historical anthropology of colonialism and consciousness, culture and power; of an anthropology concerned at once with the coloniser *and* the colonised, with structure *and* agency.”²⁶ To throw light on this “transaction”, I borrow specific geographical, sociological, historical and theological theories.

These theories might enable us to understand better the relationship between the missionaries and the Africans in the processes that eventually brought into being the African ministry. These theories are useful to the extent that they act like a key to enable us to unravel or explain sociohistorical phenomena located in historic past, removed from our modern and immediate historical experience. Jonathan Draper contends that “this confrontation of cultures was not a one way street, but a two-way traffic, albeit an unequal one since economic and military power was obviously uneven.”²⁷

Despite the usefulness of the theories in trying to explain the interaction, the “interface” between the African clergy and the missionaries, there are areas of this study for which such theories have not been useful. In this regard, the interpretations and presentation that have been made are essentially my own, while that of the proponents serve only as a secondary tool. It may be that the theoretical framework followed in this study may not fit in neatly with the ideological presupposition bases of this study. This may be expected since some of these borrowed tools have arisen out of purely scholarly endeavours in trying to understand social phenomena beyond mere narration, or have evolved as a result of weariness of clichéd explanation of social phenomena.

For example, in chapter nine the students’ reaction to some members of St. Johns’ Seminary staff seems to constitute resistance to authority. In terms of Jean and John

26. Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p. 11.

27. Draper, J., “Hegemony, Ideology and Social Construction: Special Focus on the work of John and Jean Comaroff” in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, vol. iv, No, 3, December 1988, p. 3.

Comaroffs' conceptual framework in chapter seven, I suggest that the autobiographies and tribal histories written by Yohana Abdallah, Augustine Ambali and Lawrence Chisui were subtle forms of protest against the dominant discourse of the period.

How have I used theoretical tools borrowed from three works mentioned on page two? In trying to explain the issue of Western imperialism, Edward Said analyses the phenomena of Orientalism basically as a discourse through and by which the Westerner tried to relate to the nonWesterner. According to Said, the basis of this relationship rested on the Westerners' presumptions that they possessed superior civilised institutions, lifestyle, and culture which justified them to impose these on those whom they considered did not have them, the nonWesterner.

In this regard, this study deals with the formation of the African clergy as essentially an issue by which the missionaries sought to mediate power to the African within the framework of European missionary Christianity. The process of making African clergy was in this sense a process in which the missionaries sought to fashion the African as an agent of European power in the forms of ministries, notably teacher, catechist, subdeacon, deacon and priest. In this perspective, evangelisation must be understood not merely as a "spiritual" matter devoid of socio-economic and political ramifications in colonial society. Rather, it was a crucial component through which Western forms of power and status, were mediated and distributed to the African evangelists.

Similarly, in trying to grasp the complexity of the process of colonialism in 19th century South Africa between the Non-Conformist English missionaries and the Southern Tswana community, John and Jean Comaroff use hegemony, ideology and culture as the key concepts in their work, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. In a similar manner as the Comaroffs understand that the process of planting Christianity constituted the imposition of Western power and hegemony, so I argue that essentially the process of making African clergy entailed transference of power, inscribed in Western Christian symbols and signs.

Finally, James Scott in his *Domination and Arts of Resistance* argues that individuals, or groups of peoples on the receiving end of power are not merely passive recipients, they

resist actively acts of domination, often in subtle ways. Despite the perception that the African clergy were content with their relationship with the English missionaries, this study will demonstrate instances of some African clergy who in subtle ways resisted missionary imposition of power.

1.6.1 Orientalism

In his book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said²⁸ described the encounter between the European and the Non-European especially in the 19th and 20th centuries as Orientalism.²⁹ According to Said, strongly emerging in the 14th century, maturing in the 18th century, developing in the 19th century, Orientalism was a relationship of power and dominance, particularly from Britain and France, later America, over what they called the Orient.³⁰ Though primarily applying to the relationship between the peoples of Western countries and the people of Eastern countries (Arab/ Indians and Egyptians) defined as the “Other”, nonetheless, the term also embraced the “other” of the “Other”, that is, the Africans peoples of the so called Third World.

Situating the place of Africa within the discourse of Orientalism, Christopher Miller argued that the West projected Africa as the “other” of the “Other.” He argued that, “the two interlocking profiles of Europe and the Orient leave no room for a third element, endowed with a positive shape of its own, as on a sheet of paper, both of whose sides have been claimed, the third entry tends to be associated with one side or the other or to be nullified by the lack of an intellectual apparatus, Africa was defined on the basis of Europe or the Orient.

28. Edward Said (1935-2003, died September 2003) was a Palestinian, intellectual, musicologist, and a defender of human rights for the Palestinians. His first publication *Of Beginnings* in 1975 won him the Lionel Trilling Award. Exploring the construction of the discourse, this publication paved the way for his magnum opus, *Orientalism* (1978). In *Orientalism*, Said developed the theoretical foundations of postcolonial studies thereby opening up an area of scholarly inquiry for researchers from both the countries that continue to endure colonisation and those that wielded it.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 41, 46, 84 and 92.

According to this writer, the key to understanding European conceptions of Africa was the notion of blankness. Through various modes of representations, in the eyes of the Europeans, Africa, the “other” of the “Other” represented nullity, blankness, formlessness, emptiness and chaos in striking contrast to the fullness of the West. While Africa represented a “perpetual childhood”, “pure anteriority”, “with no more words”, the West stood for progress. In this view Africa was projected as a third element, within the “Other”, a perpetual child, while the West was an adult. From the perspective of these mental representations, the history of Africa was portrayed starting with the arrival of the outsider, the Westerner and the Orient.

Thus, in comparison to Europeans, the Orient (Semitic) was seen as occupying a lower social scale, while the Africans who were viewed as situated on the margins of the latter fared even worse. In the late 19th century, in various ways, the Anglican missionaries in East and Central Africa held and expressed views, which seem to suggest such perspectives. For example, writing to his missionary, Charles Janson in Zanzibar, in 1881, Bishop Steere said, “The races of tropical Africa, being amongst the lowest of the human family, need special selfsacrifice as the instrument of their elevation.”³¹ Then Steere went on to mention their vices, “drunkenness, and uncleanness, whilst slavery, the worst scourge of these races, helps to make labour distasteful, and, therefore, progress impossible.”³² In this perspective, Orientalism was more pessimistic with regard the Africans than with the Semitic Orient as they were seen as an extension of the Orient, the “other” of the “Other.” It is in this regard that this theory is relevant to the present study.

For Said, the very close location of the ancient lands to the West have obliged the latter to enter into a special relationship with the former.³³ The adjacent position of the Oriental lands to Europe, so maintained Said, helped to define Europe, started as a way

31.Heanley, R. M., *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1888, p. 333.

32.*Ibid.*

33.*Ibid.*, pp. 14.

in which the which the Europeans sought to relate to the “Other”; it was a way in which they sought the affirmation of their own identity.³⁴ Said argued that using the nonWesterner as a contrasting stereotype of the Westerner, the Westerner helped to define his own identity. In this way, so Said argued, the basis of Orientalism lay in the perception that the East was fundamentally different to the West,³⁵ the Orient to the Westerner.³⁶ Thus, behind the process was a hidden desire to prove that the West was good and that the “others” were bad.³⁷

Yet, so Said maintains, it is not that the Europeans were interested in the others but rather in themselves. Consequently, Orientalism not only affected the Orient (the nonWesterner) but also effectively transformed the image of the Westerner, the Occident. In other words, it was a selfish way in which the Europeans sought to promote their interests at the expense of the Non-Europeans.

In Said’s view, Orientalism stood for, and meant numerous, albeit, interconnected things. Fundamentally, it entailed European sociocultural, economic and political domination of the Orient. It concerned a traditional relationship in which the Orient found definition within the historical European experience with the Eastern.³⁸ Thus, Orientalism was the manner in which the Europeans conceptualised the “other”. In this respect, it was fundamentally a construction, a way in which the Europeans sought to represent the Orient.³⁹

But according to Said, the very existence of the Orient in the Western intellectual tradition also helped to define Europe or the West as its opposite, indeed its antithesis.⁴⁰

34.*Ibid.*

35.*Ibid.*, p. 327.

36.*Ibid.*, pp. 12.

37.*Ibid.*

38.*Ibid.*

39.*Ibid.*, p. 15.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Thus, viewed as the “other” of the “Other”, the “Orient” (including even Africa) was portrayed and defined as the extreme opposite of the West.⁴¹

Thus, Said argued that by Orientalism, the European West sought to enter into a relationship of power with the Orient on various levels, social, cultural, religious, political, asserting its identity over the “Other”. More significantly, in a key passage, Said defined Orientalism as:

A *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of interests which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains, it *is*, rather than expresses, a certain *will or intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values) power moral (as with ideas about what we do and what they cannot do or understand as we do)⁴²

According to Said, this relation of power entailed cultural and ideological assertion in which the Orientalism as an ideology was fashioned by the institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, and colonial styles of the West.⁴³ In this sense, Orientalism was intellectual in its character, it was an academic discipline, be it sociology, anthropology or other in which the West related to the Other. But according to Ziauddin Sardar, this knowledge was inexplicably connected to structures. He put it thus,

This knowledge tradition is so integrated with structures of economic and political power that it became handmaiden to colonialism; indeed, it articulated the forces of colonial aspirations and justified colonialism in advance. Orientalism tries to demonstrate both how Europe invented the fiction of the Orient and the Orientals and

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 45.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

how representation was used as an instrument for control and subjugation in colonialism.⁴⁴

So Orientalism, was after all an invention; a product of the creation of the power of knowledge that was mutually interdependent with the structures in society. In this relationship, the structures tended to enhance knowledge that appeared to justify the presence of the latter.

Said traced the definitive development of Orientalism from 18th century scholarship.⁴⁵ As an academic discipline, he argued that Orientalism became an established intellectual discourse in which the West authoritatively defined and characterised the relationship of subjugation between the West and the East.⁴⁶ As an intellectual discipline, the Orient was “studied” precisely with the objective of proving and illustrating the preconception that in every way the Orient was far inferior to the West.⁴⁷

However, Said also argued that Orientalism was not merely an academic exercise divorced from reality. Rather it was associated with the European *a priori* interests to control, and manage the “other”. It existed as the very vehicle through which it finally justified the colonisation of the Orient by the West in the 19th and 20th centuries. Or as David Attwell put it, “Orientalism (was) about creating a tightly organised discourse in which the colonised were “managed” or “controlled” in such a way that colonial interests were foregrounded.”⁵⁴⁸ So after all Orientalism is about the European’s “management” and “control” of power with regard to the “Other”.

Thus the fundamental argument in this study is that the missionaries’ ability to hold, “control” and “manage” the power that they wielded in terms of their relationship with the “other”, under girded the premise upon which they sought to impart Christianity on

44.Sardar, Z., *Orientalism*, Buckingham: Philadelphia Open University Press, 1999, p. 69.

45.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

46.*Ibid.*

47.*Ibid.*

48.Informal discussion, the author with David Attwell, English department, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, March 2003.

the Africans. In specific terms, I will argue in chapter four that the missionaries' consciousness of their position of power in relation to the Africans gave them confidence to evangelise them. This determined the pace of the process of making African ministers and also the scope of the African ministry in the late 20th century Malawi.

Similarly, I will argue that the missionaries' argument that the Africans lacked special characteristics, skills, moral discipline or a sense of responsibility constituted a pretext upon which they excluded the Africans from the higher positions in the church. As I will illustrate, the subtlety of this diffusion of power is that gradually the Africans themselves appeared to accept that they lacked within themselves the power to shoulder higher responsibilities. Even more critically, I will argue that this view had the tendency to enhance attitudes and practices of dependency in Africans on English missionaries.

Linked to the academic tradition, so Said argued, Orientalism (was) a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident. This distinction, this antithesis, constituted as the point of departure in any formulation of theories, epics, novels, political accounts between the West and the non-Westerner.⁴⁹ In other words, Said believed that in any study or approach to the non-Westerner, the preconceived difference of inferiority of the Orient as contrasted to the assumed superiority of the Westerner was a decisive determining principle in which the relationship between the two categories was conducted.

As I will argue later on, it is this aspect that decisively influenced policy and determined the development of African leadership in the missionary Anglican Church in Malawi and in post-independent Malawi. Relations between the missionaries and the Africans were determined by the missionaries on the premise that the missionaries and their culture were superior to that of the Africans. In this sense, Orientalism was about the diffusion of power. As Said asserted, "there are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominate; the latter must be dominated, which usually means having their land

49.Said *op. cit.*, pp. 23.

occupied, their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure at the disposal of one or other Western power.”⁵⁰

On this score, in his book, *Orientalism*, Ziauddin Sardar has taken Said to task. Justifiably, he contends that Said’s representation of Orientalism is too broad and contradictory by definition.⁵¹ Contending that the notion of the “Orient” was never strictly applicable to the Middle East, to the Muslims, and to Islam, Sardar argued that Orientalism was applied without changes and modifications, especially forcefully to all other Orients: Chinese, Indian, South east Asian and others.⁵²

In the same vein, according to Sardar, a common criticism levelled against Said is that he presents Orientalism as an “unchanging, monolithic, predominantly male-oriented discourse.”⁵³ Contrary to this view, Sardar contends that Orientalism was an expression “of a whole range of voices, Islamophobics as well as lovers of Islam, hegemonic endeavours, differentiated by gender ideology and sexual preference.”⁵⁴ Sardar asserts that condensation of this diversity and heterogeneity amounts to Occidentalism and stereotyping in reverse.⁵⁵

However, for Said, stereotyping and characterisation as bases of representation of the Westerner and the Orient constituted means upon which the power of Orientalism rested. As he contended the acceptance of the distinction between the Occident and Orient led to the former “creating” or “constructing” the latter by way of representing him within the cultural discourse.⁵⁶ Said argued that ideas, cultures and histories cannot be appropriately understood apart from the configurations of power behind them.⁵⁷

50.*Ibid.*, p. 36.

51.Sardar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

52.*Ibid.*, p. 70.

53.*Ibid.*

54.*Ibid.*

55.*Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

56.*Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

57.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

In this case the “making” of an Oriental by attributing to him character or life which did not relate to reality was in fact a relationship of power, of domination, of various degrees of complex hegemony...⁵⁸ In this sense, according to Said, Orientalism was ideological as it distorted reality from the perspective of domination by the Europeans.⁵⁹ Existing as corporate institution of power since the 18th century, this relationship of power was a way of handling the Orient by pronouncing statements about it, imposing views about it, defining it, expressing it, prevailing over it.⁶⁰ In sum, it existed as a style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.⁶¹

By implication, Orientalism was about the Europeans’ capacity to wield authority and power over the Orient.⁶² Thus, unlike for the Comaroffs who optimistically observed that colonialism was a two-way cord involving a reciprocal relationship between the dominant and their subordinates, for Said, pessimistically, colonisation was a one-way traffic the dominant imposing it on their subordinates, with the latter having nothing much to reciprocate with.

Nevertheless, more significantly, Said also observed the effects of this power in limiting or constraining the West's understanding of the Orient.⁶³ It distorted the Europeans’ capacity to understand the Oriental.⁶⁴ For as Said asserted, “Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, “us”) and the strange (the Orient, the East). This vision in a sense created and then served the two worlds thus conceived. Orientals lived in their world; the Westerners lived in theirs. The vision and material reality propped each other up, kept each other going.”⁶⁵

58.*Ibid.*, p. 5.

59.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

60.*Ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

61.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

62.*Ibid.*, p. 36, 204.

63.*Ibid.*

64.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

65.*Ibid.*, p. 44.

By and through this power a whole range and diversity of interests were implicated which came to bear upon the Orient. It is these interests which negatively bore on the Westerner's understanding of the Orient.⁶⁶ To me, this aspect constituted the most subtle and critical factor in the discourse involving the English missionaries and the Africans in the postcolonial era. Much further than Cannadine's suggestion that relations of power between the colonies and coloniser were not even,⁶⁷ I maintain as Said argued that they were lopsided, weighing tremendously to the advantage of the missionaries. As Said asserted, since interests and power are implicated in the relationship between the Orient and Occident, above all, Orientalism was about the power of the European (Occident) to represent the Orient. In this sense, so Said concluded, Orientalism was essentially, a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of complex hegemony, and is quite accurately indicated in the title of K.M. Pannikar's classic *Asia and Western dominance*.⁶⁸

Far from suggesting that it is merely a pack of lies or myths, Said argued that, Orientalism is the very embodiment of Western supremacy over the Orient. As a cultural discourse, its association with academic, political and military institutions gives it its durability and strength. Drawing from Gramsci's analytical distinction between civil and political society, Said asserted that cultural hegemony existed in the form of influential ideas that propped and strengthened Orientalism.⁶⁹ It is in this regard that Said locates the source and the base of Orientalism as the hegemonic a collective notion identifying us as the Europeans as against those Non-Europeans.⁷⁰ According to Ziauddin Sardar, Said's most significant argument is that,

Texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, which then shapes all further learning about the Orient. Moreover, this knowledge tradition is so integrated with structures of economic and political power that it became handmaiden to colonialism; indeed, it articulated the forces of colonial aspirations and justified colonialism in

66. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

67. Cannadine, D., *Ornamentalism, How the British Saw their Empire*, London: The Penguin Press, 2001, chapter. 2.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

advance. Orientalism tries to demonstrate both how Europe invented the fiction of the Orient and the Orientals and how this representation was used as an instrument for control and subjugation in colonialism.⁷¹

Put simply, in this regard, according to Said, Orientalism denoted the idea of a European identity of superiority over the Non-European⁷² as an impetus for imperialism. Yet, as Sardar contended, if as Said argued that Orientalism entailed nothing but representation, “how was it possible for this imaginary construction and its knowledge to be put in the service of real imperialism, control conquest, occupation and administration?”⁷³ Moreover, so Sardar further asks, “is all representation misrepresentation?”⁷⁴ Suppose representation does reflect some substance of truth, as Said sometimes implied, on what basis can the theory be justified that reality was possible as its basis rested on the premises of the imaginary?⁷⁵ In his view, this fundamental contradiction was unresolved in Orientalism.⁷⁶ However, this contradiction arises precisely because Said presents Orientalism as a “broad Church”, a perspective that seek to embrace all aspects of European discourse regarding the “Other.”

However, for Said, Orientalism rested on the power of the West to impose its will on the Orient. He expressed this point thus, “my contention is that Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient’s difference with its weakness.”⁷⁷

The West’s feeling of superiority thus rested on the sovereign Western consciousness, the basis upon which the examination of the Orient occurred. Orientalism was not merely about representation of the Oriental by the Occident through cultural discourse.⁷⁸ It denoted the process whereby the consciousness of the Oriental was so shaped that he began understanding himself politically and geographically, as belonging

71.Sardar, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

72.*Ibid.*

73.*Ibid.*, p. 72.

74.*Ibid.*

75.*Ibid.*

76.*Ibid.*

77.*Ibid.*, p. 204.

78.*Ibid.*, p. 21-23.

to a world which was far inferior to the West.⁷⁹ In other words, more subtly, by Orientalism, the European sought to conquer the mind of the Orient to such an extent that the latter tended to believe that they were merely the poorest image of the European.

Finally, as a matter involving representation, it entailed the process of socialisation and was governed by interests to control and manipulate the Orient.⁸⁰ This rested on the notion of inherent inferiority of the Orient and superiority of the Occident, the cornerstone of Orientalism. It is precisely on this point that Said's analysis of the transaction of power between the West and the Other is crucial to this study.

The story of missionary evangelisation in late 19th century Africa was essentially one which entailed the capacity of the colonial missionaries to define means and modes of distribution of power between themselves and the African. I will argue in chapter four that it was largely on this basis that the Anglican missionaries formulated their view of Africanisation as opposed to Europeanisation. The preconceived and predetermined distinction between the presumed Europe strong, superior civilisation over against the inferior, weak African culture and civility was not only the basis upon which UMCA policy was informed; more importantly, it regulated the terms upon which the relations with the Africans were conducted. For instance, the UMCA missionary presumption of the inability of the Africans to handle power embodied in the Europe-oriented priesthood in the late 19th century in East Africa tended to justify the imposition of a longer probation ministry for the Africans.

The ability to construe a policy that purported to characterise and suit the lifestyle of the African presumed prior possession of knowledge of an African by the missionaries. It presupposed the missionaries' ability to display authority over the life of an African. It assumes the missionaries attempt to represent an African who was deemed incapable of

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 204.

representing himself. It was power that rested on knowledge, which was regulated by special structures of a social system.⁸¹

Said stated that Orientalism, based on intellectual power, was about the European assumption, distribution of power and authority with regard to the Africans.⁸² For him, this authority was not innate. Rather it acquired force, it was dynamic to the extent that it rose to manifest itself as power more or less personalised. As he stated:

It is formed, irradiated, disseminated, it is instrumental, it is persuasive, it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it disqualifies as true and from traditions, perceptions, and judgements, it forms, it transmits, reproduces, Above all, authority can, indeed must, be analysed.⁸³

In further elaborating the effect of Orientalism as an academic subject, Said illustrated its impact by giving an example of a person whose prior reading a story about a fierce lion influences his reaction to a fierce lion accordingly.⁸⁴ His argument is that prior knowledge of a story of how to deal with a fierce lion will automatically influence the person at his first encounter with a lion. Said's concern for the *modus operandi* of authority in a text leads him to analyse it within the framework of the texts.

Calling his method “strategic location”, Said denoted it as a way in which to describe the author's position in a text with respect to the Oriental material he writes about.⁸⁵ On the other hand, strategic formation describes the way of analysing the relationship between texts and the manner in which various groups of texts, types and form of texts acquire mass, density and referential power amongst themselves and thereafter in the culture at large.⁸⁶ Said believed his tool of strategy was useful in addressing the problem and the approach of such a vast subject as Orientalism.⁸⁷

81.*Ibid.*, p. 45.

82.*Ibid.*, p. 5.

83.*Ibid.*, p. 20.

84.*Ibid.*, p. 94.

85.*Ibid.*, p. 20.

86.*Ibid.*, p. 107.

87.*Ibid.*, p. 22.

Respectively, so Said maintained, writing about the Orient requires one's location in the text of the subject Orientalism. Amongst other things this entails adopting a particular kind of narrative, the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text. Collectively, these contribute to the way of addressing the reader, containing and representing the Orient. Since Orientalism is premised upon the West's capacity to speak for and represent the Orient, Said claimed to approach the subject from the perspective of exteriority.

Rather than seeking the hidden meaning of the text, he claimed to be concerned with the external authority of the text, the surface meaning of the text. So Said identified specific aspects of this evidence, style, figures of speech, setting, narrative material, devices.⁸⁸

Unlike Michel Foucault, Said believed in the unique importance of the work of individual authors in its own right in the text as a source from which the information on Orientalism is made available.⁸⁹ To him beyond useful scholarly evidence lie equally important sources in wider ranging literature, such as political journals, travel books, religious and philological texts.⁹⁰ However, his concern for the uniqueness of the individual texts is in relation to his desire to uncover the link between the author or text and the massive information to which his work contributes. Yet what matters is not just acquisition of information.⁹¹ Rather it is that of acquisition of knowledge implies diffusion of power. Hence, for Said, Orientalism was substantially and ultimately about possession, maintenance, and demonstration of power that arose from a traditional discourse of knowledge.

Said illustrated the relationship between knowledge and power by citing the attitude and speeches of Colonial Governor of Egypt, Arthur James Balfour in the 19th century. On being challenged why it was regarded necessary to occupy Egypt, Balfour quoted the member of parliament of Tyneside, J.M. Robertson's question: What right have you to

88. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

take up these airs of superiority with regard to the people you choose to call Oriental?" For Said, the use of the term Oriental suggested the unquestionable, normal way in which the term had come to be employed in describing people of Asia or the East, geographically, morally and culturally.⁹² Pursuing his argument further that knowledge of a subject empowers the dominant to dominate his subject, the preceding quote continues:

I take up no attitude of superiority. But I ask (Robertson or anyone else)...who has the most superficial knowledge of history, if they will look in the face of facts with which a British statesman has to deal when he is put in a position of supremacy over great races like the inhabitants of Egypt and countries in the East. We know the civilisation of Egypt more than of any other country. We know it further back; we know it more intimately; we know more about it. It goes far beyond the petty span of the history of our race, which is lost in the prehistoric period at a time when the Egyptian civilisation had already passed its prime. Look at all the Oriental countries. Do not talk about superiority or inferiority.⁹³

Accordingly, prior mental possession of knowledge of the Orient activates and naturally justifies British occupation of Egypt. Knowledge for Balfour implies tracing the history of civilisation from its origins through its development, its prime and its decline. In this respect, acquisition of knowledge translates into action, it becomes a reality, a mental experience to put it in the terms or language of the Comaroffs, knowledge is reified, it attains such force that it takes a personal form. It acquires almost its own independent entity and form.

Put differently, knowledge transcends its immediacy, it rises above itself, it acquires authority and life of its own. This is the core of Said's argument. Intellectual acquisition of knowledge of the Oriental empowers the Occident in such a way that he is endowed with authority and justification to define, form, shape the image or character of the Orient subjectively on the basis of his interests. So it goes, the Orient *is* because the Occident *is*; minus the Occident, so the Oriental ceases to be. Precisely, this means that rather than having his independent life of existence, the Orient exists merely as an appendage of the Occident.

92.*Ibid.*, p. 31.

93.*Ibid.*, p. 32.

In chapter seven of this study, I will maintain that one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Anglican missionaries in Malawi during the late 19th and 20th centuries was that they contributed to the creation of an African clergy that essentially existed as an extension to their own leadership in Malawi. What I mean is that missionary domination of African leadership had the effect of contributing to a leadership that remained dependent on, rather than independent of the missionary. As Said stated, missionaries' assumption of possession of knowledge of the Africans placed them in a stronger position to dominate and have authority to rule, to pronounce and judge over the Africans.⁹⁴ Just as Said noted, British knowledge of Egypt (was) Egypt for Balfour...⁹⁵, so the English missionaries' knowledge of the African (in East Africa) was Africa for the missionaries.

For Balfour, so Said observed, British possession of knowledge objectifies and subjectifies Egypt to the extent that its life is thought of not as existing in itself. In this respect Britain creates Egypt. For this reason, so Said maintained, Orientalism was essentially an intellectual understanding of the other premised upon a tradition that defined European identity, therefore, determined their destiny. British superiority is taken for granted, so is Egyptian inferiority.⁹⁶ Continuing his line of argument, Said stated that:

First of all, look at the facts of the case. Western nations as soon as they emerge into history show the beginnings of those capacities of self-government having merits of their own... You may look through the whole history of Orientals in what is called, broadly speaking, the East, and you never find traces of self-government. All their great centuries and they have been very great have been passed under despotisms, under that form of government. Conqueror has succeeded conqueror. One domination has followed another, but never in all the revolutions of fate and fortune have you seen one of those nations of its own establish what we, from a Western point of view, call self-government. That is the fact.⁹⁷

Believing these to be facts, Balfour winds his argument,

94.*Ibid.*

95.*Ibid.*

96.*Ibid.*

97.*Ibid.*, p. 33.

It is a good thing for these great nations I admit their greatness that this absolute government should be exercised by us? I think it is a good thing. I think that experience shows that they have got under it far better government than in the whole history of the world they ever had before, and which not only is a benefit to them, but is undoubtedly a benefit to the whole of the civilised West... We are in Egypt not merely for the sake of the Egyptians, though we are there for their sake; we are there also for the sake of Europe at large.⁹⁸

An assumption is made that the races that we deal with either understand or even appreciate colonial occupation. An Egyptian is denied the right to represent himself, rather he is represented by his coloniser who speaks on his behalf. What is important, so Said noted, is that Egypt's destiny is tied to that of Britain only as an appendage. More significantly, what makes Egypt more useful are British interests tied to colonisation. In this respect, Egypt exists because Britain allows it to exist by way of Oriental knowledge, authority and power which actualise it.

Thus a close link ought to be noticed between knowledge and power. Power derives from acquisition of knowledge of a thing. In turn this power legitimated control or even induced the manipulation of a subordinate by the dominant. Yet for Said what made Orientalism unique was not just the Occident's command of power over the Orient, it was the possession of power, the ability to manipulate this power, more importantly the people. He cited Balfour who applauded Lord Evelyn Baring, British representative in Egypt between 1882 and 1907 in the following words,

Everything he has touched he has succeeded... Lord Baring's services during the past quarter of a century have raised Egypt from the lowest pitch of social and economic degradation until it now stands among Oriental nations, I believe, absolutely alone in its prosperity, financial and moral.⁹⁹

British manipulation of Egypt, besides Lord Baring, involved other high-ranking officials,

including missionaries, businessmen, soldiers who saw themselves providing for, directing, and sometimes even forcing Egyptians to rise from Oriental neglect to

98.*Ibid.*

99.*Ibid.*, p. 35.

Egypt's present lonely eminence.¹⁰⁰ In his observation of Balfour's and Cromer's notions about Oriental civilisation and management of business in Egypt, respectively, Said views a theory which as he put it worked staggeringly well...¹⁰¹ How did the theory go? There are Westerners and there are Orientals. The former dominate, the latter must be dominated, which usually means having their lands occupied, their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure put at the disposal of one or another Western power.¹⁰²

Said's point is that doctrine had such distorted reality that it dehumanised Egyptians as a people.¹⁰³ Said's assertion seems to exonerate Balfour's and Cromer's responsibility by attaching it to the power of doctrine while neglecting moral responsibility which cannot be separated from action. Said's preoccupation with knowledge and power raises it to the status of personage and it is immortalised, giving it almost an independent power of existence. According to this line of thought, knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectics of information and control.¹⁰⁴ The link between knowledge and authority acquires its own position of eminence. This according to Said is,

The long developing core of essential knowledge, knowledge both academic and practical, which Balfour and Cromer inherited from a century of modern Orientalism: Knowledge about and knowledge of Orientals, their race, character, culture, history, traditions, society and possibilities. This knowledge was effective. Cromer believed he had put it to use in a governing Egypt. Moreover, it was tested and unchanging knowledge, since Orientals for all practical purposes were a platonic essence, which any Orientalist (or ruler of Orientals) might examine, understand and expose.¹⁰⁵

Said views knowledge as a tool for ruling the Orient and legitimising that rule. Being endowed with intellectual dynamism, it propels the process of subjugation of the Orientals. In this respect knowledge is reified. It acquires power, which becomes a driving motor for a particular historical process. More significantly, for Said, the

100.*Ibid.*

101.*Ibid.*, p. 36.

102.*Ibid.*

103.*Ibid.*

104.*Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

105.*Ibid.*, p. 38.

essence of Orientalism derived from its negative stereotyping characterisation of the other as the Orient. Denying the other positive qualities or characteristics in the superlative while affirmatively arrogating to themselves those qualities. Said illustrates this by citing Cromer's thirtyfourth chapter of *Modern Egypt* thus,

Sir Alfred Lyall once said to me: Accuracy is abhorrent to the Oriental mind. Every AngloIndian should always remember that maxim.” Want of accuracy, which degenerates into untruthfulness, is in fact the main characteristic of the Oriental mind.

The European is a close reasoner, his statements of facts are devoid of any ambiguity; he is a natural logician, albeit he may not have studied logic; he is by nature sceptical, and requires proof before he can accept the truth of any proposition, his trained intelligence works like a piece of mechanism. The mind of the Oriental, on the other hand, like his picturesque streets, is eminently wanting in symmetry.

His reasoning is of the most slipshod description. Although the Arabs acquired in somewhat higher degree the science of dialectics, their descendants are singularly deficient in the logical faculty. They are often incapable of drawing the most obvious conclusions from any premises of which they admit the truth... His explanation will generally be lengthy and wanting lucidity. He will probably contradict himself half a dozen times before he has finished his story. He will break down under the mildest process of crossexamination.¹⁰⁶

This litany of characterisation continues. Arabs are portrayed as devoid of energy and initiative, disposed to fulsome flattery, intrigue, cunning, and unkindness to animals; Orientals cannot walk on either a road or pavement, are inveterate liars, they are lethargic and suspicious, and in everything opposed to the “clarity, directness, and nobility of the AngloSaxon race.¹⁰⁷ In this scenario, the Oriental is irrevocably viewed as an antithesis, the antitype of everything Western. This is the fundamental edifice of Orientalism. As Jurgen Osterhammel stated, so called Orientalism (was) based on the mental operation of distancing inversion, in which the Orient (was) held to be the antithesis of Europe in every respect, static, lacking history, incapable of self reflection, etc.¹⁰⁸

106.*Ibid.*

107.*Ibid.*, p. 39.

108.Osterhammel, J., *Colonialism, A Theoretical Overview*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997, p.109.

In Said's view, Cromer's description leaned on empirical knowledge. He quotes the latter: content myself with noting the fact that somehow or other the orient generally acts, speaks and thinks in a manner exactly opposite to the European.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Said observed, though partly based on evidence, partly observation, Cromer was so certain of his knowledge which seemed to confirm his views.¹¹⁰ These views to judge from his description of the Egyptian breaking under cross-examination, find the Oriental to be guilty.¹¹¹ Finally, so Said noted, the crime Cromer refers to was that the Oriental was an Oriental.¹¹² Such insulting attribution, so Said concludes, was so commonly acceptable that to deviate from it was regarded as unnatural.¹¹³

According to Said, the preceding suggested that knowledge acquired became the basis for justifying colonisation. Orientalism, so Said maintained, was not simply a rationalisation of colonial rule but rather prevailed as the very factor that justified colonisation in advance.¹¹⁴ In this respect, so Said believed, the source for colonisation was precisely the absolute demarcation between East and West which Balfour and Cromer accepted almost without question. In other words, the stark contrast between East and West had been so entrenched that it was perceived to be natural and therefore undoubtedly true. It is the realm that has been described by the Comaroffs as the domain of the hegemonic, that holding such sway over its adherents it almost unconsciously determines or influence their thought and practice.

Thus in the last half of chapter one I will illustrate that in the 19th century, the missionaries' preconceptions that the Africans absolutely lacked superior "civilised" values, traditions, religious, civic, political institutions, tended to justify their actions to impose upon the Africans what they considered as a superior system of cultural values and traditions. Similarly, in the rest of this thesis, I will illustrate that the English

109. *Said, op. cit.*, p. 39.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Ibid.*

missionaries' assumptions that the Africans absolutely lacked European, moral, intellectual discipline, and responsibilities, tended to justify the need to delay the Africans from sharing ministerial power with the missionaries. A typical example of this practice, as will be illustrated in chapter three, was the introduction of the long ladder of ministerial progression.

For, as Said stated, the core of Orientalism is the capacity of the Occident to claim to possess knowledge through which an Orient is represented. In other words, since the nexus of knowledge is power, Orientalism was about management and control of an Orient with regard to power.¹¹⁵ Evangelisation of Africans was after all about the transmission of power to the Africans, while the process of making priests specifically entailed the mediation of symbolic European forms of power to the Africans. I will argue that the uneven distribution of power between the two parties more to the advantage of the missionaries than the Africans tended to justify the distinction between the stronger West and the weaker East.

In Said's view, this division emanated from the middle of the 18th century where there had been two principal elements in the relation between the East and the West.¹¹⁶ Firstly, there was an increasing expansion of knowledge about the Orient which had been enhanced by the discoveries and colonial encounter as well as discoveries *inter alia* in sciences of ethnology, comparative anatomy in addition to literature.¹¹⁷ The second element concerned the dominant position of Europe in Oriental European relations.¹¹⁸ Politically, culturally and religiously this relationship was conceived in the West as between a strong partner, the West and a weak partner, the East.¹¹⁹

Numerous terms were used to express the relationship. It came in antithetical stereotypes. The Orient is irrational, depraved (fallen), "childlike", different; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, normal. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the

115.*Ibid.*

116.*Ibid.*, p. 77.

117.*Ibid.*, p. 40.

118.*Ibid.*

119.*Ibid.*

Oriental world was recognised as having its internal coherence and principles and institutions, its intelligibility and identity did not issue from its own efforts, rather from a wide-ranging complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West.¹²⁰

In other words, the Orientals and their world were seen as not existing in their own right, having life of their own, but rather as the extension of the European. It goes, therefore, that essentially Orientalism was about diffusion of power from the centre, the West, towards the margins, the East, or in this case, Africa. Critical in this transaction was the West's presumption to claim knowledge of the Orient which they dubbed the Orient. The Oriental is portrayed as the thing, an object, a specimen. Accordingly, he is someone who can be judged (as in a court of law), a subject matter to be studied (as in a curriculum) or examined, something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual).

The point to note is that in either of these cases the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks.¹²¹ Orientalism is about the exercise of cultural strength in modern history. Culminating in the 19th and 20th century characterisation of everything Oriental as inferior to and needing rectifying by the West, Orientalism passed through transformation in the period between 1815 and 1914 coinciding with European expansion, dominating Asia and Africa.¹²² Respectively, Orientalism strengthened and was strengthened by the knowledge that Europe or the West controlled an immense part of the earth's surface.¹²³

Subjugation of the Orient did not merely entail land. It was intellectual as well, embracing various discourses, Christian religion, sociology, ethnology, anthropology and politics. These ideas explained the behaviour of Orientals; they attributed to Orientals a mentality, a genealogy, and an atmosphere; most importantly they allowed

120.*Ibid.*

121.*Ibid.*

122.*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 121.

123.*Ibid.*, p. 5.1

Europeans to deal with and even see Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics. Nonetheless, the durability of Orientalist notions was such that it influenced both the Orientals as well as the European, the Occident. This is the character of Orientalism. Rather than simply being a positive doctrine, at best it is understood as a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought.

Orientalism presupposes and maintains that Non-Europeans are irrevocably different from Europeans. According to Jurgen Osterhammel, it is this notion that constituted a cornerstone of colonialist thought.¹²⁴ The supposed inferior intellectual and physical abilities attributed to Non-Europeans, so it was maintained, would make it impossible for them to attain cultural achievements similar to those achieved by their European counterparts.¹²⁵ This notion was elaborated in various ways. Technologically, it was assumed that it manifested in their inability to control nature.¹²⁶ Environmentally, it was held that their bodily constitution was compromised by the tropical climate.¹²⁷ Theologically, these dissimilarities were explained in terms of the depravity of heathens.¹²⁸ However, Said's suggestion that colonisation was a one-way affair, from the dominant to the colonised, came to be challenged by other scholars, among them, John and Jean Comaroff.

1.6.2 Hegemony, Ideology and Culture

In their book, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, John and Jean Comaroff¹²⁹ tried to explain the process of colonisation in the form of evangelisation of the Southern Tswana community initiated by the 19th century British Non-Conformist missionaries. Very briefly, the theory went like this. Sharing a common social origin, through their culture (and represented) as a system, once closed and universalistic, the British Non-Conformist set

124.*Ibid.*, p. 108.

125.*Ibid.*

126.*Ibid.*

127.*Ibid.*

128.*Ibid.*

129. John and Jean Comaroff are American social anthropologists.

out to impose on the Tswana a Western way of viewing the world around them.¹³⁰ This path set the Tswana and the English missionaries on a long course, what the Comaroffs call a conversation or a dialogue, full of arguments of words and images.¹³¹ Through this process, many signifiers, symbols, or icons of the colonising culture were set free.

On the other hand, in efforts to gain mastery or control of their changing world,¹⁴¹³² the Africans captured some of these signifiers, transformed them, and put them to a symbolic and practical use not originally envisaged by their colonisers.¹³³ In other words, this became a way in which the Tswana sought to come to terms with the process of their colonisation. Likewise, some of the cultural signifiers and forms of African culture having been set afloat, got interpolated in the missionary worldview. In this regard, rather than being a oneway affair, the dominant imposing themselves on their subordinates with no response from the subordinates, colonisation was a two-way activity involving both the colonisers and would be colonised responding, albeit on different levels.

Significantly, this process resulted in the objectification and reification of two cultural systems, now understood as the African and the European, respectively. More significantly, the Africans began to conceive their cultural system also as closed, distinguishing it as *Setswana*.¹³⁴ For the Comaroffs, this is the essence of colonisation. It was the capacity of the missionaries seeking to change and transform both the mindset and perceptions and habits of their subjects, the Tswana, to the extent that now the latter began to view their culture from the perspective of (and represented by) their colonisers.¹³⁵ To put it in other words, colonisation of consciousness entailed imposing on the Tswana “a particular way of seeing and being.”¹³⁶ This is where the Comaroffs

130.J. and J. Comaroffs, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

131.*Ibid.*, p. 4, 17.

132.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

133.*Ibid.*, p. 18.

134.*Ibid.*

135.*Ibid.*

136.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

come closer to Edward Said's notion of Orientalism, where the Orient becomes almost submerged in the metadiscourse of the Occident.

But unlike Said, more significantly, for the Comaroffs the efforts to impose a new view of reality did not take place without contestation or resistance.¹³⁷ According to the Comaroffs, the rise of the awareness that something is wrong lay in what they termed as contradictory consciousness. Naturally, this leads to consciousness of colonisation, the awareness, though partial or rather disconnected, that they are under the sway of some kind of power that they cannot quite fully grasp how it controls them.¹³⁸

Yet the process of colonisation, so the Comaroffs argue, affected the missionaries as much as the Tswana. As a dialogue, it entailed an exchange in which the two groups got involved in the process of interchange of relations of power entailed in cultural exchange on different levels of consciousness and various aspects of respective cultural perspectives. This interchange was not a short-lived process; rather it was a drawn-out process, involving negotiation and negation, dialogue and contestation, affirmation and resistance and protest.

Central to the Comaroffs' analysis of power relations between the English missionaries and the Tswana are three concepts: hegemony, ideology and culture.¹³⁹ For the Comaroffs, the study of Christianity transcended the mere analysis of religious change. More importantly, it encompasses historical anthropology concerned with the coloniser as well as the colonised, structure and agency.¹⁴⁰ In relation to hegemony, exclusively drawing from Gramsci's view, the Comaroffs defined culture as a common conception comprising a stock of shared dispositions, a popular mentality which any hegemony had to capture.¹⁴¹ This spontaneous philosophy is said to be embedded in (1) language, itself an order of determined notions and concepts; (2) common good sense; (3) the entire

137.*Ibid.*, p. 26.

138.*Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

139.*Ibid.*, p. 19.

140.*Ibid.*, p. xi.

141.*Ibid.*, p. 21.

system of beliefs, superstitions, ways of seeing things and of acting.¹⁴² In conclusion, the Comaroffs defined culture as:

The shared repertoire of practices, symbols, and meanings, from which hegemonic forms are cast and, by extension, resisted. Or, in other words, it is the historically situated field of signifiers, at once material and symbolic, in which occur the dialectics of domination and resistance, the making and breaking of consensus.¹⁴³

According to the Comaroffs, culture then is a commonly held conception in which a group defines and represents itself and makes sense of the world around it, it gives them identity.¹⁴⁴ It is the space of signifying practice, the semantic ground on which human beings seek to construct and represent themselves and others and, hence society and history.¹⁴⁵ More importantly, implied in culture is “form and content”, expressed in thought as well as action; “is a product of human creativity as well as mimesis; and above all, is empowered. But is not empowered in the same way, or all of the time.¹⁴⁶

However, more importantly, the Comaroffs posited hegemony as the other dimension of culture, which manifests itself in power.¹⁴⁷ Following a longwinded debate on the relationship of ideology and culture to hegemony by Antony Gramsci, the Comaroffs defined hegemony as the order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies drawn from a historically situated cultural field that came to be taken for granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it.”¹⁴⁸

Hegemony then entails things so habitually or repeatedly done that they cease to appear or be regarded as a subject of argument or contention, since they are crucial to the way of life.¹⁴⁹ In other words, they become as it were naturalised, consequently, they appear

142.*Ibid.*

143.*Ibid.*

144.*Ibid.*, p. 21.

145.*Ibid.*

146.*Ibid.*, p. 22.

147.*Ibid.*

148.*Ibid.*, p. 23.

149.*Ibid.*

to be normal, and therefore are received without much questioning.¹⁵⁰ In this sense, so the Comaroffs argue, the effects of hegemony

lies in what it silences, what it prevents people from thinking and saying, what it puts beyond the limits of the rational and credible...it is habit forming. It is the realm of taken for granted. For these reasons, it is rarely contested directly, save perhaps in the roseate dreams of the revolutionaries.¹⁵¹

It is at this point that hegemony and ideology appear as overlapping vehicles through which power is made manifest.¹⁵² They exist as two dominant modes in which power is embodied and displayed chiefly in the form of cultural assertion.¹⁵³ This power, so the Comaroffs stated, is double-faced.¹⁵⁴ At times it surfaces as the capacity of the people to fashion the activities and the way in which others should view life (and the world) by controlling their means of production, circulation, consumption of signs and objects.¹⁵⁵ In this respect, ideology appears to constrain the actions of individuals or groups and subordinate peoples in situations of domination.¹⁵⁶ It limits and undermines possibilities for assertion precisely because the peoples' perceptions of reality and consumption are so informed that they seem to view reality from the perspective of the dominant.

The Comaroffs classify this mode of power as agentive.¹⁵⁷ They assert that this form of power may be more immediately experienced as the command of human beings wielded in specific events unfolding in history.¹⁵⁸ Not immediately experienced as the obvious, it escapes direct contact. It may manifest itself as power that lies behind routine daily activities.¹⁶¹⁵⁹ At its highest level, its source will be attributed to transcendental objects suchs as the gods or ancestors, nature or physics, biological instinct or probability,

150.*Ibid.*

151.*Ibid.*

152.*Ibid.*

153.*Ibid.*

154.*Ibid.*, p. 22.

155.*Ibid.*

156.*Ibid.*

157.*Ibid.*

158.*Ibid.*

159.*Ibid.*

which preclude questioning. Supposed to be natural or ineffable, it may be portrayed as not mediated by human agency, despite the fact that the interests it serves are human.¹⁶⁰

The Comaroffs call this form of power as non-agentive.¹⁶¹ Normally, it operates outside a structural system or institution suffusing things such as aesthetics and ethics.¹⁶² It is this feature that makes power more difficult to be experienced as power at all as its effects are internalised, negatively seen as constraints, in their neutral manifestations as conventions, positively deemed as values.¹⁶³ This mode of power should help to explain in this study why it was difficult for the African clergy to challenge the UMCA missionaries' monopoly of leadership in the church.

According to the Comaroffs, hegemony entails the colonisers imposing on their subjects "a particular way of seeing and being." I will argue in chapter three that the policy of "Africanisation" projected by the Anglican missionaries, notably, Bishop Smythies as affirming the dignity, culture, and traditions of the Africans, in fact rested on the ideological missionary presupposition, based on the Orientalist principle, that Africans (culture/tradition, society) were by far inferior to Westerners. I will illustrate that far from desiring to enhance positive African attributes and characteristics, the policy served to entrench missionary racial supremacy by portraying the Africans as inferior to the Europeans. But as the Comaroffs further argued,

The essence of colonisation inheres less in political overrule than in seizing and transforming the "others" by the very act of conceptualising, inscribing, and interacting with them on terms not of their own choosing; in making them into pliant objects and silenced subjects of our scripts and scenarios, in assuming the capacity to "represent" them.¹⁶⁴

The European assumptions to represent" the "other" constituted the core of what Edward Said described as Orientalism. Said argued that the West characterised the "other" of the "other", that is Africa, as "blank", "black", "formless" thereby justifying

160.*Ibid.*

161.*Ibid.*

162.⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

163.*Ibid.*, p. 15.

164.*Ibid.*

European need for its subjugation, to impart to it “something” superior it had never possessed. Just as Said argued that the Europeans imposed the identity of the Orient from the perspective of the Western discourse in the 19th century, so the Comaroffs observed that the British missionaries sought to define the identity of the Southern Tswana from a closely defined Non-Conformist, evangelical, capitalist perspective.

I will argue in chapter four and subsequent chapters that by assuming the right to define the social contours of the Africans by prescribing an inferior form of education for them, the missionaries were in fact imposing on the Africans in East Africa in the late 19th century an identity that would serve largely their own interests. This inferior form of education tended to serve as a tool for raising an African clergy that could serve the missionaries merely as subordinates.

I will argue that this policy served to pre-empt a possible reversal of power relations to the advantage of Africans in the future. In this regard, as Tinyiko Maluleke asserted, the emergence of black clergy during the colonial era took place in the context of an ideological struggle. It was the result of a closely managed and monitored and even reluctant process born of missionary tutelage.¹⁶⁵ This struggle hinged on the missionaries' assertion of their superior racial attitude versus African consciousness. For instance, chapters four, six, seven and eight of this study, show how this ideological assertion found its official expression in attitudes that regarded an African as a child or “weak” “liable to fall” hence justifying the role of the missionary to raise him as an adult. Yet, as Draper asserted, “Western historical discourse is hegemonic precisely because it is unaware of its own practice of domination.”¹⁶⁶ The English missionaries at Zanzibar and later Malawi were not very conscious that they were dominating the

165. Maluleke, T. S., “The Historical Quest For A Black Presence that Walks: Some Theoretical Issues in South African Mission Historiography”, in Denis, P., (ed.). *Orality Memory and the Past*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2000, p. 57.

166. Draper, J. A., “Magama Fuze and the Insertion of the Subjugated Historical Subject into the Discourse of Hegemony” in the *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, vol. 5, no. 1 and 2, School of Theology, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998, pp. 17.

Africans. They took their superiority for granted. Their attitudes and practices were an intrinsic component of their own social background.

Thus, unlike James Scott, who asserts that the subordinates are constrained at the level of action, the Comaroffs take the opposite view that it is rather at the rational level that the subordinates are constrained. To put it in other terms, according to the Comaroffs then, hegemony is an imposed dominant view of life, which shapes reality for the subordinate group from the dominant's point of view as it seeks to control their thoughts.

Notably, the Comaroffs also assert that, despite the fact that hegemony appears to exist as a coherent dominant and universal conception of the world, essentially, it holds within itself internal contradictions. Holding conflicting views, or perceptions, it is essentially unstable.¹⁷¹⁶⁷ At the very exposure of these apparent inconsistencies, or contradictions, when what seemed nonnegotiable becomes negotiable, hegemony recedes into ideology.¹⁶⁸ According to the Comaroffs this is what happened in the process of colonising the Tswana by the Non-Conformists missionaries: some salient signs, meanings, signifiers became unfixed and were seized by both sides, sometimes refashioned by each group for their empowerment.

On the other hand, in relation to hegemony, the Comaroffs defined ideology, as an articulated system of meanings, values, beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as the worldview of any social grouping.¹⁶⁹ Implied in manifestos and routine practice, signs, symbols, styles and political platforms, this worldview may be to a larger degree internally systematic or assertively coherent in its external mode.¹⁷⁰ Respectively, hegemony exists in symbolic relations with ideology. As a dominant worldview, having been asserted as natural and posing itself as an orthodox order of things, hegemony ceases to appear as ideology at all.

167. *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

170. *Ibid.*

However, the Comaroffs also argue that hegemony is not exclusively the preserve of the dominant groups, the subordinates too seek to assert themselves over the dominant by invoking their ideologies.¹⁷¹ In desiring to reverse relations of subordination, inequality, or oppression, the subordinate groups invoke their ideologies as forms of collective identity as means and tool for their political struggle.¹⁷² Essentially, this struggle entails the effort to gain mastery over cultural terms in which it purports to give meaning in which the world is ordered and power is legitimated.¹⁷³

This study will show that in various ways, and on different levels the planting of Christianity in Malawi provoked resistance or protest. Sometimes it was unarticulated involving signifiers, symbols or codes. For instance, in chapter two it will be shown that the Manganja used their cult to resist missionary power. In chapter seven I will illustrate that, more subtly, the African clergy not consulting their missionary superiors in personal conflicts was a form of resistance just like Leonard Kamungu's action to be a missionary in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) was a covert act of resistance.

More significantly, in chapter eight, the Africans will be shown protesting against the imposition of a bishop, or in chapter nine the St. John's Seminary students burning the "black bible". What had previously been taken for granted became negotiable, "it became something other than itself. It turned into ideology and counter ideology, into orthodoxy and heterodoxy."¹⁷⁴ Though not overtly engaged, the meaning behind what they were engaged in was as powerful as direct resistance or protest. The Africans invoked their ideology and used it to resist the intrusion of missionary power.

For the Comaroffs, therefore, the difference between hegemony and ideology lies in that hegemony comprises constructs and conventions that have come to be shared and naturalised throughout a political community while ideology is the expression and

171.*Ibid.*, p. 25.

172.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

173.*Ibid.*

174.*Ibid.*, p. 24.

ultimately possession of a particular social group, although it may be widely peddled beyond.¹⁷⁵ While hegemony is not susceptible to direct negotiation, hence beyond direct contestation, ideology renders itself more to be seen as a matter of inimical opinion and interest and therefore, is open to contestation. In sum, “hegemony, hegemonises, ideology articulates.” Hegemony, at its most effective, is silent; by contrast all the while, ideology bubbles on.¹⁷⁶

For the Comaroffs, the relation between hegemony and ideology exists in reciprocal interdependence, with hegemony comprising part of a dominant worldview which having been naturalised, having hidden itself in orthodoxy no more appears as ideology at all¹⁷⁷ However, the Comaroffs also caution that the hegemony of the dominant is always under the threat of the ideologies of the subordinate groups. The subordinates are never docile recipients of the dominant hegemonic group. They too contest it. As they put it,

Inversely, the ideologies of the subordinate may give expression to discordant but hitherto voiceless experience of contradictions that a prevailing hegemony can no longer conceal. Self-evidently, the hegemonic proportion of any dominant ideology may be greater or lesser. ‘It will never be total, save perhaps in the fanciful dreams of fascists, and only rarely will it shrink away to nothing.’¹⁷⁸

Essentially, the construction of hegemony entails the assertion of control of various forms of symbolic production, such as educational and ritual processes, patterns of socialisation, political and legal procedures, canons of style and selfrepresentation, public communication, bodily discipline.¹⁷⁹ Through a skilfully calculated manner and sustenance of these forms of control, hegemony appears invincible.¹⁸⁰ Through a recurrent practice of habits, practices, and signs cease to be seen as mere forms of

175.*Ibid.*

176.*Ibid.*

177.*Ibid.*, p. 25.

178.*Ibid.*

179.*Ibid.*

180.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

control, rather they are received as a legitimate order of things and existence, consequently, they become part of everyday life.¹⁸¹

It is at this juncture, so the Comaroffs argue, that the assertion of control stops being viewed as a convention or spoken of as a custom but may be invoked as an established order of truth.¹⁸² For instance, I will suggest in chapters five and six that missionary ideology which defined and fashioned African consciousness constrained Africans to such an extent that they could not protest against missionary hegemony. Similarly, it will be argued in chapter nine that the surfacing of the allegations against Father Henry Mikaya outside the Elective Assembly after he had been elected coadjutor bishop in 1976 suggests the inability of the electors to speak more openly in the Elective Assembly.

However, the Comaroffs also contend that hegemony is never planted on totally uncultivated ground, *tabula rasa*.¹⁸³ In one way or the other, all ground is somehow cultivated with some form of ideological seeds.¹⁸⁴ In this respect, though the seeds of hegemony may be planted on the prior forms, they will not easily manage to suppress what was there before.¹⁸⁵ This is how they put it:

Not only is hegemony never total... it is always threatened by the vitality that remains in the form of life it thwarts. It follows, then, that the hegemonic is constantly being made and, by the same token, may be unmade. That is why it has been described a process as much as a thing, 'a process of continuous creation'.¹⁸⁶

Hence, the Comaroffs speak of thwarted hegemony, (a suppressed hegemony) even though it may be clearly unarticulated for a while, is nevertheless, always challenging the rising hegemony, which seeking to maintain or prevail has to prop itself by appealing to its ideology too.¹⁸⁷

181.*Ibid.*, p. 15.

182.*Ibid.*

183.*Ibid.*, p. 25.

184.*Ibid.*

185.*Ibid.*

186.*Ibid.*

187.*Ibid.*, p. 26.

Thus, according to the Comaroffs, the more successful the hegemonies, the more of their ideology will disappear into the domain of the hegemonic; the less successful, the more that un-remarked truths and unspoken conventions will become remarked, reopen for debate¹⁸⁸ This happens when the experience of a conflict between the world as experienced and the world as officially projected becomes more obvious and therefore insupportable, despite the human capacity to bear and explain away these contradictions.¹⁸⁹ Hence, hegemony is always intrinsically unstable, always vulnerable.¹⁹⁰ Following Gramsci, the Comaroffs term this divergence between the world as hegemonically construed and experienced and ideologically viewed by the subordinate people as contradictory consciousness.¹⁹¹

Thus the Comaroffs identify contradictory consciousness¹⁹² as a critical key to understanding reactions of the subject people to domination and subordination, and vice versa. Critically, so they assert, these comprise a complex admixture of tacit (even uncomprehending) accommodation to the hegemonic order at one level and diverse expressions of symbolic and practical resistance at another...¹⁹³ In other words, the Comaroffs assert that the incorporation of the subordinate to the hegemony of the dominant may never be total as their incorporation vacillates, on one hand between accommodation to hegemony, and resistance on the other hand.¹⁹⁴

Likewise, so the Comaroffs suggest contradictory consciousness may also act as a possible key to the process of fashioning and continuation of relations of domination.¹⁹⁵ Yet paradoxically as it yields to an ever more acute, articulate consciousness of contradictions, it may also be a source of ever more acute, articulate resistance.”¹⁹⁶ For

188.*Ibid.*

189.*Ibid.*

190.*Ibid.*

191.*Ibid.*

192.*Ibid.*

193.*Ibid.*

194.*Ibid.*, p. 25.

195.*Ibid.*, p. 26.

196.*Ibid.*

instance, in chapter eleven I will argue that what seemed to have prompted the crisis of perceptions amongst the Anglicans with regard to the style of Bishop Aipa between 1995 and 1996 was a sense of contradiction in their minds between their experience of the style of the missionary episcopate on one hand, and their own experience of the style of leadership of Bishop Aipa on the other.

Nonetheless, according to the Comaroffs, seeking to cover up such contradictions, the dominant groups, even evangelists use both symbolic and violent means. It is precisely because of this that the history of colonisation is such a longdrawn out matter, developing from the rise of a counterhegemonic consciousness culminating in an ideological struggle. The history of the subjugation of the Tswana hinged upon the process of transforming their sociocultural economical and political worldview by the 19th century Non-Conformist British missionaries. The struggle on both sides centred on the exchange of symbolic means of production as well as assertions of control.

Nonetheless, the Comaroffs also argue that to win the consent of their subordinates to the existing order, hegemony may as well pose as highly evangelical, even though its intentions may well be otherwise.¹⁹⁷ In other words, to gain acceptance by the subordinate groups, hegemony must appear and be believed to be a power ultimately beyond the obvious, in the religious sphere, therefore, unquestionable.

Nevertheless, as pointed out earlier, characteristically, hegemony is always vulnerable and unstable. Once the apparent discord between the world as symbolically represented or portrayed and as actually experienced is revealed, contradictions emerge in the hegemony. The Comaroffs call this contradictory consciousness. It is the discontinuity between 1. the world as hegemonically constituted and 2. the world as practically apprehended and ideologically represented by the subordinate people.¹⁹⁸

The Comaroffs further argued that the ideological struggle between the Tswana and the Non-Conformists started when the former began to be conscious that there existed a

197.*Ibid.*

198.*Ibid.*

conflict between their daily experience and that as projected or lived by the Non-Conformist evangelists. In other words, some of the missionary hegemony were exposed, hence contradictory consciousness, hence hegemony recedes into the realm of ideology. The Tswana's consciousness of contradictions empowered them to assert their ideology over that of the dominant Non-Conformists missionaries. This led to symbolic resistance, even protest. Despite the Tswana's attempts to challenge the intruding hegemony, the Non-Conformists missionaries had managed to some degree to impose their ideology to the extent that the Tswana's worldview began to transform.

Likewise, operating on the level of ideology and culture, through symbols such as education, culturalreligious codes and conduct, the Anglican UMCA missionaries began to mould African leadership (between 1885 and the 1920s) on Likoma Island within the 19th century Anglo-Catholic missionary ideological perspective of the Africans. The effects of this was the creation of an African leadership largely in subservient roles which was fitted to perpetuate the missionaries' interests of domination. This kind of leadership was incapable of filling the vacuum created by the departure of white leadership by the 1960s.

Similarly, I will also suggest in chapter eight that the process of making priests in the diocese of Malawi was essentially what the Comaroffs term a "dialogue" engaging on one hand the dominant key players, Bishops Donald Seymour Arden and Josiah Mtekatika and others, and on the other hand the ordinands. This "conversation" entailed power play in the form of conflicting interests epitomised by concessions by respective parties. More critically, this revolved around the Anglo-Catholic Ordination Fund.

Finally, the Comaroffs argued that the most critical sphere that distinguishes hegemony from ideology is the factor of human consciousness and forms of representation in which they are born. Understood as content rather than form, consciousness floats between two extreme poles. In the domain between hegemony and ideology, between consciousness and unconsciousness, the subordinates may try to make sense of what is happening to them, though in a very unclear manner, hence cannot fully grasp it and

then may recede into the domain of silence.¹⁹⁹ This is the realm of the partially unseen, or unrecognised.

However, the Comaroffs also asserted that within this realm the subordinates' consciousness may rise to awareness and consequently lead to resistance of the dominant hegemony.²⁰⁰ For the Comaroffs, the dynamic between consciousness and unconsciousness explains why colonialism may take a long time to accomplish its ends, since it may not always project itself directly on its subjects as power, but may manifest itself in signs and symbols rather than as a force of subjugation.²⁰¹ Within this realm, the level of consciousness of the subordinates may rise to the level of contestation; otherwise, it "may recede into the hegemonic to languish there unremarked for the time being."²⁰²

To the Comaroffs, this explained why the colonisation of the Tswana took such a long time to accomplish. Though it cannot simply be asserted that the Anglican missionaries on Likoma Island set out to "colonise" the Africans directly in 1884, by the time of the end of their settlement in 1960 they came to the conclusion that there were signs that Likoma had not been fully converted. So for the Comaroffs, the process of colonisation provoked resistance in various forms, covert as well as overt, and in the process both parties were affected.

1.6.3 Domination and Arts of Resistance

In his work, *Domination and Arts of Resistance: Hidden and Public Transcript*, James Scott²⁰³ is essentially concerned about the role of the powerless, the subordinate groups in their response to relations of domination. Just as the Comaroffs are wary over too

199.*Ibid.*, pp. 2627.

200.*Ibid.*, p. 28.

201.*Ibid.*, p. 26.

202.*Ibid.*

203. James C. Scott is Professor of Political Science and chairman of the Council on Southeast Asia Studies at Yale University. His works include, *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance; The Moral Economy of the Peasant*.

much stress laid on the role of political economy at the expense of political culture, so too James Scott reacts against a somewhat mechanical view of the notions of the hegemony of the dominant over the subordinates. James Scott is concerned with the effect that this has in robbing the African communities of the role they played in the drama of colonial history by merely reducing them to recipients of colonialism. In other words, James Scott would disagree with Edward Said in asserting that the “other” was not a mere passive recipient of colonial power.

Thus taking issue with the Comaroffs' notion of hegemony stressed as being the most critical and absolute key to understanding relations of domination and resistance, James Scott contends that hegemony does not adequately serve as an absolute reliable measure to determine relations of domination. It belongs to what Scott calls the public transcript, almost exclusively the public domain of what is officially projected as the “normal” and “open” nature of interaction prevailing between the dominant and subordinate party.²⁰⁴ Rather, so Scott argues, analysing the discourses of both the dominant and the subordinate groups provides a key to understanding power relations.²⁰⁵

In other words, according to Scott, the public transcript does not provide a reliable clue to understanding relations of domination and subordination. As Gerard West stated, “where it is not positively misleading, (the public transcript) is unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations. It is frequently in the interest of both parties to tacitly conspire in misrepresentations.”²⁰⁶

Scott contends that to try to understand acts of resistance we have to go behind the official story_ to the hidden transcript.²⁰⁷ What causes the hidden transcript to emerge? What is the hidden transcript? According to Scott, life history consists in acting and disguise, putting on appearances so as to hide real intentions or motives behind certain

204. Maluleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 1011.

205. *Ibid.*

206. West, G., “And the dumb do speak: articulating incipient readings of the Bible in Marginalised Communities,” *The Bible and Ethics*, Sheffield Academic Press, 1996, p. 2.

207. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

actions or acts of the dominant group in their relationship with the subordinates. Situations of domination give rise to a form of acting.²⁰⁸ For as Scott argued, “if subordination requires a credible performance of humility and deference, so domination requires a credible performance of haughtiness.”²⁰⁹

A hidden transcript is “a self portrait of the subordinate as they would wish themselves seen by the dominant.”²¹⁰ It “is specific to a given social site and to a particular set of actors”²¹¹ and it is given for different audience and under different conditions of domination than the public transcript.²¹² It comprises speeches, gestures, and practices not normally communicated in the gaze of the dominant power.²¹³ It can confirm or contradict what appears in the public transcript.²¹⁴ Scott illustrates this by citing the incident in the antebellum U.S. South involving Mary Livermore, white governess, from New England and her deferential black cook, Aggy.²¹⁵

In a specific incident, Scott reports that following a minor theft by Aggy’s daughter; Aggy’s boss beat up the latter.²¹⁶ Powerless to intervene during the time of the beating, later on in the absence of her master, Aggy turned to her friend, Mary Livermore to whom she poured out her rage not only about her boss but all the whitefolk and further predicting their doom in the near future.²¹⁷ The point is that, instead of directly confronting her boss, the action that certainly would have led to an immediate showdown with her, Aggy resorted to speaking behind her boss’s back. In this respect, Aggy chose to articulate her inner sentiments in a private forum, in the form of the “hidden transcript”. In this respect, Aggy’s experience of domination created the hidden transcript. Scott concludes stating that, “Aggy’s hidden transcript is at complete

208.*Ibid.*, p, 27.

209.*Ibid.*, p. 11.

210.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

211.*Ibid.*, p. 14.

212.*Ibid.*, p. 4.

213.*Ibid.*, pp. 45.

214.*Ibid.*

215.*Ibid.*, p. 5.

216.*Ibid.*

217.*Ibid.*

odds with her public transcript of quiet obedience.”²¹⁸ According to Scott, the severer domination becomes, the severer also is the corresponding hidden transcript.²¹⁹

However, Scott also cautiously warns that the fact that the hidden transcript takes place behind the formal public stage does not necessarily mean that it is true,²²⁰ rather, the safer the place in which it is displayed renders it as an approximate picture of relations of domination and resistance.²²¹ Both the subordinate and the dominant groups have a hidden transcript.²²² The hidden transcript of the dominant constitutes their ability to master the exercise of power.²²³

However, according to Scott, the hidden transcript of the subordinates arises in response to the need for survival in relations of domination.²²⁴ Basically, it represents the acting out, in imagination, secretly, of anger and reciprocal aggression. It contains that discourse, gestures, speech, practices which is excluded from the public transcript by the ideological limits within which domination is cast.²²⁵

As Anthony Balcomb asserted, the crucial point of Scott's detailed argument is that 'the hidden transcript is a self-disclosure that power relations normally exclude from the official transcript.'²²⁶ It is a self-portrait normally hidden from the public arena. A public transcript is designed to maintain and control others. It is a symbolic gesture of domination that serves to manifest and reinforce a hierarchical order.²²⁷ Illustrating this, Scott gives an example of relations of domination that prevailed between George

218.*Ibid.*, pp. 56.

219.*Ibid.*, p. 27.

220.*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

221.*Ibid.*

222.*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

223.*Ibid.*

224.*Ibid.*, pp. 24.

225.*Ibid.*, p. 28.

226. Balcomb, A., "Of Radical Refusers and Very Willing Victims Interpolations of the Missionary Message in the Stories of Nongqause, Nxele, Ntsikana, and Soga" in the *Bulletin For Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*. vol. 5, no. 1 & 2, Pietermaritzburg: School of Theology, University of Natal, 1998, p. 4.

227. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Orwell and his subjects in colonial Burma.²²⁸ In an essay “Shooting an Elephant”, Orwell narrated an incident which illustrates a conflict of personal principle and his official obligations in that country.²²⁹ He states that in his position as a colonial officer, having been called upon to shoot an elephant, against his own disposition, he had to “act”, that is, kill the elephant just to satisfy the local people’s wishes.²³⁰

Thus, a public transcript is a performance so acted by the dominant as to naturalise their power sometimes done with the intention to conceal negative aspects of their rule.²³¹ Situations of domination give rise to the public transcript, which in normal cases is a lopsided discourse.²³² Though it might not necessarily be a pack of lies and misrepresentations, it is on the other hand highly partisan, a partial narrative.²³³ It only tells half the story from the perspective of the dominant ignoring that of the subordinate party. It is unreliable as it is so designed to be impressive, to affirm and naturalise the power of the dominant elites by trying to conceal or euphemise the dirty linen of their rule.²³⁴

Similar patterns of behaviour are noticeable in this study. For example, I will argue in chapter three that attempts to establish the mission in Central Africa were not exclusively to preach the gospel, they also entailed establishing an English settlement with commercial pursuits. Similarly, I will also argue from chapter four that despite the missionaries’ assertion that their policy of Africanisation was designed to affirm and maintain the dignity of the African culture and traditional values, it also served to create a social gap between them and the Africans. In other words, the missionaries’ claim existed as a public transcript, which served as a pretext to concealing the hidden transcript, missionary domination of African leadership in Zanzibar from 1870 and subsequently Malawi.

228.*Ibid.*, p. 10.

229.*Ibid.*

230.*Ibid.*, p. 11.

231.*Ibid.*, p. 18.

232.*Ibid.*, p. 18, 27.

233.*Ibid.*, p. 18.

234.*Ibid.*

Likewise, I will argue in chapter ten that though the election of bishops is perceived as a matter of divine act, there is also another perspective: a human factor plays no small part. This factor has always tended to elude the public. Besides, and behind the forum of prayerful proceedings, there is a human factor whose influence on the outcome of the elections is equally crucial. The researcher intends to uncover this perspective. Particularly, I will argue in chapter ten that free and open debate on the candidates for the position of bishop in the dioceses of Lake and Southern Malawi in the years between 1976 and 1986 seemed to constrain the manner of debate to enable the delegates to make informed decisions about the candidates. As the interviews indicate, behind these official proceedings there were acts of contestation, in some cases, even resistance.

Symbolically coded in gossip, allegations, rumours of “magic” or “witchcraft” as was the case with the election of 1987, these are manifestations of resistance, important signifiers which may enable the researcher to document a grassroots history of the making of the indigenous clergy. The fact that these were either deliberately neglected, or ignored may suggest the existence of the underlying problems that subsequently riddled both Peter Nyanja's and Aipa's episcopates. Hence, this is essentially the perspective of history from below rather than above.

More importantly, the fact that allegations *inter alia* of financial scandal only surfaced in the aftermath of the election of Fr. Henry Mikaya suggests that the Elective Assembly was not open enough as a forum to enable frank discussions on the candidates to emerge. Being constrained, laden, indeed encumbered with official presence, to use the language of Scott, the place was not a sequestered social site²³⁵ necessary to allow the hidden stories to surface.

However, Scott argues that as a performance designed to legitimise power or authority, it must be mediated with an art of mastery so as to achieve its objective – the

235. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

subordination of the subordinate and bolstering the power of the dominant.²³⁶ For instance, in chapter nine, I will argue that officials tended to gloss over certain flaws in the recruitment and training process of aspiring priests so as to meet “official expectations.”

Likewise, I also argue that some St. John’s Seminary staff in 1968 and 1969 used their authority to recommend or withhold ordination of some students as a “tool” to induce submissive behaviour in some students. In this regard, the public performance must display and indeed reflect and affirm the ideas or ideals behind the institutionalised authority on whose behalf the act is performed.²³⁷ In his article, Gerard West argues along similar lines:

The dominants for their part also play a role in maintaining the appearance of the hidden transcript of the deference and compliance. To call attention to detected forms of resistance and defiance might expose fissure in their power and erode their authority and perhaps encourage the acts of insubordination. Elites in other words have their own compelling reasons for a facade of unity, willing compliance and respect to keep conflicts out of the public records.²³⁸

In other words, as West and Scott state, the capacity of the dominant in suppressing the hidden acts of resistance or insubordination is important not only for the preservation and perpetuation of their rule but also for giving an appearance of coherence and concord prevailing in their system or institution. In the case of this study, in chapter nine, the episode of episcopal succession in the diocese of Lake Malawi between 1976 and 1978 illustrates this. Bishop Donald Arden’s use of electoral rules, tactfully and masterfully to overturn the election of coadjutor-bishop elect Henry Mikaya 1978, seemed to work for his own agenda.

Finally, in chapter eleven, I will argue that the election of a white bishop in 1996, Jackson Biggers, preferred to a Malawian bishop was not so much motivated by the

236. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

237. *Ibid.*, p 11.

238. West, G., “Discerning the Contours of Domination and Resistance in Liberation Hermeneutics: do the poor and marginalised speak?” in *Bulletin For Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, vol. iv, no. 3, December, 1998, p. 23.

perception that the former was capable of running a diocese more efficiently, rather the issue concerned the revival of the traditional symbolic image of Likoma closely associated with the UMCA.

However, Scott highlights three aspects of the hidden transcripts. Firstly, containing rhetorical concessions in the public transcript of the dominant, the latter triggers the rise of the hidden transcript of the subordinate groups. Scott noticed that the slaves were able to appeal to their masters for the amelioration of their conditions when they detected in their master's ideology some representations of their aspirations.²³⁹ Secondly, the subordinates gathering in the absence of intimidating presence of power, behind their back, may secure a forum in which dissenting discourse is possible. Scott terms this a sequestered social site precisely intended for a particular set of actors.

However, for Scott, more crucial is the third realm of subordinate group politics.²⁴⁰ It is situated between the first and the second political discourses. It is a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in the public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors.²⁴¹ It encompasses "wideranging forms of discourses such as rumour, gossip, folktales, jokes, songs, rituals, codes and euphemisms a good part of folk culture of subordinate groups fit this description."²⁴²

More importantly, James Scott argued that between the public and hidden transcript lie the most critical sphere of discourse, "the rupture of the political *cordon sanitaire*."²⁴³ It denotes the open defiance to authority. In his case, Scott cites the example of Mrs Poyser who had her "say".

During field research, it became increasingly clear that some informants were more open to tell their story once they realised that the researcher assured them of confidentiality and respect for their views. Very crucially, it is this that led some crucial

239.Scott., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

240.*Ibid.*, , pp. 1819

241.*Ibid.*, p. 19.

242.*Ibid.*

243.*Ibid.*

sources to relate very sensitive stories. The secure platform provided and enabled them to open up and narrate their own personal experience of the events as they witnessed them, without feeling too much intimidation.

Essentially then, the public transcript entails the art of controlling the public platform of the dominant, creating the appearance that more or less matches what they would want the subordinate to see or believe. The deception or propaganda devised by the dominant may seek to bolster their stature but at the same time may seek to mask whatever might seek to demean their authority and esteem.²⁴⁴ In trying to solve the wrangle of succession to Josiah Mtekateka in the diocese of Lake Malawi, despite the latter's persuasion to regard Henry Mikaya as duly elected, Bishop Arden insisted on overturning Mikaya's election on "technical" rather than empirical grounds.

Finally, Scott argued that the boundary between the public and the hidden transcripts is a domain of constant struggle between the dominant and subordinate.²⁵²⁴⁵ While the dominant seeks to define and project for their subordinates what constitutes the public transcript and what does not, they do not always succeed in doing so.²⁴⁶

More importantly, Scott contends that analysis of the hidden transcripts of the powerful and of the subordinate groups constitutes a key to unravelling the possibilities and contradictions of power relations.²⁴⁷ In other words, a comparative analysis of the hidden transcripts of both the dominant and the subordinate offers possibilities for understanding intentions or objectives behind certain actions of these groups.

1.6.4 An Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 sets the origins of the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi by outlining the history of church-state relations between the 16th and the late 19th centuries with

244.*Ibid.*, p. 50.

245.*Ibid.*, p. 14.

246.*Ibid.*

247.*Ibid.*, p 15.

regard to the episcopate in the Church of England. I argue that despite the initial legal and political restraints that tended to inhibit the extension of the episcopate to the colonies, colonial considerations prompted the need to translate the episcopate to the colonies.

In chapter 3, I will outline the beginning of the Anglican missionary society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in 1857 under the inspiration of Dr. David Livingstone. I will argue that its failure to establish a permanent mission station in Central Africa in the 1860s was largely due to its too close association with the colonial idea of subjugation of the African people.

In chapter 4, I will give an account of and analyse the history of the UMCA from the time when they relocated to Zanzibar Island in 1863 to the time of returning to Malawi, this time to Likoma Island in 1884. I will argue that the UMCA's success in establishing a more permanent mission in Zanzibar depended on the availability of the freed slaves, and the UMCA's ability to incorporate the Africans into the missionary system by means of a structure of responsibilities, albeit, with little power. More importantly, I argue that contrary to the missionaries' claims that their African policy was intended to affirm African dignity, it served white interests of perpetuation of white rule.

In chapter 5, I will outline the beginning of the mission on Likoma Island in 1884. I will highlight that the close relationship between the colonial government and the mission enabled the mission to gain its ground which in some instances provoked adverse reactions of the local people. I also show the rise of the new diocese of Likoma in 1892, subsequent episcopal successions with strong emphasis on regarding the episcopate increasingly as an administrative organ.

In chapter 6, I will highlight two features. First, from 1901 when the appointment of Bishop Gerard Trower marked a shift in the character of the UMCA episcopate, largely from pastoral emphasis towards a more markedly administrative one. Finally, the development of the training of the early African ministers on the steamer, Chauncy

Maples, on Lake Malawi, and the establishment of St. Andrew's College in 1905, marked yet another new era in the development of the African clergy.

In chapter 7, I will show that the appointment of Bishop Cathrew Fisher in 1910 on the strength that he possessed administrative skills continued to illustrate the UMCA's concern for the administrative aspect of the mission. More significantly, I will illustrate that Fisher's unsympathetic attitude to the African ministry marked an important phase with regard to the negative missionary attitudes towards the African ministry. I will show that Fisher's attitude was symptomatic of the colonial attitude and practices in the 20th century.

In chapter 8, I will illustrate that the appointment of Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne in 1936 on the grounds that he had better pastoral skills than his predecessor illustrates the UMCA's concern for the pastoral needs of the diocese. Similarly significant, this period shows the extent to which the UMCA still operated with the legacy of a colonial church that undermined the possibilities for the African ministers to rise to the highest positions in the church.

Chapter 9 covering the period between 1962 and 1972 marks a transition from the old UMCA missionary church to the modern Malawian Church. With the appointment of Bishop Donald Seymour Arden in 1962 the Anglican Church in Malawi began to be transformed virtually into what it is today. On the other hand, the emergence of the trend of resistance to missionary authority in the church and seminary characterised this period as the most turbulent in the history of the Anglican Church in modern Malawi.

In chapter 10 I will deal with the election of the first Malawian Bishop, Josiah Mtekateka, in 1965 as Suffragan Bishop. Similarly, I will also recount the election of Bishop Mtekateka in 1971 as Diocesan Bishop; the problems surrounding the election of Coadjutor-bishop elect, Henry Mikaya, the non-confirmation of his candidacy, and finally the election of Bishop Peter Nyanja in 1978.

In chapter 11 I will deal with the election of the first Malawian bishop in the diocese of Southern Malawi, Dunstan Ainani in 1978 and his style of leadership until to the time of his retirement in 1985. Secondly, I will deal with the election of Bishop Nathaniel Aipa, his style of leadership, and the circumstances leading to his retirement in 1995. Finally, I will discuss the underlying causes that led to the division of the diocese of Lake Malawi to pave way for the creation of the diocese of Northern Malawi and the election of the white bishop, Jackson Biggers.

Finally, in chapter 12, by way of reflecting on the development of the thesis, I will conclude the findings of this study by highlighting the major issues it sought to address.

Chapter Two

*One of the things that we have learned in the political situations of the twentieth century is to look behind the appearances, and to identify the power by which the destinies of men and nations are determined.*¹

2. Church and State in England prior to the late 20th century

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to trace the historical roots of the Anglican Church in the late 19^h century Malawi to the church in England since at least the 16th century Reformation. More particularly, I will trace how the office of bishops in the established church in England was affected by its relation to the state in the context of the Reformation, the Evangelical revival, the industrial revolution, the Oxford Movement, colonialism and imperialism.

Special focus will be laid particularly on the Oxford Movement of the 19th century as the progenitor of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the missionary society that was active in Malawi. This development was to have an immediate bearing on the process of planting the church in Malawi. And, since colonialism constitutes the immediate context in which the Anglican Church was born in Malawi, this factor will be treated at length. It will be shown that its central position within the State of England made the episcopate too much a subservient tool of the state's ideology of subjugation and conquest in late 19th century England. However, I will also argue that despite some restraints owing to the association of episcopacy with the state in England, the Anglo-Catholic view of the church centred on episcopacy ultimately enhanced the process of engaging in mission in the context of British expansion to the colonies.

1. Neill, S., *Christian Missions*, London: SPCK, 1968, p. 527.

The UMCA Anglican missionaries who finally established a permanent mission in Malawi in 1885 did not arrive in an ideological vacuum. The extent of their missionary work and the system and structures of the mission which they finally planted in Malawi were shaped and limited by the socio-economic and political milieu which formed their background in England during the period from the 16th century to the 19th century. More critically this factor influenced the manner and process of forming the indigenous church in Malawi in the 19th and 20th century.

2.2 Church and State and the role of the Anglican Episcopate in the Early Modern England.

The 16th century in Europe was characterised by the socio-religious and political upheaval which came to be known as the Reformation, which was animated by the spirit of the Renaissance, whose principal characteristics included confidence in human reason and the ability to apply it without fear to revealed beliefs and through it to extend human knowledge.² Amongst other aspects of the Renaissance, its insistence on the dignity of the human soul formed the core of convictions about the Gospel. This development enhanced a spirit of national consciousness, and of individual and national identity. The Reformation was thus to a degree about the affirmation of individual and national identities amongst the European nations of the West.

This spirit expressed itself particularly in the attempt by individual states to assert a particular form of Christianity over and against the old and familiar religious and political order. Underlying the Reformation was a spirit of dissent, the critical questioning of some of the premises upon which the passing order rested. Consequently the control of Christianity by monarchs became characteristic of the Protestant Reformation. The English monarchs used it for their own political agendas.³ It became a way in which monarchical states or individuals sought to assert their independence over age-old papal power and the tradition for which it stood.

2.Latourette, K.S., *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, vol.. i., London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1959, p. 17.

3.*Ibid.*, p. 43.

Unlike the other churches on the continent, the Reformation in England took a unique course,⁴ determined by Henry VIII's desire to control the church in order to satisfy his political wishes against papal power, and his desire to shed Catherine of Aragon in order to marry Anne Boleyn. In the spirit of the Renaissance, the Reformation in England took a markedly national and individualistic character. The initial issue in the early stages of the Reformation in England was not exclusively about the reformation of religion, as was the case elsewhere, but also about political power.

This desire to assert political freedom over the papacy, with the object of settling the national and domestic issue of an heir to the throne, became the cardinal issue in the process of the Reformation.⁵ The institution of episcopacy became a useful tool in transforming the political tradition of England.

Yet quite interestingly, the church in England did not immediately seek a radical departure from the current church system prevailing in the Western Church, centred in Rome.⁶ While divesting itself of papal authority, the church sought to retain a church government more or less as it had always been preserved in the Western Church. This church polity centred on the monarchical form of episcopacy. It entailed a structure whereby the bishop was head in a centralised form of hierarchy above priests, deacons and the others. This structure distinguished the church in England from the Reformed Churches on the continent except Sweden.

According to Jurgen Moltmann, the roots of this development lay in antiquity, in the political monotheism of imperial Rome.⁷ This conception saw a union between the

4. Hugaard W., "From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century" in Sykes S. and Booty, J. (eds.). *The Study of Anglicanism*, London: SPCK/ Fortress Press, 1988, p.6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Suggit., J., "Bishops: Legacy from the past or Hope for the Future?" in England, F. and Paterson T. (eds.) *Bounty in Bondage*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985, p. 68.

7. Moltmann, J., *The Kingdom and the Trinity*, New York: Harper Collins, 1977, pp.192-195.

earthly realm and the divine dominion under one principal rule and order.⁸ According to this view, the bishop represents Christ to his church just like Christ represents God. Thus, monarchical monotheism justified the church as a hierarchy. In this structure, the church hierarchy and community were perceived to reflect the heavenly domain, the perfect order.⁹

Divine monarchical order corresponds to the earthly order of bishops, priests, deacons and the others according to their distinct roles from the highest to the lowest. This differentiation in clerical positions and regalia is fostered, reinforced and legitimated equally by regular enactment of corresponding rituals and ceremonies, for instance, the taking of the oath of “canonical obedience” by a junior cleric to his superior at an ordination ceremony. In this relationship, authority and obedience replaces dialogue, consensus and harmony. What stands at the centre is not faith in God’s revelation on the basis of ecclesiastical authority, but faith on the basis of the individual’s insight into truth of revelation.”¹⁰

Thus, as Moltmann argued, “the idea of a divine monarchy in heaven and earth provides justification for earthly, religious, moral, patriarchal or political domination and makes hierarchy a holy rule.”¹¹ In this respect, Mamphela Ramphele drew our attention to the patriarchal nature of traditional church authority. According to her, the effect of the nature of this power structure is such that it militates against adult to adult communication, encourages dependency relationships and encourages congregants to accept undemocratic practices as problems of parent-child relationships.¹² What is important, as shall be noted below, is that in the new Reformation context, church

8.*Ibid.*, p. 200; This view had been designed to enforce unity in the second century Asia Minor churches rift with leadership problems, Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, premised this teaching on a theological hierarchy: one God one Christ one bishop one church.

9.*Ibid.*

10.*Ibid.*

11.*Ibid.*

12.Ramphele, M., “On Being Anglican: Pain and Privilege” in *Bounty and Bondage*, et al, p. 189.

structures and systems, most notably the episcopate, were being transformed to strengthen the monarch's powers and legitimise the monarch's political ambitions.

In the new context of the Reformation in England, however, the necessity of bishops to the continuance of church life and order seems to have been taken for granted. The antiquity of its existence as an institution in the church made episcopacy seem an obvious necessity, indispensable to the life of the church. Understood as an integral part of the received order of the church and society, it appeared to be beyond direct questioning. Bishops remained as principal officers in church and of state.¹³ Bishops were ministers of the Crown for the spiritual government of the nation.¹⁴ This meant that they had to ensure that the pure word of God had to be preached, the sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance.¹⁵

The focus of the political dimension of the Reformation lay rather on the monarchy's role in ordering the life of the church as against the papacy.¹⁶ In other words, the Reformation centered on the redefinition of the relationship between church and state in England in the new dispensation. The notion of church and state became so natural over the ages that it was received almost as an unquestionable truth. Not only was it part of a received tradition, it was an integral element of a worldview which transcended British history, and so it could apparently not be altered.

However, in the assertive spirit that epitomised the Renaissance, the Reformation loosened up the public stage. What had hitherto seemed fixed became afloat. The Reformation had effectively opened up these hitherto unquestionable religious matters for negotiation. In this respect, age-old understanding, perceptions of the role of the office and the image of a bishop often associated with civil or secular power down the centuries, came to be critically viewed.

13.Norris, R., "Episcopacy" in *The Study of Anglicanism*, et al, p 29 7

14.*Ibid.*

15.*Ibid.*, p. 298.

16.Newcombe, D. G., *Henry III and the English Reformation*, New York: SPCK, 1988, pp.12.

Yet, the logic and the tenacity of age old tradition proved too strong to yield to the critical view of the Reformation. Initial attempts to free the office of the bishop from its past associated with that of the feudal role of a magistrate or a judge, and the dispensation of justice failed. As Norris observed, Bishops remained distant figures, garbed in the habiliments of prelacy.¹⁷ Nonetheless, we must enquire why it was that while the other states on the continent were in the process of discontinuing the traditional episcopate and priesthood, in England it was regarded as necessary to retain this form of church government? Largely the answer lies in both the practical and symbolic role that the episcopate played in England.

By far the most enduring factor that affected the church and its life in England was the Establishment. The Establishment concerned the ordering of relations between church and state in the new order. Peter Hinchliff states that the English religious Establishment of the 16th century was built upon relationships between church and state that had already existed in the Middle Ages...a complex of relationships often regulated by nothing more than tradition and custom.”¹⁸ Outlined in the preamble to the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) under Henry VIII, the Establishment envisaged the realm as comprising two components, namely temporal secular and lay persons and spiritual ecclesiastical and clerical persons.¹⁹ At the head of each of these two parts, and uniting them, was the Crown.²⁰

Dispensing with the independent jurisdiction of the Medieval Church, it stressed the monarch's prerogative to exercise control over a single administrative structure of government.²¹ Through the Act of Royal Supremacy and Submission of the clergy of 15th May 1532, the church lost its autonomy in legislation independent of the state. This enactment was one expression of the Renaissance conception of the absolute unitary

17.Norris, R., *op. cit.*...p. 29.

18.Hinchliff, P., “Church-State Relations” in *The Study of Anglicanism*, et al pp. 352-353

19.*Ibid.* p. 353.

20.*Ibid.*

21.*Ibid.*

sovereignty that could tolerate no rivals.²² That tradition was brought to its logical conclusion when in 1534 the King of England was declared to be the head of the Anglican Church, *ecclesia anglicana*²³

More significantly, by means of the Establishment, by which the Church of England became by law the established official church of the realm of England, the church entered into a relationship with the state, which regulated the church's life in civil society.²⁴ Through the Establishment, the church and state were bound in a legal nexus.²⁵ Episcopal appointments became exclusively a royal prerogative. The Crown retained its right to grant or withhold permission for consecration.

Increasingly, bishops and other higher dignitaries appeared more like state functionaries, with the church looking like an extended arm of the state. The bishops sat in Parliament, the House of Lords; they continued to be addressed as Lord Bishops.²⁶ As members of the ruling elite, the aristocracy, they shared in all the privileges and rights that went along with their position in society.²⁷ In this respect, the office of the English bishop and his style were accommodated to the English culture, particularly to the upper class culture. According to John Pobee, what united the English Church to its Englishness was the Establishment.²⁸ By this arrangement, so Pobee asserted, "the Church of England was declared English in body and soul and mind."²⁹ As the State Church of the Crown, the Church of England maintained its identity as "a religious expression of a religious culture."³⁰

22.Pobee, J., "Newer Dioceses of the Anglican Communion Movement and Prospect" in *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 396.

23.*Ibid.*, p. 397

24.See Carpenter, E., "Church and State in History" in Hunter, L., (ed.), *The English Church, A New Outlook*, Oxford: SPCK, pp. 6364.

25.*Ibid.*

26.See Pobee, *op cit.*, p. 397.

27.*Ibid.* ,pp. 394395.

28.*Ibid.*, p. 397.

29.*Ibid.*

30.*Ibid.*, p. 396.

In conclusion, Leslie Hunter stated that through this arrangement the Church of England was perceived as the organ that expressed the mind of the nation and state.³¹ To serve a Christian state was seen as a vocation of the church.³² More significantly, since the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy of 1559 asserted the Crown's jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical persons and causes in all its territories, the establishment was automatically extended to the colonial Empire as it came into existence.³³

Moreover, since the reign of Charles I, through an order in council, the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London extended to the colonies.³⁴ The significance of the Establishment as it affected the church in England, and by extension the episcopate, is that it presumed the common identity of church and state, the two expressing and reflecting common values in society. In this relationship, the demarcation between church and state tended to blur. Thus, the episcopate symbolised both religious and civil power in England as it represented the religious dimension of the state in society. It was the spiritual custodian of the English State and of the civil values in society but also the pillar of the political structure of state.

Thus, the Establishment, in this respect, seemed to serve as a *modus vivendi* intended to accommodate and justify the ideological base upon which church and state functioned and their relations were ordered. The symbolic significance of the episcopate as the vehicle of the state power explains the church's efforts in resisting the commonwealth in its attempts to impose a Presbyterian form of church government at the expense of the Episcopal form in the 17th century.³⁵ The Episcopal order came to assume a position hitherto unexpected simply because it was not only a cultural symbol but also, more importantly, a civic and political tool.³⁶

31. Hunter, *op cit.*, p. 54.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

33. Hinchliff, *op cit.*, p. 359.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

35. See Thomas, P., "The Doctrine of the Church" in *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 226.

36. *Ibid.*

The 17th century increasingly saw the episcopate becoming more identifiable with the state.³⁷ Secondly, the role of secular power in the ordering of the faith was emphasised. In this context the Church of England emerged, appearing like a government's department, incapable of withstanding the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment or of being pastorally effective in the context of the social evils of the industrial revolution.³⁸

However, developments in the North American colonies in the 18th century demonstrated even more strikingly the extent to which episcopacy in the Church of England was held captive to the state's ideological interests of subjugation and control. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) had been formed in 1701.³⁹

This society was mainly concerned with North America. Like its sister society, the SPG, the Society for the Promotion of the Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was governed by Royal Charter in the colonies.⁴⁰ The existence of the English settlers in the American colonies presented the Church of England with challenges to provide its form of established Christianity.⁴¹ However, the existence of a set of laws in England inhibited the provision of episcopacy to the colonies. The question relating to the appointment of bishops to the overseas colonies was beset with legal and political problems that naturally affected the order of church-state relations.⁴²

In the context of the American situation, the Americans feared the oppressive power with which the episcopate was associated in England. It was on this score that some New Englanders had migrated. "They feared that their Lordships would come endowed, as in England, with political as well as spiritual authority."⁴³ The New Englanders were uncomfortable to envisage the possibilities of the bishops' dominating power over their

37.*Ibid*

38.*Ibid*.

39. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

40. Yates, "Anglicans and Mission" in *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 433.

41.*Ibid*.

42. Neill, *Anglicanism*, p. 224.

43.*Ibid*.

civil life.⁴⁴ Partly to circumvent this problem, the position of commissary, the representative of the Bishop of London in the colonies, was created. A lay person appointed by the Bishop of London became his representative in the colonies. He administered the church on his behalf and was accountable to him. Thomas Bray served in such a position in Maryland.⁴⁵

One of the most interesting developments occurred in 1752. After briefly working in New Jersey, Thomas Thompson, Fellow and Dean of Christ's College, Cambridge, volunteered to work on the coast of Guinea, West Africa in 1752. Though apparently not immediately successful, his efforts after eleven years resulted in the ordination of Philip Quaque as the first African Anglican priest in 1763.⁴⁶ Finally and more importantly for the purpose of this study, in this case, initial attempts to plant the church in the form of the episcopate were frustrated. State laws discriminated against persons who were not Crown subjects from becoming bishops within the British realm;⁴⁷ hence an American priest, Charles Seabury could not be made bishop in 1783. These laws were, however, repealed in 1786 by an Act, which empowered the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of York "to consecrate to the office of Bishop, Persons being Subjects or Citizens of countries out of His Majesty's Dominions."⁴⁸

Yet despite this provision, other constraints still prevailed. Royal permission to consecrate a foreign bishop was still required, albeit it precluded the taking of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the Crown and the oath of obedience to the Archbishop in the interim.⁴⁹ In the following year two other Americans were made bishops at Lambeth, the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁰ William White became bishop of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provost bishop of New York.⁵¹ The

44.*Ibid.*

45.Haugaard, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

46.Neill, *Anglicanism.*, p. 221.

47.Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 3738.

48.Neill., *Anglicanism*, .p. 226.

49.*Ibid.*, p. 227.

50.*Ibid.*, p. 38.

51.*Ibid.*, p. 227.

Archbishops of Canterbury and York jointly consecrating the new bishops, marked the significance of the occasion, which was unusual.⁵²

More significantly, the consecration of Charles Inglis in the same year made him the first colonial bishop in Nova Scotia. In 1793 Jacob Mountain became bishop of Quebec. Inglis was elected bishop on the grounds that the episcopate constituted an important form of colonial supervision before the American Revolution.⁵³ Similarly, the creation of overseas bishoprics *inter alia*, Calcutta, Quebec, Bombay, Madras, and Perth, also followed colonial considerations.

Nevertheless, it is the issue of the refusal for the consecration of Charles Seabury, which is of special significance for this study. Moreover, a new law had to be passed in parliament to allow the creation of new bishoprics, while bishops had to be consecrated in London under the special injunctions of the Crown. Attempts made at every stage to reverse the situation were frustrated.⁵⁴

Seabury was refused to be consecrated bishop in England under the existing laws that forbade a non-British to be consecrated to that position, consequently alternative arrangements had to be made. Seabury was consecrated bishop in the Episcopal Church of Scotland where such inhibitions did not exist, since the church there was not established by the law of the land.⁵⁵

This episode, therefore, shows that until the time of the repeal of the law against the “foreigners” in 1786, the Church of England was not entirely free to extend its missionary responsibilities to the world, especially with regard to the episcopate. The episcopate was too closely bound to the Establishment to be freely available to supply the missionary needs. Its close identification with the British *status quo* acted rather as an impediment to the Church of England’s missionary obligations.

52.*Ibid.*

53.*Ibid.*, p. 114.

54.*Ibid.*, pp.224226.

55.Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

It was in this light that Peter Nockles observed that it was partly because episcopacy was deemed to be conducive to the sound principle of obedience to authority that ‘High Church men’ in 1770 lamented the failure of various attempts to establish Bishops among the American colonies.”⁵⁶ To put it differently, the “High Churchmen” perceptively observed that the episcopate had become an instrument of power too closely bound up with an attitude of loyalty and subservience to political authority. Consequently, this attitude constrained the church's freedom to act independently in matters pertaining to the ordering of its inner life, let alone mission, in society. It is significant in this respect that Phillip Thomas observes that:

The failure of the Church of England during the eighteenth century was most evident in the way it was dominated by the state to such an extent that Newman would have some justification believing that by his day it was the establishment alone that erected the Church of England to unity and individuality. Strip it of this world, he challenged, and it will be a mortal operation, for it will cease to be.⁵⁷

I will argue in chapters four, five and six in this study that the UMCA’s view of ministry (European priesthood) in the 19th and 20th century had an impeding effect on the development of an indigenous leadership in Zanzibar, more particularly in Malawi. But for the colonial church in the 18th century, mission was closely interconnected with nationalistic and economic interests abroad. Similar traits were to be displayed later on that the colonial episcopate imposed on the UMCA in Malawi.

During the Age of Rationalism in the 18th century, the Church of England could no longer lean on the monarch, the “godly prince” to support its traditions and identity.⁵⁸ In various ways both James II and William III had made that clear.⁵⁹ Moreover, it could no longer claim to be a national church the “spirituality” of England.⁶⁰ Now it was the

56. Knockles, B., *The Oxford Movement in Context, Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 48.

57. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

established church in a nation where it coexisted with others more or less on an equal basis. As G. Howatt noted, “its bishops were supporters of the Establishment, King, Lords and Commons rather than of monarchy in any divine sense.”⁶¹ In return, the bishops enjoyed status and privilege. This set them apart from the clergy whose interests and political allegiance were at variance with theirs.⁶²

More seriously, the life of the church was subjected to open surveillance by the civil authority of Parliament. Moreover its bishops, whose votes in the House of Lords had become necessary to the continuance in office of any government, were becoming political figures, whose attention to pastoral duties, even given the best intentions, had to be severely limited.⁶³ The bishops’ role was not merely and exclusively spiritual but also political, a role which they played in promoting causes of various governments. On the other hand, except for the non-jurors, their unwillingness to recognise William III and Mary II did not help to improve their lot.⁶⁴

In reaction to these developments, which the High Church clergy detested, the latter saw in the Episcopal ordering of the church not merely a matter of divine sanction or “external regiment”, but a divine gift that marks out the Church as a sphere of covenanted grace⁶⁵ Further, they sought in the apostolic office of the bishop a foundation upon which the authority or identity of the church rested, independent of Parliament.⁶⁶ Notwithstanding, the Church of England itself, and particularly its episcopate, increasingly got entangled with the interests and cause of the monarchical state.

61.Howatt, G.M.D., “Sociological Factors that have shaped episcopacy” in Aitken, J., and Ramsford, (eds.), *Today's World*, London: Harper Collins, 1991, p. 217.

62.*Ibid.*

63.*Ibid.*

64.Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 305

65.*Ibid.*

66.*Ibid.*

2.3 The 18th century Evangelical Revival and the Church of England

Perry Butler associates the origin of the Evangelical Movement with the “Gospel” or “awakened” clergy who between 1730 and 1760 went through conversion in England. Collectively they shared a common purpose to rejuvenate the church and evangelise the nation.⁶⁷ Trans-national in character, embracing German Pietism and the American “Great Awakening,” in England the Movement appeared in three forms: the Arminian Methodists following John Wesley, the Calvinist Methodists following George Whitfield, and the others who remained in the Church of England.⁶⁸ The experience of personal holiness emanating from moral regeneration became the core of their theology.⁶⁹

The Movement’s positive and optimistic approach to life with the possibility of improving the lot of the poor in the here and now tended to offer hope and meaning to life.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, the Evangelicals’ disinclination for church order made their relationship with the bishops of the national church uncomfortable and uneasy. The bishops of the established church did not find it appropriate to associate themselves with the movement that seemed to challenge the status quo. They disdained the “enthusiasm” or “emotionalism” associated with the Evangelical Revival. The church hierarchy in England threw in its lot with the aristocracy rather than the commoners.

The most enduring feature of the Evangelical Movement was its sense of vocation and commitment to moral reform and regeneration. Social commitment to moral reform led its leading Evangelicals to embark on programmes that sought to alleviate the deprivations in life of the poor and the marginalised of the industrial revolution. More importantly, concern for the upliftment of the poor in England also tended to run into larger issues, notably concern for worldwide mission and the abolition of the African slave trade. One of the fruits of this movement was the foundation of the Church

67.*Ibid.*

68.*Ibid.*

69.Neill, *Anglicanism*, p. 234.

70.Young, G. M., *Victorian England*, Oxford: SPCK, 1978, p. 33.

Missionary Society in 1799 by Henry Venn, its first Secretary General and missionary strategist.⁷¹

Politically spurred by concern for the extirpation of the Slave Trade, the objectives of the Church Missionary Society were associated with the colonial enterprise in West Africa in the late 19th century.⁷² Right from its inception, the CMS was not very closely attached to the central organ of the church, the episcopate.⁷³ It enjoyed strong and influential lay leadership and prestigious patronage from the wealthy members of the society. Though the leaders of the CMS, *inter alia*, Henry Venn, like the official church, believed in the importance of the episcopate as an organ for the ordering of the life of the church, they did not believe that the church could not be planted apart from the episcopate.⁷⁴ Partly because of this, its relationship with the hierarchy of the established church remained uneasy for a long time. It was on this score, as T.E. Yates observed that, the ordering of relations between CMS and the Anglican episcopate overseas was to be one dominant theme of its history.⁷⁵

On the other hand, attempts to get the Church Missionary Society recognised by the official hierarchy and the subsequent attempts to get the official church to engage in worldwide mission met with constant rebuffs.⁷⁶ The church did not consider it as a priority for a state church to engage in acts which seemed disruptive to the received ordering of life in society. As Hastings observed, “a State Church found it hard to see the propriety of being a missionary Church.”³³⁷⁷ Nonetheless, by the end of the 19th century the Evangelicals were comfortably placed within the official church and had

71. Yates, T.E., “Anglicans and Missions” in *The Study of Anglicanism*, pp.432-433.

72. See Moorhouse, G., *The Missionaries*, London: Chaucer Press, 1973, Chapter 5 and 6.

73. Butler, *op.cit.*, p.283.

74. Yates, T. E., *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*, London: SPCK, 1978, pp. 104-105.

75. Yates, T. E., “Anglicans and Missions”, p. 432.

76. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

77. Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa 1450/1950*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 245.

attained positions of influence.⁷⁸ Through their influence, vital religion began to permeate the upper middle classes.⁷⁹

The story of the Clapham Sect and the Saints with their endeavours is well documented elsewhere and needs no further elaboration here. Suffice it to note that, as a result of that movement, British society was imbued with a new sense of mission and purpose. Its leaders were enthusiastic, optimistic and confident. They believed that Africa could be civilised and transformed by a combined effect of commerce and Christianity.⁸⁰ In their view, education was the key towards this goal. It was a means to civilise the uncivilised people. Civilisation entailed the acquisition of British moral, socio-economic and political values and British systems, practices, interests and traditions by non-British people.⁸¹ The prevailing view at this stage assessed an African positively as essentially capable of reaching the heights of European civilisation.

The British held the view that no essential differences existed between the African and the European except that the white man had attained a superior status and position because of the early advantage of civilisation.⁸² Given the chance and conditions to attain civilisation and Christianity, so it was further contended, Africa would be raised to a higher level of humanity. This perspective was now influencing the broader missionary mass movement.

2.4 The Oxford Movement and the Episcopate in the 19th century

Responding to what appeared to be the state's domination of the church, the leaders of the Oxford Movement, notably John Keble, John Henry Newman and Edward Pusey, urged the official church to return to primitive Christianity.⁸³ Stressing that the church

78.Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

79.*Ibid.*

80.*Ibid.*

81.*Ibid.*

82.*Ibid.*

83.*Ibid.*, p. 121, 123.

derived its authority from the Apostles rather than from human institutions,⁸⁴ the leaders of the Oxford Movement asserted the office of the bishop over and against secular leadership of the state. They argued that the bishops were not only essential but also of the well being of the life of the church; not only were the bishops of the *esse* of the church but also of the *bene esse*.⁸⁵ Because they disseminated their teachings through the “Tracts for the Times”, they were also called the Tractarians.

Thus, unlike the 18th century Evangelical revival that tended to stress an individualistic approach to Christianity, the Oxford Movement stressed the corporate dimension of Christianity, albeit, centred in the person of the bishop.⁸⁶ Consequently, the office of the bishop became too closely identifiable with the life of the church. The episcopate came to be seen as the fullness of the church, its embodiment; as the dictum went, “no bishop, no Church,” by implication, no salvation outside the church. The leaders of the Oxford Movement argued that “episcopacy embodies the superior form of church governance because it perpetuates apostolic Christianity which under-girds the visible church and validates such ordinances as the sacraments.”⁸⁷ In particular, Newman stressed that the episcopate was a “definite” instrument or rather an appointed means of spiritual blessings.” These blessings, for Newman “were available in the power of consecrating the Lord’s Supper.”⁸⁸

These teachings led to the revival of the church, as it asserted the office of the bishop, and by extension, of the priest as sacramental in character. As Geoffrey Young asserted, “The appeal to the Middle Ages was irresistible and the whole tendency was to exalt the priestly character and isolate the Eucharist as the chief act of worship.”⁸⁹ Sacramentalism, however, transcended personal devotion. It encompassed the whole body of Christ understood as the mystical body. The Tractarians expressed a holiness of

84.Nockles, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

85.Yates, T. E., *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*, p. 123.

86.Sachs, *op. cit.*, pp. 124125.

87.*Ibid.*, p. 2.

88.Nockles, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

89.Young, G., *Victorian England, A Portrait of the Age*, London: SPCK, 1957, p. 120.

a new kind, ascetic, austere spirituality, pledged to the devotion of Christ at whatever cost.⁹⁰ They justified their vocation by a life of humility, obedience and holiness “in being partakers of his divine nature through an understanding of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, this social life was to be lived out in the political context.”⁹¹ Yet, this spirituality emanated from their conviction that the church was the sacrament which derived its authority from the apostolic tradition visibly expressed now in the office of a bishop.

In this respect, the apostolic succession, the authority derived from the apostles, came to be seen as the guarantor of the mark of the true church. Thus, implied in all these teachings was the notion that the office of a bishop entailed tremendous authority and power. Its power directly implied that the church could not exist apart from the episcopate. To plant the church required the extension of the episcopate to the non-evangelised peoples. The episcopate and apostolic succession were regarded as such necessary aspects of the church’s life that only those which possessed them were regarded as living members in the Catholic Church of Christ.”⁹² In this respect, mission directly implied the planting of the episcopate, identifiable with it. These ideas were to influence the Universities Mission to Central Africa, a missionary body that was to start the mission to Malawi late in the 19th century.

2.5 The British Expansion to the Colonies and the Concept of the Missionary bishop

It has recently been noted that like the Evangelical Movement at its peak, the Oxford Revival had stressed the concern for mission. However, the stress in both cases tended to vary according to respective emphases, the one individualistic, the other more corporate in dimension. According to Adrian Hastings, the period between 1840 and

90. Neill, *Anglicanism*, p. 257.

91. England, F., “Tracing Southern African Anglicanism” in England, F., and Paterson, T., (eds.), *Bounty and Bondage, The Anglican Church in Southern Africa*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989, p. 19.

92. Neill, *Anglicanism*, p. 259.

1850 was significant for the mission in Africa precisely because the missionary movement went through transformation as a social force.⁹³

With a new sense of optimism and confidence, mission changed from being a socially sectarian, timid current to becoming a radical engaging force poised to transform Africa.⁹⁴ This development had been enhanced by the impact of the Evangelical movement as well as the increasing contacts between Britain and Europe and the non-western world.⁹⁵ In this regard, the missionary movement turned out to be a novel and creative force materially and psychologically for the African. Not only did it mark the influx of the missionary into Africa but, more significantly, materially and mentally this kind of a missionary surpassed the one that had preceded him/her.⁹⁶

From the mid 19th century onwards, the rising national consciousness in Britain spurred a sense of national identity. In these circumstances, socially, politically, economically and religiously, the British rose to define and view themselves in terms of what they had so far achieved or possessed in striking contrast with what they perceived the “others” did not achieve or possess. Presupposing that they possessed a “superior civilisation,” they tended to believe that its conferment upon those who did not have it would be beneficent.⁹⁷ This perspective tended to create the view that subjugation of the so-called “inferior race” by the white race could be justified.

In this context the modern missionary movement emerged as a potent force within the socio-economic and political upheaval poised to transform the Non-European world. Hence, the missionary movement became part of the broad social movement that sought to impose on the Non-European a perspective of life defined by the European socio-religious milieu. Max Warren has attributed the source of the emergence of the modern missionary as a special phenomenon to the consciousness and the rise of the

93. Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, p.243.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*

97. Goedhals, *op. cit.* p. 105.

missionary's social position.⁹⁸ The missionary's desire to better himself and his social position in society distinguished him from some of his less privileged brethren. The missionary rose as an economic social class. According to this view, like most intermediary classes, this missionary required lower classes, which acted alternatively as a recruiting ground and a place of contrast.⁹⁹ This need for a lower class was part of the psychology of Evangelical missionaries.¹⁰⁰

However, the socio-economic factor alone may not entirely and satisfactorily account for the enormous sacrifice made by men and women who were prepared to give their lives in Africa in the late 19th century. The missionary movement derived its impetus also from evangelical fervour, a force as potent as the economical factor. The 19th century was particularly animated by a spiritual vigour whose force inspired the motives and actions of individuals or groups of people like evangelicals.

Essentially the missionary movement was associated with a group especially concerned with the promotion of humanitarian rights for those regarded as unfortunately deprived. In Africa, the emancipation of slaves had been identified as an obligation that the West, particularly Britain intended to undertake to demonstrate the superiority of its civilisation. Motivated by humanitarian concerns, the legislation against slavery was enacted in 1833. In particular two figures, Charles Grant and Thomas Foxwell Buxton, stood out as sharing a traditional background of humanitarian concern. They happened to occupy very influential positions, namely, Secretary of State and Member of Parliament, respectively.¹⁰¹

While opposed to outright colonisation of the indigenous peoples, they established themselves as a powerful group who believed in a colonisation animated by Christian influence and extension of commerce. For example in 1838 they presented a Bill of Aboriginal Rights and argued that just as the British had rights, so did the Aborigines.

98. Warren, M., *Social History and Christian Mission*, London: S.C.M, 1967, p. 74, See also, Comaroff, J. and J. *op. cit.*, pp.76-85.

99. Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

100. *Ibid.*

101. Sachs, *op. cit.* p. 74.

They urged that Britain had been divinely appointed to lead other nations to liberate the peoples of the world.¹⁰²

These developments culminated in 1837 with Buxton's reviewed policy for Africa. This construction and representation of Africa became important to legitimise the view by which the British sought to expand to Africa. It focussed on the extension of legitimate commerce coupled with civilisation. Buxton envisioned a way to transform the African outlook through British influence. He conceived of a scheme to this effect. It included the sending of an expedition that would negotiate the end of slavery with the chiefs on the Niger River, West Africa, and introduce commerce and a model farm to illustrate to the locals how they should live and improve their life. He got government's support for this.

Thus, on June 1, 1840, Buxton's Africa Civilisation Society organised a mass meeting for the support of the expedition plan.¹⁰³ Amongst the high powered delegates in church and civil society present was David Livingstone. The meeting sent out one clear message Africa awaited British civilisation.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the meeting left the impression that Evangelicalism and Empire had to go together. The failure of the Niger Expedition is well known. The so-called policy for Africa was an attempt to refashion Africa in the image of the European conception of social life.

In fact evangelical fervour for mission expressed itself in a new temper and outlook of the age.¹⁰⁵ The new mood went beyond evangelical concerns for mission. It ran into enthusiasm for the building of the empire with prospects for opportunities this might accord. Anthony Grant, a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Vicar of Romford epitomised this nexus between missionary enterprise and imperial extension. Presenting his Bampton address entitled, *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel to the*

102.*Ibid.*, p. 109.

103.*Ibid.*, p. 57.

104.*Ibid.*

105.*Ibid.*

Heathen 1843 Grant extolled the expansion of the empire and urged further that "...the church extend herself with the extension of our empire."¹⁰⁶

More importantly, Grant viewed the church's role in extending its ancient traditions as vital to the operation of the imperial order. Certainly in this context, Grant did not specifically mention episcopacy as one of these primitive traditions. However, the fact that currently the leaders of the Oxford Movement stressed the episcopate as the mark of the true missionary (apostolic) church, it is possible that in this case Grant was alluding to the episcopate as the "primitive tradition." In this respect, he urged that, The church must build upon primitive traditions as preparation for the Gospel and thus must treat other peoples as humanely as children of God."¹⁰⁷ So Grant concluded, "Therefore must the church extend herself with the extension of our empire must carry her divine system into foreign cultures and into foreign settlements, [to] secure the Christianity and the true social development of these future nations."¹⁰⁸

Perhaps nowhere did the theory and practice regarding episcopacy as moving in tandem with the Empire, find better illustration than in India. Quoting Lord Rosebery's reply to the question: "what is imperialism in 1895?," Warren illustrated a relationship of interdependence or mutuality between mission and empire. In this regard, he noted that, amongst other things, "Liberal imperialism implies, the maintenance of the empire, the opening of the new areas for our surplus population, the suppression of slave trade, fourthly, the development of missionary enterprise and commerce which is so vital to Christianity which it requires."¹⁰⁹ It is significant that mission was closely associated with commerce and the idea of subjugation of the other people. As it will be illustrated in the following chapter, mission to Central Africa, Malawi took this form.

106. Grant, A., *The past and prospective extension of the Gospel to the heathen*, London: Rivington, 1844, p. 11, quoted in Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*

109. Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

However, it was in India where the interdependence between church and state in propping the empire was most conspicuous, hence that arrangement was to be a model to the emerging “Third British Empire,”¹¹⁰ including Malawi, in Central Africa. The colonial power imposed a programme to accommodate Indian culture forcibly to English culture by a thorough plan called Anglicisation.¹¹¹ The church supported the programme. Anglican missionary work stressed education and through education the transformation of Indian culture. Policymakers in Britain encouraged the church's influence in the programme of modernisation.¹¹²

This policy found expression in the Indian Education Minute adopted by T.B. Macaulay in 1835.¹¹³ The church gave its blessing to the programme of westernisation and this role of a willing partner became the hallmark of Anglican activity in India.”¹¹⁴ So, Sachs concluded, “consequently, intent on furthering church's development, Anglicans assumed the mentality of imperialism.¹¹⁵ For until now military and commercial concerns had taken *a priori* considerations over ecclesiastical needs in India. Missionaries were state agents and were treated accordingly.¹¹⁶ Moreover, even though hitherto inhibited under the special arrangements of 1813 the episcopate was provided for India. Sachs noted that:

The Episcopate symbolised Britain's commitment to diffuse the benefits of her institutions, especially the form of her church government. Having garnered sufficient support, this dual conception of English responsibility carried Parliament. India policy was remade, a new vision of religious establishment received legislation.¹¹⁷

In India the English episcopate became a vehicle closely associated with the diffusion of British cultural supremacy. Subjected to the role of cultural diffusion, the episcopate became a bearer of national ideology which presumed British cultural supremacy.

110.*Ibid.*

111.Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

112.*Ibid.*

113.*Ibid.*, p. 170.

114.*Ibid.*, p. 171.

115.*Ibid.*

116.*Ibid.*

117.*Ibid.*, p. 57.

Nonetheless, according to Warren, the church-state union in India was unique in the sense that the establishment was based more on what was assumed to be the ideal church-state arrangement in England rather than what in reality constituted the traditional church-state organic unity in England. Widespread popular assumptions of the association of church and state in the colonies were merely a reflection of the arrangement that existed in England.¹¹⁸ He noted that the practical working of such an arrangement was too complex to be translated to the colonies.¹¹⁹ According to this author, primarily the Establishment related to the Crown's jurisdiction over the church. He noted further that it also involved the transferring of the machinery of the Establishment to colonial sees.¹²⁰ In this regard, missionary bishops were sent overseas with theoretically autocratic powers which they had no means of enforcing in the colony.¹²¹

Meanwhile, important developments were occurring in England. Significantly, these developments consolidated the existing view that the episcopate was of absolute necessity to the credibility of the church's mission. Ultimately, these efforts reached their summit in the fundraising appeal by Charles James Blomfield, the bishop of London. In 1840 Blomfield launched a public appeal to raise a Fund for the Endowment of the Additional Bishops for the colonies.¹²² Blomfield stated:

That the time had come when a great effort was required on the part of the Church of England to import the full benefits of her Apostolic government and discipline... The duty incumbent upon a government of a Christian country, of making provision for the spiritual wants of its colonies... was felt at far too late a period by the rulers of this country, and has not been completely and effectually carried out. It is not enough to send missionaries. We must plant the church... in all its integrity. Each colony must have its chief pastor...¹²³

118. Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 114

123. Blomfield, A., *A Memoir of Charles James Blomfield, D.D.* vol. i., London: John Murray, 1863, p. 281-282., quoted in Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Bloomfield urged for the mission centred on the church, and by extension the episcopate, perceived as a sign of its prestige, identity and supremacy. Quoting the speech of Blomfield in 1841, Sachs stated: to date the church's mission has been conducted by societies loyal to the church...There has not been perfect unity of operation between them. I have always believed that the great missionary body ought to be the church herself.¹²⁴

Blomfield proposed the establishment of the Colonial Bishops Fund which would be raised from private sources. It was to be administered by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.¹²⁵ This event enhanced the expansion of the overseas episcopate to the extent that by the time the first gathering of Anglican bishops took place at the Archbishop of Canterbury's residence of Lambeth in 1867, the number of bishops in the colonies numbered fifty.¹²⁶ In this regard, despite the dependence on private funding, the episcopate assumed a new dimension for the church's mission to the world.¹²⁷

The connection between the episcopate in the church and colonial mission is obvious. It is as if mission proceeds from the episcopate. The danger with such a view is that it tended to make the episcopate too dependent on the relationship with the state. It is within this context that another milestone was reached.

In 1841 the see of Jerusalem was established by an Act of Parliament.¹²⁸ Significantly, this act enabled Englishmen to be made bishops for the colonies with sole responsibility for British subjects.¹²⁹ In the interim, more important developments were taking place in the United States of America on the issue of the episcopate and mission. A recommendation of the Episcopal Church's House of Deputies in its General

124.Sachs, *op. cit.*, p.115.

125.*Ibid.*

126.Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

127.Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

128.Herklots, G. G., *Frontiers of the Church, The Making of the Anglican Communion*, London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1961, p. 80.

129.*Ibid.*

Convention of 1835 encouraged the idea of the consecration of a “missionary bishop.”¹³⁰ This sort of bishop was intended to solve the problem of the absence of bishops in the areas which had not been officially designated as dioceses.¹³¹ During the occasion of the consecration of the first missionary bishop, Jackson Kemper in 1835, the preacher, Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, popularised the idea.

Doane declared that the office of a missionary bishop is a new office in this church...what we are now to do will go on record, as a precedent.³⁸¹³² Every minister of Jesus is a Missionary,” Doane asserted, “so are the Bishops as His chief ministers, eminently Missionaries, sent out by Christ Himself to preach the Gospel, sent to preach it in a wider field. Just like the church sends missionaries, so it must send bishops, going before to organise the church, not waiting till the church has been partially organised.¹³³ For Doane, mission was almost inseparable from the evangelistic role of bishops in the field. In fact, according to this view, mission proceeded from the apostolate of the bishops in the field.

Further, Doane urged the Protestants to take action on the grounds that the belief and principles held were in harmony with God's will. These, so he contended, were meant for the enhancement of human happiness.¹³⁴ Doane then argued that God had entrusted to the Episcopal Church the preservation in integrity and purity of the order of His Holy Apostolic Church. In conclusion, Doane stated that just as much as the Gospel's truth had been attested, so the church will have to establish the identity of holy, apostolic Church.... to every soul of man, in every part of it, the Gospel is to be preached.¹³⁵

130.Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

131.*Ibid.*

132.Doane, W. C., *The Life and Writings of George Doane, The Missionary Bishop*, vol. ii., Sermon vii, New York: D. Appleton, 1860, p. 399. , quoted in Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

133.*Ibid.*

134.*Ibid.*

135.*Ibid.*

Everywhere, the Gospel is to be preached by, through, and in the church. So how can we encourage... the extension or even the existence of the church without a Bishop?¹³⁶

Essentially these views were not entirely novel. In important respects they echoed the current views of the Oxford Movement on the relationship between the church and the episcopate. However, whereas in England the idea had risen largely due to the state's domination of the church, in the United States of America, the idea had risen out of missionary circumstances. What is of more importance is that the Anglican Church in the United States of America sought to implement theory and practice.

In the wake of Kemper's consecration many more were consecrated to the office of "missionary bishop" and sent to established foreign missions. Notable among these was Channing Moore Williams, who initiated work in Japan in 1859 and in 1886 was consecrated bishop.¹³⁷ In this way, the Anglican Church in the United States of America had discovered for other Anglicans a new model of mission that centred on the episcopate.¹³⁸

More importantly, in England Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford, having read Doane's sermon, was inspired by the concept of "missionary bishops," and that the episcopate was the centre of mission and that essentially the church was missionary.¹³⁹ Speaking to the House of Lords on the extension of the English episcopate in 1846, Wilberforce argued that, the bishops must first be sent to plan and guide the work, instead of the pastors going first like a scattered army and then, if indeed at all, for the leader to follow after.¹⁴⁰ The Tractarian leaders, Pusey and Newman, urged the idea that no one could be an evangelist unless he were a bishop as it had been in the early church. To these men, and those like Wilberforce who were influenced by their ideas, "this

136. Addison, J.T., *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*, Hamden: Archon Books, 1969, pp. 142-144., quoted by Sachs, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-144.

137. *Ibid.*

138. *Ibid.*

139. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

140. Yates, T.E., *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*, p. 101.

vision of the bishop-evangelist was the most compelling one, one that they were able to find in church history.”¹⁴¹ In Wilberforce’s view, the bishops must be pioneers laying the foundation for the church instead of proceeding from the church.³⁹¹⁴²

According to Yates, even towards the end of his life, Wilberforce believed that “the Presbytery and the Diaconate were evolved out of the Episcopate and not the Presbytery and the Diaconate run into the Episcopate.”¹⁴³ This was a view “which issued for High Churchmen in the consecration of Mackenzie as Bishop to the Zambezi in 1861 in a pioneer mission area.”¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Wilberforce responded initially to these developments by vigorously supporting the Colonial Bishops Fund.¹⁴⁵

However, in England the legacy of the church's dependence on state legislation in ordering its internal life once more constrained his endeavours. Wilberforce's attempts to win parliamentary legislation for the concept of missionary bishops to fulfil the church's responsibility in the colonies were defeated in 1853.¹⁴⁶ In this regard, Sachs observed that though the office of a missionary bishop proved limited in its application, however, it was its symbolic significance that was immense.”¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, according to Owen Chadwick, this restriction was grudgingly withdrawn by May 1859.¹⁴⁸ This implied that the Church of England was now free to consecrate bishops for the territories outside the Crown's jurisdiction.

In England Charles Selwyn, “Missionary Bishop” to New Zealand, illustrated the symbolic importance of the style and image this office represented.¹⁴⁹ In contrast to the popular traditional image of a bishop as a man who rode in carriages and mixed easily

141. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*

144. *Ibid.*

145. *Ibid.*

146. *Ibid.*

147. *Ibid.*, p.119.

148. Chadwick, O., *Mackenzie's Grave*, London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1959, footnote, pp. 21-22.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

with dukes, a churchman of dignity and smooth hands, Charles Selwyn, on his return to England in 1854, portrayed a missionary bishop as a man of humble life style and image.¹⁵⁰ He was a man prepared to risk his life for the sake of missionary principles, seemed to care little for material comfort, was selfless, and practical.¹⁵¹ For instance, Selwyn was depicted as navigating his little boat through the Melanesian islands, wearing seaman's clothing, sleeping in the open, cooking his own meals, hauling on cables, digging with his spade, jumping ashore upon islands where no white man had landed before, landing without knowing whether he would be greeted by curiosity or a bludgeon.¹⁵² This was new. It was a novel invention, which of necessity had to fit the circumstances of the emerging colonial order.

Selwyn's example had deeply influenced the image and character of a new model of the episcopate in the form of a recovery of the character of the primitive apostolic office. It was a view held tenaciously and dearly by those within the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England.¹⁵³ These people believed in the necessity of the episcopate as vital to the well being of the church and as a guarantor of its apostolic origin. The rise of the colonial order necessitated the evolution of the office of a missionary bishop to meet the special needs of the colony. It demonstrates the fact that in the changing circumstances the traditional dominant image and style of the episcopate was incongruous with the new realities obtaining outside England.

To fit in with the new conditions of the imperial order the traditional episcopate had to undergo some form of transformation. Unless this was effected, in its traditional form, the episcopate would not meet the needs of the British imperial order. It had to be adapted to the conditions obtaining in the colonies. The sources for this change had arisen from within the church in England to accommodate the emerging challenges associated with the subject peoples. A new situation impelled the transformation of the traditional episcopate.

150.*Ibid.*

151.*Ibid.*

152.*Ibid.*

153.*Ibid.*

In their book, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger highlight the critical role that ‘invented tradition’ played in sustaining the various aspects of the imperial order and not least the church, in the late 19th century. The “invented tradition” in this respect entailed “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”¹⁵⁴ Set within the traditional episcopal form, the concept of “missionary bishop” was an important innovation designed to accommodate the needs of colonial expansion.¹⁵⁵

The rise of the colonial order which brought with it new challenges for the established church called for the adaptation of the traditional episcopate in a form or model that transcended traditional scope and limitation. While not radically departing from the traditional principles, it called for the appropriation of the traditional authority for the sake of new socio-economic and political realities outside the English society. In this respect the invention of the office of a “missionary bishop” ought to be seen as an attempt towards the legitimisation of the process of colonisation just as other aspects of colonial rule were to follow similar trends.

Yet if the Empire were to succeed in its goals or ambitions, preparing officers to serve the colonies was of absolute necessity. Missionary background and preparation for mission abroad constituted a vital component in the building of the British Empire. According to Leslie Hunter, the English public school chiefly served as a grounding of imperial ideology.¹⁵⁶ It acted as the base through which ideological view relating to

154.Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 1.

155.Cf, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

156.Hunter, *The English Church A New Outlook*, p. 38.

imperial loyalty and British patriotism were inculcated.¹⁵⁷ It groomed the prospective missionaries and colonial officers.¹⁵⁸

Leslie Hunter noted that these officials had one thing in common. They shared a common educational background in the English public schools whose most pervasive influence was the educationist, Dr Matthew Arnold.¹⁵⁹ This system of education sought to raise its products in appreciating the British values and traditions as well as political loyalty to the objectives and ideals of the Empire. It was a system that sought to inculcate and nurture the principles and ethos of the religious and political Establishment in its products.¹⁶⁰ Consequently, this system, according to Hunter nurtured “an ‘old school tie’ nexus between missionary and district officer, between bishop and governor, which undoubtedly served in many cases to create for the Church of England in the area concerned a privileged position.”¹⁶¹

In other words, the missionary and the colonial officer drank from the same wellspring. They shared similar social outlook and social habits nurtured through a common experience of socialisation. This relationship was to impinge on the way mission and its policy was to be carried out in the mission field. It was a bond that defined and asserted their vocation and identity within the grand design of the Empire. It was a relationship nurtured in the socio-economic, religious and political tradition. Its premises presupposed the superiority or excellence of British institutions, values and traditions over those viewed as lacking them.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I traced the impact of the close church-state relationship on the image, style and function of the English episcopate from the Reformation to the late 19th century. I analysed the role of the episcopate in connection with the extension of the

157.*Ibid.*

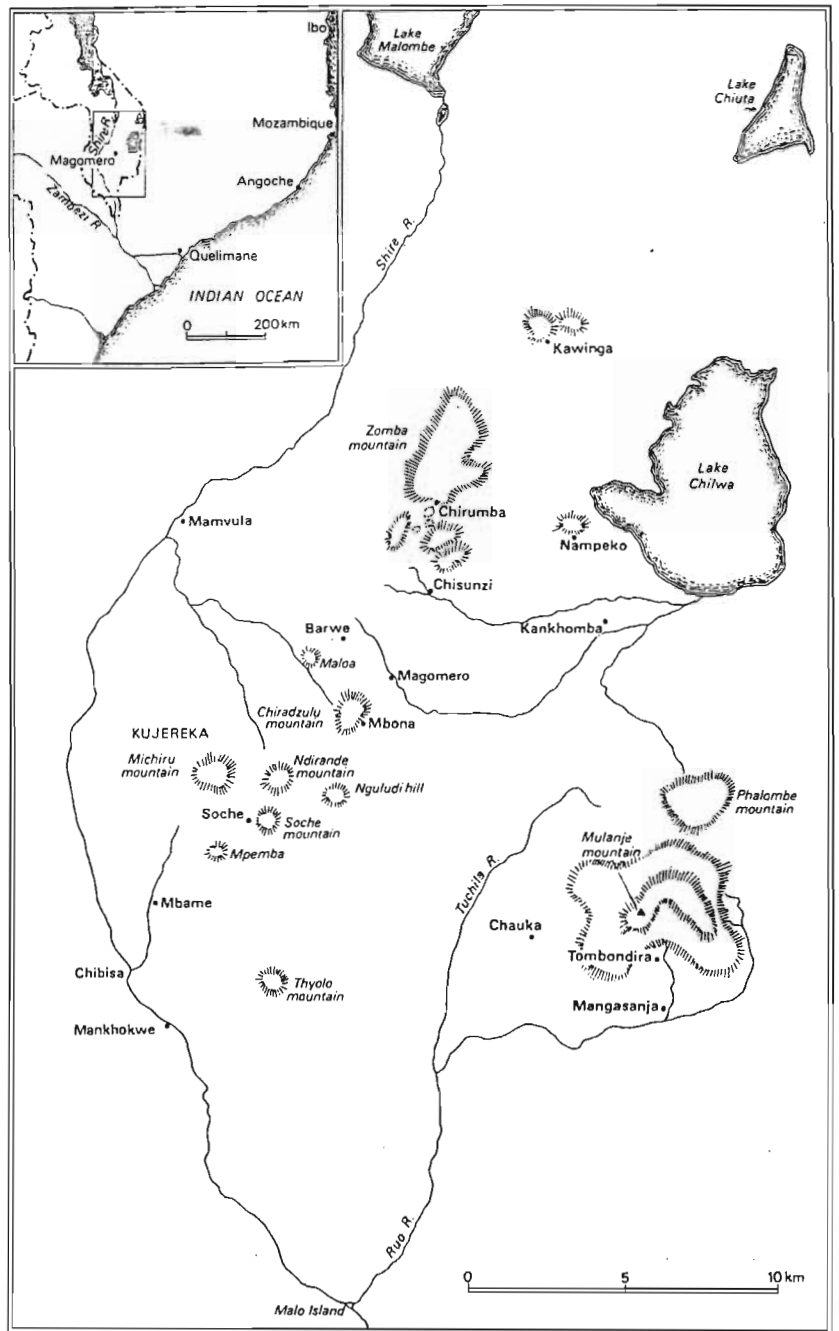
158.*Ibid.*

159.*Ibid.*

160.*Ibid.*

161.*Ibid.*

British imperial order during the late 19th century. It has been demonstrated that, characteristically, the close relationship between church and state mutually worked for the advantage of each other in the context of the expansion of the imperial order. Specifically, it has been established that political developments enhanced the transformation of the role of the church, and the episcopate in particular. Thus the legacy of the church's relationship to the state in England constituted the most important aspect of the church's life that was to bear on its mission in the late 19th century Malawi.



Map 1. The Shire Highlands 1861-3

Chapter Three

3. The Formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and the mission to Central Africa (1857-1863)

3.1. Introduction

In the foregoing chapter, I established that, despite the legal and political restraints, the church's connection to the state in England had the effect of enabling the extension of the episcopate to the colonies as a tool associated with the idea of English colonial expansion. I demonstrated that to fit in with the new context of the British colonies, the English episcopate underwent some transformation. The objective of this chapter is to discuss the origins of the Anglican mission in Malawi between 1857 and 1863. I will also illustrate that the mission in Central Africa was an attempt by the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England to put into practice the theory that the bishop was the chief evangelist in raising the church, that the church derived from the episcopate.

The mission to Central Africa was an attempt to transplant the English episcopate in all its integrity in the missionary field. In this regard, I will trace briefly the history of the establishment of the Church of England's missionary society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), highlighting its link with the colonial expansion in Malawi late in the 19th century. I will argue that a close link between missionary Christianity and the idea of colonisation had the effect of undermining the early attempts to establish a firm permanent mission station at Magomero in Malawi. Specifically, I will argue that Anglican missionaries' attempts to bring Western civilization and Christianity in the context of 19th century Magomero, tended to undermine the attempts to establish the first mission. I will also argue that a re-evaluation of the causes of failure of the mission turned out to be a strength from which a new strategy was devised which ensured a more successful second phase of the mission.

3.2. David Livingstone and the Formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) (1857-1861)

The history of the UMCA as written by Blood and Anderson-Morsehead has been narrated as if it was unconnected to the greater socio-economic and political impulses of the Victorian period which certainly were to have a bearing on the missionary work in Central Africa. Yet a closer reading of the events of the late 19th century suggests that the broader impulses that triggered the origin of the mission to Malawi were not merely evangelical in objective. Our starting point is the year 1857. It is significant in two respects. Firstly, in this year, the British government accepted direct responsibility to rule India directly after the Indian mutiny. It replaced the East India Company as a controlling power.¹ Thus, as a nation, Britain had finally assumed direct colonial responsibility for India.²

According to Max Warren the British search for new colonies was especially intended to maintain the old Empire, including India.³ In other words, colonialism became a national policy as opposed to a company responsibility. Secondly, with regard to Africa in that year, Dr David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary and explorer, published his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*.⁴ The publication roused tremendous enthusiasm. According to Stephen Neill, this publication revived once more the spirit and the conviction that the time had arrived to venture into the heart of Africa.⁵ On his return to England in that year, Livingstone addressed the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At the Senate House in Cambridge, his speech was direct and engaging:

In going back to that country my object is to open up traffic along the banks of the Zambesi, and also to preach the Gospel. The natives of Central Africa are very desirous of trading, but their only traffic is at present in slaves, of which the poorer people have an unmitigated horror: it is therefore most desirable to encourage the

1. Neill, S., *Christian Missions*, p. 74.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Warren, M., *op. cit.*, p. 102.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

former principle, and thus open a way for consumption of free productions, and the introduction of Christianity and commerce.⁶

It would seem that for Livingstone the pursuit for commerce was priority number one, but only in conjunction with the spread of Christianity, as he states in the following sentence, “By encouraging the native propensity for trade, the advantages that might be derived in a commercial point of view are incalculable; nor should we lose sight of the inestimable blessings it is in our power to bestow upon the unenlightened African, by giving him the light of Christianity.”⁷ Livingstone portrayed the Africans as in need of trading. Concluding his address, Livingstone exhorted his audience,

I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country which is now open. Do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry on the work I have began. I leave it with you!⁸

Perhaps like many others of his period, Livingstone believed that Africa needed a combination of commerce and Christianity as the best way in which to evangelise the Non-Europeans. Seeing the slave trade as an obstacle to Africans accepting the Gospel, Livingstone advocated “legitimate” commerce, modern farming for consumption and sale as the gateway to reaching Africans with the Gospel.⁹ In this regard, mission had to be backed by commercial enterprise in the form of agriculture, trade and industry. As he stated, “wide diffusion of better principles” needed to be complemented and supported by conversion.”¹⁰

Underlying this thinking was the presupposition that material attainments would facilitate an easier acceptance of the Gospel once Africans had experienced some

6.Monk, W., *Dr. Livingstone Cambridge Lectures Together with A Prefatory Letter by Professor A. Sedgwick*, Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. 1858, p. 21.

7.*Ibid.*

8.Yates, *Anglicans and Mission*, p.435.

9.Mugambi, K.N.J., *African heritage and Contemporary Christianity*, Nairobi: Longhorn Publishers, 1988, pp. 4142

10.*Ibid.*

alleviation of suffering and poverty.¹¹ Therefore, acceptance or rejection of the Gospel depended on the possibility of the new way of life, offering prospects for improving the material conditions of the prospective converts.¹² Accordingly, mission was increasingly portrayed as an enterprise to demonstrate superior English principles to those who had none.

In his appeal to the established Church in England, Livingstone urged the establishment of a mission settlement, which would run primarily on the principles of commerce supported by evangelical endeavour. He stated, "I have already explored a pathway by means of the river Zambezi which leads to the highlands where Europeans may form a settlement, and where by opening up communication and establishing commercial intercourse with the native of Africa, they may slowly, but surely, impart on the people of that country the knowledge and inestimable blessings of Christianity."¹³

Hence, perhaps in an attempt to attract his audience to come to Central Africa, Livingstone painted in his addresses, a roseate picture of the agricultural, botanical, commercial, and wild life prospects of the land, as well as its peaceful, friendly people. He made typical statements like "Gold is found in the river valleys and rocks from Zumbo to Sena, and in the region to the north and south of the Zambezi valleys, in fact, in a regular belt along north and south from the Transvaal to Tanganyika."¹⁴ He urged the undergraduates of Cambridge, in particular, that a land of plenty awaited them where a missionary could live comfortably, if he took a gun with him.¹⁵ Quoting Owen Chadwick, Sachs noted that the effects of these addresses were such that they "singly caused a revolution in the attitude of the British public towards the interior of Africa."¹⁶

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Monk, *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures*, chapter xxv.

14. Johnston, H. H., *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa*, London: George Philip and Son, 1891, pp. 204-205.

15. Moorhouse, G., *The Missionaries*, London: Eyre Methuen, 1973, p. 148.

16. *Ibid.*, p.119

One of the immediate results of this revolution was the formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). Rowley asserts that many supported the mission largely for commercial reason while the evangelical aspect of the mission was only of secondary interest to them. He stated, “We felt, that when our communication reached home, and it became known that it would be many years before the land in which we were could contribute to home wealth, that there was very little prospect of its being grown, and that we did not find the highland region a better cotton growing country, our Mission would be no longer an object of interest to many.”¹⁷

However, when Dr. David Livingstone spoke at Senate House in Cambridge in 1857 his audience was largely constituted of Churchmen of the Anglo-Catholic view, like Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who had largely been influenced by the Oxford Movement revival which characteristically stressed the office of the bishop. More importantly, more recently, Wilberforce and the others had been influenced by the concept of the Missionary bishop from America.

As I pointed out in the preceding chapter, the English Universities had been the centres of the Oxford Movement in the 19th century. The renewal had revived the Anglo-Catholic wing of the church. But the Anglo-Catholics still believed that the State needed to provide the necessary conditions for the mission of the church. Hitherto involvement in mission had been almost exclusively the concern of the Evangelical wing of the Church of England carried by the Church Missionary Society. Livingstone’s appeal to the English Universities, however, drew the Anglo-Catholic wing into the orbit of world mission. But unlike their counterparts the Evangelicals, the Anglo-Catholics stressed the idea of mission with episcopacy as its pillar. To them the role of bishops in the ordering of the life of the church was of absolute importance.

While the Evangelical led Church Missionary Society took the view that planting the church needed to start from the bottom, by gathering the flock first, to be followed only later by its chief pastors, the bishops, the Anglo-Catholics took the opposite view.

17. Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Standing firmly in the tradition of the Oxford Movement, the founders of the UMCA held that bishops formed the hub of the church.

It was therefore held that in the mission field the bishops must first go and evangelise the people, the fruits of which would raise a church. The bishop was primarily an evangelist to spread the Word of God and draw the “heathens” into the Kingdom of God. The view was meant to prove that bishops embodied the church. For the Anglo-Catholics, therefore, the presence of the bishops was essential to the church's being and the maintenance of its integrity, as bishops were viewed as standing in succession to the early apostles.

Holding such a view of the office of the bishop as being essential for the well being of the church, they took the position that the church was nonexistent without the presence of the bishop.¹⁸ It was argued that “the aim of planting the church with the bishop at its head was to plant the church in its integrity...by gathering the heathen into a Christian community with a sacramental life.”¹⁹ For the Tractarians, the bishop was “not the keystone but the foundation stone.”²⁰

Yet there were other important dissimilarities with the Church Missionary Society. Oliver Roland observed that partly due to its Anglo-Catholic views on episcopacy and “partly because the bishop worked in a single geographical area, in contrast to the CMS, in the UMCA, the bishop on the spot came to occupy the key position while the Home Committee in London merely raised funds and recruited the candidates.”²¹ Roland further asserted that, such functions did not attract the services of influential laymen.²²

18.*Ibid.*, p.20. This dictum derives from Bishop Cyprian of Carthage in the 2nd Century.

19.*Ibid.*, p. 196.

20.*Ibid.*

21.Oliver, R., *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London: Longman, 1965, p. 12.

22.*Ibid.*

Nevertheless, the two societies representing sharply contrasting models of evangelisation, one stressing building from the bottom, the other starting from the top with the diocese as a unit working downwards in the development of self governing institutions were operating in the Church of England.²³ However, at this stage the implications of having a bishop establishing a mission in the territory falling beyond British dominion were not immediately envisaged. This was to become an issue once the mission had been constituted. In the interim, it fell to Livingstone to put his vision for the mission, which he defined as follows:

The object was to establish stations in Central Africa, which should serve as centres of Christianity and civilisation, for the promotion of true religion, agriculture and lawful commerce and the ultimate extinction of the slave trade. And, in order to carry out this project successfully, it is proposed to send into Central Africa, six clergymen, to be headed as soon as is possible, by a bishop; and also a physician or surgeon, and a number of artificers, English or native, capable of conducting various works of building, of husbandry, and especially of the cultivation of the cotton plant.²⁴

Meanwhile, the issue of the bishop to head the mission preoccupied the mission's discussions. The Report of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, meeting on 25 January 1860 to discuss missionary bishops, approved the office of missionary Bishop as "the practice of the primitive Church, as it may be inferred from Holy Scripture and from early ecclesiastical records."²⁵ Owen Chadwick records that at the time when the UMCA committee was constituted, it so happened that Robert Gray, the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, was back visiting in England.²⁶ Gray had a well thought-out plan for missionary bishops and clergy for missionary work in the territories bordering the established dioceses of Natal, Cape Town and Grahamstown.²⁷ Thus, Gray's plans seemed to coincide with the scheme of the UMCA.

23. See Wand, J.W.C., *The Anglican Communion*, London: Oxford University Press, 1948, p.216.

24. Rowley, H., *The Story of The Universities Mission to Central Africa*, (Second Edition), London: Saunders, Otley, and co., 1867, p. 1., See also Goodwin, H., *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, London, Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and co., 1864, p. 218, and Herklots, H.G.G., *Frontiers of the Church*, London: Benn, 1961, p. 239.

25. Goodwin, *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, p. 229. Report par. 1.

26. Chadwick, *Mackenzie's Grave*, p. 35.

27. Anderson-Morsehead, A.E.M., *History of the UMCA*, vol. i., p. 3.

More importantly, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Natal, was at this time also visiting England.

Approached to lead the party, Mackenzie offered himself. The Home Committee was constituted and conditions laid down for service.²⁸ Among these conditions was one which stipulated that the committee had the responsibility to recruit the missionaries, choose bishops, determine conditions of service, and control finances in Africa and in England. Though while in London they presided over the committee, the bishops were merely the agents, the actual decisions belonged to the Committee.²⁹

Also to be noted is that from the start, unlike its counterpart, the CMS, the UMCA had very close ties with high-ranking officials in both church and state. Samuel Wilberforce, the bishop of Oxford, had been one of the initiators of the project. As noted earlier, he had been responsible for introducing the idea of missionary bishops in England. He gave his money to the mission on the understanding that it would implement the idea of a bishop-evangelist, “and with his gift conditional upon this”,³⁰ he embarked upon a campaign to win the support for the mission. Many high-ranking officials of the state supported the venture. At a meeting held at Senate House to choose the leader of the mission on 1st November 1859, the Vice Chancellor of the University shared the platform with Mr Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Brougham and Sir George Grey, the arch-imperialist, the governor of Cape Colony. The next day Charles Frederick Mackenzie was chosen head of the mission.³¹

Thus, unlike the CMS which largely drew its support from private, albeit influential, lay individuals, the UMCA received its patronage from individuals within the highest level of the state. Upon his appointment, contrary to the conventional tradition of the Church

28. Edwards, L., *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, London: S.P.C.K, 1934, p. 79.

29. Broomfield, G.W., *Towards Freedom*, Westminster: The UMCA, 1957, pp. 98-99.

30. Venn, *Victorian bishops Abroad*, p. 196.

31. Wilson, G.W., *The History of the UMCA*, p. 2.

of England, Mackenzie was not designated a bishop of any defined diocese.³² His title vaguely defined his sphere as "to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and River Shire."³³ He could sign his designation as "missionary bishop."³⁴

The appointment in the 19th century of an English bishop for a territory outside the sphere of the British dominion raised complications of an ecclesiastical and political nature that nearly frustrated the UMCA plans.³⁵ Since license to consecrate was a prerogative granted only by the Crown, it seemed unlikely that it would be granted in view of the fact that Mackenzie's appointment fell outside the British dominions.³⁶ Moreover, according to the Crown's ministers, so it was argued, such an action raised some political implications, such as the possibility of annexation in the event of an English bishop being attacked by a savage tribe in a territory outside the British dominion.³⁷

This issue also immediately raised the question of financial expenses where such a venture might be envisaged. In this respect, the consecration of Mackenzie as a missionary bishop seemed to hang in balance.³⁸ Thus, this issue shows clearly the close relationship that prevailed between the English episcopate and the monarchical State of England in the sense that the church seemed unable to act in an uninhibited manner with regard to its mission in society.

But there was also another argument that seemed to weigh heavier than the preceding ones. Others also advanced that since the government's failure to provide a bishop had caused the American colonies to leave the Empire, a grave mistake had been made which had better not be repeated on this occasion. They asserted that the presence of the

32.*Ibid*

33.*Ibid.*

34.*Ibid*

35.Edwards, L., *The Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p. 795.

36.*Ibid.*

37.*Ibid.*, p. 20.

38.Wilson, *op. cit*, p. 33., cf. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

bishop would ensure the provision of the necessary episcopal functions, which the mission would need, thereby reducing dependence on bishops from England.

Moreover, it was argued that the bishop's presence was important as "the keystone of the missionary edifice, he should be the first, the foundation stone."³⁹ Accordingly, there was also a desire to put theory into practice. Thus, the occasion seemed to provide an opportunity for the Anglo-Catholics to put into practice the doctrine of episcopacy as the foundation or the pillar of the church, a teaching inherited from the Oxford Movement, of which the UMCA was a direct product. As Chadwick noted, "there was much in it of the Oxford Movement; of the attempt by Newman and Keble and others to teach the bishops that they were "apostolic men."⁴⁰ In other words, the plan was based more on academic idealism than practical considerations. Thus, the feature of a bishop heading a mission became one of the early distinguishing features of the UMCA.

However, to circumvent the political ramifications entailed in his consecration, the convocation of Canterbury resolved to have Mackenzie consecrated by Robert Gray, the metropolitan bishop of Cape Town, to whom he would also take a vow of subordination. Mackenzie was consecrated on 1st January 1861 in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.⁴¹ In this regard three important aspects were associated with the origins of the UMCA must be noted. The first was the presence of the bishop as a leader of the mission; coupled to this were the political ramifications of the office of Mackenzie as the missionary bishop; finally and importantly there was the close association of the mission with the ideas of establishing a civilising English colony.

The last feature is worthy of notice. The mission had taken seriously Livingstone's belief that the introduction of commerce was an essential part of missionary work, so a cotton gin was included in the equipment.⁴² Similarly, the artisans were an important

39. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

41. Anderson-Morsehead., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

42. Weller, J and Linden, J. *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984, p. 34. Though a bibliography

aspect of the party. This illustrated the missionaries' attempts to impose their worldview and cultural values. The mission was thus intended to transform not only the religious but importantly the social, moral, material and political conditions of the Africans. It sought to reshape the space and temporal order of the African, by asserting over them various western forms of production.

By asserting these signs and symbols of production over the African they sought to reconstruct the African by assuming to project his image paradoxically in the European modes of symbolic representation, a "civilising mission." Yet, it is also important to point out that the biographer of Bishop Mackenzie, H. Goodwin noted that at this stage, the question relating the unfriendly tribes in the missionary field was adequately discussed. The missionaries at Magomero had to take the position that, "it would not be their duty to hold forcible possession, that they were preachers of peace, and that if they found their position untenable, except by violence, it would be their duty to abandon it, and seek another."⁴³ The issue of using arms was to have farreaching bearing on the whole missionary enterprise.

3.3. Early attempts to found the First Mission of Magomero (1861-1863)

In recent Malawian denominational ecclesiastical historiography, the story of the early failed attempts to establish a permanent mission station at Magomero in the Shire Highlands of Malawi has been unfairly attributed to planning which lacked foresight.⁴⁴ The exception to this approach is, however, that of Owen Chadwick. In his work, *Mackenzie's Grave*, Chadwick narrated the story succinctly, passionately and yet with critical erudition, and argued convincingly that the failure of the mission lay in deeper social factors.

appears at the back of the book, nevertheless, unfortunately, these authors like Anderson-Morsehead and A.G. Blood do not cite their sources.

43. Goodwin, *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, p. 255.

44. See for example, Ian Linden, *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland, 1889-1939*, London: Heinemann, 1974, introduction.

A closer reading of the events reveals that these may be attributed to the ideological presuppositions that lay behind the missionaries' actions in their relations with the Africans and the latter's perceptions of the missionaries' actions and the roles that Livingstone and Mackenzie played. Their approach entailed a presupposition that viewed an African as a "child," having no religion, no culture and no "civilised" socio-economic and political institutions. From the outset this view prejudiced the European missionary viewpoint towards regarding an African as a nonentity. From this perspective, an African was seen to occupy the role of the recipient, the West the role of an initiator, a provider, a creator, and a shaper. Hence, from the outset the missionaries' interests in their relationship with the Africans were predetermined.

In every respect the activities of the English missionaries in Central Africa illustrate their attempts to impose on the Africans in Central Africa a civilising mission, an aim which tended to overshadow missionary interests. The intention was to create an English colony that would demonstrate two aspects of English civilisation: the superiority of the western form of agriculture, and the superiority of the Christian moral law. This approach was a recipe for conflict in the event of an encounter with an alien system of values and traditions. Based on such assumptions, the initial seeds of ideological conflict, divergent interests and struggle were already sown between the missionaries and the local inhabitants. Largely, it was this perspective that nurtured conflict of intentions and goals with respect to the missionary encounter with the local people at Magomero mission.

Mackenzie and his party of six, the Fathers Procter and Scudmore and Mr Waller with two coloured assistants, Charles and Johnson,⁴⁵ set out from Cape Town on 12th January 1861.⁴⁶ At the mouth of the Zambezi, Livingstone and his Zambezi Exploratory

45. Anderson-Morsehead *op. cit.*, does not give their names while Chadwick names them as Charles and Johnson.

46. Anderson-Morsehaed, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Expedition met Mackenzie's party. On arrival at the Zambezi they were all armed⁴⁷ for according to Anderson-Morsehead they were "mindful there was already war in the land."⁴⁸ It is worth noting that the guide of the party at this stage was David Livingstone, the inspirer of the mission, as Mackenzie was its pillar. On Livingstone depended to a greater degree the success or the failure of the mission. As has been noted, Livingstone had been the brain behind the formation of the mission as he had been responsible for the choice and location of the mission.

Having arrived on the mouth of the Ruo River, Livingstone was responsible for making a decision that the Shire be approached from the East rather than from the south, a decision with which Mackenzie agreed. At this juncture the question of using firearms arose. After some considerable debate, considering whether under any circumstances it was justifiable to use firearms, Livingstone managed to convince the missionaries that it was merely for the purposes of self defence.⁴⁹ Eventually, Mackenzie, who hitherto had his own misgivings, reconciled himself to the rightness of the decision.⁵⁰

After having wasted considerable time and lost precious stores and medicines they finally reached Chibisa on 8th July 1861.⁵¹ On 15th July, accompanied by a long train of porters they set off from Chibisa for Magomero, which was reached on 19th July 1861.⁵² At the back Mackenzie was carrying seeds, in one hand he had a pastoral staff (a crozier) and in the other, a loaded double-barrelled gun.⁵³ Though designed for liturgical purpose, the crozier inflicted various jabs and pokes with its butt end upon a lazy and grumbling porter from Sena who refused to carry a heavy load and who too frequently sat down upon path. The Africans believed the crozier to be a new kind of musket.⁵⁴ It is almost certain that the local people were alarmed at the sight of such tools.

47. Goodwin, *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, p. 323., See also Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

52. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

53. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

54. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

The display of cultural superiority through cultural values, symbols or signs in the form of guns by the dominant missionaries entailed domination since it assumed power by the dominant group (the missionaries) to control or manipulate the Africans. The dominant demonstrated this symbolically by asserting the power behind the guns to imply that since Africans did not possess them they were vulnerable in the sight of a supreme power. Implied in such signs or symbols was essentially power entailed in culture, hence a close connection prevails between hegemony and culture. The interaction between the British missionaries and the local Mang'anja people in the Shire Highlands entailed the exchange of cultural signs, symbols, and assertions of modes of control and production, notably, in this case, guns and seeds.

These were signs of European civilisation, symbols of cultural supremacy, the power to manipulate, control and subdue the local population. The local people misconstrued the missionaries' intentions. The missionaries appeared to the local people not as men of peace but rather as men of war. Fundamentally, from the outset this factor had the effect of undermining the process, and the very objective for which the mission existed.

In the minds of the local people, guns were associated with the slaving Arabs and Portuguese, people renowned for their brutal form of slaving.⁵⁵ Thus, even though they sought to project an understanding that they stood for order and harmony, their very appearance with tools of violence undermined the very objectives for which the mission stood.

The missionaries arrived at a time of social instability, characterised by internecine tribal wars and slavery. The ripples of the Mfecane in Southern Africa had reached as far as Central Africa, and had caused tribal wars.⁵⁶ The Yao tribe was at war with the Nyanja, selling the latter to the Portuguese, when the Yao themselves were enslaved by Arabs.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the Arabs were always on the lookout for opportunities for

55. Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

56. *Ibid.*, Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.

57. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 57 and 59.

slaving expeditions against weak tribes, or encouraging one tribe to turn against another.⁵⁸ Thus the Southern Highlands of Malawi in 1861 were in a state of anarchy and instability, with no organised government or centralised authority of a king.⁵⁹

As far as Mackenzie could understand the political environment in which God had placed him, therefore, there was ‘no ruler ordained of God. . . to whom he could refer the matter. . . but we believed that being the only power in the place that could do it, we were ourselves God’s ministers for the purpose.’ In his own mind Mackenzie now believed himself to be not only the Shire Highlands bishop but also its secular ruler.⁶⁰

Reacting to an Arab slaving incident while on their way to Magomero, subsequently Mackenzie was won to Livingstone’s position that it was morally justifiable to strike in self defence, as a way of warding off the impending attacks. Quite unwittingly, the missionaries’ involvement in the local politics on the side of the victims of slavery portrayed them in the eyes of the Yao as siding with the former.

Convinced by Livingstone’s arguments that Magomero was more convenient as a place to settle than Chinsunzi’s village, Mackenzie and his party finally settled at Magomero,⁶¹ about 30 kilometres from the modern city of Blantyre. Magomero belonged to chief Chigunda, under the senior chief, Chibisa, who was himself a vassal of the paramount chief Mankhokwe who resided in the Shire Valley.⁶² Though well supplied with water, the place was unfortunately fever ridden. Their worst enemy, which proved in due course as harmful to their work as the fever was the spread of

58. *Ibid*, p. 48.

59. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

60. Newell, J., ‘There were Arguments in Favour of Our Taking up Arms’: Bishop Mackenzie and the War against the Yao in 1861’, paper presented at Faith and Knowledge Seminar No. 15, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, January, 1992.

61. Rowley, H., *The Story of The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, p. 114.

62. See Ranger, T. O. and Weller, J. (eds.), *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*, London: Heinemann, 1975, p. 14.

unfortunate rumours of their prowess before they had even reached Magomero.⁶³ The contradiction between what the missionaries proclaimed officially that they were intending to do and what the local people experienced seemed obvious to the latter.

The consequences and effects of this on their missionary work proved disastrous. Undoubtedly, being aware of the existence of the conflict in the minds of the local people between what they saw of Mackenzies' activities (and other missionaries') and what he proclaimed he had come to do, prompted Mackenzie to explain to the alarmed local chief, Chipoka, on their arrival at Magomero. Mackenzie stated that he was no man of war but a man of peace. "Our wish is to do you good by exchanging cloth, beads and other English goods for your goats and corn, ivory and cotton and what is more than all, we have a better knowledge of God than you, whose knowledge we know, and we want to teach you these things".⁶⁴ Livingstone had also the duty to explain to the representatives of chief Chithunzi what the missionaries had come to do.⁶⁵

Obviously what might have provoked Mackenzie's response was the chief's reaction to the presence of guns often associated with the Arabs, and the stories of the violence engaged in by the missionaries. Certainly the chief noted the existence of a discrepancy between what the missionaries claimed to represent and the violent activities often associated with the slaving Arabs. Certainly Mackenzie himself was conscious of these contradictions. He remarked:

I thought of a contrast between my weapon and my staff, the one like Jacob, the other like Esau and other to Abraham who trained his armed servants to rescue Lot. I thought of the seeds which we must sow in the hearts of the people, and of the oil of the spirit that must strengthen us in all we do.⁶⁶

Most likely the basis for the misconstrued purposes of the missionaries' presence at Magomero lay in what the local people perceived as contradictions in the activities and

63. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

64. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

65. Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

66. Goodwin, H., *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, p. 323.. See also Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

lives of the missionaries. The people appeared to associate the bishop's crozier with a big gun, so they remarked: "A big gun," said one, "mfuti' (a gun), "Yetu, mfuti yaikulu," (yes a big gun) said another one.⁶⁷

Because the local people cast the missionaries in the role of powerful defenders, they did not hesitate to call upon them. One after another, the Mang'anja called upon the missionaries to intervene on their behalf against the slavers.⁶⁸ Feeling pledged by their former actions, the missionaries went into a fullscale engagement.⁶⁹ John Weller and Jane Linden described a typical episode in these initial scenes. They recounted that, "They (missionaries) went out to search for the Yao raiders, found them, and used their guns in the skirmish that followed."⁷⁰ Once they were involved, it turned out to be difficult to reverse the course of their action. In this regard, the initial stages of their work suffered tremendously as they were now engaged in intense warfare and skirmishes. It took up most of their time and energy leaving little for much else. Notwithstanding, in this way, bit by bit, the UMCA Anglican missionaries tried to set up a little settlement based on white supremacy symbolised by the power of guns.⁷¹ The consequences of the missionaries' activities resulted in the liberation of slaves, the settlement began to assume the look of a refugee camp.⁷²

3.4. The problem of the relationship between mission and the local civil authority

Under these conditions the missionaries set out to implement their objective, the creation of a Christian agricultural village. Entailed in this scheme was the transformation of the socio-economic, moral and political life of the African. They would do this by living a communal morally exemplary life and engage in the whole range of civilised activities. They would create an agricultural village and teach the

67. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 14., See also Rowley, H., *The Story of The Universities Mission to Central Africa*, p. 100.

68. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

69. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

70. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

72. *Ibid.*

savages how to grow cotton.⁷³ In other words, their 19th century view of life presupposed a superiority of cultural values and traditions which they believed it was their right to impose upon the local people whom they regarded as inferior.

The missionaries were absolutely sure that their mission was beneficial to the welfare of the local people, that their possession of the knowledge of God was far superior to that of the local people. They saw the Africans as not in possession of a superior form of culture and religious system which they themselves saw as their preserve. It is in this light that the missionaries targeted the African institution of morality and justice. Merely a short spell of stay seemed to have convinced the missionaries that the morality of the local people was evil and the system and dispensation of their justice was wrong. It is reported that when they arrived at Magomero, "one of Mackenzie's first actions was to write home to London with the urgent request for two hundred blankets, which he said were intended for moral purposes rather than warmth, to prevent these almost naked people from huddling indecently together at night."

To assume that the Africans engaged in indecent immoral acts at night because they had no blankets to cover themselves was prejudicial to the African tradition and culture. Absolutely sure of the superiority of 19th century morality, Mackenzie sought to transform the African perception of "morality" by imposing his own European culture. It is in similar vein that Mackenzie decided to ask his two spinster sisters to join the mission to help the moral stability. Mackenzie was trying to impose his western view of morality on the Africans by making them view morality from his perspective. In the terms of the Comaroffs, Mackenzie and his missionaries were trying to impose a cultural hegemony on the local people by making them accept the view that "nakedness" was "immoral" and that western clothes were an answer to the "problem." In this respect, Mackenzie appears as the chief representative and exponent of the superiority of the western view.

73.Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

Yet at this stage no lesser moral weaknesses which did no less damage are reported to have derived from the weaknesses of some of the mission members. Again and again, Mackenzie is reported to have complained of the immoral behaviour of some of his workers, particularly the Capetonian coloureds, Charles and Johnson.⁷⁴

In this regard, some of these had “failed” the test, and had to be sent back home,⁷⁵ while the behaviour of the others involving the Africans was such that it undermined what the mission was trying to demonstrate: the superiority of Christian morality. In fact one of them, Johnson the cook, fathered a child amongst the freed slaves.⁷⁶ This indeed emphasised the internal weakness of the moral order of the mission. It tended to contradict the message of the missionaries.

The main threat to the whole missionary enterprise remained, however, the missionaries’ position of power. Highlighting the missionaries’ dilemma was how the missionaries viewed their position of power and their role in the circumstances of the time. The issue of the use of firearms was critical. Was it lawful under any circumstances for the missionaries to use firearms? According to Chadwick, under these circumstances the argument raised by Henry Rowley, one of the clerical missionaries, won. The argument ran as follows. Faced with the situation of anarchy, and being in custody of a large number of refugees, the missionaries were compelled to take the lesser course of evil. This was “to set themselves as a little English kingdom, based on the few English guns and their white prestige, with all that would mean in depriving the local chieftains of their rights and in setting themselves as magistrates with the power of life and death over all the Africans under their physical power, rather than abandoning the region all together.”⁷⁷

The missionaries were conscious of their position of power. They arrogated to themselves the power and role of a civil government, including the rights of punishment

74.*Ibid*, p. 69.

75.*Ibid.*, Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 2930.

76.Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

77.*Ibid.*, p. 152.

of their culprits. As Weller and Linden rightly noted, the existence of a stable civil structure of governance is of importance to the successful missionary operations.⁷⁸

As I illustrated above in chapter two, in English history, for its well being, the church depended on support from the state. Largely, it was this factor that had contributed to the success of its mission in society. Operating in dissimilar conditions in the Shire Highlands in 1861, the absence of the support of the State of England exposed the weaknesses and shortcomings of the church-state alliance as an arrangement that operated in England. The absence of an organised state and of stable civil and political conditions undermined the missionaries' efforts to establish themselves more successfully in the Shire Highlands. The missionaries of the Established Church had been too accustomed to the propping power of the English State in sustaining the church.

Thus, in this scheme of things, the fundamental problem confronting the UMCA missionaries at Magomero entailed, on the one hand, their ability to discern between the issues which properly pertained to their religious provenance and those which were strictly civil or political, on the other. It seems likely that from the start the mission failed to distinguish very clearly between the two. Mackenzie and his colleagues found themselves interfering in the civil and judicial affairs of the local people. In one episode reminiscent of the style of the 18th century episcopate as illustrated in chapter one, Mackenzie seemed to display the image of a bishop as the enforcer of discipline and dispenser of justice. It is recorded that Mackenzie found out that "three of their people had robbed a Nyasa man of some brass bangles. The bishop offered them "the *sors tertia* of the old Winchester rule, a whipping which was gratefully accepted by the two, while the third was sent away." However, in two days, so it is reported, "one of the robbers returned and begged for his flogging, which he duly received."⁷⁹

Yet in 1861, the challenges the UMCA faced in trying to impose Christian morality and discipline with a view to the "ordering" of the African community were not peculiar to

78. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

79. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

them alone. Twenty years later, not very far from this place, despite successful settlement, driven to obsession with imposition of European justice and punishment over the local people in similar cases, their Scottish counterparts at Blantyre Mission brought upon themselves embarrassment by brutally assaulting an African.⁸⁰ This suggests that, no matter who the missionaries were, the encounter between the Europeans and the Africans in Africa in the late 19th century was prejudiced by the missionaries' attitudes of cultural superiority towards the Africans.

However, the issue of morality was closely associated with that of justice. Despite covert critical remarks on Mackenzie's involvement with the wars, missionary history speaks approvingly of Mackenzie's attempts at initiating a system of justice at Magomero.⁸¹ The missionaries encountered an African system of justice based on sorcery and divination. A case of theft is recorded where corn had been stolen. The chief called on a celebrated witch doctor at a fig tree. Together with his assistants, he worked with sticks, Zebras' tails, a greasy goat's skin bag and a calabash full of peas.

The proceedings included incantation and waving of sticks by the assistants while in trance. The landing of the sticks on the feet of the chief's wife implied her guilt, thereupon the witchdoctor pronounced his verdict: "The spirit has declared her guilty; the spirit never lies." However, the prudence of local custom allowed administration of poisoned medicine to prove innocence or guilt to be taken by his subordinate or slave or even his domestic animal or pet. In this case, the fact that the chicken never died proved the innocence of the woman. To Mackenzie these proceedings were objectionable and unjust as comparable with the superior form of justice, trial by jury, which the missionaries had to administer every day.⁸² As Chadwick observed, "slowly they were displacing confidence in the medicine men, and breeding confidence in their own government and justice."⁸³

80. Chirside, A., *The Blantyre Missionaries: Discreditable Disclosures*, London: Longhorn, 1880, p. Ch. 3.

81. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

82. Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Unfortunately, even though we do not have the recorded response of the local people to the missionaries' negative attitude to their method of justice, it is more likely that the former would have reacted with aversion to the missionaries' arrogance. It is this sort of attitude that created tensions and suspicions in the relations between the missionaries and the local people.

The preceding episode highlights a conflict underlying the two systems of the judiciary, one African and the other European, systems based on two contrasting perceptions of reality. Based on the spiritual worldview, the African system sought to make sense of justice as having its source not in the realm of the mundane but rather in the superior order of the spiritual. To the missionaries, since this system seemed not to follow a systematic procedure, engaging with empirical facts, it was irrational, therefore objectionable. Here the two systems clashed precisely because the premises upon which they rested conflicted, the one spiritual, the other, material in essence. Thus, while the one rested on the realm of the absolute order, the spirit, which is supernatural, it defied the logic of rationalism and empirical meaning, critical examination and enquiry upon which the missionaries' form of justice rested.

Operating from two different or rather opposing premises, the two systems were bound to reach conflicting verdicts. As Moorhouse concluded, "It was...a deliberate collision between alien values and those which were indigenous and manifestedly crude in those of the witchdoctors."⁸⁴ Conflict breeds tension, tension breeds suspicions and discord. Tension underlay the relations between the missionaries and the local people. In the final analysis tension generated hostility, leading to open conflict.

These acts illustrate the missionaries' attempts to impose a sense of order and stability in the Africans' life as viewed from the Euro-centric perspective. They sought to reshape the social order by seeking to transform the African's perception of life in the light of the European view. At the core of these activities lay the missionaries' attempts to reconstruct the identity of the Africans by asserting over them various modes of

84. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

symbolic production, implicated in the European judicial and legal system. Intended to transform the social consciousness of the African, this involved attempts to alter the Africans' habits, attitudes and perceptions of life to conform to the European perspective.

By trying to impose an alien judicial and legal system and morality on the African the missionaries hoped to reconstruct a social reality alternative to that of traditional African society. As the Comaroffs argue, hegemony entails the attempts by the dominant group to impose over the others a meaning of life, a reality that seeks to establish the order of the dominant group with a view to perpetuating their interests.

But beyond seeking to display the supremacy of their moral law and judicial system, the missionaries' attempts at reconstructing reality entailed transforming the basic attitudes of the Africans towards the European organisation of space and time. Amongst other things, these entailed imposing a structured system, a programming of life as a daily routine, a rule. Rising at 6, there was a roll call at 6.30, a practice that initially scared the local people.⁸⁵ Breakfast followed, served to boys arranged in circles, then followed prayers, then manual work.⁸⁶ To inculcate habits of order and obedience, Mr Scudamore drilled the seventy-seven boys. At the end of sundry exercises, at a word of command, they would all plunge into the river, the way in which they learnt "heaven's first law" of order and obedience!⁸⁷

However, the UMCA's vision of the creation of an ideal Christian community centred on the life of the sacraments administered by the bishop and the clergy was not lost entirely. It has to be stressed that Samuel Wilberforce had supported the UMCA precisely because its operations were to illustrate that the idea of a "bishop-evangelist" going into the missionary field was the essence of the Church's mission. To him it was the best approach for mission since in his view and those of the other High Churchmen its antecedents could be traced to the primitive church and could also be inferred from

85. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

the scriptures.⁸⁸ Writing to Charles Anderson, one of the officials of the Church Missionary Society, on 31 August 1838, Samuel Wilberforce, who was to be one of the patrons of the UMCA in 1857 had argued about the vision of the missionary church in this manner:

*(The Church) (is) not merely instructions about religion. This is the way in which in primitive times the world was converted; and if episcopacy, a native clergy, a visible communion, the due administration of the Sacraments, Confirmation etc. if these things be really important, then how can we expect full success till we send out missionary bishops, i.e. bishops and a missionary clergy as a visible church?*⁸⁹

For Wilberforce, mission derived from the bishop as the chief dispenser, and minister of the sacraments, the embodiment of the essence of the church.

This spirit was reflected in the rudimentary attempts made by Mackenzie to initiate a regular rhythm of prayer life. A routine of Morning and Evening prayers was established, with the Holy Communion celebrated on every Sunday morning and Festivals.⁹⁰ As far as the sacrament of Holy Matrimony was concerned, attempts towards this step were made when Mackenzie tried to illustrate the implications of Christian marriage by encouraging young men to choose one woman contrary to the polygamous tradition.⁹¹ At least in one instance, it seemed to have yielded a positive result when one young man took this step.⁹² Rowley noted that, “And after this marriages became popular until all men were provided for.”⁹³ The clergy including the bishop took classes for the smallest boys, and adults, “trying to make them understand the difference in form and sound between A and B, &c.”⁹⁴

In addition to the babies who were in danger of death (having first consecrated the graveyard), because he was holding the Anglo-Catholic high view of sacraments,

88. Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*, p. 101.

89. *Ibid.*

90. Rowley, *The Story of The Universities Mission to Central Africa*, p. 146.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Mackenzie felt constrained to baptise the other babies, as he was not sure to live long enough in the territory to see them receive the instructions.⁹⁵ What I have just described now, in the last three paragraphs, the concern for the correct administration of the sacraments, the preaching of the pure Word of God were the primary concerns of the High Churchmen in England.

Mackenzie and his party were trying to display the ideals of the “true” church; they were planting the church in its “integrity”. Even though Rowley’s account written five years after the criticism of the missionaries’ involvement in the wars may have an element of bias towards counterbalancing the criticisms of the missionaries’ conduct, nonetheless, there is little doubt that missionary work, especially in this sphere, was well intended. In this way they tried to lay a foundation of a Christian community.⁹⁶

The freed community was envisaged as a nucleus of the future Christian community, perhaps the boys as prospective African clergy. There were twenty-five boys, who after the missionaries disbanded from Magomero were sent to South Africa for school and training. They included Chimwala, described as “most hopeful” and “a bright, energetic lad” “learning the art of printing” in Zululand who it was thought could go to the Shire Highlands if prompted.⁹⁷ Others were Sambani and Chinsoro.⁹⁸ Finally, Chirumba, baptised as Mark Augustine Mackenzie Meller in England seemed set to becoming a missionary to the Shire Highlands, but nevertheless was diverted to Mauritius. It was envisaged that young men such as these would form the nucleus community of the evangelists.⁹⁹ However, it seems that the current thinking in the UMCA at this stage stressed that the missionaries themselves would undertake the bulk of the evangelisation of the Africans, with the Africans taking the lesser roles.

Having established the pattern just described above, the missionaries went on to the next stage to create an agricultural village. Bishop Mackenzie had bought a cotton gin

95.*Ibid.*, p. 165.

96.*Ibid.*

97.*Ibid.*, p. 418.

98.*Ibid.*, p. 420.

99.*Ibid.*, p. 417.

for cleaning cotton.¹⁰⁰ But quite contrary to the expectations that Livingstone had raised at Cambridge the missionaries found no sign that the local people grew cotton in abundance.¹⁰¹ Indeed when Livingstone instructed the local people to grow cotton, they asked him to provide them with the seeds. However, the prospects of a permanent settlement seemed to be fading fast. The initial involvement in the skirmishes on the side of the Nyanja against the Yao drew them closer to the abyss of a drawn-out intercine warfare to the extent that not much time or energy was left to undertake constructive evangelism. In one of the typical scenes of the so-called “Ajawa Wars” at this stage, Chadwick recounted an episode:

This time the bishop carried his own rifle and used it. ‘In this fight I used my own gun to the best of my skill, as did all the rest. We were only ten guns, and I thought it right to rid the country of robbers and murderers... It is right to take up arms at the command of the civil magistrate.’¹⁰²

Not recognising the existence of the rule of the local authority and potentates, the missionaries usurped the powers of the latter and arrogated to themselves powers which cast them as a little feudal fiefdom. As Chadwick writes, the missionaries “admitted to themselves that in a manner they were already little kings. It had to be faced that the inhabitants treated them as though they were new and potent chiefs. They had forcibly removed slaves who “belonged” to other persons and taken them under their own jurisdiction.”¹⁰³ Procter wrote to Bishop Gary in Cape Town in 1862, informing him of their position at Magomero. At the height of fierce fight, the missionaries had decided not to fight for the Mang’anja any more against the Yao, since the latter had decided to attack and capture the slaves under the care of the missionaries as well as the missionaries themselves.¹⁰⁴

100.*Ibid.*, p. 194.

101.*Ibid.*

102.*Mackenzie’s Journal*, 27.8.61; *Guardian*, 1862, p. 687; c.f. K 8.11.61; Mackenzie to Gray, 4.11.61.UMCA quoted by Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

103.*Ibid.*, p. 152.

104.Letter, from Father Lovel J. Procter to Bishop of Cape Town, May 6, 1862, A I (ii) 8/74. Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford.

The preceding episode illustrates the extent to which the mission had degenerated into a military operation with quasi-martial law ruling its *modus operandi*. Its fighting activities hindered its ability to engage in evangelistic operations since the objectives of the former defeated the ends of the latter. Here is a typical example of a mission which had lost its vision precisely because it assumed that compared to the local people who had none, they possessed a superior civilisation which by providence they had the right to impose on the Africans. For as Chadwick observed, so far "the mission had succeeded in existing because English men-of-war were calling regularly at the Kongone or at Quilimane in support of Livingstone."¹⁰⁵

As I will illustrate below in chapter five, the UMCA's close association with the colonial order became critical to its operation in the subsequent settlements. In the case of the Magomero mission, the missionaries unfortunately spent more time getting involved in secular affairs than in religious matters so much so that they found themselves having less time to engage in evangelism. The Magomero mission was meant to be a not only a religious settlement but also engaged in agriculture and commercial trade. It was intended to transform not only the material, or socio-psychological of life of the Africans but also their political consciousness. Mackenzie's interference in the moral and judicial structures of the Africans at Magomero reflects attempts to initiate a colonial state in miniature.

3.5. The death of Bishop Mackenzie (1863)

The Comaroffs asserted that the process of colonisation was never a oneway affair, from the dominant white to the subordinates, nonwhites.¹⁰⁶ Rather, they argued, it was a twoway interaction, the subordinates also responding to their colonisers.¹⁰⁷

To counteract the opposing ideology, the subordinates also invoke theirs.¹⁰⁸ It serves as a means by which they seek to prevail over the circumstances, which they perceive as

105.*Ibid.*

106.*Ibid.*

107.*Ibid.*

threatening to their existence. At Magomero, the local population had conceived the missionaries' incursion as politically and religiously threatening to their existence as it seemed to rival the local people's traditional shrine of M'bona.¹⁰⁹

Though the local chief, Mankhokwe, had initially allowed the missionaries to settle within the vicinity of the M'bona shrine at Thyolo, he did not allow them to get closer to M'bona's place of residence on top of the mountain. The missionaries defied the chief's instructions. The local people resisted the missionaries' actions by asserting the power of the M'bona cult against that of the missionaries.¹¹⁰ According to Schoffeleers, many local people were prepared to defend M'bona to death.¹¹¹

The missionaries' reaction to the people's attitudes to the M'bona signify the extent of the people's adherence to their cult. The missionaries noted that, 'The people seemed almost mad with superstitious apprehension, 'they seemed as though they were living in the actual but invisible presence of a mighty spirit, to whom we were antagonistic, and whose wrath could be visited on them. We might have killed them before they would have consented to our coming.'¹¹²

This episode shows rivalry of power between missionary religion and traditional religion. To the local people there was little doubt as to who triumphed in this struggle. After this encounter, the local people attributed the death of the two missionaries to the

108.*Ibid.*

109. According to Matthew Schoffeleers, the M'bona cult was a shrine associated with the presence of the spirit of the High God which for many centuries associated with the Mang'anja people of Southern Malawi. Subsequently, under the Phiri dynasty, particularly the Lundus, in the 16th Centuries, the M'bona acquired a theological and political perspective. By the time of the arrival of the English missionaries the M'bona cult was a religious center of significance in Southern Malawi. Ranger, T.O. and Weller, (eds.), *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*, p. 14; See also Rowley, *The Universities Mission to Central Africa*, pp. 278, 339-349.

110. Schoffeleers, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*

wrath of M'bona.¹¹³ More significantly, the oral tradition surviving at Ngabu, Malawi, in 1966, captured the peoples' perceptions and interpretations of their encounter with the missionaries as follows, "Upon their (missionaries) return home some of them had become demented, running up and down the edges of the cliff on which their village stood and shouting at the top of their voices until they died. Clearly, M'bona had defeated his enemies."¹¹⁴ It is obvious that the local people associated the missionaries' fate with the displeasure of the spirit of the M'bona. It is in this context that the local people were to view the death of Mackenzie and the subsequent withdrawal of the mission.

The mission expected early in the New Year to be joined by Mackenzie's sister and Henry de Wint Burrup's fiancée. Mackenzie and his colleague, Burrup, set to meet them.¹¹⁵ Travelling in the downpour of rain, they lost their precious box of medicines. Fever caught up with them. Mackenzie died on 31st January 1862.¹¹⁶ After less than a year in East Africa, the Bishop's mission was over. After Mackenzie's death, followed two other deaths. Then it was time to withdraw from Magomero. Procter became head of the mission following Mackenzie's instructions that stipulated that in the event of his death the most senior member of the mission should take charge.

Yet, the activities of the missionaries induced subtle resistance from the locals, the Mang'anja and the Yao. Not very pronounced, it took modes of salient protest or resistance more especially by the Mang'anja and the Yao. This entailed the attempt of redefining and reasserting their acquired social identity through borrowing cultural symbols and values of their guests, the English. For instance, both groups proudly identified themselves as "English African."¹¹⁷

They imbibed some English customs and manners of greeting such as, "Good morning, sir," "Thank you" and "Look here," and "they shook hands with each other as often as

113.*Ibid.*

114.*Ibid.*

115.*Ibid.*, p. 104.

116.*Ibid.*

117.Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 278, See also Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

possible.” Some of them wore trousers and even an old sailor’s cap “claiming themselves to be the true representatives of the English tribe.”¹¹⁸ They saw themselves as representing the “true” tribe of “Doto Livisto”¹¹⁹ (that is, Doctor Livingstone). Their appropriation and assertion of these cultural symbols tended to give them power over the circumstances that seemed to swamp them. They used them as tools to try to control their destiny.

3.6. Bishop George Tozer succeeds Bishop Mackenzie (1863)

Meanwhile, the person recommended to Robert Gray, the Metropolitan of Cape Town, and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of the diocese of Oxford to succeed Mackenzie was William George Tozer, Vicar of Burgh-cum-Winthorpe, Lincolnshire. Characteristic of the new direction that the mission was taking the succession to Mackenzie's post was not a straightforward affair. This time the Home Committee was more cautious to elect an appropriate man to lead to the mission to ensure its success. It was only after a few names had been suggested that the candidate either declined or found unsuitable that Tozer's name triumphed.

Tozer's consecration was significant in two respects. Unlike Mackenzie, Tozer was consecrated not in Cape Town but in Westminster Abbey, England in 1863. While the bishops in Africa had consecrated Mackenzie, now, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Longley, assisted by the Metropolitan of South Africa, Robert Gray, consecrated Tozer. This event shows the increasing acceptance by the Archbishop of Canterbury of his new role as the patron of the UMCA. In other words, from now onwards, mission became a special responsibility of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

However, by the time Tozer succeeded Mackenzie, the mission had lost considerable moral support from its patrons. There had been arguments in favour as well as against the mission’s involvement in the activities of aggression with the balance weighing in favour of the latter. More significantly, the episode prompted the need for the review of

118.*Ibid.*, p. 158.

119.*Ibid.*

mission policy and strategy. There had also been concern about funding as the mission had been living above its income. Moreover, public subscription had dwindled amidst negative publicity of the bellicose character of the missionary activities. It was time to take stock.

When Tozer reached the Zambezi accompanied by Edward Steere, a layman missionary at this stage, they confronted the gloomy reality of the state of affairs, which challenged the missionaries to take hard decisions about the future of the mission. Steere recounted that, except for a few, very ill, most of the first missionaries were dead.¹²⁰ He went on to observe that wars, famine and slavery decimated the countryside. Compounding this, they considered the dangers of climate to the missionaries,¹²¹ and the “fluctuating, uncertain state of affairs of everything African”,¹²² changing chiefs, war, drought, slavery, racism, marauding bands of armed Arabs seizing ivory, burning villages and taking slaves.¹²³ The *South African Advertiser and Mail* of 1863, which proclaimed that “the Shire has literally been the river of death...”, captured the horrors of these tragedies.¹²⁴

As Chadwick observed, Tozer’s lifestyle, character, and approach were in contrast to Mackenzie’s. Mackenzie was seen as possessing “a beauty of his otherworldly spirit.”¹²⁵ The committee chose Tozer for his businesslike approach, a man who was accustomed to order and accountability, strict and meticulous as well as systematic.¹²⁶ Tozer was too cautious to take risks, he disliked untidiness, unlawful conduct, or ill management.¹²⁷ Unlike Mackenzie, Tozer believed that it was not his duty to interfere with the local

120. Dr. Steere’s Journals 1863-1864, A I (II) I, pp. 15, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

122. *Ibid.*

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 78.

124. Report written by Henry Rowley, *South African Advertiser and Mail*, January 22, 1863, Rhodes House, Oxford.

125. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

126. *Ibid.*

127. *Ibid.*

customs, traditions and practices no matter how reprehensible these were.¹²⁸ He believed only in demonstrating the “superior force of Christian love and Christian influence” rather than in using violent means to conquer the slave trade.¹²⁹ He resolved to abandon the mission rather than to commit an aggressive act.¹³⁰ He resolved not to rely on Livingstone's advice or judgement.¹³¹

Yet like Mackenzie, Tozer still believed in commerce and Christianity as the right approach of mission in Africa. Characteristically, the means, or rather more precisely the approach towards the end pursued by the two leaders seemed to contrast. Established in the aftermath of the furore of Livingstone's speeches extolling the triumph of British civilisation and Christianity on the verge of conquering heathendom, Mackenzie's Magomero mission presupposed the superiority of British civilisation and Christianity. It epitomised the confidence and triumphant spirit of the imperial British order. It is in this context that Chadwick noted that Mackenzie's mission "was sent to answer the question, what is a superhuman faith calling Englishmen to do in Africa?"¹³² It was a mission intended to demonstrate the virtue and verity of Western values and tradition.

On the other hand, so Chadwick further states, Tozer's mission entailed the engagement of persuasive rather than coercive means, passive and not offensive means, instilling rather than imposing influence. Chadwick symbolically captured this contrasting approach in what the two bishops held on their hands on the Shire. While Mackenzie held a pastoral staff and a gun in his hands, Tozer sailed up beneath an umbrella.¹³³ It is this transition, from an aggressive to a slightly accommodating approach with respect to African values, traditions and cultures, that became critical to the future progress of UMCA missionary work.

128. *Ibid*, pp. 194-195.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

130. *Ibid.*

131. *Ibid.*

132. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

133. *Ibid.*

It was an approach which was more respectful towards the Africans' cultural values and the institutions. It was borne out of experience. In other words, the experience of the tragic but almost unnecessary loss of missionary life and the condemnation of their involvement in the tribal wars transformed their approach to missionary work by inviting them to revise missionary policy with respect to African culture and traditions.

Even more importantly, after seeing that missionary illness and deaths were too frequent in Africa as recently witnessed by the Magomero experience, Tozer "determined to train up some Africans to be missionaries to their own people."¹³⁴ This is how Tozer's close colleague, Steere expressed their vision, "We thought to train up young Africans to be the leaders of their own countrymen..."¹³⁵ However, more significantly, Steere pointed out the problem of racial attitudes as a major obstacle prevailing between the Whites and the Africans. He put it as follows:

But what African would trust his child to a European? In Africa, everything bad is white, just as it is black in England. Every word one says is looked upon with suspicion. The more one professes benevolent intentions, the less one word of it is believed. So settled is the belief that white must be selfish and treacherous, that sometimes the thought comes over – is it possible to do anything for people who seem incapable of understanding that there can be such a thing as real goodness? But when one thinks more deeply, one sees that such prejudice was not from ignorance but from knowledge. It is not that they have never seen white men, or Englishmen, but they have..¹³⁶

Steere's remarks give an important clue to the problems that the missionaries faced at Magomero the issue of trust between the whites and the Africans. As noted earlier on, some local chiefs and the Yao mistrusted the motives of the missionaries, while the missionaries also mistrusted the Yao. In an atmosphere of mistrust nothing much could be achieved. The Africans were very much aware of the bad conduct of some whites with whom they had come into contact. This attitude tended to hamper the African's

134. Stock, S. G., *Missionary Heroes of Africa*, London: London Missionary Society, (Second Edition), 1898, p. 122.

135. Steere (1875) *The Universities Mission to Central Africa: A Speech delivered at Oxford 1874*. p. 10., Rhodes House Archives, Oxford.

136. Steere, E., (1875) *The Universities Mission to Central Africa: A speech delivered at Oxford 1874*, London, p. 10, Rhodes House, Oxford.

reception of the Gospel. After all this, the missionaries had come to make decisions about the future of the mission.

The ultimate effects of the encounter between the missionaries and the Africans had in the final analysis also transformed the missionaries' assessment of Africa and its conditions. The effects of the experience had mutual rather than one-way effect. The mission had learned the hard way. In a hostile environment, within a very short period of time the UMCA had lost a considerable number of missionaries. Tozer concluded his experience as follows:

The Zambezi has proved in every way a miserable failure and the selection of it for English missionary work can only be due to the blindest enthusiasm. Of course our departure brings down on us the fierce wrath of Dr. Livingstone... the civilisation side of our scheme has not been a success. There has been no field whatsoever open for services of printer, Tanner, Shoemaker and Tailor beyond the actual Mission policy. In fact the attempt to transport a little piece of English civilisation into the interior of Africa has proved abortive and, considering all things, I don't think we need grieve over the discovery, for in planting an English village here (which I believe was the original idea) you must take the bad side with the good and you must run the risk of introducing English bad habits as well as English virtues...we are in all the bustle of sending things down the mountain by a pathway...¹³⁷

Ironically and more significantly, the negative Magomero experience seemed to have its positive consequences. It seems the mission's involvement in the tribal fights prompted the head office in London to make an assessment of the missionary role and the causes of the failure to open the mission at Magomero.¹³⁸

Steere's biographer, Robert Heanley, highlighted Tozer's conclusions about the future of the mission in the following manner,

137.Excerpt from *The Cornish Bowden of Newton Abbot: Family Letters.* "Sowing a seed in Africa", Herbert Fox re: Bishop Tozer, January 6, 1864, A I (ii) 8/74, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford.

138.In 2002, a hundred and forty-one years after the arrival of the English missionaries, in the newly constituted diocese of the Upper Shire, Magomero was constituted as a parish under Father Brighton Malasa, the former theological student of the writer. Bishop B. A Malango, archbishop of Central Africa, became the first Malawian bishop of this new diocese. Once again Magomero mission claimed its rightful place in the Anglican Church.

Bishop Tozer, after prolonged personal survey of the work on the Shire, determined upon a different method of pursuing that work, but it was all one work. He and Dr. Steere made up their minds that the best way in the end would not be to attack the interior directly as before, but by a gradual process, slower and more sure.

Native teachers must be trained and educated at some central spot. When this had been accomplished, the work would not have to depend on the lives of a handful of white men to whom the climate had hitherto proved so disastrous.¹³⁹

Seemingly, resulting from this evaluation, the UMCA in London planned to embark on a new beginning as the second phase of the African mission in East Africa. Tozer was very perceptive to recognise that under the adverse conditions of Africa the African evangelists rather than white evangelists would be more effective. The English missionaries simply did not have enough time to develop and implement their ideas and strategy as the wars took up most of their time and energy. Despite this, they made initial attempts to translate the English episcopate to the Shire Highlands.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the early origins of the Universities Mission of Central Africa in England in 1859 to its attempts to plant a mission in Malawi in 1861. It has been established that the UMCA's connection to the ideals of Livingstone was to some extent its weakness. Confusing power and might with religious motives precipitated a crisis that led to the eventual disintegration of the enterprise. More importantly, it has also been illustrated that missionary ideological assumptions of cultural superiority largely contributed to the conflict that ensued between the former and the African people.

Similarly, it has also been established that the missionaries' involvement in the civil and political affairs of the African people illustrates the difficulties that they faced when they could not rely on the English state. Perhaps even more importantly, excessive loss of missionary life experienced at Magomero prompted the UMCA to assess its activities and policy with regard to the Africans of East and Central Africa. One conclusion was

139. Heanley, R. M., *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 69.

arrived at Africa was too hostile for European missionary life. Africa needed African evangelists more than European evangelists. Thus, experience rather than policy dictated the course forward.

Chapter Four

4. Zanzibar Mission (1863-1885)

4.1 The Emergence of the Early African Ministry

To attempt to force on Africa... the details of church life and organisation at home is, we believe, fatal to true growth. African life must be met in its own way and it will grow on its own lines.¹

The fact is, no native can, or will for years to come be able to fulfil even in a moderate degree, the place of European.²

4.1.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I analysed the factors that contributed to the failure to establish a permanent UMCA mission at Magomero. In particular, I argued that the missionaries' assumptions of cultural superiority tended to undermine their efforts in establishing a working relationship with the local people with a view to the evangelisation of the latter. I also illustrated that the UMCA mission to Central Africa was an attempt to translate the idea of the church centred on the episcopate in practice. In this chapter, I will give an account of the early missionaries' efforts towards the reestablishment of the mission on the island of Zanzibar and the mainland in East Africa in the period between 1863 and 1885 prior to the time of the return of the mission to Malawi in 1885. In this regard, I will focus on the UMCA's initiatives towards the establishment of the African ministry in Zanzibar by analysing the policy and factors that determined the process. I will argue that the missionary presuppositions that the Africans possessed no superior civilisation as compared to their European counterparts tended to form the basis upon which Bishop Steere's and Smythies' attitudes and practices rested regarding the

1.Reverend David Scott, *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, September, 1895, National Archives, Zomba.

2.*Central African Planter*, 8 April, 1896, National Archives of Malawi, Zomba.

training and ministry of the African clergy. In this regard, I will illustrate that such ideological perspective was used to hold back the African from attaining a similar position of power to that the European missionary held. In the same vein, I shall argue that such perspective served the missionaries' interests of domination for a long time to come.

4.1.2 The Transitional Period (1863)

The interim period between leaving the Shire and the relocation to Zanzibar Island was very crucial to the future course of the UMCA mission in East Africa with respect to the following factors. As I have noted, the Magomero tragedy seemed to have prompted the authorities in London to conduct an evaluation of the missionaries' activities, particularly their approach to the African context and the problems they faced. More critically, the loss of missionary lives and the belief that the interior of Africa was too inhospitable, too remote, convinced the UMCA to settle for the relocation of the mission. In 1912, G. Keable was to express this sentiment: "We are more and more convinced as years go on, that if Africans are to be converted in any large numbers it must be by ministry of Africans themselves... it is at a very great sacrifice of life that we English missionaries work in that country."³

Hence, under Tozer, there was a strong feeling growing that the mission could only survive if it took the African agency more seriously.⁴ Increasingly, the missionaries came to believe that Africans could be more effective evangelists than the white missionaries. This marked the beginning of a missionary approach which eventually developed into an African policy. Another important development related to a shift in approach in the thrust of the mission. Whereas previously the UMCA insisted that commerce and Christianity went together as a means to civilisation, now the UMCA stressed more the religious thrust of mission. Nonetheless, the significance of the UMCA developing an African policy with regard to an African ministry will be fully

3.Keable, R, *Darkness or Light*, London: UMCA, 1914, p. 167.

4.*Ibid.*, p. 337.

discussed at a later stage. What is of immediate concern at this juncture is to account for why Zanzibar appeared as a viable option for settlement.

The decision to relocate the mission to Zanzibar was controversial, for it had seemed that the mission had abandoned Livingstone's original vision and the objective of the mission. Its association with the aims of Livingstone was still too close.⁵ Abandoning Magomero seemed to imply abandoning the original vision of Livingstone, a decision that was unpopular with the supporters of Livingstone as well as some supporters of the mission. More seriously, this also meant the loss of the badly needed financial and moral support from the powerful patrons of the mission.

The presence of “a settled Arab government and a powerful English resident”⁶ was an important consideration. It was a stabilising factor. While Magomero lacked stability and an established centralised power with which the missionaries could deal, at least in Zanzibar there was the advantage of the presence of a stabilising force. The prospect of operating with already available freed slaves became also another consideration to relocate to Zanzibar. It was believed that the slaves would form the nucleus of the early Christian congregation and a native ministry, the foundation of the African Church. Indeed, when the UMCA was formed in 1858 one of its objectives had been the rehabilitation of the freed slaves.

Tozer's decision to relocate the mission to Zanzibar seemed also to fulfil the more universal and current philanthropic spirit which tended to view mission as serving the role of relieving human suffering. In this regard, mission was viewed in terms of Christian civilisation manifested by industrial or vocational pursuits. Accordingly, mission was supported precisely for its good human work than merely for its evangelistic objectives.⁷ Equating slavery with “darkness” or “backwardness” on one hand, and “Christian civilisation” with “light” or “advancement” on the other hand, the Anglican missionaries believed they had a divine mandate to deal with the Africans. But

5. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 233, 237.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

7. *Ibid.*

more immediately heavy loss of European life experienced at Magomero triggered the idea of the creation of a church that took African agency seriously.

Yet, as will soon be illustrated below, the manner in which this principle was to be pursued by individual bishops tended to be ambiguous. On the other hand, the mission's insistence on the young African students living according to the African rather than European cultural style tended to generate its own tensions.

4.1.3.1 Bishop Tozer and the development of an African policy and ministry

Powers granted to the UMCA missionary bishops relating to decision making and application of missionary methods gave them enough freedom to act more independently in major aspects affecting the life of the mission.⁸ Accordingly, at the end of 1863, Tozer, with his advisor and chaplain, Edward Steere, removed the mission altogether from the Zambezi Region and transferred it to the island of Zanzibar in August 1864. He hoped that in this way better arrangements would then be made to ultimately reach central Africa through the established caravan routes by trained African missionaries.⁹ Hence, it was understood that the Zanzibar mission was merely a temporary settlement, awaiting the eventual permanent return to Malawi. In Zanzibar they arrived in a context dominated by Anglo-Arab authority.

Since the 16th century, the representatives of the Sultan resident in Muscat had ruled the island of Zanzibar. The Arabs occupied the highest place in the social order with the Indians working as merchants sharing the common religion of Islam.¹⁰ By the time the UMCA arrived, Majid was the Sultan,¹¹ while the British Consular was also resident in Zanzibar. On the other hand, the British Royal Navy operated on the coast impounding

8.Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. pp.331-332.

9.*Ibid.*

10.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

11.*Ibid.*

the illicit sale of slaves.¹⁵¹² In this regard, in Zanzibar unlike Magomero, the English missionaries found themselves in a socially and politically stable environment.

The UMCA arrived in a context in which other missionary bodies had been active for some years in East Africa. There were the Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo, which had been operating since 1863.¹³

Besides the significance of the year 1864 marking the beginning of the work of the UMCA missionaries on the island of Zanzibar, this year also marked a landmark for the history of the Protestant Church in Africa, especially the Anglican Church, with respect to the development of the African ministry. Though not directly falling within the geographical ambit of the present study, the episode of the former slave, the Nigerian Samuel Adjai Crowther, sheds light on the developments pertaining to the training of African clergy under Bishop Tozer. In 1864, Samuel Crowther was ordained bishop in the Church of England, and was sent as a missionary to his homeland of Nigeria.¹⁴ Crowther's appointment characterises the optimistic and progressive attitude prevailing in the Church at the time regarding the training of the African clergy.¹⁵

In his article, *Anglo-African Linkages, 1701-1900: Ethiopia Shall Soon Stretch Out Her Hands unto God*,¹⁶ J. C. Hayden identified this period as unique for its fairly optimistic assessment of the African capacity for leadership.¹⁷ He attributed this development to four factors. Firstly, the rise to missionary prominence of African priests anxious to show their gifts and abilities to their own people. Secondly, the enormous loss of European life in Africa coupled with the belief that Africans could withstand these

12.*Ibid.*

13.Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

14.Ayandele, E.A., *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914, A Political and Social Analysis*, London: Longman Group Ltd., 1966, p. 182.

15.*Ibid.*, p. 181183.

16.Hayden, J. C. "AngloAfrican Linkages 1701-1900: Ethiopia shall soon stretch her Hands unto God" in *Journal of Religious Thought*, vol., 44. no.i., Washington DC: toward School of Divinity, Summer Fall 1987, pp. 2534.

17.*Ibid.*

adverse living conditions better than Europeans.¹⁸ Thirdly, the generally accepted missionary theory of native ministry and self-support. It was argued that the people are best ministered to by ministers who share in their language and culture, as the result of which the churches should become self-supporting, and in turn evangelise other areas.¹⁹ Finally, there were paternalistic, liberal, and influential whites who believed that Africans were capable of episcopal leadership and that the time had come to put the idea into practice.²⁰

During the early stages of the UMCA settling down in Zanzibar this optimistic attitude with regard to the African ministry found expression in Tozer taking initiatives towards implementing a policy that favoured the early introduction of the African ministry. For instance, he encouraged the learning of English at the expense of Swahili.²¹ This view rested on the perception that an African was quite capable of acquiring European civilisation if granted the opportunities to be “raised up” by civilisation. In this regard it was urged that becoming a Christian was not necessarily incompatible with the African acquiring external elements of European culture and lifestyle. In East and Central Africa, particularly Malawi, it was the Scottish missions which held this view.²² In South Africa it was the Scottish missions at Lovedale College, which exemplified this approach.

On the other hand, there were those who believed that European culture and lifestyle were an obstacle to the development of African Christianity. In this regard, they believed that any form of Europeanisation had to be discouraged at all costs and in all its forms except those that enhanced the evangelisation of the African. The proponents of this view held that since “civilisation” in Africa would develop at its own pace and in its own forms, it was not necessary to hasten the process of raising the Africans to “civilised” norms of the Western society.²³ For instance, in Malawi the conservative

18.*Ibid.*

19.*Ibid.*

20.*Ibid.*

21.Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

22.See for example Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p.184.

23.*Ibid.*

settler community reflected this attitude. A writer in *Central African Planter* was unequivocal on this matter. He stated that, “The fact is no native can, or will for many years to come be able to fulfil even in a moderate degree, the place of European.”²⁴ The Africans were regarded as not ready enough to take up high positions in the church.

One of the early missionaries of the Scottish mission in Blantyre was equally pessimistic about the role of an African in the European-oriented structures of power. He stated that, “To attempt to force on Africa the details of church life and organisation at home is, we believe, fatal to true growth. African life must be met in its own way and it will grow on its own lines.”²⁵ In this spirit, they urged Africans to acquire the few elements of European culture that would enable them to rise to the level of the Christian life. Otherwise, so they stressed, all European inclinations in an African had to be discouraged. In East and Central Africa, particularly Malawi, the UMCA, the Dutch Reformed mission and the Roman Catholic Church represented this view.²⁶ Nonetheless, at this early stage the UMCA as represented by Tozer in Zanzibar was inclined to the more European approach.²⁷

4.1.3.2 Tozer’s missionary policy and the development of an African ministry

The friendly and hospitable reception from the Arab Sultan of Zanzibar and the welcome from the British Consul, Colonel Playfair, at the consulate ensured a good start for the mission. For the first service, the Consulate provided them with a temporary room for a chapel in the Consulate.²⁸ Similarly, the Sultan gave them moral and material support.²⁹ The Mission received nine boys, mostly former slaves.

24.Pachai, B, *Malawi: The History of the nation*, p. 203.

25.*Ibid.*

26.See for example Mufuka, *op cit.*, p. 33, 37; Weller and Linden , *op. cit.*, p. 184.

27.Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

28.Anderson-Morsehed, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

29.*Ibid.*

Optimism with regard to the African ministry prevailed at this earliest stage, before formal and systematic training was even established. Writing in *The Net Cast in Many Waters*, one of the missionaries, Anne Mackenzie, challenged her readers in England to consider whether what the UMCA was doing in teaching the boys could not have been a similar process as the one which raised Crowther to heights.³⁰

Undoubtedly, in terms of the writer's attitude what follows indicates that the missionaries took the former rather than the latter position with regard to their work in Zanzibar. This is how she described the progress of the boys, "The nine boys are perfect little gentlemen nice soft manners, full of intelligence; they speak a little English with a pure accent, and understand all you say."³¹ To the writer such traits in the Africans conflicted with the general assumptions that the Africans were generally inferior to the Europeans. More significantly, she also gave insight into the missionaries' attitudes and their hope for the future church in the following words,

Congo, the oldest, we always call the future bishop; he is good, steady, grave, and thoughtful, and never moves a hand or foot in Chapel, but kneels with closed eyes and moving lips, like a good child, as I am sure he is. Mabruki is the dearest, brightest little fellow very pretty, with lovely white teeth, and of a sweet temper, very quick and clever; while Mkono, the Malagasy, is so good and obedient, and withal so quick in apprehension. These three and a fat little Songolo and Ferrusi, who is as fat as a sheep, are my chief acquaintances as yet. They are so gentle and obedient, and so still when required to be, as in Chapel and at lessons, that they are totally unlike English boys; you can trust them with glass or tender things they rarely break them.³²

Contrary to the current commonly held assumption "...that the Negro (was) altogether inferior in mental power to the European, and that at the age of fifteen or sixteen all intellectual growth (stopped)", she argued that the British Resident, Colonel Playfair spoke strongly of "the teachableness and capacity for receiving instruction of the boys now under training."³³ To entertain the thought that one of the boys, (Congo), could possibly be a future bishop of the African Church reflects a very positive attitude and

30. Mackenzie, A. (ed.), *The Net Cast in Many Waters*, London: Lothian and co., 1866, p. 30.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the hope that the missionaries had in the future of the African ministry at this stage. Bishop Tozer moved reasonably fast to start working towards the goal. Declaring his vision of African ministry, Tozer stated:

If Zanzibar can be made into a School of the Prophets, we shall have cause to rejoice in that day when all work shall be tried, and every jewel counted up.³⁴

With the idea of African agency in mind, Tozer embarked upon establishing a training school in September 1864 with five freed slave boys given by Sultan Seyed Majid. In 1865, the first public baptism took place.³⁵ Among those baptised were John Swedi, of the Gindo tribe, George Farajallah, Arthur Songolo, Francis Maburuk, all Yao, and Robert Feruzi, named after Robert Gray, the Bishop of Cape Town and David Susi, named after David Livingstone.³⁶

Despite this fairly positive outlook, Tozer's attitudes with regard to the African ministry were essentially not progressive. He conceded that the early start on the African ministry was motivated largely by the inadequate numbers of white missionaries to do the job. He regretted the shortage of English priests, and then continued to assert that this lack compelled (the mission) out of almost necessity and at the earliest possible moment to avail themselves of native help.³⁷ He said he was not prepared to state that in the long run this necessity would be a cause of regret; for he believed that the sooner the native congregation could be committed to the care of their own clergy the better.³⁸ Tozer went on to say that he saw the ministry of Africans necessary for the sake of the stability and the advancement of the Christian church in Africa.³⁹

In the same context, however, Tozer argued for the African clergy to be placed in "subordinate ministry" while "more responsible posts" should be entrusted to English

34. Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 331; see also Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

35. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Missionary Pastoral Letter of Bishop Tozer printed and dated Zanzibar, July 28, 1870, A 1(I) F E no. 83121, Folder 10, Rhodes House, Oxford.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

missionaries, since, according to him, the former had only recently emerged from heathenism.⁴⁰ Far from raising the African ministry out of necessity, the shortage of white missionary staff constituted the chief reason for the development of the African clergy. Even with the presence of the white missionaries, Tozer believed the Africans had to serve in subordinate forms of ministry. This illustrates that the missionaries did not consider African ministry seriously enough. African ministry was raised precisely because it served as the alternative to the ministry of the white missionaries. In other words, white ministry was considered as preferably more important than African ministry.

In this regard, more importantly, the missionaries' attempt to impose Christianity, itself regarded as a "higher civilised state of life," implied the definition of the social identity of the Africans. In their encounter with the African in East and Central Africa, the missionaries believed that before being fully admitted into Christianity, an African needed to be rid of some of the elements of his culture first. Some aspects of African culture were often perceived as an obstacle to African progress to Christianity. Smythies, the future successor of Tozer stated this clearly in 1884. He said, "an African is a slave of centuries of past customs and cultures. Centuries will raise him to the height of his European brother."⁴¹ Accordingly, certain aspects of the African culture tended to be viewed as a barrier to the successful entry of an African into Christianity, let alone the ministry.

Regarding African culture as an obstacle to the African entry into Christianity, in 1898 Bishop Smythies urged that only after a process of cultural cleansing, "then only will we dare as we are daring; to try to form a native ministry and put it before each boy who has intellectual capacity and is leading a high moral life."⁴² Similarly, in the same year, Father Weston (later bishop) had identified the worst obstacle to the fostering of the spirit of self assertion and independence in the African clergy as the missionary

40. *Ibid.*

41. Ward, G., *The life of Bishop Smythies*, London: UMCA, 1898, p. 77.

42. Ward, G., *The Life of Bishop Smythies*, p. 190.

arrogance towards the Africans.⁴³ According to Weston, this attitude was displayed in the missionaries' inclination:

To treat them (Africans) as children to be corrected and controlled, and they expected from them deference and service to grow native priests must be treated as equals, we have always to remember that they and not we, are the permanent leaders of the African Church.⁴⁴

Underlying these presuppositions loomed a more important matter. This had to do with the question of Christian identity linked inseparably with the issue of missionary power. Thus, to deal with the issue of the Africans and his culture's entry into missionary Christianity and eventually the priesthood, the process of reconstructing the African identity implied imparting modes of European power to the African. In this regard, education became the most critical tool in transmitting the values that defined relations on the pattern of master and subordinate. Education, formal and informal represented the most potent vehicle through which a new African identity was being forged in the context of the colonial ideology of expansion.

In Zanzibar, the first school established in 1864 had been raised to the status of college, St Andrews Theological College.⁴⁵ By 1869 the theological college was preparing three freed slaves, George Farajallah, John Swedi and Mbaruk for ministry.⁴⁶ In January 1871, it was raised into a permanent Theological College, St Andrews Theological College.⁴⁷ Kiungani Theological College came to occupy a very important place in the UMCA's efforts to institute "African Christianity." Kiungani came to exemplify one of the best missionary endeavours on the continent. The ethos and atmosphere was akin to that of English schools. For instance, buildings were set in English style, two linked quadrangles consisting of chapel and classrooms. The curriculum included athletics. The boys were taught to play football and cricket and to use the oar rather than the

43. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

paddle.⁴⁸ The daily routine was regulated by a round of college activities between 6.40 am and 5 pm.

Visiting the college in 1883, its atmosphere struck the governor of Bombay, Sir Harry Johnston. He remarked, "There is something suggestive of the English public School about Anglican missionaries."⁴⁹ Under the educationist, Thomas Arnold Mathew, the public schools in England became the core institution through which British loyalty and nationalism and imperial ideology was fostered for generations.⁵⁰ Through militaristic discipline, order and organisation, the regimental tradition was designed to enforce the spirit of loyalty to the British nation which provided a model for African education.⁵¹ Just as these traditions defined the relations between the superior and their subordinate in England, they also played the same role in Africa.⁵²

The imposition of this order at Kiungani occurred during the principalship of Mr Jones-Bateman. Jones-Bateman was reputed to be a very strict disciplinarian. Fostering discipline was one of the principal features of Kiungani Training College. It became its bedrock. A court existed to hear cases of students and to impose appropriate forms of discipline.⁵³ The principle objective, according to Broomfield, was to induce in the students a spirit of discipline, decency and organisation.⁵⁴

That Kiungani Training College was intended to inculcate in the Africans strict European discipline that the Europeans perceived that the Africans lacked was demonstrated by the fact that in 1891 Father Chauncy Maples, a senior priest at Likoma, preferred to send a prominent pupil from Chia, Malawi, Leonard Kamungu to Kiungani

48.*Ibid.*

49.Dale, J. G., *Darkness or Light; Studies in the History of the UMCA*, London: UMCA, 1912, p. 152.

50.Leslie Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

51.*Ibid.*, p. 221.

52.The writer is grateful to Professor Calvin Cook who has drawn his attention to this issue.

53.*Ibid.*

54.Broomfield, G. W., *The Chosen Few*, London: UMCA, 1898, p. 27.

rather than Likoma, as he put it, to “get proper discipline.”⁵⁵ What did this discipline entail?

Though contemporary sources so far available to the writer have not been helpful to throw enough light on this aspect of my study, nevertheless, one source has been useful on this issue, Masauko Henry Chipembere, a very prominent Malawian politician, and nationalist in the 1960s, a son of a very prominent senior priest, Archdeacon Habil M. Chipembere. Drawing from his experience growing up as a mission boy, Chipembere asserted in 1970 that in the UMCA schools training in discipline entailed loyalty and subservience to the authorities by each student trying to avoid at all costs a “bad report” to the college principal.⁵⁶ Further, Chipembere stated that the process of inculcating obedience in the Africans was not usually an open affair, rather it was built in within the college system, the students were socialised into it rather than plainly taught.⁵⁷

However, later on in 1913, another UMCA missionary, Archdeacon A. B. Glossop saw the functional role of the school and stations in enforcing discipline in the Africans. This is how he put it, it is “on the stations and in schools too, where we try to establish for their sakes a discipline that is strange in their eyes unnecessary, (there the dividing line between black and white comes further sharply.”⁵⁸ In other words, the missionaries sought to define their identity as superior by seeking to impose upon the Africans a character of “discipline” thought to be lacking in the African. It was a way in which they sought to control the African through the imposition of discipline in the schools and stations.

The missionaries viewed the existence of the structure inculcating habits of discipline as fulfilling an important role. They seemed to perceive it as bridging a social gap existing between them and the Africans. The Africans’ assimilation of aspects of European

55. Mills, D. Y., *An African Priest and Missionary*, Westminster, 1914, p. 12.

56. Rotberg, R. I., (ed.), *Hero of the Nation, Chipembere of Malawi: An Autobiography*, Kachere Book no. 12., Blantyre, CLAIM, 2001, p. 54.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 8082; chapter seven.

58. *Central Africa*, December 1914, no. 366, xxxi, this article was written in June 1913 but appeared in the December issue of *Central Africa* of 1914.

culture in the form of discipline implied embracing European identity; by the same token it implied their assumption of European power. Significantly, Broomfield also observed that from this period at least until the 1950s, the relationship between the European missionary and an African was characterised by attitudes and practices of “adult” and “child.”⁵⁹ In this pattern of relationship, the African was regarded as a “child,” the European as an “adult” to whom the African looked perpetually for discipline and leadership.⁶⁰

With respect to the training of the African clergy, it ought to be noted that in seeking to define the role and the social position of an African within the missionary structures of authority and power, from 1870 to 1890, the UMCA developed a progressive, hierarchical ministerial structure, and programme solely for the African evangelists. Thus Tozer’s negative attitude towards the social position of the Africans found expression in reintroducing the ancient medieval office of subdeacon in 1870 for the latter. Bishop Macrorie in Natal also introduced this order at the same time.⁶¹ Significantly, Paul Masiza became the first African to be ordained deacon in the Anglican Church in Southern Africa in the same year.⁶²

However, the simultaneous introduction of this order in the two missionary organisations of the UMCA and the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel characterises their closeness in theological and ecclesiastical outlook. Unlike the Evangelical Church Missionary Society, the ecclesiology, spirituality and theology of the Oxford Movement had influenced the UMCA and SPG working in Southern Africa. As can be recalled the stress on the sacrament of orders had been one of the characteristic features of the Oxford Movement during the revival in England.

Meanwhile, by 1869 St. Andrews Theological College had prepared the freed slaves, George Farajallah, John Swedi and Mbaruku, for the ministry. It gave them the

59.*Ibid.*

60.Blood, A. G., *The Fortunate Few*, Westminster: UMCA, 1954, p. 125.

61.Anderson-Morsehead,, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

62.*Ibid.*

necessary qualification to receive the office of subdeacon.⁶³ The two were ordained into this office on the Feast of Purification, in 1870, being also the 7th Anniversary of Tozer's consecration.⁶⁴ For this occasion, being the first office of its kind in the modern period of the church, Tozer devised a special service "from ancient sources"⁶⁵ This was significant in two respects. A special service for this occasion suggests the significance of the event in the history of the UMCA as it highlighted the peculiarity of this office for the mission. It is curious to note that none of them was ever raised to the priesthood.

Nonetheless, by 1872 the mission had received 105 freed children, 65 of these were boys and 40 were girls. Yet the order and ministry of the subdeacon had no immediate precedent in the contemporary practice in the Church of England. Just as the office of the "missionary bishop" was an institution designed especially to meet the special needs of the missionary church in the colonial context, the office of subdeacon was a revived minor office, from the Medieval Church, which was intended to address the special needs of the African Church regarding the African ministry. The office of subdeacon served to deal with the issue of power relations between the missionary and his African subordinate.

This issue is of great significance with respect to the UMCA's attempts at introducing the African ministry in two respects. Firstly, the office of subdeacon was meant for Africans who had to work under the supervision of the white missionaries. Secondly, it was an initial process through which the African was introduced into the Western form of ministry and authority. The office of subdeacon was a major step; the primary order in which the aspirant was introduced into the ministry, an important stage to the priesthood.⁶⁶

63.*Ibid.* ., p. 38.

64.Missionary Pastoral Letter of Bishop Tozer, printed and dated Zanzibar July 28, 1870 in A 1 (I) FE no. 83-121. Folder 10, Rhodes House, Oxford.

65.*Ibid.*

66.See also Abraham Lieta, Ph.D thesis in progress, *The Training of the Black Clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Bloemfontein*. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg 2004.

Distinguished from the position of an evangelist, the office of subdeacon was the upper rung of the ladder towards the priesthood. It was a position of service. The incumbent was responsible for sacristy duties, such as washing church vessels. Above all as Tozer put it, "it was to keep the boys in harmony with the holy calling to which they were looking forward."⁶⁷ The office was meant to act as a gateway towards the pinnacle of power, the priesthood. It sought to define the social position of the Africans in relation to the missionaries with respect to the relations of power.

In very similar, striking ways, Hobsbawm and Ranger observed the role that the "invented traditions" played in co-opting the African customary institutions, and traditions by the colonial officers precisely with the objective of enhancing the political authority of the colonial order.⁶⁸ Deliberately portrayed as having their origin in antiquity, in the late 19th and 20th centuries these "invented traditions," stood for a more or less accepted "set of practices" of symbolic significance or value.⁶⁹ By repeated action, they were intended to inculcate certain norms and values in the Africans.⁷⁰ The similarity with respect to the role that the "invented traditions" played, and the role that the UMCA used the minor offices of subdeacon (and others) lay precisely in the manner that these acted as means by which the missionaries sought to define their relatively "powerful" positions with respect to the African.⁷¹

Nonetheless, despite the fairly cautious approach, the fact that Tozer introduced this ministry early enough also illustrates his appreciation of the African ministry. Tozer's fairly positive approach to the African ministry reflects a wider movement fairly optimistic in its assessment of the African potential. Robert Strayer identified this movement as "a conversionist thrust" of the mid-19th century.⁷² It was an attitude that fairly positively assessed the African's ability to shoulder responsibility if given

67. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

68. Hobsbawm, E., and Ranger, T., (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 221.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

educational opportunities.⁷³ Venn's theory advocating the development of autonomous African leadership and church characterised this spirit.

However, early signs of a clash of principles in Tozer's policy advocating the raising of an African Church with emphasis on the adaptation of indigenous culture, on one hand, and the general English orientation of the mission, on the other, began to emerge. This became particularly a problem with respect to Tozer's insistence on using English as medium for instruction against the backdrop of Swahili the lingua franca of East Africa.⁷⁴ The more he proclaimed that they were raising an African Church, the fewer the missionaries who applied for the work.⁷⁵

More seriously, it began to affect the life of the African students. The boys and girls began to identify with the English culture and the comparatively high living standard provided by the mission. "It is a very curious trait in the character of the boys," a teacher wrote in 1886 from the UMCA School at Kiungani:

That they always try to evade any questioning about their life before they came to the Mission House. If one asks them what they called such and such a thing in their own native dialect... they will turn away...they seem to forget utterly everything connected with their past life, even so far as to disown their own relations ...Another peculiarity of the boys is their amazing fondness for everything English...they one and all very much want to come to England.⁷⁶

The mission's intention to produce an African clergy grounded in its African culture tended to be undermined by the existence of the Europe-oriented missionary structures of socialisation. English in ethos and texture, these structures socialised boys and girls in the environment which made them appear to feel more at home in the mission compound than in the village. Once again, this matter suggests the problem of culture

73.*Ibid.*

74.Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

75.*Ibid.*

76.Correspondence, Goodwin to Getrude Ward, 1886, *Letters of Bishop Tozer and his sister*, quoted in Illife, J., *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge, Cambs: C.U.P, 1979, p. 85.

and identity. As noted above, the issue of cultural identity is in fact a matter of empowerment. It implied the transmission of power from the missionary to the African.

Missionary education empowered the students in the European lifestyle while at the same time it undermined the African lifestyle. In other words, instead of enriching the African cultural life, it impoverished it as it deprived the African of his cultural identity. Though mission policy as represented by Tozer's approach insisted on or desired the development of an African ministry oriented in African culture, in these respects, this principle tended to conflict with the English ethos, structures, and general English orientation of the mission.

The boys' and girls' tendency to identify with English rather than African culture points to a subtle problem of the correlation between mission theory and practice and experience. It raises the problem of the relationship between what the missionaries intended to achieve, the ideal, and what happened. Adaptation to African culture could not be effectively achieved as long as the missionary structures remained unAfrican, alien to the African culture. As will be noted in the rest of this study, this constituted the core problem of mission policy as it related to the adaptation of the structures of Anglican Church polity and ministry to the African context. While the UMCA missionaries insisted on the necessity of the Africans to assimilate as few European cultural elements as possible, the Africans' own experience seemed to have made them aware that it was not their African culture that gave them status and power in the mission society. Rather, it was the European cultural values and style of life that gave them status and power inevitably associated with the white missionaries.

The year 1870 marked also an important stage in the constitutional development of the UMCA. In that year, the new mission constitution stipulated that the missionaries undertake to serve without salaries only receiving allowances and outfit, furlough and travelling.⁷⁷ They should undertake to remain unmarried while in service.⁷⁸ They were

77. Broomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

78. *Ibid.*

also required to obey their bishop, and those he set in authority over them by him.⁷⁹ It shall be recalled that, in spite of the fact that most of the early missionaries were not married there had been at least a few who had families at home, notably, Henry de Wint Burrup. This and other changes were to have far reaching consequences for both the character and the development of the mission in Malawi.

Characteristically, the conditions imposed on the missionaries to receive only allowance and to remain single while in service made the Anglican missionary body look more Roman Catholic.⁸⁰ This development was also significant for another reason. The introduction of a voluntary celibate clergy was another reinvention of the ancient tradition, for such a tradition had existed in the medieval period and beyond. Just as the concepts of missionary bishop or office of subdeacon were innovations, so too a celibate clergy was a reinvented tradition in the Anglican Church since its separation from the Church of Rome in the 16th century.

The rule of celibacy was intended to maintain a clergy with special commitment to missionary life in the more exacting conditions and circumstances of Africa. Behind the rule, lay the assumption that a celibate clergy would serve the mission with single-mindedness, without the distractions of family life. The presence of a voluntary celibate clergy effectively distinguished the UMCA as a "high Church" clergy organisation from the evangelical Church Missionary Society in East and West Africa. However, despite this positive outlook, Adrian Hastings regretted what he observed as a certain rigidity and stubbornness of the Anglican missionaries, which according to this author, bordered on impracticality in the missionary circumstances of the 19th and 20th centuries.⁸¹

From another dimension, these principles were consistent with the ideals of the Oxford Movement. In its teachings, largely arising from the special importance attached to the episcopate and the sacraments, the Oxford Movement had firmly stressed the distinct nature of the priesthood. Western and individualistic in character as opposed to the

79. *Ibid.*

80. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

81. Hastings, A., *Christianity in Africa 1450-1950*, p. 265.

African communal-oriented, the UMCA had presented celibacy to the African Church in Central and Eastern Africa as an ideal for the Africans.⁸²

However, more importantly, the UMCA work under Tozer in East Africa reached a turning point when in the late 1870s in East Africa Tozer introduced young freed slave evangelists.⁸³ Socially, these young evangelists were marginalised in both communities. Never entirely fitting in the local African community nor in the English, they bore a mark of social outcasts.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, their presence had important consequences for the developments that decisively determined the future course of the mission not only in Tanzania, but also in Malawi.

Thus, by 1872 with the assistance of the freed slaves and a band of evangelists working under the charge of European missionaries, initial steps were taken to establish work on the mainland in Magila.⁸⁵ The beginning of work on the mainland of Tanzania introduced an important dimension to the UMCA work. Hitherto missionary work largely concentrated on the colonies of slave communities, now the mission began seriously to engage with the settled tribes of East Africa.

Tozer's health broke down in 1873.⁸⁶ Subsequently, he resigned. Tozer's era with respect to the training of the African clergy marked an important phase as far as its fairly optimistic assessment of the African was concerned. Tozer had managed to lay a firm foundation for the work of training African boys and for the future ministry. The passage of Tozer's episcopate, on the other hand, inaugurated another phase that tended to view the potential of an African in a stereotyped negative manner.

In the meantime, however, Edward Steere became a caretaker head of the mission.⁸⁷ During this time, Sir Bartle Frere, formerly governor of Bombay, afterwards governor

82. *Ibid.* Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41, Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 333..

86. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

87. *Ibid.*

of the Cape Colony visited the island on a mission to strengthen efforts against slave trade.⁸⁸ He signed a treaty with the Sultan against the slave trade.⁸⁹ During his visit, despite his commendation of the UMCA work, Frere strongly pointed out what he perceived was its fundamental weakness. Frere felt that:

More *industrial* work could be done in schools, where trustworthy interpreters could be found. He very strongly wished that more industrial work could be done in schools, and that each child might learn some handicraft. He thought that there would be not so many "failures" for the larger number of the boys educated in the schools could not become clergy or even teachers; there must be *some* educated laity in every community, and no disappointment need be felt if a boy became a good carpenter, mason or printer. He was much struck with Mbweni, the beautiful plantation, and feeling sure the time was near when there would be numbers of freed adult slaves, he was anxious that a colony should be planted there. (italics mine)⁹⁰

Frere's observation is important. It illustrates the extent to which the UMCA policy had undergone transformation with regard to the training of the Africans. Seemingly, largely reacting to the failure of the industrial training associated with the Magomero mission, at this stage, the mission had shifted to becoming more distinctly clerical in its orientation. Training clergy rather than producing artisans seemed to be regarded as the absolute priority. By encouraging the mission not to ignore the industrial or vocational aspect of the programme, Sir Bartle Frere was reorienting the mission into the hitherto vocational approach, which it had temporarily shelved in the aftermath of the Magomero disaster.

Moreover, Frere's action as a colonial officer was significant. Encouraging the UMCA not to ignore the industrial training, Frere envisaged the possible contribution of the mission towards developing the skilled labour in the emerging colonial economy. In other words, despite the Magomero disaster that had prompted the mission to lay its industrial policy at the back door, Sir Bartle Frere's action had the tendency once more to bring the industrial aspect of the mission into front view. Frere's action was thus a catalyst to a new development that sought to engage the mission in a more

88.*Ibid.* p. 52, 63.

89.*Ibid.*, p. 63.,

90. "Official Report on Liberated Slaves," Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 110. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

comprehensive rather than a narrower approach to mission. Meanwhile, at Kiungani vocational studies were subsequently resumed as a separate department from 1887.⁹¹

But Sir Frere's criticism relating to the large numbers regarded as "failures" in the mission's training programme also suggests the existence of a problem with regard to the African training system in the mission. It suggests the existence of the difficulties, which the aspirants had to overcome to reach the set goals in their training for the ministry. The presence of failures partly also reflects the failure of the mission to provide the necessary conditions as they would facilitate the easier entry of the African into the European priesthood.

It seems likely that many wanted to become priests but were hampered by the stringent and stiff standards imposed by the missionaries. As was noted earlier with respect to the making of subdeacons, getting ordained was not an easy task in the UMCA. Training for the priesthood grounded in the European structures of power became a struggle for the African whose position in the missionary community was low. In other words, for the Africans, the priesthood was a Western construct whose entry demanded loss of the degree of African identity.

4.1.4 The Episcopate of Edward Steere (1874-1882)

Though not yet chosen bishop, in the absence of Bishop Tozer, Edward Steere was virtually running the mission from 1874.⁹² He had come with Tozer in 1863 and served as his chaplain and advisor.⁹³ The year 1875 is particularly notable for two other events. Firstly, in direct response to Livingstone's death there arrived in the Nyasa Region (Malawi) the mission of the Free Church of Scotland.⁹⁴ They settled at Cape Maclear in the southern part of Lake Malawi.⁹⁵ Secondly, Steere made his first attempt to reach the

91. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

94. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

95. *Ibid.*

lakeshore region of Lake Nyasa in the area of chief Mataka with a view to reestablishing the Nyasa UMCA mission.⁹⁶

4.1.4.1 Definition of the character and identity of the UMCA: the Legacy of the Oxford Movement

Edward Steere was finally chosen bishop and consecrated in 1875 in England.⁹⁷ In her Master in Philosophy thesis, *Archdeacon Percival Johnson of Nyasaland*, Beryl Brough has noted the qualifications upon which the bishop for the UMCA was chosen. She noted that, "...over and above the qualities required in a bishop for an English diocese, there was a rare union of physical strength and administrative talent, and many perfectly ready to go were found on medical examination to fail in that requisite."⁹⁸ Apparently, unlike Mackenzie and Tozer, and to a greater degree Steere had been chosen for these qualities. He was to stay longer in his post. More importantly, it ought to be noted that, amongst other qualifying conditions for the position of a bishop, possession of administrative skills was considered as crucial for the office of a bishop.

The episcopate of Edward Steere marked an important milestone in the history of the UMCA especially in two respects. Firstly, with regard to the refashioning of the identity of the UMCA towards more markedly Anglo-Catholic character. Secondly, with regard to the reinforcement of an African policy, which eventually had the effect of enhancing the development of an African ministry.⁹⁹ In this sense, through the episcopate of Steere, the UMCA had entered a second phase of development.

Early in his episcopate, Steere told his staff that while hitherto personal friends of his predecessors, Mackenzie and Tozer, had largely supported missionary work, he himself

96. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

97. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

98. Brough, B., *Archdeacon Percival Johnson of Nyasaland*, unpublished Thesis, University of Glengory, p. xxv.

99. See Wilson, G.H., *The History of the UMCA*, p. 39.

was "a man who had no friends."¹⁰⁰ Steere's assertion reminiscences the effects of the Magomero tragedy whereby in its aftermath the UMCA lost tremendous financial and moral support it had been receiving from highranking members of the British society from the time of its inception. Thus, at this stage financial sustenance of the mission largely had largely rested on the shoulders of the individual supporters, friends, associates and members of the family of the bishop. Thus responding to the difficult financial position that the mission was now facing, Steere stipulated to the recruits that they:

should either support themselves or else that having food and raiment then they should be therewith content. Twenty Pound a year to such as need it, is, in addition to their maintenance, the utmost the Universities Mission offers to those who must also take their lives in their hands and forsake (often never to meet again) their dear ones at home.¹⁰¹

In other words, Steere was urging the missionaries to embrace a simple life style. His appeals reflect the spirit and requirements of the UMCA constitution as reenacted in 1870. The constitution had obliged its missionary members to give up family life and material comfort for the sake of the Gospel. Steere was calling the members of the mission to live a simple life style. In a bird's eye view of this period, Adrian Hastings observed that among the rest of the Protestant missions, the UMCA missionaries distinguished themselves for their simple spirituality and a spirit of dedication.¹⁰²

Yet Steere's innovations reflecting the spirit and character of the UMCA constitution encouraging sacrifice and devotion seem to reflect also deeper sociopolitical changes that were transforming the English society at this stage. In his work, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, John Mackenzie observes that Christian militarism and militarist athleticism were a product of the social impulses that emanated from the English national consciousness, which in turn spurred nationalism and imperialism.¹⁰³

100.Heanley, R. M., *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 125. See also Anderson-Morsehead, *op cit.*, p. 57.

101.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

102.Hastings, A, *African Christianity 1450-1950*, p. 263.

103.Mackenzie, J., *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 3.

Characterised by a sacrificial and combative spirit, imperialism rose in an attempt to defend real or imagined colonial interests. In England, this movement was especially raised and nurtured in the public schools.¹⁰⁴ John Mackenzie identified the Europeanwide retreat from classical liberalism associated with the emergence of new nationalisms during the last decades of the 19th century as leading to the emergence of “state, nation and society.” He noted that the elitist that championed this convergence fashioned new rituals, wideranging invented traditions and cults.¹⁰⁵ These were designed to be communicated to the public.²⁴¹⁰⁶ *Inter alia* this “contributed readily to the national rituals and political processes which were part of the British imperial cult.”¹⁰⁷

Mackenzie continued to assert that in the blending of nationalism and new imperialism in response to the grandiose British power, the British “nationalist convergence” assumed a markedly “imperial form”.¹⁰⁸ In these circumstances emerged traditions of Christian militarism. Militarist athleticism in the public schools, “medieval chivalry”, contributed readily to the national rituals and political processes which were part of the British imperial cult.¹⁰⁹ In this milieu, the missionary movement became markedly heroic in spirit and character.

In the UMCA, in regard to the training of the African clergy, this phenomenon particularly found expression in the more conservative approaches of Bishop Steere and Smythies to the African culture and values. But more immediately, the militaristic spirit was epitomised in the person and life of Chauncy Maples and William Percieval Johnson who arrived in the UMCA in East Africa in 1876. Adrian Hastings described the latter as an “unfairly fine example, not untypical. He represents the quality that the missionary movement was able to field at the point it had reached well before the

104.*Ibid.*

105.*Ibid.*, p. 156.

106.*Ibid.*

107.*Ibid.*

108.*Ibid.*

109.*Ibid.*

colonial scramble, even if his exceptional longevity (despite living almost at native level) saw him through a very different era".¹¹⁰ William Percieval Johnson who had just recently joined the staff gives us insights into the nature of relationship between Steere and his staff at this time characterising the spirit of the period. Johnson is said to have recalled that:

I found him surrounded by a staff I was proud to join, all devoted to him, all admiring him in different ways. His style was one of leading us to discuss our plans and doings as much as possible in public, to create a public spirit in the Mission, a high public level of conduct.¹¹¹

It is characteristic to note that the cohesion of the mission and its success depended on the sacrifice and dedication of the members to the cause of the mission as much as the personal charisma of a leader. Inevitably, owing to the hierarchical nature of the Anglican Church polity, recently strengthened by the mission's constitution, the UMCA was run and regulated by a strict code of public conduct obligingly binding on the rest of the members. A few years later, Bishop Gerard Trower of Likoma described the position as follows, "no member of the mission may refuse any work or employment which he may be desired by his bishop to undertake, and all understood to give their whole time and abilities to its service."¹¹² In other words, being the central authority in the church, the bishop had such power over his staff that it could not be questioned in matters relating to responsibilities.

Thus, standing firmly in the Anglo-Catholic tradition of the Oxford Movement, the bishop's authority was unquestionable, with each member bound to him by the oath of canonical obedience and personal loyalty. Largely, it was this character of the UMCA that united the mission and gave it a sense of purpose and direction. Of course obedience and subservience to authority was a crucial element that characterised the UMCA polity and structures. Its traditional structures encouraged attitudes of obedience

110.Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 265.

111.Johnson, W.P. *My African Reminiscences 1875-1895*, London: UMCA, 1924, pp. 1617.

112.Wand, J.W.C., *The Anglican Communion. A Survey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 227.

with respect to the pattern of hierarchy of authority. In this regard, it seemed closer in character to the Roman Catholic than the Protestant missions.

4.1.4.2 An African policy for an African Church and Ministry: the role of the vernacular language

Of greater significance for this study was the influence of imperial ideology, partly expressed in Christian militantism, that is, a high level of commitment and loyalty to the missionary values and goals sustained by the will to triumph. As the public school in England was the nursery of colonial ideology, in East and Central Africa an element of colonial ideology found expression in the pedagogical conservatism of the UMCA. As noted above, the public school ethos of St Andrews College, Kungani was a replicated version of this order of arrangement.

In this regard, early in his episcopate, Steere introduced important changes, which effectively transformed the character, style and the scope of the African ministry. Unlike Tozer who had believed in the necessity of English as a principal medium language of instruction, Steere was generally negative with regard to introducing English to an African child except for the “promising” boys considered as prospective candidates for the priesthood. To Steere ‘something of English’ “was not a blessing but a curse to an African boy.”¹¹³ Accordingly, he introduced amendments in the system of training. Emphasising the development of African character in the training programme, he gave all alike a plain education in Swahili while reserving English for only a few best pupils.¹¹⁴

Steere’s approach to language has to be seen in the light of a shift in the UMCA policy from being commercially-oriented to being more religious in outlook. Teaching English language was mainly undertaken for evangelical purposes dictated almost exclusively by the religious needs of the mission, training priests. This is how Steere put it, “The

113.Moriyama, “Building a Home-Grown Church”, *Three Centuries of Mission*, p. 332.

114.*Ibid.*

most promising are taught English and by degree are made pupil teachers, catechists, readers and subdeacons.”¹¹⁵ Steere’s conservative attitude towards African training was consistent with his negative attitude to the Africans as a “backward” race. In his speech at Oxford talking about the education of the Africans, he stated, “But when you come to begin with the actual pupils, you will see that it is not a work of a few years, but rather, as life is in Africa, of several lifetimes.”¹¹⁶

The UMCA valued English to the extent that it fulfilled more exclusively the religious objectives of the mission. Father G. B. Hand, one of the missionaries was explicit on this issue. In 1919, he declared, “We are a religious body, not educationalists.” The UMCA “did not want to advance the education beyond a certain point generally. Boys were apt to get swollen heads through over education and were consequently spoilt.”¹¹⁷

The UMCA approach at Kiungani and later on at St. Andrew’s College, Likoma, contrasted sharply with the systematic approach of the Overtoun Institute of the Presbyterian Mission at Livingstonia. Taken over a period of three years, the curriculum at Overtoun Institute covered the study of English language and literature, history, logic, philosophy, psychology, mathematics, ethics and sociology.¹¹⁸ By October 1903, a successful student “could give an outline of the developments of Greek philosophy that led to the recognition of Psychology and could discuss pain in the process through which it is supposed to lead to purposive action.”¹¹⁹

At St. Andrew’s Kiungani, and later at Likoma, the UMCA was content to give the African students elementary education. The syllabus was almost entirely dictated by needs of producing teachers and priests. One of the missionaries, D.Y. Mills, outlined their curriculum as follows; most of them could “teach arithmetic up to fractions,

115. Kiungani (1880-1), p. 59, Rhodes House, Oxford.

116. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 80. The author does not give the exact date of the speech.

117. Conference on Education, 1919, Malawi National archives, Zomba, SI/1494/19.

118. Mc Cracken, J., *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940*, Melbourne, New York, Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 146.

119. *Ibid.*

reading and writing, a little very hazy geography, and a smattering of English.”¹²⁰ A “smattering of English” taught at Kiungani during this period is illustrated in the works of its former graduates, notably Abdallah’s *Chiikala Cha Wayao*¹²¹; Abdallah’s *Thirty Years in Nyasaland*¹²², and Kamungu letters written to a boy in England. On the whole the UMCA neither fully appreciated the importance of systematic teaching of English nor the importance of a high standard of education as a means to transform the African.

Jerome Moriyama believes Steere was sympathetic to African training through usage of the vernacular language and emphasis on moral development.¹²³ Though Moriyama’s assertion regarding Steere’s accommodating is correct, nevertheless, Steere’s attitude like Smythies’ towards the African training was paternalistic. For instance, in another context, Steere asserted that, “one method of mission work is to take the natives into tutelage, to make them live by order and work when and as they are bidden. This produces fine plantations, good plantations, good cultivation, well kept houses and a most respectful demeanour.”¹²⁴ The missionaries like Steere and others put themselves in the position of masters issuing orders to their servants, the Africans whom they expected to be obedient without question. Steere’s is not an isolated case. Towards the end of Steere’s life, Anderson-Morsehead described his own attitudes towards the African training as follows,

We have to train them into habits of neatness, promptness, industry and general and good order – all most contrary to their natural dispositions, but all indispensable. We cannot trust to a boy’s honour; he understands that to be a license to do what he pleases. We have not, as in England, the influence of a thousand years of Christianity to fall back on.¹²⁵

120. Mills, D. Y., *What We Do in Nyasaland*, London: UMCA, 1911, p. 99.

121. Abdallah, Y., *Chiikala cha Wayao*, M. Meredith, London: UMCA, 1915, p. 35.

122. Ambali, A., *Thirty Years in Nyasaland*, London: UMCA, 1924, p. 23.

123. Ibid.

124. Letter addressed to the “public of England” on Missionary work, October, 1881, Heanley, *A Memoir of Bishop Steere, Third Missionary Bishop of Central Africa*, p. 387.

125. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Operating from the perception that Africans lacked civilised qualities and habits, Steere regarded Africans as “children” to be controlled and corrected. This became even more clearly pronounced in the context of the problems relating to the training of the boys at Kiungani. Writing to a teacher, Steere stated, “why should it vex you that they want correction? If they were good, you would not be wanted at all; it is because they are bad we are here. Do not be surprised if they are naughty.”¹²⁶ Arrogantly, Steere saw the missionaries’ presence as beneficial to the Africans on whom the latter had to depend. Steere’s sentiments express the thrust of colonialist conception that Africans were so depraved that they needed the help of a white people to be liberated from their conditions, an idea, which was not correct at all.

The negative attitude attributed to Steere above contrasts with the positive comment he is said to have made about the Africans on another occasion. At the UMCA meeting in Liverpool, England in 1882, Steere stated that:

Our desire is to cultivate an independence of spirit. We don’t want them under our orders, but we think that the sound principle is that they should be able to rely upon individual efforts, so that if the whole European superintendence were withdrawn, the Church we have founded and the society we have founded might be able to stand by itself.¹²⁷

How can the two statements be reconciled? Steere made the first statement in the context of Africa, in connection with the work on the plantations and missionary work in general, and in comparison to the same methods employed by the Roman Catholic Fathers at Kibanga in Tanzania.¹²⁸ Thus, to closely trusted colleagues he expressed himself freely about the UMCA’s attitude to the Africans. This reveals his inner sentiments, and thus, more closely, it reflects the mind of the UMCA in East Africa on this matter.

126.*Ibid.*

127.*Report of the Proceedings at a Meeting in Liverpool for the UMCA*, June 1882, Liverpool, p. 14., quoted in Moriyama, “Building A Home-Grown Church”, *Three Centuries of Mission*, p. 335.

128. See Roland Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

On the other hand, the second statement was given to a different audience, to the elite supporters of the work of the UMCA in Liverpool, England. These people may not have been aware of the situation in Africa, but were nevertheless very concerned about the kind of missionary work that the UMCA was doing. He told them probably what they expected to hear from a missionary bishop. Yet this manner of language was not peculiar to Steere. Most missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries tended to speak in this sort of way. However, in my view, the first rather than the second statement reflects more closely the spirit and attitudes of the UMCA towards the Africans, for it is consistent with statements that Steere's successors, such as Smythies and Hine.

Thus, as Steere's attitude with regard to training reflects paternalism, so his attitude to language reflects a conservative outlook. His attitude to language seems to suggest his inability to recognise the Africans' potential to rise beyond the constraints of their language. Even though the argument used in favouring the use of local language in training the Africans seemed to suggest the missionaries' good intention of promoting African identity as opposed to European identity, it may also be correct to suggest that the policy might also have fulfilled an ulterior social motive. Behind the insistence on the use of a vernacular language, the missionaries' policy might have served to deprive an African of the European form of power entailed in the process of socialising in the mission community.

As it will be fully elaborated in chapter seven, during the first decade of the 20th century, the widening social gap between the African clergy and their missionary superiors was evident in two respects. Firstly, the manner in which the African clergy discussed their cases behind the backs of their superiors.¹²⁹ Secondly, the inability of the Africans to put their ideas across during formal discussions in the presence of the white missionaries. Certainly, the inability of the Africans to engage with the missionaries more meaningfully may be attributed to a deficiency in intellectual faculty, which to some degree was a consequence of a gap in education. In any community, language constitutes the core aspect of transmitting values of a group. Depending on the

129. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

ideological interests of a particular dominant group, language may be used either to liberate or dominate the social life of their subordinates.

To grasp the implications of power entailed in the UMCA educational policy, one needs to understand the role of education in English colonial society. Peter Berger and R. Luckmann noted that, “of all cultural modes of human representations, language embodied the most comprehensive form of cultural expression of a people’s worldview.”¹³⁰ Not only is language the chief expression of communication, but it is also a mode and symbol of identity. Because it defines one’s identity, and is a means of representation and assertion of a people, it entails power. It constitutes a major component in which reality is constructed.¹³¹ It is a mode through which the power of a particular group is asserted and disseminated. By implication, deprivation of a language is also by the same token a deprivation of power.

The transition from Tozer to Steere was crucial precisely because Steere discontinued using English as the medium of instruction amongst the slave pupils. The reason given for using the vernacular rather than English language was according to the UMCA to avoid turning Africans into Europeans. Though speaking from a French missionary context in Africa, nevertheless J. Osterhammel's observation sheds light on the underlying motives from which the missionaries discouraged the Africans from learning a European language:

Teaching French to Africans would facilitate communication with them and was almost unavoidable if they were destined for public service, but it would also open up, so it was feared, access to subversive ideas and falsely suggest that their status was equal to that of the colonisers.”¹³²

In this case, language is a means of power since it is the medium in which the entire worldview is transmitted to the subordinate individual or group. In this regard, depriving the African the privilege of mastering European knowledge through the

130. Berger, P. and Luckmann, R., *op. cit.*, 92.

131. *Ibid.*

132. Osterhammel, J., *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Translated from Germany by Shelley L. Frisch, Princeton, N.J: Weiner, 1997, p. 101.

English language could have served as a means for the UMCA to control the Africans, consequently retard the pace and the extent to which European power would be made available to them.

However, the approach of the UMCA to language issue contrasted sharply with the one adopted by the Presbyterian Scottish missions at Lovedale in South Africa and Livingstonia and Blantyre. Affirming the consequences of teaching English language at Livingstonia mission, K. Nyamayaro Mufuka asserted that, “teaching English language in Livingstonia encouraged the development of potential in Africans.”¹³³ In Mufuka’s view, education liberated them, while he attributed the UMCA’s reluctance to the attitude it shared with the racist European sector which believed that teaching English to Africans was spoiling the African.¹³⁴

Highlighting this point in the 1840s, a writer in the Lovedale College newspaper, *Imvo Zababundo*, stated that, “The key of knowledge is the English language”. The Africans’ ignorance of English presents “English literature as a sealed book, and he remains one of the uneducated, living in the misery”¹³⁵ Not only was English the key to the entry into the modern world but it was also a tool associated with its power.

That the motives behind the UMCA missionaries’ discouragement of the Africans from learning the English language seemed to have been used to maintain inequality of status and power between the missionaries and the Africans was to be shown in the aftermath of the Chilembwe Uprising in 1915. Evidence in the form of the interviews given to the Nyasaland Colonial Government of Enquiry into the Chilembwe Rising of 1915 shows that the UMCA’s reluctance to teach English was associated with their concern that the

133.Mufuka, K. N., *Missions and Politics in Malawi*, Ontario, 1977, p. 77; See also James Tengatenga, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

134.*Ibid.*

135.See for example, Attwell, D., “Transculturation of English Literature: The Exemplary Case of the Rev Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist” in Denis, P., (ed.) *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa*, Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg, 1995. p. 45.

Africans might view themselves as equal to the whites.¹³⁶ For instance, according to this evidence, when Father A.M. Jenkins of Likwenu was asked if ‘They [UMCA] taught in English?’, he responded, ‘No chiefly Cinyanja’. When further asked, ‘so far as you are aware the natives are perfectly satisfied as to their present condition?’, he responded saying, ‘Yes, I have not heard any complaints.’¹³⁷ As I will illustrate further in chapter seven, by the 1920s Bishop Fisher was to note the effect of the existence of this gap as the African clergy failed to engage more meaningfully in the discussions.

In this respect, depriving the Africans of knowledge of the English language may have served the missionary interests to legitimise and perpetuate the idea of white supremacy over the Africans. Lack of sufficient English would delay and retard the process of full incorporation of an African into the European society. The presence of an African clergy with very little or no English knowledge at all would conveniently create a social gap between the white clergy and their African subordinates. In this regard, lack of sufficient knowledge in English acted as a social barrier between the European missionary and his African subordinate. It limited the horizons of contact and socialisation between the two groups.

Since language is a means of cultural expression of a group, on the other hand, the UMCA’s insistence on using a vernacular language, Swahili or Chinyanja as a medium of instruction served to foster the perception that African culture was central to the system of human representation of social reality or knowledge. It was a subtle form of domination in the sense that it appeared to affirm the African identity by way of negating the European identity. However, it has to be noted that the missionaries were the products of their own time; for their attitudes and practices, which they brought to Africa, were shaped by their own circumstances and times which were alien to Africa.

136. See Appendix, Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

137. Appendix G, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

4.1.4.3 The policy and method of the UMCA with respect to the emergence of the Early ministry of Ex-slave Evangelists

Following the introduction of the office of subdeacon by Tozer in 1870, as noted above, another crucial landmark was reached during the period of Steere. In 1877 the office of catechist was established both in the UMCA and Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo.¹³⁸ John Illife described the function and the role of the evangelist as follows:

His ministry was new, especially developed for the African situation, stressing on rapid evangelisation among the young. His primary role involved being a village school teacher teaching religion and the three R's spiced by singing and drill for amusement. The School served as a place for worship as well. The duties of the Catechist included observing the hours of ringing the bell seven times a day, doing pastoral visits and visiting those who missed school and taking the congregation to the mission to receive the sacraments.¹³⁹

This institution shaped an African leadership including Yohana Abdallah, Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa. These were to be the earliest evangelists in Malawi as well as the first clergy. However, the office of reader was a step lower than that of subdeacon or even lower than that of the catechist. Elaborating how the ladder of promotion functioned, Steere asserted in 1878 that:

For Ordination a man must show steadiness and capacity. We must know him for some years and let him work as Reader and Catechist for at least two more. No length of probation could justify want of power or steadiness.¹⁴⁰

It is clear from this pattern that Steere viewed ordination as a rite of passage or a course of initiation. An African had to undergo several stages, from the lowest level of teacher or catechist, through reader and subdeacon towards the priesthood. The long period of probation undertaken was justified by the perceived moral lapse of the African. Steere expressed his view of the Africans' moral degradation to Charles Janson, his missionary

138. Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 77.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

140. Correspondence, 2/1/ 1878, Steere to Heanley, A I(111) B: 456, Rhodes House, Oxford.

in 1881, when he stated that, "The races of tropical Africa, [are] amongst the lowest of the human family, [they] need very special self-sacrifice as the instrument of elevation. Amongst their most prominent defects are the love of capricious self-indulgence, working itself out into idleness, gluttony, drunkardness, and uncleanness, whilst slavery, the worst scourge of these races, helps to make labour distasteful, and, therefore, progress impossible."¹⁴¹

In this way, the long probation acted as a mechanism of "purging" the moral "defects" perceived in an African. Steere's statement that "no length of probation could justify want of power and steadiness" suggests that the UMCA was not so certain about the future of the African ministry and its capacity to shoulder the responsibility.

After nearly nine years of strict regimen of discipline, John Swedi became the first to be ordained deacon in the mission on 18th June 1879.¹⁴² Despite taking an early lead in ordination, it is curious that the UMCA never advanced John Swedi to the priesthood. Moreover, after this ordination, seven years lapsed before the ordination of the next deacon, an exslave, Cecil Majaliwa in 1886. This development illustrates the extent to which the UMCA tended to share the colonial view that espoused the social tutelage of the African for an indefinite unforeseeable future.

Despite Steere's positive gesture suggesting his desire for the affirmation of an African identity with respect to ordination, the UMCA still saw their objective primarily as the creation of a lower form of an African ministry. The mind of the UMCA was unequivocal on this matter. In 1898, the UMCA missionary, Father Hand stated that, "Our highest aim in educating the boys is to fit as many as we can for the position of teachers and evangelists when they go out from us."¹⁴³ The greatest intention was not to raise ministers; rather it was to produce as many teachers as possible, who in their

141.A letter, Bishop Steere to Charles Janson, 1881, Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 333.

142.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

143.Elston, P., *The Impact of Missionary Education upon the traditional customs of the people of Malawi: an Anglican Evaluation*. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa; File RE1.

inferior status and subservient position would support the work of the European missionaries. This may explain why the missionaries reserved for themselves the position of archdeacon until 1961 when Father Habil M. Chipembere was appointed one, ninety-eight years after missionary work began in Zanzibar, and 76 since the start of missionary work in Likoma.

The backbone of missionary ministry in East Africa was the ex-slave workers. The major problem facing these workers which, in fact became the problem of the mission was their socio-cultural identity. Mission policy intended to strengthen the African social identity of the African evangelists directly conflicted with the European orientation of the mission atmosphere, lifestyle in which the evangelists were being raised.

This constituted a problem, as one of the missionaries noted, that "Their long stay and boarding school life in Zanzibar...affected not only their physical constitutions but also their lifestyle and living standards as a whole"¹⁴⁴ Herein lies the contradiction and inconsistency inherent in the UMCA missionary policy. Contrary to the mission's policy of fostering the African identity, the dormitory system, which separated the mission exslave boys and girls from the influence of African life in the village, was fostering in them the very English values and lifestyle that the missionary policy sought to undermine. Such was the ambivalent character of the mission policy.

Similarly, Steere's insistence that the African tribes on the mainland be evangelised by ex-slaves who understood their "mode of thought" had its own problems.¹⁴⁵ These were noticed in relation to the attitudes of the free Bondei tribes. The Bondei sought to identify themselves with the European missionaries' power by preferring specifically to work with the white evangelists rather than with the ex-slave evangelists.¹⁴⁶ This undermined the status and ministry of the ex-slaves who felt their ministry was not

144.Moriyama, *op. ci.t.*, p. 334.

145.*Ibid*, p. 334.

146.*Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

being appreciated.¹⁴⁷ In other words, the evangelists' lifestyle acquired in the mission reflected a European cultural influence, which seemed to militate against the missionaries' intentions of fostering African character in the evangelists.

Under these circumstances, Steere believed that the ministry of ex-slave evangelists in the mission was in jeopardy.¹⁴⁸ Their rootlessness was an impediment to achieving a breakthrough amongst the settled tribes of mainland Zanzibar.¹⁴⁹ Socially these men were neither fully acceptable amongst the local people nor could they claim equality in status and power with their white colleagues.¹⁵⁰ For the whites, the presence of the liberated slaves symbolised the beneficence of British civilisation in liberating the African underdogs from social marginalisation.¹⁵¹ For the locals it was a contrast of social status between them, the freeborners, and the ex-slave evangelists, the insiders and the outsiders.

Because of this problem, Steere resolved to win converts from the free tribes some of whom could be employed as evangelists.¹⁵² He believed that the social standing and status of the freeborn men would make their ministry more acceptable amongst the settled tribes.¹⁵³ He tended to believe that the freeborn evangelists would be more independent in thinking. Yet the agency to this process was still the ex-slave evangelists.

Preparations towards this goal progressed well around Magila among the Bondei.¹⁵⁴ In 1875 a party of eight, consisting of two English missionaries, and six ex-slave workers, including subdeacon Francis Mbaruk and a reader, Aclad Sahera, were sent to Magila.¹⁵⁵ By September 1880 there were more than five stations outside the colony

147.*Ibid.*, p. 335.

148.*Ibid.*, p. 334.

149.*Ibid.*

150.*Ibid.*

151.*Ibid.*

152.*Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

153.*Ibid.*, p. 334.

154.*Ibid.*, p. 333.

155. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

opened and worked by the ex-slave workers including John Swedi, now deacon, who joined the Masasi mission towards the end of 1879.¹⁵⁶ The role of ex-slave evangelists around Ruvuma and Masasi was also important: there were four Kiungani students in the first party led by Father William Percieval Johnson.¹⁵⁷ The mission hoped that the Nyasa freed slaves would become the centre of 'light and life' in the area.¹⁵⁸

Despite some problems, by 1881 there was a breakthrough in recruiting from the freeborn inhabitants. There were nearly 40 children at school in Magila.¹⁵⁹ From these emerged leaders such as Samuel Sehoza, Peter Limo and Hugh Kayama, all of whom were to play important roles in the mission's story of African ministry.¹⁶⁰ Partly the reason for this success lay in the fact that the mission's vernacular language policy made it easier for the boys to do an elementary theological course. Among the Bondei, the first evangelist was Lawrence Kombo. He had been made reader in September 1880. Though he knew no English, he was effectively in charge for a short spell of time over the exslave workers.¹⁶¹

Though the chief disadvantage of the ex-slave workers remained their lack of social rootedness, there was one exception. Cecil Majaliwa was a freedslave of the Yao tribe.¹⁶² Said to be the brightest boy in class of all exslaves, he received early education in the 1870s at Kiungani.¹⁶³ He was made a teacher in 1878.¹⁶⁴ He married Lucy Magombeani and was made a reader and worked at Mbweni.¹⁶⁵

The case of Cecil Majaliwa is very significant with respect to the UMCA policy and approach to the African ministry and training. Majaliwa's ministerial life reflects the

156.*Ibid.*

157.Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

158.*Ibid.*

159.*Ibid.*, p. 335.

160.*Ibid.*

161.*Ibid.*

162.*Ibid.* p. 336.

163.*Ibid.*

164.*Ibid.*

165.*Ibid.*

ambiguity inherent in the UMCA policy regarding African training. On one level, his ministry illustrates his accommodation to the UMCA ideal, which stressed that Africans be contented with their social status. On another level, it illustrates the subtle resistance to missionary tutelage.

Initially trained at Kiungani and further in England, immediately after ordination in 1886, Cecil Majaliwa worked on the mainland station of Mbweni for a year.¹⁶⁶ He was then sent to work at Chitangali. Soon he found out his Mbweni experience would not apply here.¹⁶⁷ Quickly, Majaliwa mastered the Yao language through which he could now recite the Ten Commandments and recite the Liturgy.¹⁶⁸ Through his influence with the local chief he built a flourishing school.¹⁶⁹ Significantly, a Yao chief Barnaba Nakam became his convert, whose nephew was Yohana Abdallah. Abdallah was to play an important role in the evangelisation of the UMCA in Malawi in his capacity as a priest.

Nonetheless, except during Majaliwa's brief period when the local chief withdrew his support to the colonial government, Majaliwa's second call to work at Chitangali was more successful.¹⁷⁰ Then eight years of continuous hard work convinced Majaliwa that he needed to go for a holiday to Zanzibar.¹⁷¹ His request was refused.¹⁷²

Finally, Majaliwa decided to act. He left Mwititi in August 1897 to settle down at Zanzibar for the sake of his children.¹⁷³ His self allotted semiretirement from active missionary work on the mainland seems to have negatively influenced the missionaries' assessment of the African ministry.³¹¹⁷⁴ The authorities did not expect Majaliwa to act

166.*Ibid.*

167.*Ibid.*

168.*Ibid.*

169.*Ibid.*

170.*Ibid.*

171.*Ibid.*, p. 339.

172.*Ibid.*

173.*Ibid.*

174.*Ibid.*

in such assertive manner but in a "civilised" way as an African.¹⁷⁵ They expected from him subservience and deference. Instead Majaliwa showed a spirit of insubordination. The fact that the published mission history did not record the last years of Majaliwa's life and ministry may suggest the missionaries' unwillingness to give prominence to a priest who had become too critical of its system.

4.1.4.4 Attempts at Refounding the Nyasa mission

Steere's resolution to recruit from the settled tribes signifies his intention to implement the strategy to evangelise the mainland tribes as a stepping stone towards extending the mission to the Nyasa region, the original destination of the UMCA mission. The UMCA like the other missionary organisations in Africa was very conscious of its role as the "pioneer", breaking "new" religious ground for the Africans in East Africa. For instance, in justifying the rightness of the decision to relocate to Zanzibar, Anderson-Morsehead asserted that "the Roman missionaries and the Saxons, when taught by them, chose the cities of men, and utilised the civilisation of the gospel."¹⁷⁶ In outlining his policy for evangelisation at Oxford University in 1875, Steere stated:

My plan is to cut the work into manageable portions. I think we may take it for certain that we have not to do with broken fragments of tribes. There seems to be nations of several millions of each, speaking the same language, and occupying countries, which are to be measured by hundreds of miles in either direction. Our East Africans are not nomads dwelling in wilderness or desert, but settled cultivators...each of these nations ought at least to have its own church and its Bishop and clergy... As Africa is now, we shall have to fix the site of future cities, as the monks did in England, and the English missionaries in Germany... We have such a centre at Magila for the Shambala. We are forming a party to go to the Yaos. Between the Yaos and the coast, we have one great nation the Gindos, we must try to plant a station amongst them; and then the Zaramos and the Ziguas near the coast, the Nyasa's and the Bisa's on the other side of Lake Nyasa.¹⁷⁷

175.*Ibid.*

176.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

177.Address given in Oxford on behalf of the mission, 1874, Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 132; Anderson-Morsehead, *The History of the UMCA*, p. 72.

Most certainly under the influence of the Western view of national identity and mindset, Steere projected African tribal configurations as "national identities." It was on this basis that Steere applied his theoretical view of a "tribal" church. Somehow convincing himself that he was dealing with national entities, he stipulated that "tribal churches" would be the basic units for the creation of the African Church. Africans did not see themselves as belonging to "nations." Rather they saw themselves members of clans. Nonetheless, Steere intended to create a network of mission stations from the mainland of Zanzibar extending towards the Nyasa Region (Malawi), the most important of these was Masasi.

Perhaps recalling the mission's lack of a clear policy with respect to the African culture at Magomero fifteen years previously, Steere introduced a new pastoral approach to the mission field. He gave his missionaries clear guidelines to follow in their pastorate among the people of the Nyasa Region:

Be moderate in eating, drinking and sleeping. Remember in all things the character you bear, and seek to do as Christ would have done in your place... Do not be afraid to say all you have to say; but do not, if you can help it, say it in such a way as to provoke blasphemy. Do not grow weary in well doing. God is with you; and though you may see no result, your labour is not in vein. If you find yourself in danger from war or tumult, do not be in a hurry to escape. Even in the extremest danger God can save you. Set your face steadily against superstitious fears, however strong evil spirits may be God is stronger. If you should ever be in danger because of your religion, look upon that as a special honour, and do not shrink from meeting it.¹⁷⁸

Steere urged his missionaries to take a position that would make it unnecessary to avoid conflict with the culture and traditions of the African people. Yet Steere's instructions seemed to clash with his advice against what he regarded as African "superstitions." In African worldview, "superstitions" are closely linked to cultural norms and style of life

178. Address to the missionaries (Francis Mabruk, John Swedi and S. Speare to Magila) 8th October, 1872, Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere*, p. 107, also Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 5354

to the extent that if you disregard one, the other suffers. These pastoral directives distinguished Steere's episcopate as a pastor.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of Steere's episcopate was his ability to re-enforce and expand the African ministry. He augmented the minor order of subdeacon with that of catechist, teacher evangelist. Indeed it was during his time in the period between 1879 and 1881 that the hierarchy of the fourfold ministry of evangelist, catechist, reader, subdeacon and deacon had been firmly established in the UMCA.

With a fully-fledged development of policy and structures for African training and ministry laid in East Africa, once again the UMCA seemed ready to start its permanent mission in Malawi. This is what clearly distinguished the Magomero mission from the Zanzibar mission. While the latter had developed a clear pastoral policy, Magomero never even had the opportunity to evolve such a policy.

Thus in October 1876, Bishop Steere with the Reverend Deacon William Percieval Johnson together with 55 Nyasa ex-slaves, thirty-one men and twenty-four women set off for the Nyasa Region.¹⁷⁹ They reached Masasi before the end of 1876, whereupon the slaves refused to proceed. Bishop Steere authorised the establishment of the settlement.¹⁸⁰ The Reverend Deacon Johnson was appointed the spiritual leader of the settlement.¹⁸¹ Masasi mission was important as it was to become a stepping stone towards the establishment of the Likoma mission. In addition Masasi settlement fell within the mission's original intentions to help curb slavery and rehabilitate slaves.

4.1.4.5 William Percieval Johnson's initial efforts towards the Establishment of Likoma Mission in Malawi

In 1880, Father Johnson started off for Malawi with six helpers, two teachers and Barnaba Nakam, Abdallah's uncle, as an overseer, taking a similar route to that used by

179. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

180. *Ibid.*

181. *Ibid.*

Steere in 1875.¹⁸² Eventually, Johnson reached Mwembe in central Yaoland. There he stayed a year, preaching, acquainting himself with the place and establishing friendly relations with the people around the area. Nothing much was accomplished during this time. The second expedition was more successful. Accompanied by a colleague, Charles Janson, a partially trained teacher they started off in 1881.¹⁸³ They took another route, more easterly. Finally they reached Makanjila. From Makanjila they travelled north to Chiteji's village opposite Likoma Island where the mission was eventually to be established. Unfortunately, Johnson's companion never reached the final destination. He died at Chia. Johnson found Chiteji's people more friendly, and more settled.¹⁸⁴

They arrived during a time of war the local people were under the constant threat of Ngoni warriors called *Magwangwara* and Johnson tried to make peace with the warriors.³²¹⁸⁵ He embarked on regular missionary activities at Chiteji.¹⁸⁶ He opened the school and preached.³²¹⁸⁷ While travelling up and down the breadth of the country he was also busy translating the Gospels into the local Nyanja dialect.¹⁸⁸

During one of these excursions, more crucial with respect to the future of the mission at this stage, Johnson visualised a strategic plan for the evangelisation of the Lake Nyasa Region. Firstly, perhaps partly inspired by the Scottish ownership of the steamer now plying on the Lake, Johnson envisaged that if the mission acquired a steamer, less men would be required, less time occupied, less risk to health would be incurred than if they settled with one tribe.³³¹⁸⁹ Secondly, instead of settling with one tribe, the steamer manned by mission men calling at one station, then another would have the freedom to visit several tribes up and down the Lake.³³¹⁹⁰ In other words, Johnson envisaged that

182.*Ibid.*, p. 102.

183.*Ibid.*, p. 104.

184.*Ibid.*

185.*Ibid.*, p. 105.

186.*Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

187.Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxxxxii.

188.*Ibid.*

189.*Ibid.*, p. xii.

190.*Ibid.*

the steamer would be the base from which the teachers would operate.¹⁹¹ More importantly, Johnson planned to recruit African evangelists from Kiungani College who could work in the new field.¹⁹²

Towards this venture Johnson invited trainee teachers from Kiungani College to join him in this venture. When he informed them of the need for teachers in the Nyasa Region, some of them were too scared to volunteer. Nonetheless, Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa volunteered.¹⁹³ This is how Augustine Ambali responded to the challenge:

In June Archdeacon Maples and Mr. Johnson they asked, who will go to Chia to start work there; and we were four teachers and we all refused to go for we were afraid of the Ngoni, fierce men in those times... So we were feared and were coward, and for a week we refuse to go with Mr. Johnson to mainland and wanted to run away but we could not. But afterwards I considered myself and I went to Archdeacon Maples and told him that I am willing to go to Chia and that I consent to go, and he was very glad...¹⁹⁴

Ambali belonged to the Zaramo tribe who lived close to the coast around Dar es Salaam.¹⁹⁵ When Ambali was a boy he was sold as a slave but the boat on which he was being taken to Pemba island was intercepted by the Royal Navy.¹⁹⁶ He went to Kiungani School, Zanzibar.¹⁹⁷ In this episode, Ambali displays an attitude of independence and a spirit of courage, qualities of leadership, which he was to display later on in Malawi in his position as a priest at Msumba.

Subsequently, Johnson left for England to sell his idea and seek support for his new scheme. His plans approved, Johnson returned with a steamer packed in sections.¹⁹⁸ The steamer was named after Johnson's colleague, *Charles Janson*, who had died at Chia, in

191. Weller, J.C., *The Priest From the Lakeside*, Blantyre: CLAIM 1971, p. 5.

192. *Ibid.*

193. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

194. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

195. *Ibid.*

196. *Ibid.*

197. *Ibid.*

198. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

Chief Mayendayenda's area, on the eastern side of Mozambique.¹⁹⁹ Initially this marked the restart of the mission to Malawi, which subsequently developed during the time of Bishop Smythies.

4.1.5. The Episcopate of Charles Smythies and the Consolidation of the African Ministry (1883-1893)

Meanwhile, Charles Allan Smythies had been appointed the third bishop of the UMCA in Zanzibar.²⁰⁰ Charles Allan Smythies was consecrated in 1883 in St Paul's Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury assisted by the Bishops of London, Carlisle, Oxford, Llandaff, Bedford and Bishop Tozer.²⁰¹ Smythies reached Zanzibar in 1884.³⁴²⁰² He was the fourth bishop of the mission in the line after Mackenzie. Smythies' episcopate marked another important landmark with regard to the reinforcement of the changes started but also consolidated by his immediate predecessor, Steere.

Early during his episcopate in 1887, Bishop Smythies summoned a synod. At this assembly one resolution recommended the establishment of a theological college "for promising native pupils."²⁰³ Towards this goal, it was resolved gradually to transform Kiungani into such a college, increasingly phasing out industrial work which it was decided would operate as a separate department.²⁰⁴ Subsequently, Kiungani became entirely a theological college. One notable feature of Kiungani at this stage was the existence of various Guilds, one of which for boys, encouraged the vocation of priesthood.²⁰⁵ In 1890 it numbered twenty members including a priest and a deacon.²⁰⁶

With Kiungani becoming a fully-fledged theological college, preference for training the African clergy locally rather than in England was stressed. Anderson-Morsehead

199. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

200. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

201. *Ibid.*

202. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

204. *Ibid.*

205. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

206. *Ibid.*

emphasised that the advantage of such training was that the Africans boys would not lose their African character which would have been the case if the boys had still been sent to England for theological training. In other words, Bishop Smythies was strengthening the African character in the theological formation of the African clergy, which he saw as important for a missionary African Church.

However, Smythies' approach also reflects a European conservative superior outlook with regards to the African culture, under-girded by the Anglo-Catholic (UMCA) lofty view of the church as a sacrament. In this regard, Smythies stated that, "Africans are weak and liable to fall. They are slaves of past centuries of racial weaknesses and of social conditions which largely militate against them, and the white missionary has got to face the necessity of shepherding for long years to come."²⁰⁷ In Smythies' view, the "weakness" of the Africans derived from their racial and material conditions, which were inferior to those of their white counterparts. To Smythies only long duration of tutelage under the European would redeem the Africans:

Therefore, we have to keep people for a long time waiting before we admit them to Christianity; there must be a long preparation first to test their earnestness and their sincerity, and then there must be the deepest dealing with individual souls. Call it confession or what you like we must deal with each individual soul.²⁰⁸

There are clear principles and motifs in this policy. The depravity of African culture and traditions is regarded as an impediment against the incorporation of an African into Western Christianity more especially the priesthood. In comparison to the European, Smythies saw the African in his cultural context as "weak," almost without a civilised culture and traditions to lean on to justify his admission into Western Christianity and priesthood. The depravity of his culture, so Smythies argued, calls for the sacraments to "purify" him from his filth. So far Smythies articulates in the most profound spirit the character of Orientalism, that the European had the duty to rescue the "other" from cultural bondage.

207.Extract from the address made at the Church Congress in 1891 in London on "missionary methods", Ward, G., *Life of Bishop Smythies*, pp. 191-192.

208.*Ibid.*

Put in comparative juxtaposition with a European (Europe), an African (Africa) was viewed as devoid of a “civilised culture.” The presupposed superiority of Western culture and tradition justified the European rule to hold an African in tutelage until such time that the latter was deemed “ready” or “mature” to acquire Western form of civilisation, notably Christianity and by extension the priesthood. In other words, for Smythies, the “holiness” of the church juxtaposed with the moral laxity of the Africans justified the delay in ordaining Africans. In this regard, a conservative ecclesiology imbued with cultural prejudice that superimposed the superiority of the European culture over the perceived inferiority of the African culture ought to be noted. The missionaries wanted to rule an African in a way that justified the ideological premises on which that view rested.

However, at the core of Smythies’s view was his concern for what he regarded as the “purity” of the church which he contrasted with what he conceived as the moral depravity of the Africans, the “filth” of their culture and traditions. In his view, the lower condition of the Africans demanded that the church needed to take a long time nurturing and training them before they could finally be admitted into the priesthood. According to Smythies, the “purification” of the Africans from moral degradation could be achieved by the sacraments. In their moral weakness, so Smythies argued, the Africans had to rely on the powers of the sacraments whose effects would raise them to the heights of “purity.” He put it as follows:

The spiritual pastor must put his arm around each individual African, and must fight side by side with the battle of life. The Church must embrace the African and raise him up by her sacraments and means of grace, and spread a network around him, and raise him up to her high level not abating one jot in morality or spirituality of what she requires of her children here at home. Only so I believe will there be a truly living church in Africa.²⁰⁹

So far, Smythies’s views appear to reflect the spirit of the Anglo-Catholic conception of the church and the sacraments. To Smythies, the church was so holy that it was an alternative society. In contrast to what he perceived as the African “heathendom,” he

209. *Ibid.*

saw the church as an alternative, a “holy kingdom.” Just like the 19th century Oxford Movement was concerned for the sanctity of the church, albeit, for being too much under control of the state, Smythies saw the church as in opposition to the “heathendom” of an African. Smythies’s negative attitude towards the African and his culture in relation to the church’s “holiness” arises from his perception of the church as representing a “higher” or “superior culture,” a “higher civilisation” alternate to society.

More importantly, Smythies’ negative attitude with respect to the perceived moral weakness of an African *visàvis* his view of the holy church rested on the preconceived view that saw a clear demarcation distinguishing “superior” European from “inferior” African civilisation. He put it as follows:

Our desire is to distinguish very clearly between Christianity and Europeanising. It is not our business to make Africans bad caricatures of the Englishmen. What we want is to christianise them in their own civil and political conditions, to help them to develop a Christian civilisation suited to their own climate and circumstances. For instance, we do not allow in our schools to wear any European clothing. It is not our business to encourage the trade in boots by spoiling the feet of Africans for their climate. That seems to be what has caused in the minds of many Englishmen a sort of feeling against missions because they see so many people of our poor country whose sole idea of perfection with regard to the things of life in that they must be as much European as possible.²¹⁰

Seemingly, Smythies was responsive to the dominant European ideology that projected the European “civilised” world as fundamentally different to the Non-European world. It is an irony that while they encouraged the emergence of a church that was steeped in an African culture, the UMCA tended to despise the very same culture. Smythies tended to view the African as people in cultural bondage awaiting to be released.

This attitude and view was steeped in the 19th century English cultural imperialism, which depicted an African as culturally weak incapable of immediately acquiring European civilisation instantly. The roots of this outlook lay in a Euro-centric view that depicted the “other” as devoid of any “civilised” culture while the Europeans saw themselves possessing the most superior culture and civilisation. But as Jurgen Osterhammel asserts:

210. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

The notion that Non-Europeans differ utterly and essentially from Europeans was a cornerstone of colonialist thought. The inferior mental and physical abilities imputed to Non-Europeans would render them incapable of the large scale cultural accomplishments and heroic deeds that only modern Europe could achieve. This principal assumption of deference was elaborated in various ways. Theologically, the difference was explained as the depravity of the heathens.²¹¹

This conception envisaged that the Africans regarded as low on human scale, would take a long time before they could make sufficient advances in civilisation to qualify them to be on par with their European counterparts.²¹² This view, according to Penelope Hetherington, was advocated by and suited the Europeans, who for political reasons of wanting to enhance the subjugation of Africans discouraged the policy of wholesale Europeanisation under the pretensions that fragile African culture had to be protected from disintegration.²¹³

Behind this view, according to Robert Strayer lay the thinking that Europeanisation “spoil” an African by instilling in him “dangerous ideas” that he was equal to the European the well spring for ideas subversive to European rule.²¹⁴ On the other hand, as Strayer observed, “though seldom broached openly, the mission concern about detribalisation was compatible with and served the function of maintaining the social distance between the Africans and Europeans which lay at the heart of a colonial society.”²¹⁵

Yet as Albert Memmi asserted, “the attribution of weakling characters to the Non-Europeans suggested that the deficiency required protection. This begot the idea of a protectorate. In this design, it was in the interests of the colonised to be excluded from management responsibilities and that these be reserved for the coloniser.”²¹⁶ In the

211. Osterhammel, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

212. See also Ashley, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

213. Hetherington, P., *British Paternalism 1920-1940*, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1978, pp. 112-119.

214. *Ibid.*

215. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

216. Osterhammel, *The Coloniser and the Colonised*, Boston: The Orion Press, 1965, p. 82.

UMCA, this attitude found expression in the conservative and rigid missionaries' approach to the question of the ordination of the Africans.

Responding to pressure to increase the African ministry in the face of pastoral needs, or criticism for deliberately holding down an African, in 1892 Smythies expounded his theological views on the relationship between the church and the Holy Orders. He stated that, "it would be contrary to the whole spirit and order of the church, which is the kingdom of heaven upon earth for anyone to appoint himself to any office, if any, deacon or layman... There is... a great difference between the office of priest and deacon, and I shall not consider that ordination to the diaconate necessarily implies a claim to the further step of ordination to the priesthood"²¹⁷ He continued to argue that:

On the other hand, a priest is ordained to 'the cure of souls' which implies he is appointed by our Lord, Head of the church, to do certain things as his representative, which could not be done by one not appointed. If for instance, the priest celebrated Holy Communion, it is really our Lord who is acting by him, and using him as his instrument, whatever effects followed when our Lord used the words, This is my Body...this is my Blood. The same effect then follows when those words are uttered in his name by his minister.²¹⁸

Smythies viewed the church on earth as reflecting the perfect heavenly design. In his view, the two orders, the church and the world existed to fulfil the harmonious will and divine purpose. In this design, Smythies saw himself and his episcopal authority as embodying this arrangement. This view assumed the existence of a harmonious relationship and a singleness of purpose and order between the divine and earthly orders. It is precisely because Smythies portrayed the ecclesiastical system as sanctioned from above that it seemed justifiable for the authorities to exert control over their subordinates.

In other words, portraying the church as an alternative society parallel to the secular world mystically representing the Kingdom of God, Smythies sought to justify the patriarchal, hierarchical rule in the church. In short, Smythies propounded an

217. Ward, G., *Life of Bishop Smythies*, p. 293.

218. *Ibid.*

ecclesiastical ideology that sought to justify the domination of the subordinates by seeking to construe reality from a view that saw it as divinely ordered, therefore suggesting its unquestionability. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman noted how such a conception may be projected as reality:

It may be conceived as a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm of the total universe, as made by the gods. Whatever happens “here below” is but a reflection of what takes place “up above.” Particular institutions may be apprehended in similar ways. The basic “recipe” for the reification of institutions is to bestow on them an ontological status independent of human activity and signification.²¹⁹

Thus, in the case of Smythies’s views on the church as the Kingdom of heaven on earth, the church reflects a heavenly arrangement in which its authority and sanctions cannot be questioned. Monarchical episcopate rested on this view, which according to Jurgen Moltmann, derived from patriarchal monotheism. Monarchical episcopate tended to justify domination, and in turn foster the dependency of the subordinates on their superiors. At its worst, as Rampele Mamphela stated, this order of hierarchy militates against personal relationships and instead encourages a relationship of obedience and subservience of the subordinates.²²⁰ I would go further than Mamphela, to state that it also stultifies the individual's ability to act more independently and creatively, as responsibility is naturally shifted to the one above.

Just like his predecessors, particularly Steere, for Smythies it was necessary that in becoming a priest an African had to rise through a process of promotion, from the basic form of ministry of a reader, culminating in the priesthood, for those who could make it at least. In this regard, he stated that:

Advancement to Readership does not imply it will automatically lead to a further step. The office of Reader is a tentative beginning for those who may eventually become native deacons and priests. If the moral character of the Reader is satisfactory and he shows missionary zeal, and he develops gifts of ministry, applying them, then he may

219. Berger, P. and Luckmann, P., *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York: Penguin Books, p. 1966, p. 107.

220. Ramphela, M., “On being Anglican: The pain and the privilege” in *Bounty and Bondage*, p. 179, 189.

be advanced to the next step. In the constitution of the church there is a great distinction between office of a priest and deacon.²²¹

This is a pattern and order of ministry, which was designed specifically for the Africans. It had fully developed by the time Smythies was running the diocese of Zanzibar. The designation of a hierarchy of orders reflected the missionaries' reaction to African culture in an attempt to manage power entailed in the European-oriented priesthood.

Yet from another dimension, the UMCA's pattern of devolution of ministerial power through a hierarchy seemed to run parallel with the understanding of distribution of power in traditional African society. For instance, in the traditional African society, power filtered from the top, the ultimate, deity and ancestors, embodied in the chiefs or (and through) family members down to the rest of the community at the bottom. The UMCA's designation of hierarchical power, therefore, is in harmony with the African patriarchal hierarchy. However, in contrast to the UMCA's ministerial orders of progression, the African passage for instance, from the living to the ancestor status did not rest on individual competitiveness and industriousness. Rather this power rested on the person's natural affinity and harmony with ones' ancestors in the tribal community.

Nonetheless, this hierarchical social system served specific objectives and goals. It served to affirm and reward the respective individuals along the hierarchical order accordingly, thereby buttressing the status quo. For instance, in his article, *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*, Pierre Bourdieu makes a similar point with regard to social hierarchies as follows:

By making social hierarchies and the reproduction of these hierarchies appear to be based upon the hierarchy of "gifts," merits, or skills established and ratified by its sanctions, in a word, by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the educational system fulfils a function of legitimisation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of "a social order" as the evolution of power relationship between classes tends to move completely to exclude the imposition of hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship.²²²

221. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

222. Bourdieu, P., "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in Karabel, J., and Halsey, A. H. (eds.), *Power and Ideology in Education*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 496.

Even though the UMCA sought to create an African based church oriented in African culture, this policy also served missionary interests to control the African. Frank Weston, Smythies' successor, was to observe similar attitudes in the first decade of the 20th century. According to him, the obstacle towards the realisation of a selfsupporting church lay "in the consciousness of racial superiority, which is so characteristic to Englishmen. Missionaries had come to Africa to be kind to Africans, but were inclined to treat them as children to be corrected and controlled, and they expected from them deference and service."²²³ Weston's observation reflected the trait of the dominant Social Darwinist theory thinking during the late 19th century in Britain that portrayed an African as a "child" awaiting to be raised up by the European." It was a view that saw the Non-European as the "Other," the Oriental, the African, as people who had been fashioned solely to justify the colonial subjugation of Africa.

4.1.5.1 Smythies pastoral model for an African Church and his style of Episcopate (1885-1892)

Smythies's views with regard to the formation of the clergy reflect his underlying attitude towards the formation of African Christianity (and his African cultural context) from the perspective of European moral discipline. For Smythies the bottom line was "the purity" of the church as he saw it strikingly contrasted with "the impurity" of an African often associated with his culture and traditions. This constituted his point of departure with regard to matters pertaining to African Christianity. It was largely for this reason that the process of introducing Christianity to Africans had to be scrutinised and monitored meticulously.

Smythies' sense of the African depravity in his African cultural context prompted him to reintroduce an elaborate system of moral discipline and punishment. He was convinced that Africans had to be purified first before they could be allowed full entry into Christianity. Thus, in the Synod of Zanzibar of 1893, Smythies revived the

223. Smith, M., *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, London: UMCA, 1957. p. 30.

institution of excommunication.²²⁴ Smythies' justification for reviving this institution as it had been in the Early Church was based on the belief that the church had divine power, which justified its imposition of sanctions on its offenders. He put it as follows:

The bishops of the church have been given restraining power for the purpose of checking crime, unbelief, irreverence and carelessness. A practice is commendable only if its motive is pure, that is, to promote the love of God; promote reverence and devotion, dignity of worship.²²⁵

Smythies made these remarks in the context of his pastoral work as a bishop dealing with many cases of lapsed Christians. As a bishop stepped in the Anglo-Catholic tradition emphasizing discipline, he stresses spiritual discipline as a mark of Christian conversion. During this period, the bishops had the power to 'excommunicate' the impenitent. Smythies' principles and views regulating African entry into Christianity are revealing. The language that he uses and its tone depict a lapsed African Christian as an offender. May be it was out of concern for the sanctity of the church that Smythies language sounds severe.

Thus, in his approach to African Christianity, Smythies assumed a relative position of power in which he believed he was articulating what he regarded as the Africans' interests. In this framework, an African was prejudged, a "criminal," an "offender," not worthy of any recognition of any meritorious service.

On the other hand, the missionaries (the European) assumed that they knew the African and tended to presume the right to represent the latter. In this regard, an African's ministry or life was seen to exist largely as an appendage to that of the European, an extension of the benevolence of the European construction. This is how the 19th century European image and perception reconstructed the African and his context.²²⁶ In this

224. *Ibid.*, p. 158. In his *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, Maynard Smith supports the view that on account of his tendency to enforce discipline on the Africans, the Africans viewed a missionary bishop as a judge, p 91.

225. Ward, G., *Life of Bishop Smythies*, p. 235.

226. See Miller, C. L., *Blank Darkness, Africanist Discourse in French*, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1985, chapter 2.

regard, Bishop Smythies saw himself as one maintaining order and discipline, a "prosecutor" and "judge."

Like their contemporaries, Steere and Smythies saw the African as a "child" who had to be raised up for a long time to comply with the discipline of the church. They believed that their ministry was offering the best to the African. Possibly, it could not have occurred to them that what they were imparting would undermine the potential of the Africans. They believed in the power of the Gospel to convert the African. To separate the gospel from Christian civilisation would have been very difficult.

4.1.5.2 Consolidating Efforts towards the Reestablishment of the Mission in Malawi

Yet Smythies' episcopate is also notable in another sense. It ushered in a new era in the UMCA history for consolidating efforts towards the reopening of the Nyasa mission in two respects: the pastoral directives that Smythies gave to his missionaries and the extension of the African ministry from Zanzibar to Malawi. In 1890, Smythies cautioned his missionaries as follows:

First, I would like to say that missionaries must be aware of two dangers... they should avoid degenerating into traders and acquiring large estates in the country in which they are missionaries...Second danger...is the danger of becoming a chief. But surely that will be fatal to his spiritual power. Every missionary has clearly to discern between the two powers which God has placed in the world, the power of the keys and the power of the sword and he has always to take care that he confines himself to the use of the power of the keys those means of advancing the gospel by persuasion and by spiritual powers granted him by our Lord never snatching at political power or the power of force.²²⁷

Smythies' injunctions marked a new missiological approach in the new era. To succeed in the evangelisation of the local people they recognised that it was of absolute necessity for the missionaries not to condemn the local customs and rules, rather to tolerate them at least during the initial period. Likewise, the existence of an elaborately developed structure of ministerial progression from the lowest orders to the priesthood

227. Brough, B., *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii

during his episcopate ensured a strong basis for the development of the African ministry in Malawi. With these injunctions, the missionaries were now set to restart the mission in Malawi on a more permanent basis.

After his earlier visits in 1879, and 1881, Johnson and his evangelists were back in Malawi in November 1886, now under Bishop Smythies. By this time the school had been opened at Chia, Janson's death place, where Augustine Ambali was now a teacher.³⁷²²⁸ One of the boys to come to this school was Leonard Mattiya Kamungu,³⁷²²⁹ who was destined later to play an invaluable role in the pioneering missionary work in Central Malawi and Eastern Zambia. Ambali appealed for "monitors" – the boys he had taught at Likoma Island to come to assist him pass on knowledge to the others.²³⁰

One of those who responded was a boy called Anchanamila, latter on better known as Canon Yohana Tawe.²³¹ Subsequently Ambali did not stay long. He went to Zanzibar in September to train as a Reader and to marry, before beginning his magnificent work at Msumba, to the south of Chia.²³² At Chia he was succeeded by Eustace Malisawa, a Yao who was later on ordained with Ambali; Paul Mambo, another evangelist recruited by Johnson at Zanzibar; and later by William Wasiwasi.²³³ What is significant about the work of these early African evangelists is that they became teachers in their own right to the others. With the support of these evangelists, mission work restarted on a steady note in Malawi.

4.1.5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced the story of the start and development of the UMCA mission in Zanzibar, under Bishops Tozer, Steere and Smythies. In this regard, I have traced the early development of the training and ministry of the African ministers.

228. Weller, *The Priest From the Lakeside*, p. 6.

229. *Ibid.*

230. *Ibid.*

231. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

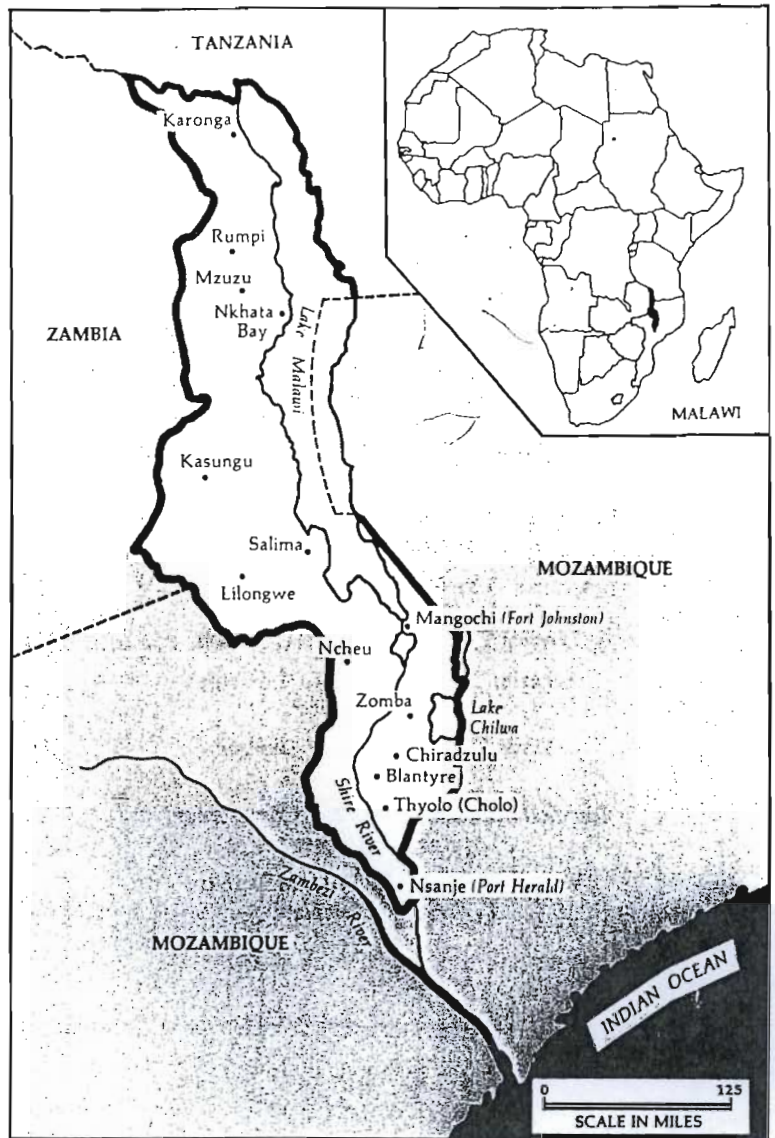
232. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

233. *Ibid.*

Specifically, I have argued that the missionaries' perceptions of the African culture in relation to Western Christianity, positively and negatively, tended to determine and influence the policy that contributed to the rise of the early African ministry. In essence, it has thus been argued that, the development of the lower forms of the African ministry was motivated by the missionaries' relative position of power. This on the other hand, rested on the ideological preconceptions that regarded the Africans as devoid of a "superior" Western culture seen as a natural possession of the European.

In other words, in the two decades that the UMCA operated in Zanzibar prior to the reestablishment of the UMCA mission on Likoma Island, the UMCA had developed an elaborate system of African training and ministry regulated by a rigorous system. Effectively, it limited and enhanced the power of the African clergy in both missionary and African society. Thus, by the time the UMCA was about to reestablish itself in Malawi on Likoma Island in 1884 it had a well developed policy for the African ministry and a developed structure that enabled it to begin its mission work more pragmatically

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MALAWI

Chapter Five

5. Diocese of Likoma (1885–1906)

5.1 The Establishment of an African Church and the Episcopate in Malawi (1885-1899)

5.1.1 Introduction

In chapter four, I outlined the early development of the native ministry in Zanzibar. In particular, it was highlighted that the availability of the freed slaves was the crucial aspect of this development. More importantly, the development of a clear African policy regarding the raising of the African clergy represented the most critical stage towards the establishment of the African Church. In this chapter, I will outline the reestablishment of the UMCA Anglican mission in Malawi, this time on Likoma Island, twentythree years after they had disbanded in Magomero.

In particular, I will trace the early beginnings of the African ministry and the African Church and the establishment of the episcopate in the context of the emerging colonial order. I will show that this mission became even more closely identifiable with the emerging colonial order and its interests than the Magomero mission had been. I illustrate also show that with the increasing presence of the colonial order in Malawi coincided also with the shift in UMCA policy and pattern to become more Europeanlike. Since Likoma mission was to become the unrivalled centre and edifice of the Anglican Church in Malawi for the next hundred and eleven years, it is necessary that the story concerning the beginning of missionary Christianity on Likoma Island be narrated at length.¹

1. From 1885 the time when Likoma Island was first evangelised, the Anglican Church ran the affairs of the island on behalf of the colonial government until in 1960 when it handed over control to the government.

5.1.2. European Scramble for Africa and a New wave of Imperialism

In chapter four we noted that Masasi had been established as a base for the former slaves who were on their way to be relocated to the Nyasa Region. Under both Bishop Steere and Smythies, Father Johnson had used it in 1875 and 1882 as a base to the Nyasa Region. Johnson established his base in the area ruled by chiefs Makanjila and Chiteji.

It has to be noted at this stage that, since 1875 and 1876, Scottish missionaries had also been active in the Nyasa Region. Both at Blantyre, in the Shire Highlands, southern Malawi, and Livingstonia in northern Malawi, the official Church of Scotland and Free Church missions, respectively wielded tremendous influence amongst the local people. Methodologically and ideologically these sister missions were pole apart from the UMCA. The UMCA believed that missionary influence, especially education, needed to cause as little social disruption as possible in the lifestyle of the Africans. On the other hand, the Scottish missions in Malawi, like their sister mission of Lovedale in South Africa, believed in the radical transformation of the material and political conditions of Africans.² Thus the two missions represented the two sharply contrasting missionary approaches in Malawi during the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. While the Anglicans did not believe in 'Europeanising' the Africans, the Presbyterians believed in offering the best of European 'civilisation' to the Africans.

By 1885, only one tenth of Africa had been colonised.³ The last decade of the 19th century witnessed a radical change for the UMCA, for the people of East and Central Africa in general, but particularly also for the people who populated the lands abutting Lake Nyasa. It was a period in which the forces of imperialism set out to define the relationship between the missionaries and the local African people not entirely on their

2. See for instance, Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Mc Cracken, J., *Christianity and Politics in Malawi*, Longman: London, 1977, p. 9; Linden, I., *Catholics, Chewa Peasants and Resistance in Nyasaland*, London; Longman, 1977.

3. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

terms but rather on those of the political forces of colonialism. European acquisition of territories in East and Central Africa with all its political ramifications was to affect both the UMCA and the people whom they came to evangelise. While by 1875 only onetenth of Africa had been largely touched by Europeans, by 1900, nearly the whole of the continent had been subjected to Western European powers.⁴ Central Africa was to be allotted to Portugal, Germany and Britain.

Since the time of the discoveries of Vasco de Gama in 1497, Portuguese maps had always indicated the highlands of this part of Central Africa as part of their territory.⁵ They had occupied Mozambique and settled on the delta of the Zambezi River, and they were aware of the existence of the Lake. However, they had neglected to occupy the hinterland.⁶ They nevertheless discouraged any overtures by the other powers that wanted to exploit this great waterway. Late in the 19th century, Germany had started to occupy the North Eastern side of the Lake.⁷ The British were also advancing from the South wanting to occupy this territory north of the Zambezi as part of their colonial acquisitions.⁸

Since no formal agreement existed on the boundaries of these territories, representatives of the occupying powers met in Berlin, Germany where after negotiations in 1884 Africa was partitioned amongst the European powers by the Berlin Act of 1885.⁹ Unfortunately the partition took place without consultation with the local peoples concerned. As Brough commented: “the airy way in which Africa was divided into colonies, protectorates and spheres of interest without the slightest regard for tribal boundaries or the wishes of the people was nowhere illustrated better than in the country around Lake Nyasa. The international frontiers were suddenly clamped on homogenous tribes...”¹⁰

4.*Ibid.*

5.*Ibid.*

6.*Ibid.*

7.*Ibid.*

8.*Ibid.*

9.*Ibid.*

10.*Ibid.*

The area where the UMCA operated, the territory north of Rovuma, became German East Africa. The Portuguese held the land to the south together with the rest of the 140 miles of land along the Eastern Shore of Lake Malawi. Thus, the vast lands north and southeast of the Lake became German and Portuguese territory. For the tribes of the lakeshore this meant subjection to European rule, while the UMCA found itself operating in territories occupied by three separate European powers. By a formal agreement between Portugal, Germany and Britain, the British Protectorate was extended to include the whole of the western shore of the Lake.¹¹

5.1.3. The Founding of Likoma Mission

From a date that has never been established as yet, two chiefs, Chiteji and Mataka under senior chief, Makanjila, ruled the two islands.¹² The initial reaction of the rulers towards the missionaries was positive, not necessarily because they were attracted to hear the Gospel. They saw the missionaries as potential allies against the Yao involved in slave trade and the fierce Ngoni tribes, since the missionaries had great influence over the latter.¹³ Besides consideration for the envisaged protection, the local rulers valued the missionaries as providers of cloth and other commodities, which were difficult to obtain.¹⁴ The presence of this important English mission led to Likoma being placed under the British sphere of influence.³⁹¹⁵

The name “Likoma” means “beautiful,” “lovely,” “diserable” or “pleasant.”¹⁶ The island is four and a half miles long by two and a half broad. By the time the

11. *McCracken, J., Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875-1940*, Melbourne, New York, Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 65.

12. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

13. Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Kishindo, M., *A Survey of Likoma Island From Early times to 1935*. History Seminar Paper: 1969/70, CC/H/206, Malawiana Collection, Chancellor College, Zomba, Malawi. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

16. *Ibid*

missionaries settled at Likoma in 1885, the Island had a population of about 2,600.¹⁷ Likoma lies five miles from the Lake's Eastern Shore. On the other hand, Chizumulu is about twelve miles further west. Likoma was chosen because it offered the needed refuge against the attacks of slave raiders and hostile tribesmen, it was a relatively healthy place for European workers and was in easy reach of the Church of Scotland Bandawe mission if need arose.¹⁸

By this time with his base on the steamer, Father Johnson was laying the foundation of the mission along the eastern shore of Lake Malawi. He was responsible for the work of evangelisation of the region as its "apostle." Johnson planned to set up schools on the East Coast of the Lake – with the steamer as the base of this work. It was envisaged that "the mission would not provide civilisation as a single package nor would any industry be set up. The main work would be done by young men, some of whom were trained at Kiungani."¹⁹

More significantly, at this time, the British vice consul, Buchanan urged Chauncy Maples and Percieval Johnson to enter into an agreement with the local chiefs in a bid to settle on the island, just like the other Europeans were doing in the territory. The reasons given to enter into a definite arrangement to settle on the island were to "protect" the natives and to eradicate the burning of witches.²⁰

Both the official history of the UMCA and subsequent writers claim that Chiteji and Mataka gave Chiphyela, the burning place of witches, to William Percieval Johnson, for which he paid 90 fathoms of white cloths, 15 of blue, 15 handkerchiefs and 6 rings of brass wire.²¹ In return, so it was reported, the two chiefs with the "assent of their village headman" were supposed to have transferred the land around Chiphyela to the

17. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Weller, and Linden, *op. cit.*, pp. 36.37; Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

20. Johnson, W. P., *My African Reminiscences*, pp. 125-126.

21. Linyama, S.W.C. *Perceptions of Identity: The case of Likoma 1885-1955*. History Seminar Paper, Chancellor, Malawiana section, pp. 67.

missionaries, granted them exclusive rights over the adjacent harbour, and prohibited the burning of witches on the island.²² A site with definite boundaries was marked out on the recommendation of Buchanan, the vice consul for Nyasaland.²³

In 1886, Father Chauncy Maples became the head of the mission with the title of priest-in-charge and archdeacon,²⁴ while Father William Percival Johnson continued to be responsible for the work of evangelising the outlying region. Maples built the mission headquarters at Chiphyela.²⁵ There is no record of Chiteji's reaction to this, but it is probable that the terms of the agreement were not clearly explained to the chiefs. The missionaries have held that they bought the area around Chiphyela according to traditional law. This could not have been the case since, according to traditional practice, a ruler was merely the custodian of the land for the community. He had no right to sell it.²⁶ It appears that the missionaries were confusing the western concept of land ownership with the concept of African land trust and allocation.²⁷ Whether the missionaries knew of this difference is unclear; however, what is known is that after this treaty, quite contrary to the instructions given by Smythies, the missionaries assumed more secular power.²⁸

5.1.4 The Early Beginnings of the African Ministry

Sydney Waluza Linyama perceptively observed that, "the advent of the UMCA missionaries in Likoma Island marked an important milestone in its history."²⁹ By 1889 the school system, church, and steamer were introduced.³⁰ The boarding school at *Chiphyela* and also a girls' school were taught by African teachers.³¹ The church was

22.Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

23.*Ibid.*

24.Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

25.*Ibid.*

26.*Ibid.*

27.*Ibid.*, p. 7.

28.*Ibid.*

29.Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

30.*Ibid.*

31.Kishindo. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

taking root in Likoma. A stone church was built, 40 adults were baptised,³² and there were 70 communicants.³³ This is how one of the teachers at this time, Augustine Ambali explained the early experience of teaching:

When we started school we had not anything to teach the boys with, no A.B.C cards, no book of any kind, and we took to writing A.B.C. cards on the skin of a goat, and we cut out letters in an old paper and pasted them on pieces of a box which we had pulled to pieces and we had some numerals, too; and we had no house to make school in and we taught the boys under the trees.³⁴

What is striking is the dedication and determination of these early teachers shown in their initiative and ability to innovate teaching aids just to pass on knowledge to the others. These developments, as Linyama asserted, "...altered over time, (peoples) perceptions of their identity."³⁵ The Africans began to identify themselves in terms of the new symbols which represented missionary power and worldview.

In December 1890, Archdeacon Johnson baptised a young man at Chia, Charles Janson's death place, who gave himself the name Mattiya, subsequently to be known as Leonard Mattiya Kamungu.³⁶ Initially, Kamungu went to the boarding school at Likoma where he was taught by Denis Seyiti another Nyasa who had come from Kiungani College before reading for deacon's orders.³⁷ However, Archdeacon Maples believed that discipline was not strict enough at Likoma boarding school, so he sent Kamungu to St. Andrew's College at Kiungani in Zanzibar in 1891³⁸, where he believed discipline was stricter.³⁹ Kamungu was at Kiungani from 1891 to 1897.

The issue of discipline is significant. Maples, trying to justify why he was sending Kamungu from Likoma to train in Kiungani, stated that "We cannot get proper

32.*Ibid.*, p. 126.

33.*Ibid.*, p. 127

34.*Central Africa*, May 1916, 401, p. 135.

35.Kishindo, M., *op. cit.*, p. 127.

36.Mills, D. Y., *An African Priest and Missionary*, p. 11.

37.*Ibid.*, p. 11.

38.*Ibid.*, p. 12.

39.*Ibid.*

discipline for the boys here they are so independent that the least restraints send them off to their homes, and we do not get much forrarder in the way of having a thoroughly good boarding school here.”⁴⁰ It would appear that Maples did not like the training atmosphere at Likoma precisely because it could not ground the boys in the habits of the discipline of obedience and submission to missionary authority which was the case at Kiungani. No wonder that discipline understood as unquestionable loyalty to the authorities was characteristic of Kiungani College.

For instance, in 1899 the Principal, Frank Weston, was to be irritated when the students reacted against paternalistic attitudes of the white missionaries. At the time Kamungu was at Kiungani, the life of its Principal, Archdeacon JonesBateman, dominated the college. Mills described the mutual influence between the two men in this manner:

He had a very high opinion of Leonard, whose gentleness, humility and habits of devotion greatly impressed him, while the Archdeacon’s strict sense of duty, moral strength and wonderful singleness of purpose must have had much to do in building up his pupil’s character.⁴¹

During these early stages of his life, Mills relates the development of a spirit of independence, sacrifice and devotion to duty in the life of Kamungu who was willing to work even at the expense of his family members.⁴² Archdeacon Maples described the intense religious influence that pervaded St. Andrew’s College which was intended to equip the students to fight “against sin, the world, and the devil, as well as their zeal for God and the extension of His Kingdom...”⁴³ Immensely important though the influence of Kiungani was, during the holidays Kamungu fell under the influence of Archdeacon Johnson.⁴⁴ Johnson, as was the case with other UMCA missionaries of the period, was celibate, and in this respect, Kamungu emulated Johnson.⁴⁵ In 1895, when Kamungu

40.*Ibid.*

41.*Ibid.*, p. 15.

42.*Ibid.*, p. 17, 25, 27.

43.*Ibid.*, p. 16.

44. Weller, *The Priest From the Lakeside*, p. 10

45.*Ibid.*

was eighteen years old, he was engaged for a time to a girl called Victoria, but then he decided to remain single.⁴⁶

Kamungu finished his training in 1897 and returned to Likoma to be an assistant to Archdeacon Arthur Bernard Glossop. It was the beginning of lifelong friendship between the two men. Early in his life, Kamungu displayed characteristics and qualities of a leader. Recollecting his early meeting with Kamungu, Archdeacon Glossop wrote:

Leonard was the first genuine Nyasa to be ordained in Nyasaland. I have a vivid recollection of an early occasion when I met him. In 1897 a batch of Nyasa boys returned from Kiungani College and arrived at Likoma. In those days all who wished to be teachers in our diocese had to journey down to Zanzibar and reside at Kiungani for two years. I remember that when I interviewed these boys, Leonard at once came out as their natural and acknowledged leader.⁴⁷

More significantly, Glossop described the early quality that especially distinguished Kamungu as a leader under the circumstances of the time:

It is difficult for an African trained away from home in a somewhat artificial atmosphere, to keep true to his ideal when lodged as a teacher, with all its dangerous position and power in the midst of heathen or even his old comrades.⁴⁸

As stated earlier, the position of a reader or subdeacon entailed not only service but also European-oriented power which gave them authority and respect in the African community. Glossop was certainly aware that being in a position of power the temptations for an African teacher were greater but Kamungu was in a position to resist the temptations that come up with a high position. Glossop's observation of Kamungu's conduct shows that Kamungu was an independent-minded person with a strong force of character. It seems the relationship was mutual for Kamungu is said to have appreciated working under Archdeacon Glossop. He is reported to have said, "Now I work under

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Central Africa*, June 1913, no. 366.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 2627.

Mr. Glossop, and help him to teach the hearers and catechumens, and read in church...I like very much to work under Mr. Glossop.”⁴⁹

In 1899 Kamungu returned to the theological college at Kiungani to train for the diaconate. By the end of that year, the theological college was relocated to Mazizini, now with a new name, St. Mark’s. In that year the college revealed something of the racial problems that the students experienced in relation to the white clergy. Weller alludes to an incident where the students resented the paternalistic attitudes of some white clergy. This is how the Principal, Father Frank Weston, responded to the students’ reaction, “I have lost my temper with the students for their beastly bitter spirit to the white clergy. This only last night, but it depresses me, for it was weak. But I always treat them as my equals...”⁵⁰ Weston’s further commented that many missionaries tended to “treat their new priest as still a school boy.”⁵¹ Weston’s statement clearly indicates the existence of racist tendencies in the form of missionary paternalism against which some boys reacted.

However, Weston’s observation of missionary paternalism at this stage, as I shall show in chapter seven, is consistent with similar experience of missionaries in 1912. Yet it is also significant that even during the episcopate of Bishop Steere some problems relating to missionary relationship with the students had surfaced in the context of training. For instance, Steere stated that, “It is too curious how a sense of injustice, or the presence of one, lies under all rebellion. If you allow their wrongdoing to vex you, you give them a power over you which they will not be slow to use.”⁵² As the rest of his story will illustrate, Kamungu largely relied on his own initiative to get on in his ministry. He was destined for a fruitful service in the UMCA. The new diocese of Likoma was being built with the ministry of people like Kamungu.

49. Weller, *The Priest From the Lakeside*, p. 12.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

On the surface, the history of the subjugation of Likoma seems to show no signs of the local people's resistance to missionary incursion. However, in situations of domination, sometimes resistance takes subtle forms. Not only can resistance be subtle, it can be a complex affair. Depending on the nature or the extent of domination, resistance takes many forms and has many twists. The more intense the form of domination the more subtle the art of resistance may become. Evading the more direct confrontation of domination, resistance takes place in low forms as well.⁵³ The following incidents indicate that resistance was not always an open affair.

For instance, during this early period in his book *My African Reminiscences*, Archdeacon Johnson referred to an incident where a liturgical church garment (chasuble) was seen with a mother who was using it as a towel for carrying her child at her back.⁵⁴ Though trivial as they may seem, incidents like this reflect a deep underlying spirit of resistance or rebellion. The stealing of the garment displayed a spirit of African resistance to mission rule, which at this time was under immense pressure with regard to its association with the intruding British colonial order. However, as this narrative unfolds, I will illustrate that the local people's resistance to missionary hegemony on Likoma Island took fairly aggressive forms as British colonial Administration became more of a reality on the island.

In the interim, the period between 1888 and 1889 was characterised by imperial disputes between the Portuguese authorities and the British Administration. It culminated in the proclamation of the Protectorate over the Shire highlands on 21st September 1889.⁵⁵ Following a formal declaration in 1890, Nyasaland became part of the British Empire, now officially known as British Central Africa.⁵⁶ The acquisition of the new territory cost the Imperial Government in London nothing, for Cecil John Rhodes financed its administration for the next four years.⁵⁷ In 1891, following the

53.Scott, J., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

54.Johnson, W. P., *My African Reminiscences*, p. 102.

55.Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

56.McCracken, J, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi*, Melbourne, New York, London: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 72.

57.*Ibid.*

signing of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty, the authority of Chief Chiteji and Mataka over Likoma virtually came to an end. The treaty placed the Island and its population under the British sphere of influence, while their chiefs who lived on the eastern side of the Lake, were themselves placed under Portuguese rule.⁵⁸

In the context of assertion of colonial rule, the local Lakeshore people closely associated missionary work with an oppressive English colonial rule now a reality amongst them. The local chiefs began to react more aggressively. It is reported that Chief Makanjila held Archdeacon Johnson, and the British Acting Consul, Mr Buchanan hostage. Johnson's cassock was torn, while Mr Buchanan was stripped naked.⁵⁹ They were released only after the payment of a ransom.⁶⁰ Makanjila's action perhaps reflects his anger against what he perceived was a threat to his power in his own domain.

The fact that the two, Johnson, and Buchanan, were taken prisoners together illustrates the extent to which some people associated the missionaries with the colonial officials, against both of whom they directed their hostility. In this regard, it is not insignificant that Anderson-Morsehead noted the missionaries' awareness of the current African protest song. He observed that the local people sang, "First of all to preach the Word, afterwards to seize the land."⁶¹ Anderson-Morsehead noted that the mission reacted adversely to the song.⁶² The mission's adverse reaction to the song probably suggests their embarrassment at the local people's perceptions of the missionaries' too close association with the colonial rule. Despite this resistance, this period marked an important stage in the history of the mission, for Johnson observed that "the church (was) becoming visible in the land."⁶³

58.Mndalasi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

59.Johnson, W. P., *My African Reminiscences*, p. 198; see also Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

60.*Ibid.*

61.*Ibid.*, p 237.

62.*Ibid.*

63.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 126..

5.1.5 The Founding of the diocese of Likoma (1892-1906)

5.1.5.1 The Establishment of Episcopacy in Malawi (1892-1901)

The official UMCA history states that one of the main reasons, besides purely evangelical concerns, which prompted the creation of the diocese in Nyasaland was “the illness of Bishop Smythies and that he could take no more expeditions to Nyasa...”⁶⁴ However, there were also other more weighty factors. Writing to Father W.H. Penney, Secretary of UMCA in London in 1887, Johnson said: “...I see you go in for a gunboat and there seems a general feeling amongst whites that English force means the advance of Christ’s kingdom....”⁶⁵ Johnson was expressing the general sentiments of the missionaries, including the mission officials in London, that the presence of the British force in the Nyasa Region could contribute to the enhancement of the work of the mission.

Yet this view was not only confined to the UMCA officials in London. In East Africa, among the UMCA missionaries, Bishop Smythies expressed the same sentiments. Writing long after European power was a reality in Nyasaland in 1890, he stated that:

Another reason for forming the proposed new bishopric is that there is a large district in Nyasaland, which has become a British Protectorate. I understand that two gunboats are being built by the British Government to be sent to Lake Nyasa for the purpose of showing all the natives on the borders of the Lake that the English Government is in no hesitating mood as to what they will do to put down the slave trade at Lake Nyasa. This being the case it seemed only natural that a Bishop should be sent out to live permanently on the borders of that Lake.⁶⁶

Thus, political and not merely evangelical considerations also prompted the missionaries to create a diocese in Malawi. It was closely connected with the presence of British rule in the land. As was the case with the Magomero mission a quarter of a century previously, at this time the establishment of the diocese in Malawi was closely associated with colonial interests. In this regard, the connection between the bishop’s

64.*Ibid.*, p. 129.

65.Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

66.Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

presence and the colonial presence is significant. As Smythies himself stated, “the bishop going to live in the English colony was “natural.”⁶⁷ For Bishop Smythies, the association of colonial rule with power or force of gunboats was an important factor with respect to the operation of the UMCA.

As it was discussed at length in chapter two and three, the association of the mission with colonial order in Nyasaland reflects a deeper underlying affinity that characterised the traditional interdependence between church and state in England. In other words, the UMCA saw the presence of the colonial administration with its manifestations of power (gunboats) projecting British supremacy amongst the local people as beneficent to their work. The UMCA gained prestige, and the veneer of power from its association with the might of the British colonial power manifested in the mode of gunboats.⁶⁸

In general, the effect of such power on the local people in the late 19th century has been captured by Alice Louise who observed that it was “...supposed to overpower Africans and mystify them.”⁶⁹ As Andrew Mndalasini observed, “the introduction of the gun boats forced the rulers to respect the missionaries who were now associated with colonial administration.”⁷⁰ In this regard, a UMCA missionary, H. Barnes, precisely stated in 1895 that “...We have often had to put up with petty tyranny in the past; from this we are today to a great extent saved by the respect felt for the gunboats, even at a

67.*Ibid.*

68.This issue has been treated in detail by James Tengatenga, in his unpublished doctoral thesis, *Church, State and Society in Malawi: An Analysis of Anglican Ecclesiology*, Chancellor College, 2002, University of Malawi, where he makes a strong case that the Anglican missionaries were the strong supporters of the status quo, to the extent of legitimizing its colonial ideology and propaganda. See particularly chapter three, pp. 6791.

69.White, L., “Cars out of Place: Vampires, Technology, and Labour in East and Central Africa” in *Papers delivered at Seminars of the African Studies Institute*, University of the Witwatersrand, August, 1993, no. 344, p. 12.

70.Mndalasini, A.C.C. *Local Rulers and the UMCA Missionaries During the Early Years of the Mission's Establishment of Likoma*. History Seminar paper: 1975/76, CC/H/351/76, Malawiana collection, Chancellor College, Zomba, Malawi.

distance.”⁷¹ People’s fear of the colonial order also extended to the missionaries and influenced their attitudes towards the missionaries. The missionaries were associated apparently with the invincible power of the colonial administration.

5.1.5.2. The Episcopates of Bishops Wilfrid Hornby and Chauncy Maples (1892-1895)

Hitherto the missionary bishops of the UMCA had made their canonical obedience to the metropolitan bishop of Cape Town.⁷² From now onwards the UMCA bishops made their allegiance to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷³ Now the UMCA bishops had full status and authority. More importantly, at this stage the church was formally constituted in Africa.⁷⁴ Broomfield concluded by noting that, “The bishop in Nyasaland now became the Bishop of Nyasaland, while Smythies became the first bishop of Zanzibar.”⁷⁵ This constitutional development was important as it now officially linked the missionary church in Africa to the head of the Church in England.⁷⁶

However, in this regard, the constitution of the diocese providing for a bishop as its head is also significant for another reason. It reflects the theology and ecclesiology of the Oxford Movement where the position of the bishop was linked to the notion of the presence and the constitution of the church as its basic unit, the diocese. Nonetheless, Broomfield’s assertion may be misleading if taken too literally. For all practical purposes, during this early stage, the diocese of Likoma was still very much dependant on policy and decisions passed in the synods of the diocese of Zanzibar, since it was only to be in 1921 that the synod of the diocese of Likoma would officially be instituted.⁷⁷

71. Mills, D. Y., *What we do in Nyasaland*, London: UMCA, 1898, p. 8.

72. Until 1897 when they assumed the title of archbishop of Cape Town, the bishops of Cape Town were still by this time entitled “bishop of Cape Town.”

73. Broomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*

77. See Blood, *The History of the UMCA 1907-1932.*, vol. ii. pp. 171-172; According to the *Nyasaland Diocesan Quarterly* of Likoma Diocese of 1902,

Nonetheless, Wilfrid Bird Hornby was appointed the first bishop of Nyasaland. He was consecrated in St Paul's Cathedral on the 21st December 1892.⁷⁸ He arrived in Nyasaland early in 1893. Unfortunately, due to ill health, Hornby resigned his see in August, only eight months after he had started his work.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Bishop Hornby himself advised who should succeed him as Bishop on Lake Nyasa. He asserted that:

There was only one man in all the earth of whom it could be said to be right that he should be put as Bishop and *lord over* that heroic friend of his, Johnson, and that man was Chauncy Maples.⁸⁰ (Italics mine)

Despite the fact that it was Johnson, a strategist, a planner, who was effectively in charge of the Nyasa mission, it is significant that it was Maples rather than Johnson who was chosen bishop. Maples had especially been appointed for his organisational ability and capacity which it was perceived Johnson did not possess.⁸¹ Organisational ability or capacity was thus regarded as a prerequisite for occupying the office of a bishop. Finally, in his career, Johnson had shown that he was more of an itinerant evangelist than an administrator, yet besides the pastoral oversight, the office of a bishop as designed also required a priest with administrative skills.

However, it ought to be noted also that the position of a bishop in the UMCA, which was Anglo-Catholic was understood in terms of the power of the "Lord" who had to "rule." The bishop wielded the powers similar to those of a secular authority, a governor. As the "Lord bishop," he was the "ruler" of his flock. This illustrates that the episcopate in East and Central Africa was understood in similar terms of power as in England. As I argued in chapter two, this emphasised the English character of the Anglican episcopate.

the character and tone of Bishop John Hine's pastoral instructions to his clergy seem to reflect the influence of the 1893 Zanzibar Synod.

78. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

81. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. liv.

Meanwhile, the white settlers were increasingly populating Nyasaland. They began to arrive in great numbers. By 1893, three hundred square miles of the Shire highlands were under intensive cultivation by Europeans.⁸² Symptomatic of the special close relationship prevailing between the English colonial Administrators and the English missionaries, in September 1894, the colonial Administrators invited the UMCA missionaries from Likoma to start a mission at Nkhotakota.⁸³ Kotakota is situated on the mainland, south west of Likoma Island.⁸⁴ This was significant. This traditional town had always been considered by the Scottish mission as falling within its sphere of influence.⁸⁵ This action marked the earliest move yet of expansion from Likoma. Four months later, after the missionaries started work in Nkhotakota, the Moslem Arab slavetrader and potentate Jumbe was deposed and banished by the Administration from Nkhotakota.⁸⁶ This effectively ended trade in slaves and ivory.⁸⁷ Jumbe's rule was replaced by direct rule of the British Resident.⁸⁸

Jumbe's deposition left the administration and the UMCA mission to deal with the local Chewa people.⁸⁹ It is notable, however, that at this stage the missionaries, including the Scottish missionaries at Livingstonia and Blantyre and the UMCA were being accused by the so-called "agents of British imperialism" of obstructing the progress of commerce by encouraging a sense of national awareness and independence amongst the African people.⁹⁰ This may seem to suggest that the missionaries were being viewed as working against the exploitative interests of colonial settlers, but in fact no evidence suggests that the UMCA missionaries were fighting against issues of injustice under the colonial rule or championing the rights of the local people.

82. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi

83. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. Brough, *op. cit.*, xxxvi.

Maples's episcopate was shorter than that of his immediate predecessor, Hornby; even shorter than that of his distant predecessor, Mackenzie, in 1861. Having just been consecrated in 1895, Maples drowned in the Lake in September that year.⁹¹ As if consecrating the church as a cathedral in advance, Maples's body was buried in All Saints Church, Nkhotakota in that year.⁹² Nonetheless, in the following year, UMCA operations extended to Southern Malawi.⁹³ The station was opened at a big Islamic Yao village, Mponda's in Mangochi district.⁹⁴

In the interim, indicative of mission-colonial administration collaboration, on his visit to Likoma, Sir Harry Johnston, commissioner of British Central Africa (BCA), in 1895 gave the entire island to the UMCA.⁹⁵ This is how Father John Hine, the witness of the event expressed his sentiments about the event: "To Sir H. Johnson the mission owes a very great deal of debt. When the limits within PEA, German East Africa and BCA were defined it was Sir Harry's wise foresight that what he called "the Nyasa archipelago", i.e. all the islands in the lake, were put under the English flag."⁹⁶ In this respect, the mission's *de facto* authority on the island became *de jure*.⁹⁷

The significance of the event has been captured by John Weller and Jane Linden thus: "after ten years during which it (the UMCA) had confronted the local populace on equal terms, it was now involved in the new colonial administration..."⁹⁸ Johnston's action raised a protest from Chief Mataka. He is said to have asked the commissioner, "Please explain to me in simple terms by what process this island which was mine became yours and these people who are all mine became yours and these people who are all my slaves

91.Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213.

92.All Saints Church, Nkhotakota was dedicated as the new Cathedral of the Diocese of Lake Malawi in 1998.

93.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

94.*Ibid.*, p. 234.

95.Hine, J. E., *Days Gone By*, London: John Murray, 1924, p. 99.

96.*Ibid.*

97.*Ibid.*

98.*Ibid.*

have now become yours.”⁹⁹ It is believed that W.P. Johnson, who was one of the UMCA missionaries, diplomatically rephrased this for Johnston who merely promised the people that there would be no hut tax if they listened to the advice of the missionaries.¹⁰⁰

Mataka’s protest is significant. It reflects the extent of local hostility towards the now evident collaboration of the mission and the colonial Administration. In the eyes of the local people, lines of demarcation between the two seemed very blurred. They saw the English missionaries in the same light as the colonial Administrators situated 200 miles far away in Zomba, Southern Malawi.

According to the UMCA magazine, the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, published in 1960, Sir Harry Johnstone had decided “it was not practical for the Government to administer the islands directly and had decided to hand it over to the (UMCA) mission priests in charge.”¹⁰¹ The priests-in-charge, according to this magazine, were honorary assistants to the District Commissioner, first of Nkhotakota, then of Chintheche and latterly of Nkhatabay.¹⁰² The UMCA was to continue to exercise these powers from this time, 1895 until in 1960 when it was able to hand back the administration of the island to the colonial Administration, when according to Father Hadow it now realised that “the integrity of the Mission was at stake.”¹⁰³ As a result Chiteji and Mataka lost ownership of the land while it became free hold mission property.

The consequence of these events was such that the UMCA on Likoma Island now directly entered into colonial administration running the affairs of the island on behalf of the colonial government administration situated in Zomba. Politically, it is this factor that singularly distinguished the UMCA from the other missionaries operating in

99.*Ibid.*

100.*Ibid.*

101.*Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, October, 1960 (92), pp. 16-17.

102.*Ibid.*, see also Hine, *op. cit.*, who adds that “We constantly acted as judges in what the natives call “milandu” (cases) and kept a fatherly oversight of all the people living on the island.” p. 99.

103.*Ibid.*

Malawi. The UMCA's close relationship with the colonial administration put them in a different category to the other missions. In other words UMCA operation took the form of a quasicolonial entity.

But the year 1895 was also significant for yet another event. The death of Bishop Maples in that year raised the issue of the style of episcopal leadership as a matter of special concern. As the most senior member of the mission, Johnson was regarded as almost an obvious successor to Bishop Maples. But Johnson was to be sidelined again. Once again, possession of administrative skills was insisted on as a requirement for the candidate, which it was believed he did not possess. Writing in 1889 from Unangu, Mozambique, Dr. John Hine wrote to Canon D. Travers, a member of the Mission General Committee in London in the following words,

We must have a bishop and that soon. One name is prominent, and I know (Maples) himself wished it. He told me so last year. If it is possible to persuade Johnson to accept it, he would be the man to rule over us. If not, why not Weigall.... Suggest 1st W.P.J. and 2nd Weigall... From a practical point of view, I should think Weigall would make a more workable Bishop than J, (Johnson) but J's claim is pre-eminent. Only if he absolutely refuses do I suggest the latter¹⁰⁴ (brackets, mine)

Weigall was preferred to Johnson as "more workable" because Johnson seemed to lack administrative abilities.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, writing from Blantyre to the Mission Home Committee Secretary in June 1889, a Mr Bellingham wrote:

I fear our part of the Mission up here is just as unbusinesslike as the African Lakes Corporation.... I had to give up to Mr Johnson a book I kept on the "C. J." as a sort of a list of cargo and number of papers sent by the company... so that we should know what each box really cost to Matope. But of course Mr Johnson saw they were of no use and sent them to the wind¹⁰⁶

It is significant that now for the second time a requirement of possession of administrative skills became an important issue in the consideration of a candidate for the office of a bishop in the UMCA. It ought to be noted at this juncture that since the

104. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*

death of Bishop Mackenzie, the leadership that came after him were men of remarkable gifts, Tozer, a visionary, a planner; Steere, a pastor, an architect and implementer of a vision; Smythies, a pastor and builder. Seemingly, after Mackenzie choice of bishops had been done with utmost insight and consideration. To an extent the UMCA in Likoma was continuing this line of tradition.

However, the marginalisation of Johnson as far as episcopal appointment was concerned suggests that the authorities were not comfortable with his character. Beryl Brough illustrate that in stark contrast to the other missionaries at this time, Johnson staunchly stood for ideals of simplicity and sacrifice to the extreme. Gradually, Johnson seemed to be swimming against the general trend of the mission. This may explain his being sidelined.

5.1.5.3. The Episcopate of John Edward Hine: discipline and the development of an African Church and Ministry

In the event of the death of Chauncy Maples, John Hine, who was at this time the priest-in-charge of Unangu, was offered the position of bishop.¹⁰⁷ Hine became bishop of Likoma at the time when the forces of imperialism were looming large in Africa.¹⁰⁸ Largely with the financial support of Cecil John Rhodes, Britain had taken control of Africa from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to the Southern end of Tanganyika.¹⁰⁹

Throughout this region, from the Cape, via the Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, mining operations for diamonds, gold, copper and other minerals were being developed, and European methods of farming were being employed in extensive cultivation.¹¹⁰ The discovery of gold on the Rand was drawing many from Central Africa.¹¹¹ Then, there were the prospects of development of the railway line, a telegraph line, estates of rubber

107.*Ibid.*, p. xxxix

108.*Ibid.*

109.Pachai, *The History of the nation*, p. 177; Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

110.Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv

111.*Ibid.*

and of coffee, all drawing labour to themselves.⁴⁸¹¹² More than ever before, the Europeans were populating Central and Southern Africa in unprecedented numbers. For both the Europeans and Africans alike, commercial and colonial expansion was transforming their lives.¹¹³

The choice in 1898 of the recently arrived medical doctor, John Edward Hine, for the position of bishop rather than the veteran Johnson shows the UMCA's continuing concern for a bishop who had to run the diocese as an efficient organisation. Until then, Hine had worked in the parish of Unangu, Mozambique with the most senior African minister, Yohana Abdallah. His article in the *Diocesan Quarterly* of 1901, portrays him as systematic, meticulous and orderly in his approach to matters of ritual, ceremony and organisation.¹¹⁴

With John Hine as a bishop, the UMCA had reached an important stage of consolidating episcopacy in the diocese of Likoma. Hine's two immediate predecessors, Hornby, and Maples, had ruled the diocese for such a short time as not to be able to make an enduring impression, Hine's longer episcopate¹¹⁵ was to preoccupy him with the issues relating to church discipline and the African culture. These were dealt with in regular conferences in the years between 1899 and 1901.¹¹⁶

Even though constitutionally they were not of a binding nature as the diocesan Synod had not yet been constituted on Likoma, nevertheless, the conferences strengthened the UMCA policy with respect to matters of African culture and theological education. Some of Hine's addresses show his vision of the church and his (and the UMCA's)

112.*Ibid.*

113.*Ibid.*

114.*Nyasland Diocesan Quarterly*, 1901. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

115.Appointed bishop immediately after the death of Maples, it may seem that Hine's appointment as a medical doctor rested on the presupposition that as a doctor he might be more health conscious a factor that would help him to live longer. Hine came to be one of the longest serving bishops in Central Africa.

116.Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

consciousness of being pioneers in the same manner as the ancient apostles of the Early Church. Typically, in one of these speeches in 1899, Hine declared that:

For this country it is the days of the Early church, and we as the founders of a spiritual building which is to last forever, cannot be too careful that we lay down right lines on which that building is to be erected. What this mission has always professed to aim at is the building up of a Native church, which does not mean the baptising of a number of natives attached to the English mission, and working under its wing, but the church of the people of the land, irrespective of European influence, adapting itself to the special circumstances of the race and country in which it exists.¹¹⁷

Conscious of their role as pioneers laying down the foundations of a new church, the missionaries considered their role as charting religious history for

However, this outlook also went along with paternalistic attitudes that Bishop Hine and the others held about their relationship with the Africans. For instance, Bishop Hine expressed the general attitudes of the missionaries. He stated, “I am often asked, ‘Are the C Africans (Central Africans) an intelligent race? Will they ever be anything more than the servants of the white man? Ever be able to manage their own affairs in Church and State?’ ” (brackets, mine) Hine’s response to these questions was not very far from their thinking and attitudes. To these critics, Hine responded that, “I think *they will if time is given them to develop, and they are not hurried along too quickly*. We cannot expect one generation to rise up at once to the high standard of Western European civilisation.”¹¹⁸ (Italics, mine) For Bishop Hine and other Europeans an African needed a long time to be trained under the strict supervision of the missionaries before he could be entrusted with responsibilities.

It is in this context that Hine believed that, “the right lines for the spiritual building”, that is, the spiritual discipline, was necessary for the African church. Perhaps above all aspects of missionary Christianity in modern African history, and to a large degree for the Anglican Church in Malawi, the question of discipline was a major issue of

117.Hine J., *Days Gone By*, p. 150.

118.*Ibid.*, p. 303.

preoccupation for the missionaries. In this regard, responding to the pastoral problems of a disciplinary nature in 1899, Hine asserted that:

The practice we follow, the principles on which we act, and by our actions authorise, will be the traditional practices to which future generations of Christians will look back as authoritative. It is ours to administer the law of the Church in its strictness.¹¹⁹

Hine and the other missionaries regarded themselves as laying down church law and rules for the church in his time. They saw themselves as actors in creating history for the Africans. He contrasted what he saw as the “impurity” of the African life with what he believed was the “purity” of the church. Hine expressed his sentiments thus, “Smythies laid it down for us that we have always to think first of the purity of the Christian church, and not be biased by sentiments of pity for individuals.”¹²⁰

It is worth noting that six years previously, in 1893, Bishop Smythies in Zanzibar had revived the medieval practice of censure and excommunication, just as Bishop Tozer had revived the medieval office of subdeacon in 1870. Hine’s reference to Smythies’ legacy demonstrates the almost enduring legacy and influence that Bishop Smythies’ episcopate had on the UMCA in East Africa and the influence of the diocese of Zanzibar on the diocese of Likoma. Hine had adopted Smythies practice of censure and excommunication in the diocese of Likoma. He expressed it the following words:

To forbid a man from receiving communion is the Church’s capital punishment, something more terrible than being sent to the boma (government post) for imprisonment or flogging... We must make them feel that to have to sit again among the catechumens to be degraded to that position when once they have been numbered among the children of God and worshipped as their Father... is a grievous state to be in and that to lose the cross which once they have received is a real deprivation and degradation. These spiritual ensures which the Church of old so largely used are all that is in our power to impose. Though outwardly they may be seen but small matters, really

119.*Ibid.* pp. 168169.

120.*Ibid.*, p. 162.

they are vastly greater than all the bodily punishments of the civil Law; one must make the people feel this.¹²¹

Then Hine described how he conducted the office: “When I had excommunicated anyone, I make the service as impressive as possible, following generally on the rules of the old medieval offices.”¹²²

There are several aspects to note about Hine’s pastoral approach. To a degree, Hine’s approach is reminiscent of the appeal made to the church in England by Anthony Grant,¹²³ urging the official church to extend to the colony its traditional systems of discipline, which were perceived to be far superior to anything that could be offered in the “heathen” lands. As noted in chapter one, Grant’s exhortations were made in the context of the extension of the British order to the “heathens.”

The episcopate of Hine, as was the case with those of Smythies and Steere, also portrays the office of a bishop as one enforcing moral and spiritual discipline. As was noted in chapter one, it is reminiscent of the medieval episcopal style, which cast the role of the office of the bishop as the dispenser of spiritual punishments (penances or penalties). On the other hand, Hine’s concern for the “purity” of the church may also be understood within the context of the tradition of the Oxford Movement revival which stressed the sanctity of the church as an alternative society.

In the interim, however, developments were occurring in Zanzibar in 1897, which would later on have a bearing on the life of the church. Cecil Majaliwa’s action in disobeying the orders of his superiors aggravated the missionaries’ assessment of the African ministry.¹²⁴ It is significant that this incident took place in the same year that

121.*Ibid.*

122.*Ibid*

123. See chapter one.

124. Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

Bishop Samuel Crowther in West Africa was experiencing humiliation from racist CMS officials.¹²⁵

In the aftermath of the incident, Moriyama notes further important shifts in the missionary attitudes and practices regarding the African ministry. He put it as follows, “the method of developing an African ministry by a nondirective approach encouraging growth from within was replaced by specific models introduced from the Catholic wing of the Church of England.”¹²⁶ According to Moriyama, the missionaries began to exercise a more strict supervision over the African clergy of which the latter were beginning to be critical.⁵⁰¹²⁷ Moriyama cites the dismay of one missionary, Woodward, who in 1901 was too critical of the attitude of Father Sehoza towards the missionaries:

Even Padre Sehoza came back from Zanzibar with a new spirit and wanted to know the difference between a European priest in charge and an African.¹²⁸

Evidence so far available to the researcher does not suggest that these developments in Zanzibar had an immediate impact on the relations between the missionaries and the African clergy in Malawi. As I will illustrate below in chapter six, seemingly these attitudes only began to impact more markedly from the time of Hine’s successor, Trower (1905-1910) in Malawi, and would be consolidated further during the time of Bishop Fisher. In fact, according to John Weller and Jane Linden, there was during this period a quickening of the pace of African ordination.⁵⁰¹²⁹ This owed nothing to the fact that the African ministry was seen to be a necessity in itself. Rather, as John Weller and Jane Linden asserted, this development was prompted merely by the temporary reduction in the numbers of the missionaries and the quality of the men offering themselves for the ministry.¹³⁰

125. See Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, pp. 388-393.

126. Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*

129. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

130. *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, Bishop Hine ordained Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa deacons on Whitsuntide 1898.¹³¹ Both had been trained at Kiungani in Zanzibar, for at this stage the diocese of Likoma did not have its own training college. More importantly, in the same year Bishop Hine ordained Yohanna Abdallah, a priest at Unangu.¹³² Abdallah had been ordained deacon by Bishop Smythies in 1893.¹³³ Unangu was one of very important mission stations of the UMCA, which was dominated by the Yao people with strong Islamic influence. This appointment was strategic as he himself came from that Islamic background in Tanzania and it also shows the trust that the UMCA had in Abdallah. Previously for two years Abdallah had worked alone.¹³⁴ In November the same year, Bishop Hine made Leonard Kamungu Reader.⁵¹¹³⁵ This brought Kamungu closer to the Holy order of deacon.

These early products of the African ministry were largely the results of Johnson's efforts.¹³⁶ I will say more about this later on. Meanwhile, in 1893 there had arrived on the staff at Likoma Father Arthur B. Glossop.¹³⁷ Like Johnson, Glossop was destined to play a very significant role in the training of the African ministers as well as the overall affairs of the mission for a long period. Nonetheless, at this juncture, the first stage towards the preparation of the priesthood, St Michael's Teachers College was erected at Kobwe in 1900¹³⁸, on the eastern side of the Lake, opposite Likoma. The college offered a twoyear course that included instruction in preaching as well as teaching.¹³⁹

But perhaps by far more important, the missionary encounter with the local population of Likoma in the late 19th century brought about profound changes in the way the latter now began to see themselves in relation to the mission and other people around and vice versa.

131. Anderson-Morsehead, p. 220.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

133. *Ibid.*

134. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

135. *Ibid.*

136. *Ibid.*, p. 36., Brough, *op. cit.*, p. lvx.

137. Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii., p. 173.

138. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

139. *Ibid.*

5.1.6. Mission and the creation of an ecclesiastical ethnic, cultural identity (1889-1909)

The UMCA missionaries who arrived on Likoma Island in the late 19th century came with a European world view that was to conflict with the African cultural values and worldview at nearly every point. Largely arising from the Enlightenment, this European worldview was profoundly materialistic in outlook. Rationalism, critical use of reasoning faculties to explain the issues of cause and effect in nature was the core of this perspective. It ascribed misfortune to chance, disease to bodily weakness, and death to chance or an excess of weaknesses.¹⁴⁰ While disease seemed to be under control, neither death, nor misfortune were. Although these were recognised as evils, they paled before the evil of “sin,” which was a contravention of the divine moral law.¹⁴¹

Similarly significant, this perspective asserted the individual rather than the corporate aspect of community life. The individual and his personal achievement in life were more important than corporate effort. Partly due to optimism resulting from a belief in the superiority of the “Good News” but also due to the misunderstanding of the African worldview, set within a different frame of reference, the missionaries ascribed to Christianity powers which it did not possess such as the elimination of witches. This not only produced resentment in the Africans but also tended to be an obstacle to African entry into Christianity.

Like the other mission societies elsewhere in Africa, the UMCA saw their task as one of creating a new Christian identity and community.⁵¹¹⁴² Naturally, they took it for granted that they were bringing to the Africans a superior culture. Socially and politically the UMCA imbued in their people a conservative pedagogy. They taught that the traditional customs and culture, such as beer drinking, bride price and sorcery were evil.⁵¹¹⁴³

140. Stuart, R. G., “Mchape and the UMCA 1933”, Paper presented to the Conference on *The History of Religious Systems*, Lusaka, Zambia, August 30 to 8 September, 1972, p. 6. National Archives, Zomba.

141. *Ibid.*

142. Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

143. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Following Steere and Smythies' injunctions, they taught their people to respect and obey those in authority. Steere had instructed them to make their subordinates good citizens of their host country.⁵¹¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, Smythies had instructed them to avoid the "power of the sword" and opt for the "power of the keys."¹⁴⁵

Traditionally, Anglican authority structures were not very accommodating to the opinion of a subordinate. In fact, the system encouraged submission and subservience to those in authority, sacred or secular. With a conservative educational policy stressing the development of devotional rather than intellectual accomplishment, the UMCA was raising a peasant-like priesthood, men who slavishly looked to the European missionaries as the unquestionable authority in matters of doctrine, and in socio-economic and political issues.¹⁴⁶

Shocked by what they conceived as the "superstition" and "immorality" rampant on the island, the missionaries tried to suppress what they saw as the most objectionable elements of African cultures and traditions.¹⁴⁷ In their place, they attempted to impose a new, quasi-Christian transformed version of the existing forms. It involved the transformation of the subordinate peoples' social awareness and identity.

The evangelisation of Likoma was not a dramatic successful affair. It was resisted on many fronts and from various aspects, largely because the missionary religion did not seem to provide immediate solutions to the problems relating to evil, witchcraft, the cause of sickness or death. These were topical issues for the local people. On the other hand, the locals disagreed with the continued denunciation by the missionaries of the traditional customs; the proclamation of Christianity as being superior to the traditional religion.¹⁴⁸ As a result, the conversion of Likoma was a prolonged affair.¹⁴⁹ As it will be

144.Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

145.Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

146.*Ibid.*

147.*Ibid.*

148.Mndalasini, *op. cit.* p. 1, cf. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

149.Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

observed in chapter eight, this struggle was not successfully won throughout the entire missionary settlement, even to the end of their stay in the 1960s.¹⁵⁰

Gradual acceptance of the missionary Christianity by the local people was a long process. Headway became possible only when the missionary method of evangelisation eventually involved the missionaries' efforts in seizing salient aspects of African culture, transforming them, then giving them back to the people in the forms that seemed to be acceptable to them. On a very practical level, this signified the power of the African culture and traditions to influence missionary Christianity, as I will illustrate now.

By forbidding the burning of witches and replacing *Chiphyela* with the mission headquarters, the missionaries were in fact claiming for themselves superior powers over those previously associated with witchcraft at *Chiphyela*. This attempt to transform the evil place, *Chiphyela*, by erecting on it the mission headquarters is significant. According to Stuart, "by banning the practice of killing afiti, the missionaries denied the validity of the traditional method of controlling evil and showed great confidence in their own."¹⁵¹ With no alternative provided for what was regarded as the most effective means of containing the menace of evil amongst them, the local people were disillusioned with the mission.

The process towards the creation of hegemony, according to the Comaroffs, the appropriation of significant symbols and signs within the existing culture of a subordinate people and transforming them for the purpose not hitherto foreseen or intended by the owner.¹⁵² For the Africans *Chiphyela* portrayed death and evil. The missionaries' appropriation of such a powerful symbol as *Chiphyela* was intended to send the message that they were a superior force, triumphant over the forces of evil. They were ascribing to themselves superior powers than those associated with the local religious systems. However, the missionaries' pretensions did not prevail. Twenty years

150. See chapter Eight.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

152. *Op. cit.*, pp. 34.

later, it was reported that the missionaries had to move the hospital from the actual place of burning witches because *afiti* were supposed to be there.¹⁵³ In other words, while the missionaries intended to transform the spiritual worldview of the local people into the Christian perspective, the local people resisted the process.

In this context, the Kiunganitrained evangelists assisting the missionaries set out to transform the sociopolitical and religious perspective of the African people. The evangelists, notably Yohana Abdallah, Augustine Ambali, Eustace Malisawa and Petro Kilekwa undertook the bulk of the work.¹⁵⁴ It is said that when Abdallah was ordained priest in 1898 he was tested on his attitude towards sorcery.¹⁵⁵ It may safely be assumed that those who followed him were also tested. In their approach to African culture, these early evangelists faithfully reflected the cultural arrogance of their missionary superiors. For instance, Richard Stuart stated that immediately after their arrival on Likoma Island these evangelists went out to preach against the evils of beer and witchcraft.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, it was to be in the 1920s and 1930s that the missionaries were to rely upon the African priests' efforts to fight against the influence of the witchfinders.¹⁵⁷ However, at this stage on Likoma Island there was no immediate positive response to their message.

The most vulnerable members of the society, children and women were attracted to the missionaries' teachings, but very few adult male folk were attracted. Indifference to Christianity, drunkenness, witchcraft, and sorcery continued as before. In fact, the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was to persist for the entire period of the missionaries and beyond.¹⁵⁸

153. Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

154. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

155. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

157. Soko, B., *Nchimi Chikanga, The Battle against Witchcraft in Malawi*, Blantyre: CLAIMKachere, 2002, p. 58.

158. *Ibid.*

Yet, the missionaries' revulsion at the local customs and culture loomed into a larger issue of the vitality of traditional structures, systems, and most importantly authority. As has been noted earlier on, since 1895 the missionaries from Maples assumed civil powers on the island.¹⁵⁹ This was actually against the admonitions given by his superior, Bishop Charles Smythies, who cautioned his subordinates not to assume "the power of the sword," the temporal power, but rather to embrace "the power of the keys," the spiritual power. Maples regarded himself as their guardian and chief. He provided entertainment and rewarded with gifts those who acknowledged his authority.¹⁶⁰ In this way people were gradually won to the external forms of Christianity. Maples assumed the role of the advocate for his Christian community.¹⁶¹ Maples is also reputed to have been settling disputes within the Christian community itself.¹⁶²

More seriously, matrilineal traditional authority of the uncles as *Ankhoswes* came under threat. Maples assumed the role of the guardian, *Ankhoswe* not only for the members of the new community,¹⁶³ his *mbumba*, but also for the entire island.¹⁶⁴ The role that Maples exercised as the *Ankhoswe* undermined the traditional authority of the local traditional chiefs. Therefore, they opposed his efforts.¹⁶⁵ The traditional rulers of Likoma, notably chiefs Chiteji and Mataka, were to see before their own eyes the demise of their control over Likoma.¹⁶⁶ Maples organised and arranged marriages for the new converts and the adherents. After the death of Maples in 1895, his successors on Likoma Island exercised judicial function in temporal as well as spiritual matters.¹⁶⁷ More significantly, later on, the missionaries had sometimes to appoint the village headmen in conflict with the traditional custom of succession.¹⁶⁸

159.Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

160.*Ibid.*, p. 12.

161.*Ibid.*

162.*Ibid.*

163.Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

164.Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

165.Mndalasini, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

166.*Ibid.*

167.*Ibid.*, p. 7.

168.*Ibid.*

5.1.6.1 Language

According to Linyama, besides “the impact of mission itself, a number of other factors helped to develop and sustain a Likoma identity, language was one of them.”¹⁶⁹ Two main languages had always been spoken on Likoma Island. The people from the western side of the island who came from mainland Nkhata Bay spoke Chitonga. This dialect is popularly known as Chilikoma being largely different from the Chitonga spoken on the mainland.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, the people on the eastern side of the island, adjacent to Mozambique, speak a dialect of national Chichewa, not very dissimilar to the Chinyanja spoken in eastern Mozambique.¹⁷¹

Just as the Scottish missionaries in northern Malawi had raised Chitumbuka language to the status of “lingua franca,” so the UMCA elevated Chinyanja to the status of “lingua franca” on Likoma Island. The Bible as well as the liturgy and the other literature for school were in that language. It became the official language of instruction in church and school. Consequently, Chinyanja ceased to be used exclusively by the people from the eastern side of Likoma. It was widely adopted by the members of the new community and the rest.

But even in this regard, the UMCA introduced some Swahili ecclesiastical terms and designations seemingly to make up for the deficiency in Chinyanja. Thus, terms like “Askofu”, meaning “Lord Bishop,” phadule (padre), or kasisi, that is, priest; mwalimu, shemasi, respectively, meaning teacher and deacon, or abibi, wife of a priest or teacher, became typical. These and many others became the trademark of the UMCA kind of priesthood and ministry in Malawi. As the UMCA operations spread out, so its liturgy and the dialect went with it. Gradually this admixture of Chinyanja and Swahili words enhanced the social and religious identity and social cohesion of the people of Likoma, but also came to be identified with the UMCA and later Anglican tradition and

169.*Ibid.*, p. 9.

170.*Ibid.*

171.*Ibid.*

spirituality in Malawi. It became a mark of identity and pride for those who had been incorporated into the missionary society.

5.1.6.2. Education

Yet the most fundamental innovation of missionary Christianity at Likoma was the adaptation of the traditional *mphala*, the dormitory system. According to the missionary Father H. Barnes, “it (was) the rule (of the) mission that the students should (did) not sleep outside.”¹⁷² The missionary objective was to protect the students from village influences that were deemed undesirable. It was meant to prepare boys and girls in their new community, but it ran contrary to native custom.

The central aspect of these schools was the enforcement of discipline as a means to defining the social place of the African pupils in relation to the missionaries. Operating as the appropriated tradition, its core feature as part of the boarding was the inculcation of discipline. Roland Oliver portrays the inside life in the Anglican boarding school centres, including Likoma, as follows, “all day, everyday was given to school work, religious instruction and church services; although time had made possible some slight relaxation of the original discipline.”¹⁷³ In 1899, Father Barnes stated that, “the boarding school had involved almost total adoption with all expenses paid.”¹⁷⁴ In the UMCA, the dormitory fostered the boys’ attitudes of subservience and obedience to their superiors. For instance, it is reported that it was expected of the school children to stand up and greet Chauncy Maples, the head of the mission, “Good morning, sir.”¹⁷⁵

To become a bonafide member of the “new” missionary community, one had to go through several stages: a hearer, *wovetcha*, catechumen, a baptised member, then finally admitted as a communicant,¹⁷⁶ a member of the faithful. Two separate services were held on Sundays, one for the heathen or hearers outside the church and one for the

172. *What we do in Nyasaland*, p. 145.

173. *Op. cit.*, pp 175-176.

174. *Ibid.*

175. Johnson, *My African Reminiscences*, p. 135

176. Linyama, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

baptised in the church.¹⁷⁷ The system acted as bait to draw in those “outside” to join the privileged group “inside.”¹⁷⁸ Thus, a clear social division between the new members and the heathens started to emerge.¹⁷⁹ The new members came to be known by the nicknames *aKhristo*, identified with the missionary system, *chiMishoni*, distinguished from the “outsiders,” the *aKunja*.¹⁸⁰ In this regard, very gradually people were baptised, thereby strengthening and enhancing the influence of the new community. Existing rules forbade the members of the new community to marry outside their rank and file, vice versa. Similarly, the outsiders were prohibited to marry outside the community.

Irrespective of this imposed social barrier, avoiding complete social break from the traditional society, the members of the new mission community clandestinely attended the prohibited customs and initiation rites in the village.¹⁸¹ To the Africans, open adherence to mission rites seemed important for the sake of harmonious relationship with the missionaries, as open defiance had to be avoided at all costs.¹⁸² Yet the fear of the wrath of the ancestors seemed to embolden them to defy mission authority, albeit surreptitiously.¹⁸³ This suggests that the African scholars lived in the context of religious tension between Christianity and traditional religion.

Even though Johnson may not have been considered as the right man for the position of bishop of Likoma because of his lack of administrative abilities, nevertheless, he was the most farsighted strategist the mission had at the time. It had been his idea that to accomplish its work, using Likoma as its base, the mission needed a steamer. Thus, in due course the *Charles Janson* was acquired. So far the *C. J* had served the mission well. However, it had outrun its time. Johnson was able to persuade his bishop that the mission needed a new larger steamer for service on the Lake.¹⁸⁴ He envisioned the

177.*Ibid.*

178.*Ibid.*

179.*Ibid.*

180.*Ibid.*

181. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

182.*Ibid.*, p. 10.

183.*Ibid.*

184. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

steamer being multipurpose.¹⁸⁵ It would serve as a floating church, teachers' training college, a meeting place for African teachers and a venue for village council meetings.¹⁸⁶

Brough noted that the unsatisfactory system of teacher training in the diocese prompted Johnson to envision that the acquisition of a larger steamer would provide the necessary base for teacher training and pastoral life of the diocese.¹⁸⁷ To Johnson, sending a man away to Zanzibar for training or accommodating him in a built college in both cases away him from his family was not right since most of the candidates were married.¹⁸⁸

Despite his disagreements with Johnson on the size of the steamer and the prospects of the high costs that the diocese might incur, Bishop Hine gave the project his blessing.¹⁸⁹ The new steamer, the *C.M.*, under construction, was twice the size of the earlier one, the *Charles Janson*, with the capacity to accommodate 28 students and 12 Europeans.¹⁹⁰ A great feature of the vessel was the space that could be used for a church, the altar being screened off at other times.¹⁹¹ The same space would be used as a school; ...on the top of the deckhouse was a sick bay.¹⁹²

Irrespective of its strategic usefulness for the mission work, Johnson's plan of a steamer on a bigger scale with a complex structure seemed to be at variance with UMCA policy that discouraged Europeanising tendencies and encouraged simplicity. In this regard, Beryl Brough who has devoted her (Master of Philosophy) thesis to proving that Johnson (and the UMCA) pursued a policy that affirmed African simplicity as opposed to European complexity is uncritical of Johnson's plan.

185.*Ibid.*

186.*Ibid.*, p. xlii.

187.*Ibid.*

188.*Ibid.*

189.*Ibid.*

190.*Ibid.*, p. xxiv, xxx; Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224; Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii, p. 64.

191. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

192.*Ibid.*

Brough's observation that the transformation of the UMCA from being a simple structure to a complex organisation started with Trower's appointment¹⁹³ is not entirely accurate. Rather, as this case shows, this development started with the acquisition of the steamer, *Chauncy Maples*, a vessel larger than the *CJ*. The possession of the steamer brought in new forces that transformed the modus operandi of the mission. The features and the structure of the steamer were an indication that the UMCA now was transforming itself into a very Europeoriented organisation. Johnson's attitude to the steamer illustrates this. He described it as follows:

But the *Chauncy Maples* – well, you have not lived in her. She is our substitute (1) for railways where there are none; (2) an island in a by no means too peaceful country; (3) a bit of England, where we can live as Englishmen, and work as and with natives, and where, with due submission, I hope the English flag will fly; (4) a newspaper, a correspondent, and a printing press in one; (5) last, but not least, a training ground for priests and teachers.¹⁹⁴

Despite his avowed claim to live a simple African life, Johnson expressed admiration for the steamer. The steamer conveyed to the missionaries a touch, a feeling, and a taste of something of a "civilised England". The presence of the steamer contradicted the letter and spirit of the UMCA policy that ostensibly stressed the need to adapt missionary Christianity to the civil, social, and economic conditions and structures of the African people.

Together with the other boats that were acquired in the course of time notably the *Ousel*, the *Charlotte*, the *Mary*, the *Patience* and the *Chikhulupi*, the *Chauncy Maples*, gave the UMCA the appearance of a powerful European missionary organisation. This feature particularly distinguished the UMCA from the other missions on the mainland. Undoubtedly, early in the 20th century, the UMCA was vigorously transforming into a complex English organisation. Seemingly, the policy to maintain the mission's African character was more an academic exercise than a reality. The presence of the mission on the island had partly made the acquisition of the steamer a necessity, nevertheless the growing presence of the colonial order may also have enhanced these changes.

193. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

194. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

The episcopate of Trower was to accelerate the pace of the changes. Nonetheless, for the people of Likoma at the turn of the 20th century, the presence of a huge infrastructure, the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, of the size of Winchester Cathedral in England, the school, the hospital, the printing press, and the possession of the steamers and boats had begun to transform their identity.

5.1.6.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I illustrated that while the missionaries had not lost sight of the original objective to return to Malawi, the immediate context in which the UMCA reestablished the mission on Likoma Island in 1885, coincided with the growing presence of British colonial interests in East and Central Africa. Similarly significant, I also highlighted the influence of the colonial administration in strengthening the mission's hold on Likoma Island. Increasingly, the local people began to see their identity and destiny closely associated with the presence of the mission and colonial rule. More importantly, it has also been illustrated that the ministry of the Kiungani evangelists and clergy under the inspiration of Archdeacon Johnson was crucial to the early efforts to evangelise the Nyasa Region. It has also been shown that though beginning unsteadily, with the episcopate of Edward John Hine firm grounds had been laid for the episcopate by the turn of the 20th century to proceed forward.

Chapter Six

6. The Consolidation of the Early African Ministry during the Episcopate of Gerald Trower (1901-1909)

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explained that the establishment of the UMCA mission on Likoma Island coincided with the advent of the British colonial era. It was noted that in this context the UMCA laid the early foundation for the ministry of the African clergy just as the episcopate was fairly established. It was also highlighted that the dominant image of the office of the bishop was closely tied to the role of administration. In this chapter, I will analyse the principles regarding the training of the African clergy, the shift in policy and orientation of the UMCA from an African to more European-like organisation. I will highlight that the appointment of Gerard Trower epitomised this development. Finally, I will show that the transformation of the UMCA from being an insular mission to becoming more involved in the colonial order affected its *modus operandi*.

6.2. The Appointment of Bishop Trower

Gerard Trower, the former vicar of Christ Church, Sydney, was appointed bishop of Likoma in 1901.¹ In the same year there arrived in Malawi the Roman Catholic missionaries who subsequently settled in Southern and Central Malawi.² This meant that now besides dealing with the Scottish missions, the UMCA had to engage with the Roman Catholic missions.

1. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

2. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

The appointment of Trower is a turning point in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi. According to Beryl Brough, evidence at Rhodes House Archives in Oxford suggests that Trower had been appointed precisely because the UMCA believed that he was a businessman.³ Brough also asserted that successful financial management was the UMCA's chief concern at this stage.⁴ Hence, it was believed that Trower would run the finance of the mission more competently⁵

In the diocese itself, the arrival of the new bishop, Gerard Trower, also coincided with the arrival of the new steamer in 1901, named after the former bishop, Chauncy Maples.⁶ The steamer was dedicated in 1902.⁷ Despite the concerns for the expenses which it was envisaged the mission could incur in running it, nevertheless, Trower grudgingly welcomed the new steamer.

More importantly, the acquisition of the steamer described as “a training ground for priests and teachers”⁸ also marked an important landmark with regard to the training of the African clergy, for it also served as a theological college.

6.3. Archdeacon Johnson and the “peripatetic” scheme: Chauncy Maples as a Training ground on Lake Malawi

The diocese of Likoma inherited a system of training for ministry from the diocese of Zanzibar. The fundamental objective of this programme was the development of the teachers responsible for giving religious knowledge as opposed to secular knowledge. The system was geared to raising ministers in terms of the spirit of the overall UMCA strategy of evangelisation rather than purely educational. The base of this training was the steamer, the *Chauncy Maples*. Nearly exclusively under the supervision of Archdeacon William Percival Johnson, this sort of training was unique. One of its

3. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-225.

distinguishable features was its long and winding programme. Anderson-Morsehead outlined the process as follows:

After reaching a proper standard in school, a boy must pass to St Michael's for his Teacher's Certificate, taking two years; then, after experience in the village schools, to the *Chauncy Maples*, and finally at St Andrew's he may pass stages, leading eventually to the priesthood.⁹

Since being a teacher constituted the foundation of the progression to the priesthood, the pinnacle of ministry, the Teachers' Training College turned out to be the most dominant feature in the UMCA training programme. In this regard, John Weller and Jane Linden underlined the necessity of the teaching profession with respect to the priesthood. They noted that, "the Theological College was the top rung of the mission ladder, and below it, the Teachers' Training College, was also of very great importance, if a supply of both teachers and ordination was to be forthcoming..."¹⁰ The Teacher's College was the nursery for the priesthood.

The importance ascribed to the teachers' training college underscored the objective of the policy of the UMCA with regard to the African ministry. As Monica Kishindo noted earlier on, the UMCA's fundamental objective in introducing the local people to western education was the training of teachers and evangelists.¹¹ Perhaps it was precisely because the missionaries considered the teachers and the evangelists rather than the priests as the basis of the African ministry that Godfrey Dale described "the (teachers) training college (as) the heart of a missionary diocese..."¹² The missionaries viewed the raising of teachers rather than the priesthood as their primary and fundamental concern.

More importantly, Anderson-Morsehead's comment above throws light on the manner, and the process of training African clergy. The missionary perceptions that the Africans lacked moral discipline tended to justify the imposition of a longwinded programme of

9. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

10. Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

11. Kishindo, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

12. Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

training. From his *Reflections from the Chauncy Maples*, Johnson explained how this system operated:

It is an understood thing that in good time coming, the members of our native body are to find with us an exercise ground in reading, pastoral work and after trial and a developed sense of calling to proceed to the degrees of reader, etc.¹³

The vocabulary that Johnson used is suggestive: “after trial” “in good time” suggests that an African trainee had a “case” to answer for what Johnson asserted ought to be viewed in the light of what the other missionaries said on the same matter. For instance, it will be recalled that in chapter four, it was noted that Bishop Smythies stressed that the church needed to “raise (an African) up to her level not abating one jot in morality...”¹⁴ Smythies concluded by asserting that, “then only will she (the church) dare, as we are daring to try to form a native ministry.”¹⁵

Likewise, a writer in the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* in 1951 was to state that besides intellectual ability and character; dispositions of faithfulness in the African were necessary as marks indicating his calling to the ministry.¹⁶ Thus, the “case” for which an African had to answer related to how he conducted himself in relation to the missionary standards set as a requirement of his vocation to the ministry. What an African was being “judged” for, or “assessed” for, was his “worthiness” in terms of whether he measured up to the missionary standard of “worthiness”.

This implies that Johnson viewed the long process through which an African had to go as a period of assessment.” Essentially, this view suggests that in terms of missionary discipline an African was “untrustworthy,” until “tested” and that in “good time,” would then be entrusted with the sacrament of Holy Orders, deacon and priesthood. According

13. *Nyasaland Diocesan Quarterly*, London: UMCA, 1928. no. 125. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

14. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

15. *Ibid.*

16. “Revamping Theological training in UMCA in light of religious nominalism and apathy”, *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, November 1951, p. 19. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

to Johnson, this system was well known, understood, therefore, was not expected to be questioned.

Behind such a cautious, gradualist approach to the training of the African clergy, lay the missionaries' sense of mistrust of the African's ability to be responsible for European-oriented ministry, naturally associated with European power and prestige. The longwinded structure of training acted as a process through which, like a "child", an African was monitored in terms of his conduct and sense of obedience to the missionaries. It was a long ladder, from the base, as a teacher, through various degrees of ministry, such as subdeacon, reader, catechist, deacon, culminating in the priesthood. The system acted as a form of surveillance, by which an African's behaviour and conduct was subjected to missionary scrutiny.

Johnson devised a system known as the "peripatetic college" scheme.¹⁷ He enrolled twelve young men, who, whilst receiving further education and training from Johnson on board, accompanied him on his travels. Generally on foot, they toured the villages. Sometimes they were able to use the steamer's dinghy, the men having been taught to row by Johnson.¹⁸ One of the missionaries attached to Johnson described the progress of teachers and priests as being at a "leisurely" pace. Maples, a colleague of Johnson wrote, of "several teachers and their wives here now, ready to be "planted out" at the large towns on the shores of the Lake which the steamer visits."¹⁹

But Johnson had also another positive side of his character. With him, training was also a mutual process, for the trainees were also at this time teaching Johnson the local dialects and giving him advice on some of the local customs, and aspects of local cultures.²⁰ Certainly this knowledge proved useful in his task of translating the New Testament.

17. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. vix.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Maples, E., *Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples*, London: UMCA, 1898, p. 308.

20. *Ibid.*

Through his interaction with the evangelists, Johnson developed the notion of the church as a “tribe.” More importantly, according to Fr Frank Winspear, Johnson encouraged the African evangelists to use the African-initiated methods of pastoral work compiled in what was called a “crambook” and not the Missionary Handbook.²¹ In other words, rather than encouraging the Africans to follow slavishly the rigid written missionary methods for pastoral work, Johnson encouraged the African Clergy to follow the methods that they themselves found worked in the villages. In this way, Johnson affirmed the African initiative. This sort of training was one of its kind in Nyasaland., Johnson developed the notion of the church as a “tribe.”²²

Even though in terms of the current standard of training in England, Johnson’s methods could have been regarded as unconventional, nevertheless they recapture the primitive spirit of the Galilean ministry of Jesus. This approach contrasted with the formal training given in a classroom at Zanzibar. There was a sense of freedom of interaction between the student and teacher, where personal relationship and trust developed between them. In spite of its advantages, training on the steamer had its disadvantages. One of the outstanding students, Augustine Ambali recorded his experiences of training thus:

For eight years I was deacon under Archdeacon Johnson... I never saw in all my life a man like him. And after eight years Archdeacon asked me to educate on board C.M. for one year... But we could not educate there well, and the reason is this that we are not seamen; the lake is very rough and there are motions every day. And there is no private place on the C. M. for our meditations and prayers, and too much noise of people and too much waves rolling, rolling always and we were very ill often.²³

Ambali’s experience give an insight into the duration required in serving in the office of a deacon eight years. Ambali’s and other students’ bad experience on the steamer ended when St Michael’s College was established at Kobwe in 1900. However, Ambali’s positive comment about Johnson reflects the high regard in which the latter was held by some of his students. It illustrates the manner in which Johnson’s life and

21. Winspear, F., *Some Reminiscences of Nyasaland*, Likoma: The University Mission Press, 1957, p. 21.

22. *Ibid.*,

23. Ambali, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

ministry positively influenced his students. St Michael's prepared Ambali, Malisawa, Kamungu and the others for the initial stages which qualified them for training for the ordained ministry at St Andrew's Theological College

While the singlehanded staff approach to the African ministry might have provided the personal touch and close interaction between the few students and their trainer, it also had its major weaknesses. The approach deprived the students of the privilege of experiencing the diversity and breadth of views associated with the multi-handed staff approach. Students raised up in such a context could be inflexible and stereotyped in their views. Indeed, in comparison to the Roman Catholic missions, both Sundkler²⁴ and Hastings²⁵ noted that singlehanded staff colleges in the Protestant missions was one of their major weaknesses from the 1960s down the decades.

6.4. The Theological College as the "Bishop's familia"

Theological training in the diocese was under-girded by two factors: the ideological assumptions underlying the general orientation of the missionary policy of the UMCA, and the nature of the devolution of power within the traditional episcopal form of ministry. As Sundkler noted, the pattern and mode of theological training prevailing in the Anglican Church in the 1960s was very much along the ancient lines. In Malawi, so Sundkler asserted, training started when the ordinand was received to the "bishop's family."²⁶ In this arrangement, the bishop took the paternal role of a "father" while the ordinands were considered his "sons."

However, this understanding of training was not peculiar to Malawi. Writing from a South African context in 1977, Michael Nuttall also noted that training in the Anglican Church there had been influenced by the principle of the "bishop's familia."²⁷

24.Sundkler, B., *Christian Ministry in Africa*, London: SCM, 1960, p. 199.

25.Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, p. 94.

26.*Ibid.*

27.Nuttall, M., "Theological Training in Historical Perspective, A South African Review", *Journal of Theology For Southern Africa*, vol. 1418, 197677, pp. 32-37.

According to Nuttall, theological training on the model of the “bishop’s familia” had behind it a long history in the tradition of the universal church.²⁸ The similarity in approach to theological training could be explained by the fact that the two missionary agencies, the UMCA working in Malawi, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in South Africa shared very closely the Anglo-Catholic tradition of the Oxford Movement.

6.5. Saint Andrew’s Theological College (1905)

The hazardous journeys to Zanzibar, the concern for security in then Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) where one of the missionaries, Fr. Douglas, had been shot by a Mozambiquan official, convinced the diocese that it was high time they had a diocesan college.²⁹ Named after the college at Kiungani in Zanzibar, St. Andrew’s Theological College was opened on Likoma Island in October 1905,³⁰ five years after the existence of the teachers’ college at Kobwe, Mozambique. Its first principal was Father D. Mills.³¹

In his book, *What we do in Nyasaland*,³² D. Y. Mills give insight into some of the characteristic features and life of St. Andrew’s College between 1905 and 1910. The students, mostly former graduates of St. Michaels’ Teacher’s Training College, prior to their admission had to spend at least five years as teachers doing pastoral work.³³ At this stage there were three grades of pupils. There were those who were approved for the office of reader. These came for a period, more of a retreat than scholastic training.³⁴ They had the opportunity for spiritual preparation and devotion. They read a simple

28. *Ibid.*

29. Blood., A. G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii, pp. 53-56.

30. Kishindo, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

31. Mills, D. Y., *What We do in Nyasaland*, p. 2.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

course of theology and had some New Testament work. The bishop expected them to pass an examination before finally admitting them to readership.³⁵

Secondly there were those who had proved themselves useful and trustworthy in the office of reader and who felt that they were called to Holy Orders. Even these came to the college on the understanding that they were not pledged to anything, and also that the Principal must report to the bishop whether he considered that they showed real signs of a vocation or not.³⁶ Initially it was a four-year course expected to lead to the first ordination of the Order of a deacon, after which the student had to spend at least a year doing pastoral work before going back to college to finish the last two years for the priesthood.³⁷

On entering the college, the students were made to understand that the diocese was not pledged to anything in the line of ordination; that their going to the next step depended very much not only on their ability but also on their moral behaviour and character.³⁸ The daily routine centred on prayer life in the chapel saying offices.³⁹ Dora Mills noted that the standard of learning was not very high.⁴⁰ According to this source, the students were taught in the vernacular by way of dictation. As a result, the tutor spent longer hours giving class notes to keep pace even with his slow learners.⁴¹ Emphasis was on the life of Our Lord Jesus especially the parables, the major books of the Old Testament and psalms.⁴² Pastoral work, spirituality, serving at mass, also constituted an important component of the programme.⁴³ In their tests, the work of a student was expected to reflect what he had been taught in class to ensure that he understood the content of the

35.*Ibid.*

36.*Ibid.*

37.*Ibid.*

38.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

39.*Ibid.*

40.*Ibid.*, p. 7.

41.*Ibid.*

42.*Ibid.*, p. 8.

43.*Ibid.*

lectures.⁴⁴ The students lived in a village life style. They were not encouraged to wear shoes.⁴⁵

The principal, who was also the tutor, was the priest-in-charge as well. He was responsible for the pastoral care of the students and their families as the college was his parish.⁴⁶ He gave his regular reports to the bishop on the progress and conduct of the students upon which the decision whether to ordain or not to ordain them also rested.⁴⁷ The report ranged from the performance of the student in class, serving the priest in the college chapel, sacristy work – to discipline in the homes, the behaviour and conduct of his wife and children; whether they were noisy, or not, in chapel or Sunday school.⁴⁸

The bishop expected the candidates to pass all examinations before admitting them to the office of readership.⁴⁹ Those who had proved themselves useful and trustworthy in the office of reader, and who felt called to Holy Orders had to persevere and learn to be patient, until such time as they might be ready to be admitted into the diaconate.⁵⁰ This was made clear to them.⁵¹ The Examining Chaplain, working under direct instructions from the bishop, kept the link between the college and the bishop by regularly assessing the life of the students.⁵² The bishop who was called the “Visitor” had the absolute right to make major decisions pertaining to college, social and academic life, as it was his sole privilege to determine who could be ordained or not be ordained.⁵³ The bishop also had special responsibility for the spiritual and pastoral life of the students and regularly attended services with the students in the college chapel.⁵⁴

44.*Ibid.*, p. 10.

45.Blood, A.G., *The Fortunate Few*, London: UMCA, 1954, p. 4.

46.Mills, *What we do in Nyasaland.*, p.11.

47.Blood, *The Fortunate Few*, pp. 56.

48.*UMCA1/2/9/2/1*. National Archives Zomba.

49.*Ibid.*

50.Mills, *What we do in Nyasaland.*, p. 11.

51.*Ibid.*

52.*UMCA1/2/9/2/1*. National Archives, Zomba.

53.*Ibid.*

54.*Ibid.*; See also Maycock, E. A., *The Vocation of an African Priest*, London: UMCA, 1954.

As a system of training, St. Andrew's reflected a conservative, rigid style, a college where discipline was strictly enforced. Of course 'discipline' was an important aspect of training for the ordained ministry.

More importantly, as a bishop's "familia", St. Andrew's College illustrates the dynamics of a close nexus between a bishop and his ordinands in the context of training. As the bishop's spiritual "household", life at St. Andrew's College centred on devotional discipline. In his capacity as the spiritual father, the bishop at St. Andrew's College provided pastoral care for his sons, the students. As a bishop's "familia", the theological college socialised the ordinands in the attitudes and practices of dependency, and subservience, by making them understand that their ordination depended on the moral behaviour and discipline expected of them by the missionaries. In their capacity as "sons," the trainee priests looked to the bishop as their "father" to whom they were bonded with "filial" loyalty.

Interestingly, implied in the filial relationship between bishop and his "sons" are attitudes of paternalism and patronage. By virtue of his position as the head of the diocese, the bishop was obliged to care for his "sons" and the "sons" were similarly obliged in a spirit of subservience and deference to the bishop. The effect of this dynamic of power relations, as Mamphela Ramphele observed, encourages attitudes of dependency and entrenches undemocratic practices.⁵⁵

However, in comparison to the other missionary institutions of learning, the use of the vernacular as opposed to the English language constituted an important feature of St. Andrew's College. Since the time of Bishop Steere, it had always been the policy of the UMCA to promote the vernacular language as much as possible while teaching elementary English only to a few who could proceed to the priesthood. At St. Andrews after an initial spell of Swahili language, the local Chinyanja language was used.⁵⁶

55. Ramphele, M., "On being Anglican: the pain and the privilege" in *Bounty in Bondage*, p. 189.

56. Mufuka, K.N., *Missions and Politics in Malawi*, p. 200.

Early in his episcopate, in 1902 Trower had criticised the UMCA language policy regarding the training of the African clergy. He put it as follows, “I am more and more convinced of the need of teaching English more thoroughly. How can we train priests or deacons unless they can study theology, and what books have they, or can they have in their own language?”⁵⁷ Trower had visited the Scottish mission in northern Malawi and had learnt that compared to the UMCA the Scottish programme of training the African clergy was more systematic and admirable.⁵⁸ Trower’s argument was that thorough training of the African clergy was almost impossible to achieve as the college promoted the use of the vernacular language and literature as a way of discouraging the Europeanisation of the Africans. Trower’s views were progressive as he desired to train the African clergy in the way they could study theology more systematically. He appeared to understand that the Western Christian theology would be better taught in the English language in which it was conveyed. However, Trower did not stay long enough to implement his ideas as he had to resign.

Nonetheless, in the missionaries’ view an African was not disciplined enough to handle the position of authority in the church on account of his wide obligations to his African brothers and sisters in the community. This is how Blood further expressed this view: “An African is not ready to administer discipline because of his wide connections with the people he works with. In fear of offending them so he leans on the European to administer discipline.”⁵⁹

Blood’s assertion is not entirely accurate. In African society, chiefs, and village headmen, and others, exercised their positions of authority without the problems that Blood allege and the institutions of authority stood. Notice should be made that high position in the church is closely associated with the duty of imposing moral discipline. The long shadow in the aftermath of Bishop Crowther’s ministry influenced the way missionaries viewed and conducted their relations with Africans. They were perceived as culturally “weak,” deemed not fit to shoulder responsibility. The relationship

57. Brough., *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

between the missionary and an African was regulated on the misconceived basis of an “adult” and “child” where the latter looked to the former “for provision and organisation.”⁶⁰ This is critical to our understanding of the relationship between the missionary and an African. The view characterising the EuropeanAfrican relationship as a relationship between an “adult” and a “child” was dominant in 19th century Europe.

The “adult-child” relationship, the basis of Orientalism, according to Said, put the European in a powerful position of control of the Orient, the Non-European, by making him believe that he had greater powers over the “other.”⁶¹ In this regard, in the 1950s Blood was merely expressing the broader 19th century view regulating the relationship between the Europeans and the Africans. Indeed, it seems that from this stage the latter, with little challenge, were largely accepting the missionaries’ view that the Africans were not yet ready to shoulder responsibilities.

Accordingly, Said argued that, the basis of Orientalist thought was nullity.⁶² It operated from the view and conception that the other had nothing to offer.⁶³ In this case, the Africans were regarded as incapable of contributing meaningfully to the European ministry. It will be noted below that in various ways the same view was maintained until the 1960s. In other words, from the first decade of the 20th century, in various ways, a view was sustained that portrayed an African clergy as not fit to handle responsible positions in church.

In this case, through the long and winding system and process of ministerial training, the African was socialised into believing, ultimately accepting the view that to reach the pinnacle of power, the priesthood, he had to go through a long period of testing of his vocation. As noticed above, Johnson asserted that it was a known and unquestionable fact.

60.*Ibid.*

61.*Op. cit.*, p. 79.

62.cf Miller, C., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

63.*Ibid.*

6.6 The Reinforcement of the African Ministry: Abdallah and Ambali and the others

The system that I have just analysed suggests the rigid character of the UMCA policy that while it espoused the fostering of a vocational spirit it tended to undermine the development of the intellectual abilities of the Africans. To try to understand the system in a broader perspective, it is important that the effects of its impact be assessed with regard to the emergence and life of the African clergy.

Early in the 20th century, this system was responsible for raising an African priesthood whose life tended to display something of the paradox of their social background. St. Andrew's College had prepared Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa, former freed slaves from Zanzibar. They went through the system just analysed. In 1906 Bishop Trower ordained as priests, Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa, who had been trained as deacons for eight and six years, respectively.⁶⁴ Meanwhile in 1908 Leonard Kamungu entered St. Andrew's College to read for the priesthood, together with two readers, Michael Hamisi and Gilbert Mpalila, to read for the diaconate.⁶⁵ Subsequently, these students were joined by several candidates for readership.⁶⁶ On 18th April 1909, Bishop Trower ordained Leonard Kamungu to the priesthood and Michael Hamisi and Gilbert Mpalila to the diaconate.⁶⁷

The report for 1907 gives as nine the number of native priests now working under the UMCA together with twelve deacons, twentysix readers, and 286 teachers.⁶⁸ With this relatively impressive record, as Brigdal Pachai remarks, the Anglican missions were ahead of the others.⁶⁹ Though the numbers show a remarkable achievement, nevertheless, given a longer history of training than the others in the region, the UMCA

64. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

65. Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii, p. 29.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. Malawi: *The History of the Nation*, p. 260.

could certainly have done even much better. To a greater degree, the increase in the number of clergy had been made possible due to the shortage of missionary staff.⁷⁰

6.6.1 Strengths and weaknesses of the Early African clergy

These early African clergy show the extent to which mission ideology had shaped their character of strength as well as weakness. The strengths and weaknesses of the early clergy largely depended on their identity within the wider mission community and their social background in general.⁷¹ In his life especially at Unangu and Ngoo, Mozambique, Abdallah displayed these traits in his opposition to sorcery, to the admiration of the missionaries.⁷²

Mitigated by their sense of collective attachment to the ideals of the mission, the African clergy shared with the missionaries a sense of social detachment from Malawi. It gave the African clergy a sense of corporate identity and common purpose with the missionaries.

However, unlike the other Protestant missions in Malawi, the UMCA was a highly stratified community. Ecclesiastical positions from the base, deacon, through the offices of priest, archdeacon, canon, dean and finally bishop defined one's social position and status in society. For some reasons that will be evident very soon, the stratified character of the mission reproduced a parallel structure amongst the African clergy.

Uniquely, Yohanna Abdallah was from the aristocratic Yao background in East Africa. Abdallah seemed to have been conscious of his royal background to the extent that, according to A.G. Blood, he regarded himself as a 'chief' in relation to his African colleagues whom he saw as his 'slaves'.⁷³

70. See Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

71. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Blood, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1907-1932*, vol. ii., p. 178.

Amongst the rest of the small band of the African clergy, Abdallah's position was, however, unrivalled as the leader both in terms of his seniority in ordination and royal background. Very significantly, faithful to the tradition of the UMCA, having taken a vow of celibacy, he remained unmarried for the rest of his ministry.⁷⁴ Yet according to A.G. Blood, "in matters of finance he [Abdallah] was hopeless and could never keep accounts."⁷⁵ This reflects a weakness on the part of UMCA educational system that tended to foster the practice and spirit that administration was the missionaries' responsibility rather than that of the African clergy. In this regard, it sounds unfair to put blame on an individual priest. It was the system that failed rather than the individual.

Most likely under the prompting of the missionaries, all these men wrote their own autobiographies or tribal histories. By encouraging their graduates to write histories, the UMCA was probably trying to teach the African clergy literary skills. Encouragement given to write histories could have served to underline the point that as an organisation, the UMCA was equally capable of raising the literary life of their African students. In this respect, the UMCA Anglican clergy were unique.

In comparing Augustine Ambali's life with other characters, one realises that he was a unique priest. His life as a priest at Msumba, Mozambique, shows the outstanding features of a leader. His simple and humble life won so much admiration from Bishop Fisher in the diocese that he was awarded the prestigious position of canon in the diocese in 1922.⁷⁶ To be granted that position in 1922 was no simple thing. Ambali must have demonstrated to the missionaries that he was no ordinary priest. It seemed that the example of Ambali impressed Bishop Fisher to the extent that he was willing to reconsider developing further the ministry of Africans.⁷⁷

74.*Ibid.*

75.*Ibid.*

76.*Ibid.*, p. 133.

77.*Ibid.*

What made Ambali so endearing? Ambali followed the UMCA ideal more closely than the other senior African clergy. Ambali was more forceful in his condemnation of African customs, which he believed were repugnant to Christianity. In 1919, he ridiculed the medicine man and his art as “pooh pooh thing.”⁷⁸ In his ministry, Ambali worked so hard that he achieved reputable results as a great trainer with a large body of teachers working under him.¹⁰⁶⁷⁹ Under his leadership the people of his parish, Msumba, became the first to build a church on their own, without any assistance from the mission.

Like Ambali, Leonard Mattiya Kamungu showed extraordinary qualities of a priest. Certainly Kamungu’s qualities of leadership such as courage and steadiness must have won the confidence of the mission, which appointed him as a deacon to Lungwena mission. With strong Islamic influence amongst the Yao people, Lungwena like Unangu was one of the most difficult stations in the UMCA.⁸⁰

Under very difficult circumstances, Kamungu persevered to the extent that he won the admiration of the local Moslem community. A reader who replaced him for a short time found what the local Moslem community thought about him, “that man is a deacon of God in truth because he is not tired of praying; he just remains thus in the dark of the night without leaving off in the church: and also he is not tired of preaching in the villages.”⁸¹ The others who immediately followed him, Eustace Malisawa and reader Antonio Mkweweta, were much less successful than Kamungu.⁸² He was the ideal UMCA African clergyman. Despite his attachment to his close friend and superior, Johnson, Ambali displayed a spirit of independence when he ignored Johnson’s advice and went ahead to marry a wife of his own choice.⁸³ Yet according to Pachai, Ambali

78.*Ibid.*, p. 135.

79.Mbaya, H, “The Life of the Early African Clergy in the Diocese of Nyasaland: The case of Augustine Ambali and the Others in Denis, P. (ed.) *Orality, Memory and the Past, Black Clergy under Colonialism and Apartheid*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999, p. 127.

80.Weller, *The Priest from the Lakeside*, pp. 22-23.

81.*Ibid.*, p. 28.

82.*Ibid.*

83.*Ibid.*, p. 127.

like his contemporary is reported to have been unable to submit the annual reports to the mission headquarters at Likoma.⁸⁴

But more importantly, Ambali's autobiography, *Thirty Years in Nyasaland*⁸⁵, reflects something of the racial problems that were prevailing between the missionaries and their African subordinates. Ambali refers to an episode in which an unnamed white missionary had been reprimanded by Johnson for his racist attacks probably on Ambali.⁸⁶ It is not strange that racism could have been a problem in the history of the UMCA. Though situated on the island of Likoma, the UMCA did not exist as a sociopolitical island in Malawi. It was a microcosm of the colonial society. As I will discuss below, it was probably this sort of racist attitude that seemed to have forced Leonard Mattiya Kamungu to leave for Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). At Likoma, hospital and residential facilities operated along racial lines.⁸⁷ During field interviews, one of my informants, Father David Banda, narrated his own experience which supports this assertion.⁸⁸

As this thesis contends, one of the fundamental weaknesses of missionary policy was that, effectively, it tended to exclude the Africans from meaningful social interaction with the missionaries by allowing a social gap to exist between them as a result of denying the former's access to higher education. Consequently, socially, religiously and politically the early clergy existed as a separate group from the whites. This was demonstrated in the manner the African clergy operated in relation to the missionaries. For instance, Weller and Linden noted that, led by Abdallah, they judged each other's cases, *milandu* behind the backs of their superiors without reference to them.⁸⁹

84. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

85. Blood, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 203.

86. Ambali, A., *Thirty Years in Nyasaland*, p. 45.

87. In October 1999, the writer had the opportunity to visit the old mission station of Likoma to try to capture a sense of mission history.

88. Interview, Father David Banda with the author, Liwaladzi, Nkhotakota, 26/1/96.

89. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

This suggests the nonexistence of meaningful social contact, fellowship or openness between the African clergy and their superiors. More importantly, this observation supports the contention put forward especially in chapter four that the ulterior motive behind the UMCA's mission policy in stressing the identity of African character was fostering the social gap that served to perpetuate master/servant relationship between the missionaries and Africans.

The fact that the early African clergy dealt with their own cases, *milandu* suggests that the missionary structures did not provide, in the language of Scott, a "safe place," a "social sequestered site" for the African clergy to bring to the fore some of their problems.⁹⁰ Scott argued that in the gaze of power, the subordinates recoil, since it is not safe for them to disclose their inner motives.⁹¹ The subordinates resorted to a forum that was more conducive to their discourse, a platform that allowed them to articulate their feelings in a way that they felt comfortable. That the UMCA mission structures were too constraining for the voice of the African clergy to be meaningfully and clearly articulated was to be confirmed by Bishop Fisher. Writing in 1924, he was to regret that "Africans cannot express their opinions even in matters that affect their affairs."⁹² That the European missionaries did not really understand or know their African folk had been highlighted by Bishop Hine in 1898, when he cautioned his fellow missionaries, "We English people know very little of what is at the back of the African's mind as their inner man is hidden from us."⁹³

That many missionaries did not know their African subordinates well enough was also alluded to by Archdeacon Glossop in 1913 when he praised the invaluable role of Kamungu in providing some information about some aspects of the life of his African brothers to the missionaries. This is how Glossop put it, "without fear of his comrades" he would report "what (was) going wrong, or about to go wrong among his own

90.*Ibid.*, 133.

91.*Ibid.*

92.*Central Africa*, June 1924, no. 34. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

93.*Central Africa*, August 1924, no. 500, xlii, p. 183. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

relatives.”⁹⁴ With the exception of some missionaries like Johnson, intimate understanding between the missionaries and the African clergy was difficult to achieve.

That social interaction between the missionaries and their subordinates was superficial was confirmed to the writer by an informant, Mr. Blaise Bernard Chimsalazo. Mr. Chimsalazo informed the writer that he remembered as a young man growing up in Nkhotakota in the 1930s that the African staff lived in separated, demarcated areas from their missionary superiors. In particular, he recalled that it was only once a year during Christmas or Easter that the missionaries would invite an African priest, Father Lawrence Chisui, (excluding his wife), to dine with them.⁹⁵ Despite their association, the two parties were closed books to each other. There was no meaningful social intercourse between them. Certainly, this confirms the contention of this thesis that depriving the Africans from learning the English language more thoroughly seemed to serve the objective of excluding them from meaningful social engagement with their European counterparts.

Yet the irony with missionary education was apparently that, despite its tendency to undermine the intellectual independence of the Africans, somehow, the latter appeared to exploit it to assert their African tribal identity. As noted above, Yohana Abdallah wrote his *Chiikala chaWayao, The History of the Yao*⁹⁶; Augustine Ambali wrote his *Thirty Years in Nyasaland*; Petro Kilekwa wrote *From a Slave boy to a Priest*⁹⁷ and Lawrence Chisui wrote *Mukafunakujiwa za Ine*, “If you want to know about Me”. One major theme ran through these life stories: pride in one’s early historical background and identity. Basically the authors sought to assert their personal or tribal identities and histories with a sense of pride and affection, albeit, within the larger missionary history but independent of it. For example, while Abdallah located his Yao tribal history within

94. *Central Africa*, June 1913, no. 366, xxxi.

95. Interview, Mr. B.B. Chimsalazo with the author, Mamelodi, Pretoria, 7th May 2003.

96. Abdallah, B. Y., *Chiikala chaWayao*, Translated by Meredith Sanderson, 2nd. Ed., London: Cass, 1973.

97. Kilekwa, P., *Slave boy to Priest: the autobiography of Padre Petro Kilekwa* Translated from Chinyanja by K. H. Nixon Smith, London: U.M.C.A

the colonial missionary history, he seems to cast it within the framework of divine Providence.

Ambali's autobiography, *Thirty Years in Nyasaland* locates the author within his early history as a freed slave, closely interconnected with mission history, while being critical of some racist behaviour of a certain missionary. In *Mukafunakujiwa za Ine*⁹⁸, tracing his family and tribal history western shore of Mozambique in the context of the UMCA mission history, Father Lawrence Chisui sought to assert his Nyanja tribal identity with a sense of pride.

Thus, seeking to break free from European cultural dominance that tended to subsume their identity into the larger mission identity, the African clergy used literature to assert openly their independent identity. They sought to make a point that they had a history apart from the mission history, that they had a culture separate from the mission culture, and they had a life independent from mission life. Rather than being an open defiance, it was a "striking imaginative act of cultural subversion and representation...sullen resistance."⁹⁹ In this regard, the clergy "escaped the dominant order without leaving it."¹⁰⁰

There are also interesting parallels here with Tiyo Soga's life, the first African Presbyterian minister to be ordained in South Africa. Soga exploited his position as an Anglicised African to assert his African identity, thereby transcending the inhibitive boundaries of colonialism. In this regard, Soga confounded his critics from both political camps, whites and blacks.¹⁰¹ The process whereby the encounter of both the dominant and subordinate groups use cultural symbols of domination for their own motives or agenda or contrary to what was originally intended has been called "acculturation."

98.Chisui, L., *Mukafunakujiwa za ine*, London: UMCA, 1928.

99.*Ibid.*, p. 53.

100.*Ibid.*

101.Attwell, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Yet despite the clergy's attempts to free themselves from missionary sociocultural tutelage and domination, the literature of the African clergy still illustrates the success of the UMCA ideology of domination to inculcate in the Africans the virtues of African identity as opposed to European Christian identity. Emphasising one's tribal identity and pride in one's culture are motifs that dominate this literature. These are the very themes that the UMCA fostered in its African clergy as a legacy that was to endure to the present.

6.7 Shift of the UMCA policy – from a pastoral Africanist policy to the businesslike Euro-centric pattern of the Scottish Mission

Characteristic of the changes that were taking place in the UMCA, the newly arrived Bishop Trower was critical of the traditional language policy that the UMCA was pursuing with respect to theological training of the African ministers. Brough states that in his letter to the Secretary of the Mission Home Committee from Likoma in October in 1902, Trower remarked that:

Chinyanja is a wretched language, and what is the good of teaching people to read when there is no literature? How much better to have used English for services and instruction with ample literature to handle. This poverty stricken language is not worth pursuing... Arthur is teaching me Chinyanja¹⁰²

Trower's attitude to Chinyanja language is in direct opposition to the UMCA standing policy, which advocated the use of local language in training the African clergy. More importantly, it raises the issue that I raised in Chapter four, questioning not only the logic behind teaching theology embodied in English in the vernacular language but also the effectiveness of such a practice.

By raising this issue Trower had spotted the fundamental weakness of the theological system in the UMCA. Christian western theology, the subject matter for raising the African ministry was essentially European in ethos and texture. The requirement to teach Africans theology in the vernacular language by the missionaries whose mother

102.*Op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

tongue was not the vernacular, coupled with no adequate literature available in that language could have negative consequences. Seemingly, due to pressure from the new recruits who did not sympathise with the original UMCA policy and vision, the strict vernacular language policy was gradually being discouraged. The UMCA was becoming more and more Europeorientated. The extent of these changes have been articulated by Brough in the following words:

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the *modus operandi* of the Mission had changed completely. It had successfully laid down the foundations of an African Church, as it is witnessed by their outstanding record of training African priests and teachers but as the organisation grew, the more it became English Anglican in its methods and attitudes.¹⁰³

As pointed out earlier on, the mission's acquisition of the steamer, the *Chauncy Maples*, the "floating Church," more European in character, had epitomised this trend. The start of the construction of the Cathedral on a larger scale in 1903 marked another significant landmark in the shift of the mission's vision and method of operation.

Unlike his predecessors, Trower admired the methods and policies followed by the Livingstonia missionaries in northern Malawi in running their mission. Thus in his letter to the Secretary on 29th September 1902, having visited the leader of Livingstonia mission, Dr Robert Laws, he remarked about their wonderful work, "on systematic lines"... "an admirable system of education besides training... masons, carpenters..." "They have engineered a splendid road from the Lake to Khondowe and are bringing water by pipes to the station and putting up an electric plant. They also own a considerable tract of land and have planted many trees..."¹⁰⁴

Perhaps inspired by the largescale developments that were taking place in the Livingstonia mission, Trower embarked on an expansionist programme in the UMCA. In 1908, missionary work was extended considerably in the south from Mangochi to

103.*Ibid.*, p. 1.

104.*Ibid.*, p. xlv.

Zomba and Blantyre and Matope area. From Nkhotakota in the central region between 1905 and 1907 work extended to the western highlands of Ntchisi and beyond.

Besides the colonial administration, the UMCA expansion into the Central and Southern Regions brought it into encounter with new groups of people and new religious bodies and culture. In Nkhotakota it had to contend with the religion of Islam, while in its outlying district extending to Ntchisi it faced the fierce opposition of the traditional quasireligious social custom of Nyau.¹⁰⁵ The contribution of local clergy like Kilekwa and Kamungu in diffusing fierce conflict between the mission and Nyau was a success. In the Southern Region, besides the small but powerful European presence, the UMCA now dealt with the Yao and the Mang'anja tribes, the very tribes that had given their predecessors problems forty years previously. Besides these groups, the mission had to deal with the other missions with whom they had to work more closely than before the coming of the colonial administration.

The appointment of Trower was considered on the grounds that he possessed businesslike qualifications seems to reflect the UMCA's sensitivity and response to the developments in the colony. With the extension of mission work, the role of the bishop of Likoma and the identity of the mission started transforming. Increasing contact with the colonial officials and other Europeans cast Trower in the position of a statesman. For instance, in dealing with the problem that had arisen as a result of erecting a mission station in Nkhotakota, an area regarded by the Livingstonia mission as its traditional "sphere of influence," Trower adopted a statesmanlike attitude. Addressing his clergy on 8th July in 1904, on this issue, Trower remarked:

I saw the heads of the Free Church and the Dutch Reformed Missions to settle boundaries for the placing of schools north and south from Kotakota. I did not and do not pledge the UMCA from placing other stations on the West side of the Lake. However, a request from the Dutch Mission that we should have the friendly arrangement registered in the Collectors court, and a strong protest from the Chairman of the Livingstonia Mission to our Committee at home against our working on the West at all, even at Kotakota on the ground that the Scotch regard this as their sphere,

105.*Ibid.*

seems to make it advisable that I should place it on record that I do not recognise spheres... other than the actual villages in which other missions are working.¹⁰⁶

The implications of Trower's action were to be immense. It meant that now the UMCA had entered into rivalry with the other missions over the schools, the basic unit for mission expansion. Indeed the issue of "sphere of influence" between the missions was to be one of the most contentious issues amongst the missions in Nyasaland in the 20th century Nyasaland.

Nonetheless, the presence of the UMCA in Nkhotakota, traditionally perceived as "the sphere of influence" of the Livingstonia mission, signifies an important development in the work of the UMCA. The UMCA had been invited into the area by the administration apparently to counteract the Islamic influence ostensibly on the grounds that they were better qualified to do that on the basis of their previous experience in Zanzibar.¹⁰⁷

However, evidence suggests that the colonial administration treated the UMCA with partiality and that the latter reciprocated. During the same year that Trower held discussions with the heads of the other missions, the *Likoma Diocesan Quarterly Paper* of July 1904 noted that, "Sir Alfred Sharpe, the colonial governor expressed his sympathy with the work of the mission."¹⁰⁸ He wished that the "officials of the Administration should further that work, so far as it (was) consistent with perfect justice and freedom to the nonChristian of the British Central Africa."¹⁰⁹

The same paper in 1907 noted the visit of Trower to the administrator in Mangochi District¹⁰⁹¹¹⁰ and recorded Trower's sentiments on the mission's relations with the administration: "loyalty to the existing government does not necessarily involve our

106. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. vli.

107. *Ibid.*, p. xix.

108. *Likoma Diocesan Quarterly Paper*, no. 4, July 1904. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malawi.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

110. *Ibid.*

people in enmity with those who oppose it. We are nonpolitical and would gladly live in peace with all.”¹¹¹

These exchanges were occurring in the context of the fierce battles raging between the Blantyre missionaries and the administration. The conflict ensued over the missionaries' role of posing as the champion of human rights for the Africans. Since the arrival of the colonial administration, the Blantyre missionaries had always regarded themselves as champions of the interests of the Africans of the protectorate. They proclaimed what was considered radical and revolutionary of the time: “Africa for the Africans.”¹¹²

In his persistent battles with the Blantyre missionaries, Sir Harry Johnston portrayed them as the enemies of the administration, while the Roman Catholic and the Anglican missions he singled out as friendly to the colonial Administration.¹¹³ The Blantyre missionaries were quick to perceive partiality on the part of the Administration in dealing with their opposite numbers.¹¹⁴ It is indicative of the privileged status that the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic missions held within the British colonial administration that in his battle with the Scottish Blantyre missionaries, Johnston tended to use the colonial administration to curb the influence of the Scottish mission.

According to Pachai, Harry Johnston assisted some of the mission projects using administration funds. A donation of money from Mr Cecil John Rhodes to the government marked as government money was given to the UMCA for the purpose of erecting the church of St. Paul in Blantyre, not very far away from that of the Scottish missionaries.¹¹⁵ Many years later, this church was proclaimed the cathedral church of

111.*Ibid.*

112.Pachai, B., “The State and the Churches in Malawi during the Early Protectorate Rule” in *Journal of Social Science*, 1, pp. 7-27. The phrase was first coined in Malawi by the missionary Joseph Booth (1897 or earlier). I am indebted to Professor Klaus Fiedler of the University of Malawi for this information.

113.*Op. cit.*, p. 34.

114.*Ibid.*, p. 39.

115.*Ibid.*, p. 45.

the diocese of Southern Malawi in 1986.¹¹⁶ All this serves to show that the UMCA occupied a privileged position in Nyasaland. As already noted above, though it was not an established Church as was the case in England, the Anglican Church in Nyasaland enjoyed a more favourable position and prestige than the other missions.

Enjoying such a privileged position in the colonial government, it would not have been in the interest of the UMCA to take a position that might have appeared to conflict directly with colonial interests or policy, especially in matters that affected the majority of the African population. Despite its honourable intentions to do good to the local African population, at its core the UMCA was characteristically a colonial mission. On many aspects of policy and attitude it shared the general orientation and ethos of colonial government policy and attitudes.

6.8 The Resignation of Bishop Trower

The tremendous development and extension that occurred during the first decade of the twentieth century drained the resources of the mission. Towards the end of Trower's episcopate, the Home Committee discovered that the mission was in deficit. The diocese had exceeded its budget by 4,846 Pounds.¹¹⁷ All new work was suspended. Members who had gone on furlough were urged not to return. Recruitment of new members was halted. There were even retrenchments.¹¹⁸ Then began a long course of exchange between Trower and the UMCA officials in London.

The officials in London regretted that the bishop seemed to lack essential knowledge of the finances, such as the income and the expenditure of his diocese.¹¹⁹ They realised now that they were under an illusion all along to think that Trower had managerial skills.

116. Personal Reminiscences

117. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xiv. cf. Blood, A.G., *The History of the UMCA, 1907-1932*, vol. ii. pp. 30-31, 52, 56, 258.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*, p. xix.

There exists, at Rhodes House Archives, Oxford, a document written by Trower and entitled “My Apologia” which was intended “For the eyes and ears of the (UMCA) Committee only”.¹²⁰ In this document, Trower explained his position regarding the misunderstandings that had arisen between himself and the UMCA officials in London relating to what he perceived were his obligations as a bishop “on the subject of Finance and administration”.¹²¹ Trower believed the officials in London interfered unnecessarily in financial and other administrative matters that he believed properly belonged to him as a bishop to the extent that he was too frustrated to carry on.

More seriously, he felt that his authority as a bishop was being undermined by the officials who were too stringent and too closely monitored his expenditures. He felt that as a bishop he had the authority but with no responsibility attached to it, hence he urged, “responsibility and authority must go together.”¹²² More importantly, in this apologia, Trower put across his understanding of his role as a bishop in the UMCA. He had always thought that the UMCA ran on “Catholic” principles, that the laity in the offices in London could not challenge the bishop’s autonomous powers. So he queried:

We call ourselves a Catholic Mission. The Catholic ideal is that the Bishop is the Head and Ruler of his Diocese and staff. He is held responsible for the direction, organisation, and (in our case) expenditure of the Diocese. This in words is emphasised and insisted on with us. Then Lord Overtoun came to Mr. Traver saying: “stop this bishop of yours; he is invading our sphere”, he was told, “the Bishop is Ruler. It is not the custom of the Church to interfere with his Government of his Diocese”. Lord Overtoun added: “Ah, but you hold the purse”.¹²³

120. My Apologia, Gerard Nyasaland, “Strictly Private and Confidential. For the eyes and ears of the Committee only”, UX 105, Rhodes House, Oxford. For a full text see Appendix.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.*

123. *Ibid.*

Trower was under no illusion. The officials' decision in London had the consequences of effectively pressurising him to resign. Advised by Bishop Talbot of Southwark, Trower accepted to become bishop of the newly created diocese in Northwest Australia. In reality, Trower's resignation, apparently instigated by the head office in London, shows that, after all, the position of a bishop in the UMCA was still at the mercy of the lay personnel in London. It shows the fact that, even though the principle was insisted upon that the bishops' had autonomy in doing their operations, nevertheless, their future in the diocese was still at the mercy of those who held and controlled the finances in London. Nonetheless, as it will be noticed below, Trower was not to be the last bishop to experience financial problems in the diocese, even to face the wrath of the home office in London.

More importantly, the resignation of Trower on financial grounds does highlight the close association of episcopacy in the UMCA with administrative skills, requiring a bishop with organisational abilities. Contrary to their perceptions, they regretted that Trower did not really display these qualities. More importantly, Trower's query regarding his autonomous powers in the administration of the diocese reflected the Anglo-Catholic view of the episcopate where the bishop was in fact the essence of the church. The view tended to conflict with the practical realities in the UMCA.

6.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, the episcopate of Trower marked a watershed in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi in the sense that more than any other factor the fundamental objective of his appointment was the concern for the efficient running of the UMCA. With the appointment of Trower on the basis of his supposed possession of knowledge of administration, the UMCA had now entered a new era. Similarly, Trower's episcopate illustrates something of a tension between the Anglo-Catholic view that insisted on the autonomous powers of a bishop and the practical ways in which the bishop exercised those powers. More importantly, this chapter has also outlined the salient features of the training of the African clergy and their ministry. Specifically, it has been established that the process of training African clergy still entailed a process in

which missionary discipline and character were the fundamental factors that regulated the programme.

Chapter Seven

7. The Episcopate of Cathrew Fisher (1911-1929)

7.1 Shifts in attitudes towards the African Ministry during the Episcopate of Cathrew Fisher (1911-1929)

7.1.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I argued that the appointment of Bishop Trower on the perception that he possessed organisational skills showed the UMCA's concern to regard the episcopate as an organ for the effective administration of the mission. In his relations with the home office in London, this issue alone had become the most important factor upon which Trower's appointment was considered as particularly special.

In this chapter, I will illustrate that the appointment of Bishop Fisher also showed the UMCA's continued concern in London to run the mission as an efficient organisation in Malawi, even at the expense of the pastoral concerns of the diocese. More importantly, I will show that during the episcopate of Fisher hardening attitudes towards the African ministry negatively impacted on the development of the African clergy and ministry. In this regard, I will also argue that, Fisher's attitude in holding back the African ordinations and ministry was also a reflection of the colonial attitudes prevalent in the colonial society in Nyasaland (Malawi).

7.1.2. Cathrew Fisher, administrator bishop – ineffective pastor?

The forced resignation of Bishop Trower on the perception that he lacked the skills to run the diocese more efficiently once again raised the need for a successor who it was thought possessed such skills and would thus run the mission more effectively.

Eventually, the Home Committee in London found Thomas Cathrew Fisher as a successor to Bishop Trower.¹ He was appointed in June 1910.² He was consecrated bishop in Westminster Abbey on 24th June 1910.³ He arrived at Likoma on 3rd February 1911.⁴ While the previous appointment of his immediate predecessor tended to be more pastorally oriented, Fisher's appointment illustrates the UMCA's continued concern for the administrative dimension of the office of a bishop, as his background illustrates below.

Fisher was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, a graduate in history and law.⁵ He was the first bishop of the mission to come from Cambridge since 1883.⁶ He had been an assistant inspector of schools in the diocese of Rochester.⁷ Two years prior to his appointment, he had been inspector of schools in the diocese of Oxford. Thus, considering that Fisher's appointment was special, as it was believed that he possessed special organisational skills, an important condition demanding that the bishop (and others) learn the local language was waived.

Fisher accepted his appointment on the understanding that the longstanding mission rule requiring that the new recruits learn a local language would not be binding on him.⁸ "Like his predecessor," so Brough concluded, "Fisher was no more sympathetic to the use of the native tongue."⁹ The appointment of Bishop Fisher known to be unsympathetic to the African languages following his predecessor, Trower, who shared this attitude, suggests the widening social gap between the missionaries and the Africans. Fisher's appointment signified yet another development in the UMCA by way of its nonaccommodating attitude to the African culture. As I will illustrate soon, this

1. Anderson-Morsehead, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

2. Blood, A. G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p. 31.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

5. Blood, A. G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p. 72.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

9. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

attitude would find its expression in Fisher's unsympathetic attitude towards the African ministry in general.

But perhaps the appointment of Bishop Fisher with his qualifications of law also suggests the responsiveness of the Home Office in London to the developments that were taking place in the territory at this stage. It may not be coincidental that Fisher, a law graduate, arrived at a time when the colonial administration in Nyasaland was preoccupied with passing a series of laws regulating various aspects of the African life, more notably, marriage and the prohibition of witchcraft and sorcery.¹⁰ Fisher welcomed all these developments. He commented on the legislation pertaining to witchcraft and sorcery thus, "We are thankful where they destroy what is false and hideous, but this should urge us all the more to build in its place what is good and true and holy."¹¹ Thus, at the height of the colonial period, the government and the church were in agreement with regard to their dislike of some aspects of the African traditions and cultures.

More importantly, Fisher made his knowledge of law available for the services of the diocese. During the larger part of his period as bishop, he was mostly preoccupied with organising mission property, such as land and steamers, as the legal assets of the diocese. Thus, under his leadership, mission property acquired a legal standing. One of his priests described him as:

A missionary and administrator of the first order. It is hardly too much to say that he found the diocese a congeries of separate mission stations, and he welded it into an administrative whole, with a common policy...the episcopate of Bishop Fisher marks a very distinct epoch in the life of the Diocese of Nyasaland. It may be described as a period of consolidation. He had just the gifts that were needed for the diocese at this period of its development.¹²

Nonetheless, Fisher's achievements as an organiser tended to be offset by his inability to conduct pastoral work efficiently, as a result of his inability to converse in the

10. Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii, p. 53.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 259. See also next chapter, footnote, and also L1, 4/4/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malawi.

African languages. Fisher's inability to converse in the local languages made him an ineffective pastor, as he was not able to shepherd and to interact meaningfully with his African flock. A.G. Blood described this deficiency thus, he "felt... a lack of close personal intercourse with the Africans as a result he was not an effective pastor to his African flock."¹³ One source informed the writer that Fisher was aloof from the Africans. He did not want to mix very much with the African people.¹⁴ As a result of this, by the time his episcopate was over in 1929 his diocese felt very strongly the lack of adequate pastoral care.¹⁵

7.1.3. Hardening of Attitudes towards the African ministry

Fisher's inability to engage more effectively in pastoral care with his African flock tends to reflect also his unsympathetic attitude with regard to the African ministry. When he arrived in the diocese three men who had been preparing for ordination, John Thawe, Petro Kilekwa and Lawrence Chisui, were ordained deacons in 1911. This ordination brought the number of African clergy to eight.¹⁶ Indicative of the marginalised place that African ministry occupied in missionary work, though candidates were available for ordination as deacons and priests in 1913, St. Andrew's College was closed, ostensibly due to a lack of a spare missionary staff member to run the college.¹⁷

It is striking that, faced with the same problem of shortage of European staff forty years previously, Bishop Tozer appeared to have used it as an opportunity to increase the ministry of the African clergy,¹⁸ while facing the same problem in 1913, Fisher used it to justify the halt of the African clergy training programme.¹⁹ Their differences in attitudes to the African ministry may be attributed to the fact that they were living in

13.*Ibid.*

14.Interview with Mr. Skeva Jabu, Mbewe, Malindi, Mangochi, Malawi, 21st December 1997.

15.Blood, *History of the UMCA*, vol. 1., p. 258.

16.*Ibid.*, p. 52.

17.*Ibid.*

18.See Chapter Four.

19.See Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, pp. 171-172.

two different contexts but also to differences in personal attitudes towards the African ministry, one fairly optimistic, the other less positive.

Living between 1863 and 1870 when the colonial rule was not yet a major factor in East Africa, Tozer could have been less constrained in promoting the African ministry. On the other hand, living at the height of the colonial rule in Nyasaland, under the prevailing ideology espousing white supremacy over the Africans, Fisher's attitude to the African ministry was much less sympathetic. John Weller and Jane Linden noted that after the 1919 ordination there was no increase of the African ministry for the next fifteen years.²⁰ Very perceptively, these authors further concluded that:

Fisher was very much a bishop of the colonial period, and he was very cautious about transferring authority into African hands. This caution was also shown in his unwillingness to place African clergy in charge of missions, preferring to keep them as assistants to European missionaries.²¹

Weller and Linden's comment attributing Fisher's patronising attitude to his association with the ruling colonial ideology is certainly significant. In colonial Nyasaland as in other colonial societies, missionary attitudes towards the African were not in general in conflict with the racist, paternalistic outlook of the colonial officials and settlers. But Fisher's attitude towards the African ministry in Malawi ought to be viewed also in light of the developments that were taking place in East Africa, particularly in the diocese of Zanzibar.

Moriyama stated that, "after a case of a failure of an African deacon, Bishop Hine decided in 1903 to ordain 'no more native priests.'"²² Likewise, according to Maynard Smith, after receiving a report of the moral lapse of the two African priests in 1916, Hines's successor, Frank Weston, wrote "... to his brother bishops in the UMCA to say that the time had not come for a native ministry, and that he had no more intention of

20. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

22. Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

ordaining any more native priests.”²³ Though so far no sources available to the researcher yet indicate which way the bishops responded, nevertheless, Weston’s sentiments suggest something of the problems that related to the African ministry.

Like the other bishops in East and Central Africa, Fisher was certainly not unaffected by the white racist ideological rule that prevailed in the colonial society of Nyasaland. It may certainly not be coincidental that from this period, unofficial distinctions between European and African segments of missionary work were being consolidated.²⁴ For instance, Bishop Fisher is reported to have resolved that, “he would make Lungwena a European station in 1915 with G.H. Wilson as priest-in-charge...”²⁵ These distinctions, between “European” and “African” in all aspects of mission life were to continue until 1963.²⁶ Note particularly this footnote.

Moriyama also noted similar attitudes and practices in the diocese of Zanzibar in 1903²⁷ where Bishop Hine “established a new pattern whereby an English missionary priest would be in charge, but with African clergy doing the work.”²⁸ The practice seemed to be consistent with the UMCA policy that prescribed that their ultimate goal was to “fit as many boys as possible as teachers” rather than priests. Bishop Fisher’s allusion to stations as “African” or “European” just noted above suggests the existence of a colour bar in missionary work implying that other stations were exclusively meant for Europeans. Attitudes such as these entrenched the view underlined in the preceding

23. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

24. File RE24/A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Bishop Donald Arden, A letter to Archdeacon S. Jalasi, 25/2/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi whereby Bishop Donald Arden informed Archdeacon Sheldon Jalasi with respect to the housing facilities at Nkhotakota, that “in 1963 the distinction between “European” and “African” staff had been obliterated.” File K1; St. George’s Parish, St. Paul’s parish and many others were exclusively for whites while others for African priests. These designations are well known by Malawians even today. For example, until 1963, All Saint’s Nkhotakota was still designated as a “white” station, implying that it was only a white priest who could head the station.

27. Moriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

28. *Ibid.*

chapter that Africans were regarded as incompetent to run their own show. In other words, Africans were socialised to view their ministry merely as an extension to that of the missionaries.

On a more subtle level, such attitudes and practices tended to enhance the African's dependence on the European missionaries, as the latter regarded the African as a "child." Similar attitudes which tended to undermine the potential of African clergy were prevalent in the CMS in West Africa at the time of Crowther in the 19th century. It was perception that saw the "Other" as possessing nothing; hence had nothing to contribute save in their capacity as subordinates of their European masters.²⁹ It was this missionary imposed perception that seemed to undermine the Africans' potential to rise beyond missionary-imposed limitations.

Yet, Weller and Linden's observation that no African ordination took place for the next fifteen years also suggests the underlying problems that confronted the training of the African clergy. Fifteen years lapse within Fisher's nineteen years of service (he died in 1929) is serious. It actually implies that, of the eighteen years of his episcopate in Malawi, Fisher worked only for three years in trying to raise the African ministry. It suggests the existence of the serious constraints that the African clergy were confronted with regard in their ministry. One of these was the problem of the missionaries' unwillingness to recognise the abilities that the African clergy possessed. A researcher into this period, R.G. Stuart, observed that these early priests had no personal files.³⁰

The non-existence of personal files for the African clergy suggests that the missionary authorities did not meaningfully acknowledge their work or officially acknowledge their existence. It seems the missionaries recognised the African ministry only as far as it existed as an extension to that of the missionaries. This implies that the missionaries did not trust the leadership of the African clergy enough to recognise their abilities. The

29. Miller, C., *Blank Darkness, Africanist discourse in French*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1985, chapter one.

30. "Biography of Early African Clergy". Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File RG1.

evidence in the archives at the Anglican diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malawi, not only supports this observation, it also reveals the struggles that were confronting the African clergy in this period.

The case of Leonard Mattiya Kamungu, the first Malawianborn priest illustrates this. After a few years of fruitful ministry in Malawi, he left to work in Eastern Zambia. The official version has it that it was at the invitation of Bishop Hine of Northern Rhodesia that Leonard Mattiya Kamungu voluntarily offered to go to start pioneer work in Zambia in 1912.³¹ This is the dominant perspective, given by the authorities.

This perspective attributed to the missionaries the merit of taking responsibility while it considered the African as a passive participant or a mere recipient. It was meant to justify a point of view that portrayed the missionaries as the initiators, and the leaders, while it ignored or deliberately distorted the dynamic role that the Africans played. The official view does injustice to the role of the African. It does not explain satisfactorily the role of the African. To uncover their role, we must get behind the public version, to the hidden motives that normally elude the public eye. Evidence in the archives of the Anglican diocese of Southern Malawi tends to conflict with the official version rendered in the *History of the UMCA*.

Archival testimony from his very close unnamed source, and associate, state that Kamungu had always been happy to serve on his own and to get acknowledgement for his work while in Nkhotakota.³² Early during the episcopate of Fisher, Kamungu had been made to work under European priests who could not even acknowledge or give him credit for his excellent work. Kamungu went through a period of turmoil. On very rare occasions, tensions surfaced between Kamungu and some of these missionaries under whom he had been working. For instance, this source further notes that while

31. See Blood, *History of the UMCA*, vol. ii., p. 135.

32. File AL1, "Leonard Mattiya Kamungu". Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba.

Kamungu did a good job at Sani in Nkhotakota district in return he received only abuse and mistrust from the missionaries.³³

It is reported that frustrated as a result of this experience, Kamungu requested the bishop of Northern Zambia to let him to work in the Eastern Province of Zambia.³⁴ It is further interesting to note that in his shortlived ministry in Zambia, Kamungu worked independently of missionary supervision and achieved the most outstanding results that an African priest of his period could ever achieve working under those hostile circumstances.³⁵ The Kamungu episode illustrates the hardening of racist attitudes towards the African ministry in the diocese of Nyasaland.

A memoir written immediately after his death by one of the missionaries, Father Glossop, tends to support this unique archival testimony. In 1924, Glossop stated that, "Leonard had somewhat the pride of the African who is rising in a land where (under the British flag at least) the dark man generally meets with justice but too seldom real sympathy..."³⁶ This was a matter that pained Kamungu in his life. Glossop's comment seems to allude to Kamungu's bad experience at the hands of the Europeans, some of whom could have been the missionaries.

But Kamungu's attainment of outstanding results in his work was probably due to his determination to show his missionary rivals that he was as capable as they were, or perhaps even better than them. That Kamungu had to contend with incidents of racism from some missionaries has support from Weller. Writing in 1971 Weller alluded to the racial problem that Kamungu was to confront from some white missionaries later on in his life from a racial incident that occurred at St. Marks' Theological College at Mazizini in 1899 where the students had reacted with hostility to what they perceived as missionary paternalism.³⁷

33.*Ibid.*

34.*Ibid.*

35.*Ibid.*

36.*Central Africa*, June 1913, no. 366, p. xxxi., RE/11. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

37. Weller, J., *A Priest from the Lakeside*, p. 17.

Nonetheless, the most recurrent feature during the episcopate of Bishop Fisher, as far as African ministry was concerned, was the closure of the St. Andrew's Theological College. Weller and Linden attributed this to such "a shortage of missionaries in this period that it was found impossible to spare anyone to run St Andrew's College."³⁸ Eventually, the college opened for a time under Father Frank Winspear, to allow the four deacons to proceed to the priesthood. After ordination in 1917, there was another gap till the end of 1921, when Archdeacon Glossop reopened it.³⁹

The issue of the apparent competition existing between the staffing needs of the mission stations and those of the theological college with the former having an advantage over the latter, ran into a larger one of the missionaries' attitudes towards the African ministry. Weller and Linden observed that until impressed by the qualities of Augustine Ambali,⁴⁰ during the last phase of his episcopate (1917-1924), Fisher was not enthusiastic to ordain African clergy. What impressed Bishop Fisher and others like Bishop Hine in Ambali?

Fisher described Ambali as "delightful in his character"⁴¹ while Hine was specific to note that, "[Ambali] retained all his native simplicity and manner of living; he was never 'spoilt' by contact with Europeans".⁴² Thus, in the missionaries' view, the ideal African Anglican priest had to be distinctly African as opposed to European in character. "Never spoilt by contact with European" would assume that while Ambali "knew" his place he also gave the European his place. To Fisher, Ambali was the best example of an ideal native priest. He displayed the characteristics that a European missionary desired to see in the African clergyman devotion to duty, subservience and deference.

38. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. Blood, *The History of the UMCA.*, vol. ii. p. 255.

Fisher's unfavourable attitude with regard to the African ministry reflects his general noncommittal attitude towards social and political grievances that affected the Africans at the height of colonial rule in Malawi. For instance, with respect to the government legislation forcing the Africans into European labour in 1922, he issued a statement in which he said he did not hope to change the Labour Ordinance of 1922.⁴³ Similarly, in a letter to the Scottish missionary, the Reverend J. H. Oldham, Fisher confessed that his real intention in putting pressure was merely to "satisfy his conscience."⁴⁴ Otherwise Fisher was not sympathetic to the welfare of the African people. The aftermath of the John Chilembwe Uprising in 1915 illustrates clearly the UMCA's attitude towards education as an issue that had a bearing on the rise of African leadership in Malawi.

7.1.4. The Impact of the First World War (1914-1918) on the African consciousness in Malawi

No doubt the First World War in 1914 marked the most significant landmark in the sphere of European-African relations in Africa. Hitherto, fairly unquestioned by Africans, the European world order and its values seemed almost invincible to Africans. The War unsettled the European sociopolitical order, which had all along almost been taken for granted. Even though the issue of John Chilembwe does not fall entirely within the scope of this study, nevertheless, the episode sheds light on the missionary attitudes to African leadership in Malawi with respect to the role of education in colonial society.

John Chilembwe was born of Yao and Manganja parents in the Southern Region of Malawi in Chiradzulo district in 1871.⁴⁵ Largely under the influence of the missionary Joseph Booth of the Zambezi Industrial Mission, John Chilembwe set up his Providence Industrial Mission in Chiradzulo district. As a result of a number of

43. Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

45. Shepperson, G. and Price, T., *Independent African, John Chilembwe and the Origins, and Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958, pp. 46-47. See also Mwase, G.S., *Strike A Blow and Die*, Harvard: University Press, 1967, p. 12.

grievances among them, the African involvement in the “European” War, and the oppressive labour practices in Malawi, Chilembwe mounted a rebellion against the colonial British government in Malawi in 1915.

Following the killing of three European settlers and wounding of two others⁴⁶, his rebellion was quashed. In the aftermath of the rebellion, some of those implicated in the rebellion belonged to the Scottish mission of Blantyre while none of them was associated with either the Roman Catholic missions or the UMCA.⁴⁷ The commission of enquiry into the incident declared that There is a certain danger that in the absence of adequate supervision religious instructions may possibly be made as a vehicle of religious propaganda by native teachers. In the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions this danger does not exist to the same extent, owing to the nature of the religious teaching entrusted to the native teachers.”⁴⁸

There are two issues at stake here; the commission praised the tighter supervision of African teaching exercised in the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions, which sharply contrasted with the approach in the Protestant Churches. J. Du Plessis made the point clearly when he said that this paragraph, in effect, praises the religious teaching of Catholics and Anglicans, and condemns by implication that of the Protestant churches.”⁴⁹ Du Plessis went further to assert that in the Catholic Mission African teaching centred on obedience to the Pope.⁵⁰

Similarly, in the UMCA obedience and subservience to authority characterised the training of the Africans. For instance, in the aftermath of the inquiry, one of the commissioners, Father Glossop, commenting on the incident, said, “What the African

46. *Report of the Commission to inquire into the Native Rising within the Nyasaland Protectorate*, 6819, National Archives of Malawi, Zomba.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Thrice Through The Dark Continent*, London: Longmans, Green and co., 1916, p. 347.

50. *Ibid.*

wanted was the kind of teaching which the UMCA stood for, that was to say the full Catholic Faith with its organisation of fellowship and discipline...⁵¹ To Glossop, the structure of the Anglican Church along with its discipline constituted the appropriate base for training the African in the virtues of discipline. He justified the African's needs on the grounds that tribal discipline had collapsed under European modernity, which an African now needed.⁵²

Particular mention of the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church in this instance is significant. It suggests the special role that the two missions played in their maintenance of a political order which, seeking to preserve European ruling interests, sought to suppress the aspirations of the Africans seeking to break free from European colonial rule. However, Glossop elaborated on this point when he stated that

This shows that the Church which professes to aid him must be a strong Church with discipline, one which will claim for herself something of the obedience which of old an African gave to his chief and tribe. The stronger we make the claims of the Catholic Church, with its discipline and its sense of corporate responsibility, the better for the African individual who wills it to be saved. For all the bad characters we find among Africans, heathen or African, collapse for this reason: they have lost the old props of tribal discipline based chiefly, it may be, on selfinterest and fear, and the newer and higher principles and motives which have not had time really to hold them.⁵³

In Glossop's view, the Anglican Church's structures offered discipline in the form of corporate responsibility and more particularly obedience to the authority which he saw as crucial for the social stability of an African. Glossop's views sounds similar to those expressed by Bishops Steere, Smythies and Hine in connection with the sacraments of the church and its authority of leadership. However, Glossop's conception that Africans had lost their traditional values, particularly discipline by 1915 only fortyfive years after their encounter with the European sounds simplistic. African values and traditions had been part of the individuals and groups for ages in Africa before the advent of the

51. Shepperson and Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-340

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

Europeans to suggest that within the short period the Europeans were in Africa their discipline had collapsed.

More significantly, the Chilembwe uprising epitomised the change of the times. Following this episode, the missions exercised tight control of the educational system in Malawi. After condemning some Europeanled missions, the conclusions of the commission were formulated as follows:

Only properly accredited missions should be allowed in the Protectorate, that is, missions which are supported by a responsible body at home, which do not teach doctrines which are politically objectionable, and which provide proper support for their missionaries.⁵⁴

The report deal with only Europeanbased missions and favoured only those with proper accreditation and whose teachings were considered not adverse to the political view of the colonial government. In other words, the government welcomed those missions that implicitly supported the political perspective of the government. Amongst these were the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. As Weller and Linden concluded, “at the height of the colonial period, church and *boma* (government) were very much in agreement.”⁵⁵

Nonetheless, Pachai’s preceding observation is in line with the traditional position and the policy of the UMCA. Since its early beginnings in Zanzibar, the UMCA had stressed that its principal objective was purely “religious”, concentrating on evangelisation rather than education per se. Probably for this reason those considered not measuring up to the mark had always been weeded out. The underlying reason for this approach was what the UMCA believed that too much education for Africans was socially undesirable as it led to them adopting an arrogant attitude.

54. *Report of the Commission to inquire into the Rising Within the Nyasaland Protectorate* 6819 , National archives, Zomba; See also Shepperson and Price, *Independent African*, Edinburgh: 1958, pp. 380-395; Blood, *The History of the UMCA.*, vol. ii., p. 134.

55. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

The UMCA missionaries were bent on controlling the Africans through education. They saw education as a convenient tool to hold the African clergy down. Nevertheless, as Pachai noted:

The Chilembwe Uprising introduced a new dimension in the relations between state and church. It acted as a catalyst in the relations between the state and the churches throughout the remainder of the Protectorate period. In Governor Smith's words, it was 'a new phase' in the existence of Nyasaland.⁵⁶

In the aftermath of the uprising the missionaries were not spared from at least taking some of the blame from the colonial authorities. The latter charged that, "The missionaries are men of narrow views, the system of church government is very loose and no effective discipline is exercised."⁵⁷ John Mackenzie asserts that pedagogical conservatism is akin to political conservatism. Designed to maintain the political status quo, it reproduces a corresponding order in the educational system.⁵⁸

In the UMCA, on a certain level, Leonard Kamungu may be rightly perceived as an icon of resistance, in some respects not unlike Chilembwe. As noted above, Kamungu's departure from Malawi to Eastern Zambia was apparently a statement intended to demonstrate that he was capable of being a missionary independent of the European influence. His very successful work in Zambia was certainly intended to confound his missionary critics who often asserted that Africans could not successfully work independently, that they needed the supervision of their missionary superiors. The fact that after his sudden death Kamungu was elevated to the position similar to that of a martyr in the Anglican Church Calendar in Central Africa suggests the significance of the symbolic role of his personal spirituality and ministry during the height of racism in the colonial period.

More significantly, following this episode in the UMCA, African training came under tight control and strict supervision similar to the experience in the diocese of Zanzibar

56.Pachai, *The State and the Churches in Malawi During the Early Protectorate Rule*, p. 9.

57.*Ibid.*, p 10.

58.Mackenzie, J., *op. cit.*, p. 73, 123.

at the turn of the 20th century. In 1919 one of the UMCA missionaries, Robert Keable, writing in the journal *The East and The West*, observing the existence of some failures of the African ministry, questioned the appropriateness of the current methods the UMCA was using in recruiting and training the African clergy.⁵⁹ Father Geoffrey Dale responded that the simple manner of the UMCA training was based on the premise that the context in which the African clergy would work was rural, and that it was envisaged that such conditions were likely to remain unchanged for many years to come.⁶⁰

In the light of this view, he concluded, “the needs of the convert can be met by men who have faith and spirituality but no high intellectual attainments.”⁶¹ In other words, the rural village setting in which the African teachers worked determined and shaped the simple form of training which justified the modest form of training of the African clergy. It was a training oriented mostly to the rural noneducated masses living in the villages. More significantly, Dale urged a stricter supervision. He said,

I should strongly urge the necessity of a period of subservience, and when this is over constant and watchful supervision by the Bishop, of course, and in his enforced absences by the Archdeacon of the district. The native Christian Church should be carefully taught never to conceal any reason known to them why such a person should not be ordained, and the duty resting on them of informing the Bishop at once if anything has occurred which is causing scandal to the Christian Community. The Bishop is, as you can imagine, quite alive to the necessity of these safeguards and has taken steps to render them possible.⁶²

This found expression in the system of theological training which entailed a long and winding ladder of promotion, as it had been in the previous years. Dale outlined the system as follows:

In time, after testing, he can pass on with intervals of special instruction until he becomes a Reader, Evangelist or Subdeacon... only after passing through all these grades that he can look forward, if he has a vocation, to the ministry. And even then he cannot be admitted unless he is accepted as a candidate by the local native clergy, who

59. *Central Africa*, June 1919, no. 438, xxxvii., p. 61.

60. *Ibid.* pp. 6162.

61. *Ibid.* p. 61.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

have been specially warned never to conceal any reason that might affect his ordination.⁶³

Central Africa journal of 1919 gave the number of the African clergy in the UMCA in Malawi as nineteen priests, nine deacons and thirty readers.⁶⁴ However, this system became even more cumbersome by the 1920s. In the issue of *Central Africa* of January 1920 a writer who only identified himself as D.V. stated that, “in Nyasaland we have an educational ladder by which a boy may climb from the very elementary teaching to the high standard for the priesthood.”⁶⁵ Continuing his statement, he said having spent some years as a teacher,

(Then) after ten years of good work (as a Reader) (the student) comes to a Theological College for three months of intensive preparation, before being admitted to that Order. His responsibilities then increase, as not only does he have charge of a single school, but of a district as well; keeping in touch with the people, and being able to give his Priestincharge accurate information as to their wellbeing. Here again his ability to do this helps to shows his fitness for further advancement; and after ten years, or even longer, he may be called by the bishop to the Theological College for two years reading before being ordained Deacon. Five years later, after a final year's work at College, he may become a Priest.⁶⁶(brackets, mine).

According to this scale, thirty years was the standard period required to train for the priesthood. This would mean that by the time the aspirants finished their training they would certainly be around fifty or sixty years, having spent half of their life time in training for the ministry. In the previous chapter, the existence of a similar programme was noted with regard to the training of the African clergy under Archdeacon Johnson. This illustrates the continuity and consistency of the trend. As will be noted in the next chapter the system had not changed much by 1952, the long duration for probation was still the norm for training the African clergy. What was the reason for delaying the Africans' ministry? The Africans were considered as slow learners who had to be observed for a long time.

63.*Ibid.*, p. 63.

64.*Ibid.*, p. 1.

65.*Central Africa*, January 1920, no. 438.

66.*Ibid.*

The necessity of imposing this regimen of training system was justified on the basis of the need to build “Christian” character in the Africans, which the missionaries considered that the Africans did not possess. This is how Broomfield put it in 1926, “the primary importance in the training of native teachers is the personal character and influence of those engaged in it”⁶⁷ The key to understanding this relationship between an African and European was paternalism. This was a relationship in which an African had to be too closely supervised and observed as not much trust existed between both parties. The cue to this system was spelt by Broomfield who declared that “the main work of the European will always be supervision.”⁶⁸

The fundamental weakness of the training system of the African teachers that the church faced was elaborated by Broomfield. He declared that, “the primary aim of (our) work in the classroom is that boys learn to think, and to use their brains and not merely their memories. It follows that *our teachers themselves should be taught to think*, and to that end I suggest that some kind of training in Logic should form part of their course.”⁶⁹ (italics, mine)

As the teachers’ college was the base of the African ministry, the nursery for the priesthood, this suggests that the intellectual equipment of the African clergy was low. That Broomfield suggested the introduction of Logic shows that thus far the system of training the African teachers/clergy contributed to the formation of an intellectually low clergy.

Meanwhile, the UMCA’s Annual Review Report for 1922 published in *Central Africa* January 1923 shows that while in Malawi the UMCA could boast of eight African priests, the diocese of Zanzibar had thirty African clergy on its roll.⁷⁰ This number of priests is even less than in 1907.⁷¹ To compare the number eight clergy of 1923 with

67. *Central Africa*, January 1926, no. 517, xlv., p. 12.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

70. *Central Africa*, January 1923, no. 48, xl.

71. See Blood, *History of the UMCA*, vol. ii., p. 29. Age for ordination to the diaconate appears to range from 36 to 50. For instance, first Malawian bishop

those of 1919, nineteen priests, and nine deacons, shows that the numbers had declined. Besides loss through death, it is more likely that stricter supervision resulting from the policies and new attitudes since 1919 had an impact on the overall ministry of the African clergy.

Moreover, what G.W. Broomfield stated in January 1926 throws further light on this issue. In his assessment of the teaching system of the UMCA, he also pointed out another crucial weakness: a lack of close personal relationship between the missionaries and their African students.⁷² This seems to contrast with the ethos of training under William Percival Johnson from around 1890s and 1905 when the theological college was built at Likoma, where studentteacher relationship seemed closer. The lack of this positive quality prompted Broomfield to suggest that:

There must be a far closer relationship than a good many Europeans are prepared to adopt. I would suggest that what should be aimed at is the kind of relationship that exists between the Oxford or Cambridge tutor and his pupils. The tutors would mix informally with the students in sports and in literary and debating societies, and show personal interest in them. If we are not prepared to do this, our work will not have the results that would otherwise be possible.⁷³

Broomfield's observation that no meaningful contact existed between the missionary and the African clergy confirms the argument of this thesis that in some respects the missionary educational system and structures in the UMCA in Malawi tended to undermine the efforts towards the development of a close relationship between them (missionaries) and their African subordinates.

Meanwhile, in 1926 the colonial administration in Nyasaland established an education department.⁷⁴ One of the farreaching changes resulting from this development was the introduction of a system and a structure that gradually began to regulate missionary

Josiah Mtekateka was ordained deacon at the age of 36 See Denis Mpassou, *From a dog Boy to a Bishop*, p. 28.

72. *Central Africa*, January 1926, no. 517., xliv.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Central Africa* July 1935, no. 1. See also *Drumbeat Magazine* in File A/P7, 1971. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

education. With these changes, the government started raising the standard of education in its institutions. Under the government-sponsored programme, the teacher started acquiring professionalism. With the emergence of a professional government-trained teacher went also the rise in the wages that they now earned.⁷⁵

The new kind of teacher started acquiring new status, and prestige, which until now was the preserve of the priest.⁷⁶ Largely because of the low wages that the church offered, the new kind of teacher was not very willing to make his services available to the church, as had been the case with the church-trained teacher in the previous years.⁷⁷ As a result of this development, the church started experiencing scarcity of teachers.⁷⁸ These changes were to affect negatively the ministry of the church in the emerging society for the next forty to fifty years.

Though the Scottish mission of Livingstonia does not directly fall within the scope of this study, the developments that were taking place in that mission during the 1920s and 1930s shed light on the conservative character of the UMCA education policy. By the 1920s, and 1930s, the consequences of fifty years of a liberal education of the Scottish mission in northern Malawi sharply contrasting with a conservative UMCA education policy began to make its impact on the Livingstonia Scottish mission. While African critical attitude to missionary leadership surfaced in the Scottish mission, there was a marked absence of such tendencies in the UMCA.

Epitomising these developments, in 1928 the African National Church was formed from the Scottish Livingstonia mission.⁷⁹ In 1933, Yesaya Zerenje Mwasi broke away from the Scottish mission of northern Malawi to form his Blackmans's Church of God.⁸⁰ The causes of break aways were of a social and political nature. Paternalism and racist

75.*Ibid.*

76.*Ibid.*

77. See Sundkler, *Christian Ministry in Africa*, p. 199.

78.*Ibid.*

79. Ross, K. R., (ed.), *Christianity in Malawi*, Kachere Book No. 3., Mambo Press: Gweru, 1996, p. 171.

80. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 117

attitudes in the Livingstonia mission had prompted prominent African leaders like Zerenje Mwasi to form the Blackman's Church.⁸¹ In his struggles against missionary paternalism, Mwasi protested that "Mission shall never be incorporated into the life blood of the native church... it shall never uproot evil customs of the native lands and in short it shall never conquer for Christ...This work God has reserved for the native Christianity"⁸²

It is very significant that Mwasi had been raised to the position of the first African moderator in 1918, while the Scottish Blantyre Mission appointed its first African moderator of Blantyre Presbytery, the Reverend Harry Matecheta in 1933.⁸³ The position of moderator in the Presbyterian tradition compares with that of archdeacon in the Anglican tradition. That no African held a similar position in the Anglican Church during this period illustrates the extent to which the Anglican missionaries lagged behind these missions as far as promoting African leadership was concerned. Why did the UMCA not experience similar trends to those of the Scottish mission?

The conspicuous absence of such developments in the UMCA suggests the constraining effect of the UMCA policy on the training of the African clergy. Compared to the Livingstonia mission, the nature of the educational system that the UMCA imposed on the Africans in general, and African clergy in particular, was of low intellectual capacity to raise the level of their consciousness to the extent that they could question the missionary monopoly of power. It is in this light that Nyamayaro Mufuka drew our attention to the conservative nature of Anglican Church structures and the preconceived ideas of the missionaries as largely responsible for inhibiting the missionaries' freedom to engage with the grievances of the African people.⁸⁴

81.*Ibid.*

82.Mwasi, Z. M., "Essential and Paramount Reasons for Working Independently 1933 in Ross, K. R., (ed.), *Christianity in Malawi*, Kachere Books No. 3., Gweru: Mambo Press, 1996, pp. 169-178.

83.Pachai, *Malawi: The History of the Nation*, p. 206.

84.Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Like the Roman Catholic missions, the UMCA taught a doctrine that espoused respect for traditional authority either sacred or secular. Thus in 1881, Steere had advised his missionaries that, “in going to a foreign country, the first object of a missionary should be to make his converts good subjects of the state to which they belong.”⁸⁵ Similarly, his successor, Smythies had cautioned the missionaries not to usurp the powers of the “sword”, but rather to be content with spiritual powers.⁸⁶

Evidence suggests that, by far, structures and systems within the UMCA contributed to constraining the Africans’ ability to articulate themselves freely. This has been illustrated by Bishop Fisher’s account of the way the African clergy interacted with the structures of communication and policymaking. Bishop Fisher reported in 1921 that it was not satisfactory to observe that in the synod Africans were not in a position to participate fully in the discussions.⁸⁷ He further noted that Africans voted without grasping issues at stake.⁸⁸

Despite the existence of the committee working to improve things, the bishop went on to despair that perhaps time and experience would sort this out.¹¹⁹⁸⁹ More significantly, the bishop noted that the background and the knowledge of the synod were far removed from the social setup of the African clergy since the synod was a feature of the life in the Church of England.⁹⁰ The bishop further noted that, “even in purely African matters it is very difficult for African priests to make their point of view clear to us.”⁹¹

The fact that the African clergy were incapable of meaningfully engaging with the missionary structures of debate and policymaking on the same level as their European counterparts suggests that the Africans did not feel at home in the Europeanoriented

85. Brough, *op. cit.*, p. xvii

86. *Central Africa*, June 1924. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

87. *Central Africa*, June 1924, no. 498, p. 121. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*

organs. Essentially, these power structures constrained the African clergy from engaging in meaningful debate with the missionaries. They alienated the Africans from the process of communication and socialisation.

Again as highlighted in the preceding chapter, it is this estrangement from the European organs of communication that constrained these early African clergy from engaging meaningfully with their missionary superiors to the extent that they dealt with their own cases. As power structures of debate and communication, the synod procedures seemed to inhibit the Africans from making their views clearly heard. It is from this perspective that the apparent inability of the African clergy to voice their grievances ought to be viewed. Besides the low standard of education, the clergy were constrained by missionary structures of socialisation and power. These early priests operated as a low social class of clergy in the Europeandominated cultural set up.

The missionary structures of policymaking could have constrained the voice of the African clergy from emerging in public debate. These structures were too European, too encumbered with European power as to make the African clergy uncomfortable. Africans were uncomfortable in the system of deliberations.

As noted earlier in chapter six, it was because of this “unsafe” or “insecure” forum that the African clergy resorted to alternate discourse, operating on their own, in close and intimate discussions, hearing each others cases behind the back of their missionary superiors. This demonstrates that the African clergy were victims of the legacy of a training system that militated against their selfesteem, selfassertion and identity within the missionary social structures. The “shortcomings” in public debate as pointed out by Bishop Fisher were a result of a missionary policy and training system that ostensibly promoted “African” as opposed to “European” identity. The missionaries’ assumptions ignored the fact that the missionary structures were fundamentally European rather than African.

Underlying these attitudes were the perceptions that since the Africans had no civilisation to lean on, no history, they needed some time to develop a sense of

“responsibility” and reach “maturity”, which was often associated with the adaptation to European civilisation and excellence. These preconceived ideas justified prolonged missionary tutelage of the African. This view constituted the core of what Said called Orientalism. In this regard, in 1922 Fisher commented despondently that, “we shall still have to live to see a large body of native clergy being led and ruled by the native bishops until such is achieved, but for now such a goal is a dream.”⁹² But in 1924, Fisher was even more cautious about the prospects of seeing an African bishop emerging in his time. He stated that:

We may not live to see African bishops leading and ruling great bodies of African clergy but steady progress is being made towards the ideal when it is effected our work will be done: till it is effected the call to us is that having put our hand to the plough we should not look back is imperative.⁹³

Largely this note of caution arose from the fact that the mission was experiencing financial hardships⁹⁴ whose impact had made the mission cut down the numbers of missionaries. In turn this meant that no priests would be made available to train the African clergy. As observed in other previous contexts, under these circumstances the training of the African clergy became the first to suffer since it was not regarded as priority number one. Moreover, during this period evidence shows that nothing had changed much with regard to the attitudes with respect to the training of the African clergy, a long period of probation was still seen as the ideal. For instance, in 1928, a writer in the *Nyasaland Diocesan Quarterly* had stipulated that the condition gradually and ultimately leading to ordination to the priesthood precisely entailed a long period of trial and a showing of signs of vocation.⁹⁵

Yet in the political context of the 1920s and 1930s, paternalism was prevailing within the Malawian society. In Malawi, as elsewhere on the continent, the British

92. “Some reflections from Nyasaland from the Chauncy Maples” in *Nyasaland Diocesan Quarterly Paper*, March 1925, no. 125. Archives of the Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

93. *Central Africa*, January 1924, no. 493, xli. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*, See also chapter six.

Administration introduced the principle of “trusteeship”, by which the Europeans saw themselves as having been granted the divine right to “bring up,” “guide,” and “lead” the African peoples into a socio-economic and political destiny.⁹⁶ Since the Africans were regarded as not mature enough, missionaries who were purported to “know” the African were appointed to the Legislative Councils to represent the “interests” of the African.⁹⁷ The Europeans believed themselves to be holding a divine mandate to assist Africans to attain a future destiny.⁹⁸

Except for their distinct mission, the missionaries were not very different from the colonial officials. As G. Verstraelen Gilhuis has observed, “African leadership and initiative in churches was dominated by western missionaries.” And he continues to state that “these missions and missionary organisations were part of a colonial society with an increasingly influential settler community.”⁹⁹ However, the extent of domination varied in individual missions, hardened or weakened, depending on the liberality or conservative character of the ideologies held by the mission and its structures of power.

Yet in stark contrast to the UMCA structure, as K. Nyamayaro Mufuka suggests was largely due to the Presbyterian authority system based on the rule of the “elders.” The latter’s system seemed more accommodating to the Africans’ aspirations of leadership than the episcopal model of ministry in the UMCA.¹⁰⁰ In both Blantyre and Livingstonia missions, African leadership on relatively higher levels evolved sooner than in the UMCA and in the Roman Catholic missions. For instance, in the Blantyre Presbyterian mission, Southern Malawi, the first Africans were ordained in 1898, five years later they assumed senior leadership in governing local Church affairs.¹⁰¹

96.Hetherington, *op. cit.*, p. 112-119.

97.*Ibid.*

98.*Ibid.*

99.Gilhuis, V. *A New Look at Christianity in Africa*, London: SCM, 1979, p. 89.

100.Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

101.Pachai, *Malawi: The History of the Nation*, pp. 201-208.

In the UMCA, the first priest, namely, Yohana Abdallah, who had been ordained in 1898 and 1906 was never promoted to any other position beyond that of a priest in charge.¹⁰² It was only in 1961 that Father Habil Chipembere ordained in 1938 was to be made the first African archdeacon, twentythree years after ordination.¹⁰³ Paternalism smacked of the missionary assumption of a cultural superiority claiming to know “everything” that the African needed. In this relationship of domination and subordination, the missionaries sought to determine the scope and the pace of the African ministry. Writing in 1924 in the *Central Africa Magazine*, a writer expressed his views thus, “What he (i.e. an African) needs is the discipline of the Catholic Church of Christ. What he needs is the worship of the Catholic Church, and the fellowship of the Catholic Church, and without it I am sure that he will not get the best of the Christian faith’”.¹⁰⁴

Clearly this statement reflects the missionaries’ assumption of the authority to know and represent the needs or wishes of an African. Fisher’s eighteenyear episcopate ended in 1929 when his motor car was involved in an accident on his way from Mponda’s to Likwenu, Malosa.¹⁰⁵ The death of Fisher seemed to provide an opportunity for the UMCA to bring changes to the style of the episcopate in Nyasaland. The lack of effective pastoral care strongly felt in the diocese of Nyasaland had once again convinced the head office in London that it was now time to change the style of episcopacy. It is significant that in initiating this change the UMCA looked for a man already in the mission field rather than in England. In this they found Father Gerald Wybergh Douglas.

102. MacCracken, J., *Christianity and Politics in Malawi*, London: Longman, 1977, p. 87.

103. *Central Africa*, March 1961, vol. 1., Lxxix, no. 63, p. 33. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malawi.

104. *Central Africa*, October 1924, no. 502, XL11, p. 215. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

105. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

7.1.5. The shortlived Episcopate of Bishop Gerald Wyberg Douglas (1930-1934)

Douglas joined the diocese of Zanzibar to take charge of the Theological College at Hegongo, served as a priest in charge for a while and was made Archdeacon of Ziguiland. Thus almost to highlight the considerable pastoral needs felt in the diocese caused by Fisher's episcopate and the need to fill the gap, in his third volume of *The History of the UMCA*, Blood juxtaposes the history of the episcopate of Fisher and Douglas and his successor, Frank Thorne.¹⁰⁶ In both Douglas's and Thorne's cases he stresses the strong pastoral orientation of their episcopates which won the hearts of the Africans, while on Fisher's episcopate he abstains from making a comment. Without actually saying it this seems to pronounce an indictment on Fisher.

Douglas was consecrated bishop of Nyasaland on 24th June 1930. Douglas's appointment after the death of Bishop Cathrew Fisher indicates the mission's shift from the stress on the administrative style of the office to the pastoral side. While the administrative aspect of the diocese was excellent during the time of Fisher, it was observed that the pastoral aspect had suffered tremendously. The large African congregations felt strongly the neglect of a bishop who seemed to spend more time with the European congregations and also preoccupied himself with administrative work, either in his office with colonial officials. Perhaps his closer attachment to the European congregations may be explained by the fact that he did not have to learn their language.

During his very first service as bishop, Douglas amazed his congregation at Likoma by addressing them in their language.¹⁰⁷ The rest of his episcopate was characterised by his constant travel. The African congregations seemed to be touched by his closeness and accessible character.¹⁰⁸

During Douglas's fouryear episcopate (1932-36), the UMCA faced a challenge of a different kind to its authority on Likoma Island. It did not arise from within its own

106. Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol., ii., pp. 24-26

107. Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii., p. 24.

108. *Ibid.*

ranks of African clergy as had been the case with the Livingstonia mission. The African clergy simply did not have adequate intellectual capacity to agitate for change. Neither had they any tradition upon which to draw for such an action. Their inferior educational background seemed to undermine any tendencies towards selfassertion or independence.

The challenge emanated from the *Mchape*, the witchcraft cleansing movement. Well-dressed young men sold the traditional medicine believed to “cleanse” people of witchcraft.¹⁰⁹ About half of the population on Likoma Island bought the medicine. Strong opposition from Archdeacon Arthur Glossop led to his house being stoned and police being summoned from Nkhotakota.

The positive response to the *Mchape* movement on Likoma Island illustrates the fragile foundation upon which the missionary Christianity rested. The mission was seen as incapable of protecting the people from the threat of witchcraft. In a great effort to combat *Mchape*, the ministry of the African clergy proved very useful. For instance, it was the assistant priest Lawrence Chisui who had to exhort the people to remember that their Baptism and Confirmation vows obliged them not to participate in anything associated with sorcery.¹¹⁰ On Likoma Island where the headman was Archdeacon Glossop, Deacon Crispo Machili was sent to the pulpit to preach against *Mchape* after an attempt by Father Douglas provoked angry muttering from the congregation. In his sermon, Machili charged that to drink *mchape* involved two fundamental errors: disobeying the church’s commands to give up *ufiti* (witchcraft) confessing to *Mchape* rather than a priest.¹¹¹

Persuasion and exhortation had little effect so the UMCA turned to the British administration with the hope that the latter might forbid the entry of *Mchape* on the island. The Administration did not comply for fear of lowering its prestige. At Unangu, the battle between Abdallah and Chief Kalanje for spiritual allegiance lasted ten years

109. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

110. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

111. *Ibid.*

before the priest's death. It resulted in achieving Abdallah's concept of separation of church and state.

Moreover, owing to Abdallah, Kalanje's authority over his people fell short of spiritual control of Christians.¹¹² While at Kobwe where Father Leonard Kangati was priest in charge two men were disappointed by sorcery which shook their faith in it, subsequently they turned to Christianity.¹¹³ At Ngoo where Father Ambali was priest in charge, a chief became a Christian and signified his acceptance of Christianity by burning his fortuneteller.¹¹⁴ In the 1920s a man from Mwembe arrived at Unangu with the support of Kalanje. He proceeded to do sorcery. As a result of his activities several Christians were censored by Abdallah including women, who then put away the supposed medicines.¹¹⁵ In the aftermath, the majority of Christians who had gone to *Mchape* were put under censure. However, after a short illness, Bishop Douglas died in 1936. Though short lived, his episcopate had shown that an incumbent bishop with field experience had the advantage of being an effective pastor.

7.1.6. Conclusion

Two issues have emerged from the foregoing chapter. The appointment of Fisher illustrates the UMCA's continued concern in London to run the UMCA in Malawi as an efficient organisation. On the other hand, the appointment of Bishop Douglas with African pastoral experience to compensate, as it were, for the inadequate pastoral work of Fisher suggests the weakness of an episcopacy that was solely styled on administration. Similarly critical, this period also shows the hardening of colonial attitudes with respect to the African ministry. In the UMCA this was displayed with respect to Fisher's unsympathetic attitude of placing a hold on African ordinations.

112.*Ibid.*, p. 12.

113.*Ibid.*, p. 8.

114.*Ibid.*

115.*Ibid.*, p. 7.

This reflects the general trend in the colonial atmosphere, as characterised by the regime's ruthless response to radical nationalists like John Chilembwe in Malawi. This period also marked the rise of critical African attitudes to missionary authority. Kamungu's salient symbolic missionary role in Eastern Zambia epitomised this. Similarly, the African clergy operating closely together behind the backs of the missionary superiors characterised this spirit. This period also illustrates the hardening of missionary attitudes towards the African ministry epitomised by the drop in the African clergy following the Chilembwe rising. With regard to the African ministry, it may be characterised as a period of despair. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate the role of missionary structures and attitudes in constraining the rise of the African clergy to the higher positions in the missionary church.

Chapter Eight

8. Diocese of Nyasaland (1936-1961)

8.1 The development of a modern African Leadership under the Episcopate of Frank Oswald Thorne

8.1.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed that the unfavourable missionary attitudes with regard to the African ministry had an impeding effect on the latter's ministry during the episcopate of Bishop Fisher. It was also asserted that demonstrating skills of a good administrator bishop, Fisher turned out to be a weak pastor, a factor that as far as pastoral work was concerned left the UMCA in a weaker state. In this chapter, I will highlight that the appointment of Frank Thorne as bishop was considered largely to make up for the perceived pastoral deficiencies in the episcopate of Bishop Fisher.

More importantly, I will analyse the shortcomings that impeded the processes towards the transference of power from the missionaries to the African clergy from the 1930s to the early 1960s. This is a crucial period in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi, as it marked the transition from the colonial period to the modern Malawi. I will argue that as part of the colonial structure of the society the missionaries (and church structures) had the effect of impeding the meaningful transference of power to the African leadership on the level of the episcopate.

8.1.2. A New Era for a “New Africa”: Mounting tide of Colonialism versus the rising wave of African Consciousness (1930-1960s)

8.1.2.1 The Episcopate of Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne

The Archbishop of Canterbury appointed Frank Thorne as bishop of the diocese of Malawi while the latter was working in the diocese of Zanzibar in 1936. On 24th February the same year he was consecrated bishop in St. Paul’s Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury assisted by among others the bishops of Uganda, Zululand and Pretoria.¹

A scholar of Christ Church, Oxford University, Frank Thorne took his degree in 1921. After a period at St. Boniface College, Warminster, he was ordained deacon and priest in the diocese of London in 1922. He served a curacy at All Souls, Clapton until he joined the mission in 1925. He first served at St. Andrew’s College, Minaki.² In 1927, he joined the diocese of Masasi and was engaged in pastoral work. He became the first warden of the newly established Theological College in 1930. Later he served as the vicargeneral of the diocese during the bishop’s absence.³

Thorne arrived in Malawi after Easter 1936. He was enthroned in Likoma Cathedral on 25th April 1936. Indicative of the strength upon which he was appointed as bishop, and the needs of the diocese felt at this period, immediately when he arrived, Thorne impressed his African congregations by speaking their language.⁴ Similarly, almost indicative of his future role in the affairs of the state, on his arrival, Thorne spent some time with the colonial governor in Zomba.⁵

Thorne arrived in Malawi at a time when the continent had been described from the 1930s as “new Africa.” From the missionaries’ perspective, increasing desire for

1. Blood, A. G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p. 25.

2. Blood, A. G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. ii, p. 230.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

5. *Ibid.*

material and educational attainments distinguished the “new Africa” from the “old Africa”. The new Africa was consequently marked by a loss of vocation in things sacred which had characterised the latter.⁶ This spirit of the “new Africa”, according to the missionaries, tended to undermine respect for the old beliefs, customs, and traditions holding the “old Africa.”⁷ Accompanying this, so the missionaries observed, was a loss of African vocation in sacred matters.⁸

Thorne also arrived in a period when Nyasaland was going through vast political developments. Since the middle of the 19th century, Cecil John Rhodes had a vision of uniting Southern Central and East Africa. He died in 1902 before the dream became a reality.⁹ Nonetheless, the late 1930s, modified Rhodes plans were in the pipeline to amalgamate the territories of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Nyasaland (Malawi) around the 1950s.¹⁰

On the other hand, largely spurred by the beginning of the British decolonisation of India in 1940, culminating in the 1950s in Africa, there emerged on the continent a spirit seeking emancipation.¹¹ To some degree, similar trends leading towards the handover of power were also taking place in the Churches. It would appear that in appointing Thorne, the UMCA was also responding to these developments.

But the appointment of Frank Thorne seemed also to have been prompted by another consideration within the UMCA. Fisher’s eighteenyear episcopate seemed to have created a gap of pastoral nature in the diocese. Bishop Fisher’s inability or unwillingness to learn the local languages virtually undermined his pastoral role to converse with and care for his African flocks more effectively. Thus, correspondence between Thorne and the UMCA general secretary, Father G.W. Broomfield, at the end of his episcopate in 1960, shows that Thorne had been appointed especially to provide

6.*Ibid.*, p. 241.

7.*Ibid.*

8.*Ibid.*

9.Pachai, *Malawi: A History of the nation*, p. 76.

10.*Ibid.*

11.*Ibid.*

strong pastoral leadership and skills that were perceived to be have been lacking in his predecessor, Bishop Thomas Cathrew Fisher. For instance, in his correspondence with Bishop Frank Thorne in 1960, Dr G.W. Broomfield, the Secretary of the UMCA noted that:

Cathrew Fisher was a first-rate administrator. Everything in the diocese including finance was in apple pie order. But he could never learn an African language, and he hardly knew his people. When he died, everybody felt that what the diocese needed was a real pastoral bishop who could talk to, and understand and show his love for the Africans.¹²

Thorne's appointment was thus regarded as important precisely because of the pastoral gifts that he was thought to possess. He was a bishop appointed to provide pastoral leadership to a diocese thought to have suffered inadequate pastoral care due to his predecessor's incapacity to converse with the majority of his flock in the African language. However, from another perspective, Thorne's appointment was probably also prompted by concerns relating to the social and political changes that were evidently sweeping the continent.

Thus in his report of 1947 Thorne would state that the church should be "in the process of evolution from a purely missionary venture, organised, staffed, directed and financed by the missionaries to an African institution manned by the Africans of the country themselves."¹³ How ready was Bishop Thorne to lead the colonial missionary church to the stage of transferring episcopal power to the African?

In the Anglican Church, as is the case with the Roman Catholic Church, the bishop is the corner stone of the local church. Considered as fully expressing the church, he is also its chief link with the universal church. This was the teaching of the Oxford Movement which it bequeathed to the UMCA in Malawi during the first three decades of the 20th century: "no bishop, no church." Yet, by the 1930s and 1940s, the UMCA had been training the African clergy for nearly three decades but had not yet even

12. Canon Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Frank O. Thorne, 24/5/60. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File L1.

13. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

elevated any of them to the position of a bishop. Unless an indigenous bishop was consecrated, the church remained European and not African. Was the UMCA creating a “defective” African Church in Malawi? How qualified was Thorne to lead the process?

Despite the Tambaram Missionary Conference in 1938 urging the missions to speed up the process of transfer of power to the local people,¹⁴ amongst the other missions the UMCA made the least progress in this area. Instead of going a step further than his predecessor, Bishop Fisher, who had made Ambali a canon in 1922, in fact Bishop Thorne went a step back. In 1937, fifteen years after Augustine Ambali was made canon of St Peter’s Cathedral in Likoma, Thorne awarded Father Lawrence Chisui not the position of archdeacon but rather the position of canon.¹⁵

Notably, Father Chisui became a canon largely because of the temporary absence of Canon Frank Winspear.¹⁶ It ought to be noted that, unlike the position of archdeacon, which carries considerable administrative power, the position of canon in the Anglican Church is nearly entirely that of an advisor to the bishop. It is interesting that in the Roman Catholic Church in Malawi during the same year Father Cornelius Chitsulo become the first priest.¹⁷ Where did the problems lie in the Anglican Church?

Largely, these lay with the missionary attitudes and practices in relation to the position and status of the African in a society dominated by colonial ruling ideology. In 1938, the position of the African clergy in the UMCA in Malawi was not very different from that which John Iliffe observed about the Anglican clergy in the UMCA in Tanzania. The latter observed that having fifty African priests on its roll, the clergy were not allowed to lead central missions or become archdeacons.¹⁸ Iliffe quoted what their

14. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

15. *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, 6/37, no. 2, vol. ii, p. 4. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi. Malosa, Zomba.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

18. Iliffe, J., *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 360.

bishop said, “African ministers of today cannot be built safely, soundly and satisfactorily without the European examples, sympathy, experience and oversight.”¹⁹

The preceding observation illustrates the gravity of the obstacles that undermined the process of the devolution of power from the European missionary to the African clergy. The missionaries did not see themselves as temporary servants preparing to hand over power to the Africans. Rather they saw themselves as indispensable to the operation of the whole missionary enterprise in Africa. They were not ready to share power with the Africans, to pass it on to the Africans. It was in this context that Bishop Thorne on 21st January 1938 ordained Paul Lundu and the other three to the priesthood.²⁰ Chipembere was destined to play an important role in the affairs of the church in Malawi *inter alia* as canon as well as archdeacon from 1960 to the late 1960s. However, on 31st January 1939, Josiah Mtekateka the first future Malawian bishop was ordained deacon.²¹ Four years later on 23rd February 1943, he was ordained priest.²²

This time the theological college was run by Father Glossop. A Malawian nationalist, a politician in the 1960s in Malawi, Henry Masauko Chipembere, a son of a very senior priest, Archdeacon Habil Matthew Chipembere gave us the following perspective on St Andrew’s College and its influence on the African student priests. In the 1930s its sole teacher was Archdeacon Glossop, a conservative Oxford educated Anglican who had already been in mission service for forty years.²³ Chipembere states that Glossop was a fanatical believer in British excellence.²⁴ He described Glossop further that “he believed that Africans needed discipline, not the kind of individualism seen in independent churches.”²⁵ “Like other missionaries”, so Chipembere continued to assert, “he [Glossop] was patronising, but was never insulting or arrogant to Africans, and assisted

19.*Ibid.*

20.Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii., p. 74.

21.*Ibid.*, p. 89.

22.*Ibid.*

23.Rotberg, R. I., (ed.). *Hero of the Nation, Chipembere of Malawi*, Blantyre: CLAIM, 2002, p. 51.

24.*Ibid.*, p. 53.

25.*Ibid.*

many people collectively as well as individually.”²⁶ As noted in other contexts earlier, Glossop’s character was similar to those of the other missionaries.

As was the case in the previous years, the training system followed the same pattern. Showing promising results, Habil Chipembere was promoted to the rank of a reader in 1934.²⁷ According to Chipembere, “the students’ daily routine was a rigid one.”²⁸ “They attended five church services every day and, except for living with their families, they led a life very much like that of monks in a monastery. Classes, in which Glossop was constantly talking loudly were held in the morning and afternoon every weekday.”²⁹ More significantly, the desire to win the affection of Glossop influenced the Africans’ performance. As the same author says, “There was great but silent competition amongst the students for the best class performance and for Glossop’s affection.”³⁰

However, it was fear more than affection that tended to influence the performance of the African students. Chipembere continued to assert that, “There was much fear of a bad report on any mission worker...If a worker had a bad report, it could lead to dismissal from his job or studies.”³¹ This fear pervaded the entire society associated with the mission either directly through employment or indirectly through merely being a Christian.³² He continued to note that,

If this fear of a bad report were general throughout the society in and around the mission, it was at its highest among the students of theological college and their families. A “report” could lead to elimination from the course, and such could be based on the student’s performance and conduct or on the behaviour of his wife and children or his relationship with his family and his colleagues. Consequently, each student made sure that his wife and children did nothing that would bring him a bad report. Their whole behaviour had to conform to the pattern and standards laid down by the missionaries. They had to be regular and diligent churchgoers, respectful towards authority, and humble in every way.³³

26.*Ibid.*, p. 52.

27.*Ibid.*

28.*Ibid.*, p. 53.

29.*Ibid.*

30.*Ibid.*

31.*Ibid.*, p. 54.

32.*Ibid.*

33.*Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

Three features, missionary paternalism, discipline, and surveillance characterised the formation of African clergy in this era. In the *Central Africa* magazine of 1940, the warden of Saint Andrew's College, Father Maycock reported that during the refresher course which was held at the college in that year, the African clergy "expressed their unwillingness to take responsibility soon because they were aware of their unreadiness."

He continued to state that, "Even in matters that were too close to their welfare the priests were too timid to discuss and they asked to be helped."³⁴ In the previous chapter, we saw how Bishop Fisher claimed to have observed similar tendencies about the Africans ministry in 1924. This view echoed that of Bishop Frank Weston whom I discussed in the previous chapter. More importantly this feature suggests continuity in trend and pattern of ministry during the colonial context.

In this instance, it would appear that over a period of time these attitudes and perceptions of subservience and subordination and dependence were inculcated in the Africans. Sustained for a long time, attitudes of dependence on and deference to the missionary seemed to have become more or less accepted as a fact by the African clergy. They had become part of the mindset and personality of the Africans.

The "unreadiness" of the Africans that Maycock claimed to have noted was in fact a result of the missionaries' paternalistic attitudes to the African clergy. In this regard, a view of the observer regarding the UMCA staff in 1936 clearly shows the missionaries' condescending attitudes to the Africans as obstacles that tended to undermine their potential development. At the memorial service of Father Christopher Lacey, the Vicar General of the diocese, in 1980, the observer stated that:

Most of the staff in those days did not think much of Likoma, everything was so rigid and new members of staff were regarded as children to be taught and put in their places. Missionaries had paternalistic, benevolentpatronage, rather superior attitudes towards Africans, while rarely very few like Lacey believed that Africans properly

34. *Ibid.*

trained were completely capable of doing a good job and responsibility when entrusted it.³⁵

Missionary presumptions that the African clergy had nothing to contribute except in their position as the subordinates to the missionaries constituted a major hindrance to entrusting them with higher responsibilities such as of archdeacon or bishop. Corollary: not trusting the gifts of the African clergy, regarding themselves as “adults,” the missionaries arrogated to themselves the role of “keepers,” “guardians” of the African clergy. As Stephen Neill observed, “missionaries were extraordinarily slow to recognise and trust the gifts of the indigenous Christians. Even when ordained to the ministry, they were still regarded as no more than assistants to the missionary.”³⁶

The missionaries’ presuppositions that the Africans were “incapable” of shouldering responsibility rested not so much on the Africans “not being ready” but on the missionaries’ disposition to monopolise power. In this regard, missionary attitudes enhanced in the Africans the spirit of dependence, which naturally worked to the advantage of the missionaries to delay the process of handing over power. Simply put, the missionaries did not envisage a situation whereby they would work themselves, as it were, out of employment.

Perhaps it is indicative of the extent of the international character of colonialism that the 19th October issue of the *Nyasaland Diocesan Newsletter* of 1943 carried a letter by Bishop Frank Thorne, in which he stated that the bishop of Madagascar regretted that his diocese had attained financial independence too soon before it had learnt responsibility.³⁷ More significantly, according to Frank Thorne, the bishop of Madagascar further cautioned him to be careful that the same did not happen in Nyasaland.³⁸

35. File WP53, 9/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

36. Neill, *Christian Missions*, p. 515.

37. *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, 19th October 43. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

38. *Ibid.*

Though the writer has not been able yet to establish the extent to which these particular views might have directly influenced the attitudes and practice of Frank Thorne, there are some indications that Thorne and the other missionaries might not have been unaffected by them. As will be shown below, these views defined and regulated the social relationship between the missionaries and the African clergy. More critically, the African prospects to rise to the higher positions in the church tended to be undermined by its structures and system.

8.1.3 The UMCA policy, structure and African leadership during the heyday of Colonialism

Just as James Scott argued that to get closer to the truth we need to go beyond the official story to the “hidden transcript”, Stephen Neill also cautioned that to understand the power that determined the destinies of men in the 20th century, we must look behind the appearances.³⁹ Evidence suggests that around the 1940s and 1950s the UMCA was conscious that its structures contributed to the problem of stifling the African ministry. For example in the 1940s, the UMCA set to self-examine and evaluate its work.

The *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* of 1947 carried a report in which Bishop Frank Thorne was reported that he regretted that the African church had “lamentably (in) failed in finance.”⁴⁰ At this stage, the diocese was in serious financial debt. Two years later, in 1949, a commission of enquiry examined “the methods of training African ordination candidates.”⁴¹ Following these developments, on 8th April 1947 Thorne sent a circular letter to his priests in charge informing them that:

The increase of the African ministry in the diocese must in future depend more closely than it has in the past on an increase in African self-support. Last year there was an increase of 100 pounds over the previous year and this is sufficient to justify the reopening of St Andrews College with eight candidates for the priesthood. But even so

39. Neill, S., *Christian Missions*, p. 527.

40. *Ibid.*

41. 145/DOM/9/4/2. National Archives, Zomba.

the total of selfsupport given in 1946, 650 pounds is rather less than half the total cost of salaries of the African clergy, and I shall not feel justified in selecting a new group of candidates for the diaconate in 1949 unless the support of 1947 shows an increase of 150 pounds over that of 1946, and that of 1948 an increase of 200 pounds over that of 1947. That is to say, selfsupport must reach a total of 1000 pounds by the end of 1948, if there is to be a selection of new candidates for the diaconate in 1949. I shall be grateful if you impress this upon your congregations.⁴²

It is strange that the training of the African clergy had to depend solely on the financial contributions from the African congregations when for decades the Africans had been taught to depend almost entirely on the contributions from the mission headquarters in London. The observation of Bishop Weston of Zanzibar in 1912 that native belief in mission funds militated against the development of a selfsupporting church equally applied to the contemporary situation in the Anglican Church in Malawi.⁴³

For decades, the impression had been conveyed to the Africans that mission funds existed to develop the African Church. The missionaries had portrayed themselves as the provider, donor and distributor of resources while the Africans were the recipients. It was relationship of the powerful and the powerless. Consequently, belief in the mission funds had tended to undermine efforts towards developing the African resources.

Since in comparison to the European ministry, the African ministry was regarded merely as its “extension”, its development was made to depend on the feeble financial contributions from the Africans. It is precisely because of such shortcomings that the training of the African clergy seemed to be a weak link in the missionary enterprise. This “weak” link was to be unravelled in the survey conducted by Bishop Stephen Neill in 1950. This survey showed one result. While the Anglican Church had done a lot in the way of developing hospitals and schools in the 1920s, it had done very little in most

42.2687/UMCA/1/2/9/2. National Archives, Zomba.

43. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

places to train local clergy.⁴⁴ Why did the training of the African clergy seem not to be regarded as priority number one?

One of the fundamental weaknesses related to the missionary attitudes, and the perceptions with respect to the African clergy. These not only determined the “masterservant” relationship between them but also in practice undermined the basis upon which the missionaries envisaged to initiate the process of handingover power to the Africans. Based on the fundamental European stereotype of the “inferior other” as associated with “nothingness”, versus the “superior”, the Africans were socialised to look to the Europeans for guidance. Regarded as perpetual “learners”, the Africans had to go through a longer probation while the missionary teacher took his time in teaching.

This point has already been stressed in chapters four, five and six. The position had not changed by 1952. Power entailed in the ministry of European priesthood tended to justify the imposition of the protracted probation precisely designed for the African ministry. For instance, the *Central Africa* magazine of that year reported that those intended to become clergy:

Were almost always chosen from the large pool of teachers after ten or twenty years of faithful service as a teacher taking services in addition to work in schools was regarded as an indication of a possible vocation to the sacred ministry. By the time they would be ordained they would be around 40 or 50 years in service.⁴⁵

It is not without appropriate reason that the theological college was called “the mill.”⁴⁶ The missionaries trained Africans for the ministry on the presupposition that the African had no “discipline.” Because of this misconception, a rigorous system was imposed on the bishop’s “sons” to inculcate in them the habits and practice of “discipline”. As I

44. Hastings, A., *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975*, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, London, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 46.

45. *Central Africa*, September 1952, vol. lxx, p. 250. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

46. *Central Africa*, May 1953, vol. liii; see also *Central Africa*, March 1945, vol. ix. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

pointed out earlier,⁴⁷ structurally, this took the form of a hierarchy of order of ministerial formation, by degrees, from teacher, via the offices of subdeaconate, reader, and deacon, culminating in the priesthood. This pattern tended to lead to ensure that only some men were finally “rewarded” with the priesthood. However, as the UMCA was to discover in 1951, the assumption that such a regimen of training fostered moral discipline considered to be lacking in the Africans, was in fact not the case.⁴⁸

However, the tendency to prolong the probation of an African was not peculiar to the Anglican Church in Malawi. Sundkler also noticed similar trends operating in a West African Church. He noted that, “in one autonomous West African Church, ordination tends to be regarded as a reward for old men who during a long life as teachers have served the church well.”⁴⁹ Sundkler rightly stated that these reflect the autocratic tendencies of the missionaries.⁵⁰ It is in this respect that the structures that determined African ordination and ministry ought to be viewed.

There exists today in the Malawi National Archives at Zomba an undated, anonymous memorandum from Manda in Southern Tanzania, presently the diocese of SouthWest Tanganyika. It has to be noted that by this time Manda was part of the diocese of Nyasaland. It is most likely that the document was written by a missionary.⁵¹ The document was very critical of the form of the African ministry that was being developed in the UMCA by the missionary authorities. The undated memorandum reads as follows:

St Paul ordained elders in every church. He established the church wherever he obtained a response to his preaching. To establish the church it is necessary that the

47. See chapter four

48. See *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, October 1951. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

49. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

50. *Ibid.*

51. The polished English and critical attitude suggests that the author could have been one of the missionaries as very few if any African of that time could have written such a document. The fact that he chose to remain anonymous might suggest that the missionary was one of the senior officials. The document appears to have been written between 1930s and 1940s.

sacraments should be available, not as occasional luxuries, but as a necessary part of the establishment. Just as the Sabbath was made for man, and not vice versa, so the priesthood was made for the church, and not to provide jobs for a few people. It can hardly be maintained that we have established or are establishing the church in New Testament sense...what we need and without further delay, is a multitude of village priests, who will be the fathers of their flock...By village priests I mean those people who are not likely to go on to the priesthood as at present conceived, because they are said not to have a necessary *nous*. I might mention Rdr Mattan here as an example... it seems we are wasting good material in not making more use of such people in the Diocese...Besides the multitudes of village priests we need a few of the intellectual kind, who could have a longer and more thorough training than they get at present, and then act as guides to their lesser brethren village priests. The village priest would not receive a wage impossible to be found out of local support, and the local inhabitants would have some say in the man to be put over them, as his would probably be a life's job in that particular area... but at the moment I am concerned that we are not establishing the church, and that *we are not looking to the future to provide some highertrained Africans as leaders and that the African priests we are sending out do not (with exceptions) appear to the people as fathers of the flock, but as a ministry imposed (and paid for) from the wa Zungu (Europeans).*⁵²(Italics, mine)

The writer was concerned with the sacramental life of the people whom he saw could not receive sacraments more regularly because of the small numbers of the African clergy. Alongside the “regular” priest, the writer proposed the introduction of a lower form of ministry whose clergy would be permanently stationed in the villages. The local people would have more say in this form of ministry than was the case with the “regular” clergy.

Nonetheless, contrary to the longheld assumption that the missionaries were planting a local church, the ordinary people, as the critic believed, saw the African ministry as “imposed from *wa Zungu* (Europeans).” Very perceptively, the writer was critical of the low intellectual calibre of the African priests that the UMCA was raising, and the shortsightedness of the missionary policy that did not promote the intellectual development of the African clergy. He saw this as a major weakness that did not augur well for the raising of the African leadership for the future.

The writer's last point supports the heart of this thesis, that the low level of intellectual development forced on the African clergy considerably contributed to undermining the

52.*Ibid.*

potential of the African clergy to rise to the highest positions in the missionary church. Precisely, the low standard of education provided by the UMCA missionaries appears to have developed in some African clergy attitudes of dependency. The proposal suggests that the writer was farsighted, for something slightly similar in the form of Village Catechist priests was to be introduced by Bishop Donald Arden, the successor to Bishop Thorne in the early 1970s.

However, in the 1950s, the existence of a gap between the official perspective of African ministry, on one hand, and the view from the people on the ground, on the other, was complicated by another factor the increasing disparity in education between the African clergy and African laity. At this stage, the UMCA was becoming aware of the increasing educational gap between the clergy and laity in its ranks within society as a whole.⁵³

In these changing circumstances, the old era in which the teaching profession was feeding the ministry was coming to an end. An increase in salary went also with an increase in the social status of the new government-employed teacher. Increasingly, as I have already said, the missionary-trained teacher no longer saw ministry as an attractive profession.⁵⁴ This created also the problem of scarcity of vocations.⁵⁵ The teaching profession was no longer readily available for ministry as had been the case in the preceding years.⁵⁶ The missions were now compelled by the circumstances to diversify methods of acquiring vocations. While in the past the church had been “choosing” the candidates for ordination from “a pool of its teachers,” now it started to “look for” vocations amongst the educated boys in higher standard schools.⁵⁷ It was hoped that this approach would help the church to address the problems that were emerging in the secular society.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

Given its backlog in clergy education, the Anglican Church also realised that unless it recruited from the educated boys there was a danger in the coming years that the level of intelligence of the African priests would lag far behind that of its lay members.¹²⁸⁵⁸ Therefore the decision to open up its ministry to young people other than teachers would have far-reaching implications for the church in future.

However, accompanying the general rise in educational standards and material acquisition around 1951 the UMCA noted spiritual apathy and indifference amongst its African congregations on Likoma Island.⁵⁹ The missionaries came to the conclusion that, even after decades of Christianity, there were still signs of being “unconverted” amongst both clergy and laity.¹²⁸⁶⁰ Consequently, a programme was launched to rejuvenate spirituality.¹²⁸⁶¹ Such a conclusion implied admission of a degree of failure in the work of the missionaries.

Yet despite the spiritual apathy of the 1950s the period was marked by the growth of the churches. Following the tremendous growth of the diocese in 1952, the diocese of Nyasaland was divided.⁶² The archdeaconry of Nyasa, the part of the diocese that lay in Tanganyika Territory, now constituted the diocese of SouthWest Tanganyika.⁶³ In 1959, the UMCA area in Mozambique became part of the new diocese of Lebombo under Bishop Stanley Pickard.⁶⁴ The breaking of a link “with the former northern part of the diocese” paved the way for the southern part to enter into the proposed ecclesiastical Province of Central Africa.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, apparently in line with the objective of fostering the development of an independent church, in 1954 the African Finance Committee was set up. Its objective

58.*Ibid.*

59.*Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, November 1951, pp. 1920. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

60.*Ibid.*

61.*Ibid.*

62.Blood, A.G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p. 244.

63.*Ibid.*

64.Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

65.*Ibid.*, p. 245.

included assisting the African congregations to rise to a high level of financial responsibility.⁶⁶ The same year the diocesan synod⁶⁷ ratified the constitution of the diocese.⁶⁸

In the interim, while Likoma remained the headquarters of the mission, Bishop Thorne moved to live in Mponda's village as he said he wanted to be "closer to the economic and political centres of the government."⁶⁹ In this regard, slowly but steadily started the dismantling of Likoma hegemony as the centre of Anglicanism in Malawi. However, sociopolitical factors in Central Africa, and Southern and Northern Rhodesia, tended to spur the dioceses in those territories to cooperate in other ventures, chiefly in theological training.

8.1.4 Planning for the Establishment of the Provincial Saint John the Baptist Seminary (1945-1950)

It has been generally observed that after the Second World War, the scale of African ministry increased its pace "with many new ventures both planned and unplanned."⁷⁰ In nearly all missionary churches there were increased efforts to put local people in positions of power.⁷¹ The missionary churches including the Anglican Church were suddenly caught up in the fast moving train of social and political changes.

Not only was the colonial power being challenged on all fronts. More importantly, in spite of the intransigence of the colonial regimes, they were making efforts to initiate processes within which the transference of power to the African people would soon

66.Kishindo, J.H., *Mbiri ya Ecclesia Anglicana*, Likoma: UMCA, 1960, p. 30. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

67.The Diocesan Synod is usually a biennial conference of the parishes of the diocese, which resolves matters pertaining to pastoral care and sometimes, that affect doctrine.

68.Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle, December 1953, (173). Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

69.*Ibid.*

70.Hastings, A., *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975*, p. 51.

71.Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

become a reality. The churches, in particular the Anglican Church, seemed to be moving at a snail's pace. Despite the presence of a reasonably able leadership of African clergy like Father Chipembere, or Father Chisui, no African priest yet shared in administrative positions, such as an archdeacon, let alone that of bishop. Chipembere had to wait for the next two decades for the position of archdeacon. Yet, more significantly, the ordinary members of the church themselves became more conscious and critical of the legacy of low calibre education in the church compared with the increasingly educated laity emerging in the new Africa. This became evident as some lay Christians made demands to Bishop Frank Thorne to introduce higher education on Likoma Island.⁷²

From the 1940s evidence also suggests that the pattern of the traditional seminaries run nearly singlehandedly was being seriously questioned. Over the years this type of theological college had suffered from frequent closure. This was largely due to the seminaries not receiving preferential treatment, especially when its needs seemed to compete with those of the mission stations. The college was treated like a "stepson." The political developments of the 1930s culminating in the 1950s, paving the way for the Central African territories towards closer cooperation. This also had the effect of driving the Anglican Church in these territories in a similar direction. One of the areas of cooperation was theological education.

The bishops of Nyasaland, Libombo (Northern Mozambique) and Northern Rhodesia had been meeting and corresponding since 1945 to discuss the possibilities of the establishment of a joint theological college for their respective dioceses.⁷³ As noted, the idea had largely been prompted by the general rise in the education of the people in Central Africa, hence putting the issue of the education of the clergy into the foreground of the church's agenda. As Bishop Selby Taylor of Northern Rhodesia put it in 1945:

72. See File A/L1, 2/3/50. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

73. 7/UMCA, 1/2/9/3/1, 2/11/45. National Archives, Zomba.

Within the next 5 years we must provide training suitable for those who have taken a course of secondary education. It is important that the trainees themselves and the African public should feel that the training they are receiving is in no way inferior to that which is given to the teachers, government medical orderlies, vets, etc.⁷⁴

This is an admission here that theological education offered to the Africans was inferior to that the government provided to the teachers by the government. More importantly, bishops also recognised the importance of this standard of education to inspire confidence in the learners as well as the public, thus recognising that the previous form had the opposite effect on the learners. In this regard, the vision and approach represented a new ground in theological education in the Anglican Church in Central Africa.

However, from the start the discussions were dominated by a conception of the priesthood, as I have argued elsewhere, essentially perceived as power whose effect on the African was seen as undesirable. Accordingly, on 27th April 1955, Bishop Stanley C. Pickard of Libombo wrote:

The elevation of any man to the priesthood is a great thing but even more so for an African. The relative position of power and honour he is given amongst his people is much greater in the African than in the European. It would seem advisable, therefore, that the African should enter this state gradually and not at one swoop as it were. Hence the need for a period being spent in a parish as a deacon, so that he may feel his position gradually.⁷⁵

This so far constitutes the most explicit evidence in this study the way in which the priesthood seemed to have been associated with power. Consideration of the priesthood essentially as a position of power rather than of service prompted the bishops to resolve that training needed to be given gradually and not instantly. In this case, the implication was that a longer probation was intended to minimise the impact of the extent of power which was perceived to be entailed in the priesthood conferred on the African. It is precisely because the priesthood was intricately associated with power that the question of power and status became of critical importance to the missionaries.

⁷⁴.*Ibid.*

⁷⁵.7/UMCA1/2/9/2/1, 27/4/55, National Archives, Zomba.

“Control” and “management” of the “Other” constituted a crucial aspect of Orientalism with respect to the capacity of the dominant to impose their will on the “Other”. Within this discourse, assuming the nonexistence of such superior characteristics in the “Other”, the European set out to impose them on the “Other” precisely with the intention of dominating the latter. So it seemed to be argued that the fewer the African clergy, the better. Pickard’s views reflected this mode of thought, as he commented:

I am further of the opinion that there is a greater danger in the attempt to measure (African) his capacity for learning and being trained side by side with that of the European. Perhaps this desire for “haste” has come about owing to existing social and political conditions, but whereas such conditions might well affect one’s attitude towards general education or the housing problem and such like it seems hardly appropriate in the matter of training men for the sacred ministry...I come therefore, to the first point which is, let us not be in too much of a hurry whether over the period nor over the selection of candidates and especially in this latter connection over the pressing desire to get younger candidates.⁷⁶

Pickard’s argument that no comparison ought to be made between, on one hand, the European capacity to learn, and on the other, the African capacity to learn, suggests that the former was naturally perceived as superior while the latter as naturally inferior. In other words, it followed that since the latter was inferior, he deserved a corresponding form of theological training.

Yet, in the new context, rapid demands for young bettereducated ordinands tended to overwhelm the perceived necessity of some of these limiting factors. Subsequently, St. John’s Seminary was established in 1954 to meet some of these challenges.

8.1.5 The Impact of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the Emerging African Church: Challenges and Opportunities (1950-1961)

In 1950, *Central Africa* perceptively observed that the “great obstacle to overcome if the new Africa is to be Christian” was the legacy of the colonial era. The writer regretted that, “the Christian missions and churches are still closely identified with the

76.7/UMCA 1/2/9/2/1, 27/4/55. National Archives, Zomba.

Western Colonial powers and all traces of paternalism must be ruthlessly eradicated, so that the identification will cease.”⁷⁷

Yet against these constraints, a spirit of resistance was rising even in the institutions that hitherto had been noticeable for their conspicuous silence in the Anglican Church. On 12th January 1951, a riot broke out at Saint Andrews Theological College on Likoma Island.⁷⁸ The students called for the resignation of the warden, Fr. Edward Maycock. Negotiations led to granting the students leave in June of that year. The students were scheduled to be back in February, the following year.⁷⁹

It is not insignificant that the official three volumes of the *History of the UMCA* do not mention this incident. Their silence on this issue may suggest that in the eyes of the missionaries the episode was unimportant as it seemed to undermine their efforts in creating a disciplined, pliant African clergy. However, from another perspective, the incident indicates the rising assertive spirit of the African clergy trainees, the least likely of the groups from whom such acts could have been expected in the 1950s.

Yet it seems this resentful spirit was just an epitome of a broader African sense of consciousness that arose to resist the entrenchment of white colonial rule in Central Africa and Southern Rhodesia around the 1950s. The Comaroffs assert that hegemony is essentially unstable, it cannot hold together forever.⁸⁰ In the face of an oppressive dominant hegemony, the subordinate groups also invoke their ideologies to counteract the former.⁸¹ A similar trend is noticeable in terms of the relationship between the UMCA and the Africans on Likoma Island.

By the late 1950s, 65 years after Christianity had been planted on Likoma Island, some aspects of the UMCA’s almost unquestionable rule and authority on the island were

77. *Central Africa*, June 1950, no. 955, lxxx., Zomba Theological College, p. 116.

78. UMCA, 1/2/9/2/1, National Archives, Zomba.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 2526.

81. *Ibid.*

challenged. Largely under the influence of the Likoma men working in the copperbelt mines of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) there emerged covertly a movement of political character on Likoma Island.⁸² In the guise of a Christian organisation, it took the name Likoma Christian Association.⁸³

The Likoma Christian Association started as a committee involved in the raising of funds and organising the maintenance of St. Peter's Cathedral.⁸⁴ Amidst the tightening political control of the African people in the territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Likoma became a political hotbed of resistance.⁸⁵ The leaders of the Association used boycott as a tool to resist the authority of Bishop Thorne or his representative, Father Gerard Hadow on Likoma Island.

Against these developments, Bishop Thorne took the position that a Christian must not engage in activities of a political nature. In his several meetings and correspondence with the leading members of the organisation, Thorne deplored the use of boycott as a means to achieve objectives, while the latter refused to cooperate.⁸⁶

Despite the African opposition to the amalgamation of the territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Federation was imposed in 1953.⁸⁷ In spite of his constant denunciation of the Federation, the African population in Nyasaland saw Thorne as being on the side of the Federation.⁸⁸ More importantly, the perception that the white Anglican clergy and lay mission workers were on the side of the Federation portrayed the Anglican Church in the eyes of the emerging nationalist movement as a

82. File A/L1, 1950. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*; See also Tengtenga, J., "The Good being the Enemy of the Best: The Politics of Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne in Nyasaland and the Federation, 1936-1961", *Religion in Malawi*, No. 6.

87. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

88. *Ibid.*

legacy of colonial rule.⁸⁹ On the other hand, increasingly, the laity of the Anglican Church and notably Father Chisa and Chipembere resisted the Federation.⁹⁰

Ironically, the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Likoma Island in 1955 provided an occasion for the Africans, to be critical of some aspects of Thorne's administration. In the aftermath of the Archbishop's speech, the leaders of the Likoma Christian Association presented him with a petition.⁹¹ The petition comprised a memorandum, in effect a litany of grievances against Bishop Thorne and the UMCA as an institution. Among these included an indictment that Bishop Thorne let the cathedral and other structures such as the hospital go down and that he had sold the *Chauncy Maples*.⁹² Thus they asserted:

Mindful of financial poverty of his Diocese, but having a strong desire to ruin headquarters Likoma, he transferred Saint Michael's College from Likoma to Malosa, thence to Malindi. And again St. Andrews College from Nkhwazi in Likoma to Makulawe thence to Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, while at the same time demolishing the fine buildings of these colleges. The people of the Islands Likoma and Chizumulu are medically neglected. The hospital which was well equipped in everything is now bare. All medicines, equipment, etc., have been transferred to Malindi, his potential headquarters, leaving Likoma Hospital with just a few medicines, and the people are paying an exorbitant fee for them and for the attendance.⁹³

In a more personal attack, they claimed that Bishop Thorne "brooks no opposition nor advice." They objected to the formation of the Province of Central Africa on the basis that they had not been consulted as had also been the case with the Federation.⁹⁴ They feared that the African clergy and laity would be further discriminated against.⁹⁵ More

89.*Ibid.*

90.Tengatenga, *Church, State and Society in Malawi: An Analysis of Anglican Ecclesiology*, p. 9294. Tengatenga treats this issue in detail.

91.Memorandum addressed to "Our dear Lord Archbishop," (undated) most probably written early in 1955. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File marked L1.

92.*Ibid.*

93.*Ibid.*

94.*Ibid.*

95.*Ibid.*

seriously, they went on to threaten secession if their grievances were not addressed.⁹⁶ In this respect they asserted, “We should not be held responsible for chaos which may lead to schism within Nyasaland Diocese because we cannot cooperate with the leaders whose aims are destructive.”⁹⁷ They went on to highlight the plight of the laity and African clergy.⁹⁸ Perhaps in the most stinging attack the leaders charged:

Nyasaland Diocese in its constitution does not permit laity to attend Diocesan Synod, whereas the other three sister dioceses do allow... as in Nyasaland diocese the African clergy earn a smallest money that is hardly earned by any of the clergy in the other three dioceses.⁹⁹

There are a few interesting observations. The decline of Likoma as the centre of Anglicanism in Malawi was attributed to Bishop Thorne personally. The nature and tone of the grievances seemed to have been calculated to influence the decision regarding Frank Thorne. No action was taken immediately to “dismiss” Thorne. It was to take six more years before Thorne had to step down. However, the attitude of the people of Likoma shows their resentment to what they believed was the downgrading of Likoma as the centre of the Anglican Church in Malawi. They seemed to view the episcopate of Thorne as symbolising these changes.

8.1.6. The inauguration of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (1955)

In the Anglican Church as it is the case with the Roman Catholic Church, a diocese with a bishop as its head constitutes the basic unit of the local church. However, the conglomeration of at least four dioceses forms the nucleus of the regional church with autonomous authority. Under the headship of the archbishop, this unit constitutes what is called a province. With the title of metropolitan, the archbishop becomes the most senior bishop amongst the other diocesan bishops.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

The province is in this regard the highest church structure that expresses the life of the regional local church. The archbishop, as the head of the province, is seen as the “first amongst equals”, *primus inter pares*. Thus, the formation of the province marks the highest stage of the development of the autonomous local church in the Anglican Communion. Until 1950 such structures did not exist in Central Africa, since the church was essentially missionary. The diocesan bishops had to be appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Preparations for the formation of the Province of Central Africa had been under way for some time since the 1940s. In June 1950, the Synod of the diocese of Nyasaland met.¹⁰⁰ One of the issues was to deliberate the formation of the Province of Central Africa. After being assured that the formation of the Province of Central Africa would not affect relationships with the other UMCA dioceses, and that the venture was in no way linked to the political proposal for a Federation, the Diocesan Synod sitting in 1950 approved the proposed constitution.¹⁰¹

Throughout 1952 several dioceses also approved the constitution.¹⁰² Since the regulation providing for the formation of the Province required the existence of four dioceses, the two dioceses of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia needed two other dioceses. It was resolved that the diocese of Southern Rhodesia which hitherto had fallen under the Archbishop of Cape Town had to be divided into two. There would be Mashonaland, with its see at Salisbury (Harare), and Matabeleland, with its see at Bulawayo.¹⁰³

However, the launching of the province was delayed partly by the mounting opposition by some politically minded Christians, particularly in Nyasaland, who tended to associate the venture with the political federal arrangement.¹⁰⁴ The proposed date was

100. Blood, A.G., *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p, 245.

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

May 1955. The date was planned in such a way as to enable the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Cape Town to take part in the ceremonies.

Thus on Sunday, 8th May 1955, the Province was officially inaugurated in the cathedral at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated at the mass, while the Archbishop of Cape Town preached. After the service, the four bishops sat to elect the first archbishop. They chose Edward Paget, bishop of Mashonaland, who had been the bishop of the undivided diocese of Southern Rhodesia for thirty years. Frank Oswald Thorne was elected the first dean of the Province.

Despite reaching this stage of development, the UMCA in Central Africa was technically speaking not yet fully local, since its leadership was still dominantly white. No African clergyman had yet been appointed to the office of bishop yet, nor even to that of archdeacon. As Hastings commented, when the UMCA met in London to celebrate the hundredth anniversary in 1957, 'while they had much to thank God for,' it did not apparently produce qualms that they had not a single African bishop in any of the four countries where they were working.¹⁰⁵

Hastings further commented that a missionary was not really a "stopgap" awaiting the African minister to be ready when the opportunity availed but, he concurred with the view of an observer in 1950, that a missionary was, in fact, the one who held an essential role in the missionary machinery.¹⁰⁶

However, interesting developments were happening in the UMCA in Malawi and Tanzania. At the missionary anniversary celebrations in London in 1957, Father Chipembere represented the African clergy in Malawi, while Father Josiah Mtekateka, the future first Malawian bishop of the Anglican Church in Malawi represented the diocese of South West Tanganyika.¹⁰⁷ The choice of the two leaders suggests that the

105.Hastings, *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975*, p. 113.

106.*Ibid.*

107.Blood, *The History of the UMCA*, vol. iii, p. 145.

church in Malawi had confidence in the African leadership. Clearly the UMCA now recognized that the Africans could represent their own church. It is not strange that a few years later Mtekatika would be bishop while Chipembere would be considered by Thorne as a potential bishop?

In the interim, however, there were important developments in the diocese of Nyasaland. The Diocesan Synod meeting in 1958 set up an Ordination Candidates Committee to study the question of fostering vocations to the priesthood amongst young men.¹⁰⁸ Meeting at Likwenu, Malosa on 1st January 1958, the chairman, Bishop Thorne, said that “the clergy of the diocese must in future have an education equal to that of their laity, and that candidates should be sought from all walks of life.”¹⁰⁹ To facilitate this, the Guild of St. John the Baptist was formed.¹¹⁰ Thorne’s comments suggest a tacit admission of the UMCA’s failure to raise the level of education of the African clergy to similar if not greater heights than that of the laity.

8.1.7 Successes and Failures of Thorne’s Episcopate

Meanwhile, between 1955 and 1959 Thorne’s episcopate was dominated by three issues: the financial difficulties that the diocese was going through, the Federation that was sharply dividing European and African opinions, and the training of the African leadership in the emerging African Church. In his *Christianity in Africa 1450-1950*, Adrian Hastings observed that:

It is certainly true that by 1950 not a single Anglican African diocesan bishop had been appointed since the death of Crowther. The new leadership that the churches were fostering through the best of their schools would, in consequence, become in the 1950s a contender for political control. In most places it simply was not strong enough for the latter.¹¹¹

108. Minutes of the Ordination Candidates Committee held at Malosa, Zomba on 14/1/58. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1.

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Ibid.*

111. Hastings, A., *Christianity in Africa, 1450-1950*, p. 555.

Specifically with respect to the Anglican Church in Central and East Africa, Daniel O'Connor noted that while in 1955 the white bishops of the UMCA had met four CMS African bishops at a regional conference in East Africa, "they could not envisage such possibilities in their own areas."¹¹² Both these writers echo the concern of the former bishop of Malawi, Archbishop Donald Seymour Arden of Central Africa, who in his correspondence to his predecessor, Thorne, in 1964 stated that, "it is true that the Anglican Church in Southern Africa has a poor record of development of African leadership."¹¹³ What militated against the evolution of the episcopate?

Archival evidence at Malosa, Zomba, suggests that the power surrounding structures of authority, notably the position of archdeacon or bishop, militated against possibilities for African clergy to take over these responsibilities. Correspondence between the secretary for the UMCA in London in 1959, Dr. G.W. Broomfield and Bishop Thorne in Nyasaland (Malawi) uncovered one important aspect of the nature of missionary work in Nyasaland. Broomfield cautioned Thorne about the effect of the statement made by Father Carleton of All Saints, Nkhotakota in the *Central Africa* of 1959 on the aspiring missionary recruits in England thinking about coming to work in the UMCA.

According to Broomfield, Father Carleton had asserted that, "For a long time past, I had realised that All Saints was not getting the pastoral attention it needed, partly because a European cannot do satisfactory pastoral work and partly because he had so many other duties that parish work was always the first to suffer."¹¹⁴ In response to Father Broomfield, Bishop Thorne admitted with regret that, "It is of course unfortunately also true, as you say that priests (white priests) do have to do a great deal of administration that could be done by laymen if we could have them..."¹¹⁵

112.O'Connor, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

113.Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 19/8/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File D 8.

114.Canon Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Frank O. Thorne, 21/10/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba, File marked Bishops "confidential".

115.Bishop Frank O. Thorne, A letter to the Reverend Canon G. W. Broomfield, 2/12/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File L1.

For instance, at this particular time, Father Chisa, an assistant to Father Carleton at All Saints in Nkhotakota, was busy agitating to take over as priest in charge.¹¹⁶ At every point, his activities were frustrated. Indeed, evidence shows that a paternalistic attitude characterised the Carleton-Chisa relationship. In one incident, it is reported that Father Chisa was denied keys to the wine and wafers' chest box because Carleton suggested that he did not trust his assistant enough, as he could use the wine for other purposes than sacramental.¹¹⁷

Paternalism was the worst enemy that undermined the efforts towards raising the African clergy to the heights whereby they could take senior responsibility in the church. These attitudes suggest that domination in the church was as severe as ever before. As stated in various contexts above, to a greater degree, this was owing to the fact that the missionaries tended to share racial attitudes similar to those of the settler European community. For example, Verstraelen Gilhuis suggested that the fact that no essential distinctions of attitudes existed between the missionary circles and the colonial society is a very important factor.¹¹⁸ Being an integral element of the colonial society, the missionaries were dominated by the racist attitudes prevalent in that society.¹¹⁹

Hastings' observation that the leadership that the church was raising would in the 1950s become contenders for political power was particularly true with regard to Fathers Chisa and Chipembere in Malawi.¹²⁰ At the height of the African opposition to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, led by Dr. Hastings Banda, both clergymen took an active role in politics. Compared to the Presbyterian Churches whose clergy had a standing record of involvement in nationalist politics, the political activities of Chisa

116. Father O.D. Chisa, personal file marked O. D. Chisa. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

117. *Ibid*

118. Gilhuis, V., *A New Look at Christianity in Africa*, London: SCM, 1979, p. 89.

119. *Ibid*.

120. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

and Chipembere were unique in the Anglican Church. Why were Father Chipembere and Father Chisa exceptions?

Sources in the archives of the diocese of Southern Malawi indicate that the drive for power and recognition in these priests may be attributed to their strong personalities.¹²¹ Father Habil Chipembere was a strong character, so was Father Chisa. Both came from places where nationalist politics were volatile, Malindi and Nkhotakota, respectively. However, unlike the others, Father Chisa represented the changes that the UMCA recruitment programme was going through, moving away from recruiting teachers exclusively to men from the other professions.¹²²

Father Chisa had been a hospital orderly before joining the priesthood. This turned out to be an advantage as he was better educated than his colleagues. Perhaps it was partly because of this that Chisa or Chipembere was able to rise above the social and political constraints imposed by the colonial regime. On the other hand, the inability of these clergy to fight for higher positions in the church, as compared to their relative capacity to challenge the colonial regime, suggests the extent to which power was more entrenched in the church than in the state. O'Connor commented that "Africans, even African clergy, were incapable of functioning effectively, except perhaps liturgically and when thoroughly drilled, within European styled institutions."¹²³ Certainly, missionary training at St. Michael's Teacher's College and St. Andrew's Theological College had grounded them into liturgical performers rather than mission administrators. Besides, St. Andrew's College was oriented to train a priest meant to operate in the rural rather than urban setup. Yet in the late 1950s the circumstances were changing very rapidly. Missionary monopoly of power was being challenged by at least some priests.

121. See File A/P1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

122. See for example *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, November 1951, p. 19. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

123. O'Connor, D., *Three Centuries of Mission*, p. 127.

However, besides its significance for political developments, the year 1959 was also important for the career of Bishop Frank Thorne. In that year, the secretary of the UMCA in London, Father Broomfield, responded to Bishop Thorne's letter by saying:

In two recent letters you have said that you are wondering whether you ought not to resign...you must not resign during the present troubles in Nyasaland. It would be misinterpreted both in Africa and at home. Some would suggest that you had sided with the government and were no longer acceptable to the Africans... So, please, there must be no question of resignation until things are sufficiently peaceful again (or, if one is pessimistic, have been going on as they are for sufficiently long) to remove the likelihood of such misunderstandings.¹²⁴

Despite Bishop Thorne's efforts to convey the impression that he was opposed to the colonial government's imposition of the federal government on the Africans of Central Africa, the majority of the people in that region, particularly Malawi were unconvinced that Thorne stood for their aspirations for political emancipation.¹²⁵ In fact, they tended to associate Thorne with state repression of the mass political movement and the harassment of the nationalist leaders.

In particular, his claim that he had discovered a "murder plot" by nationalist leaders to assassinate certain white officials had precipitated the declaration of the state of emergency which ultimately led to the imprisonment of the top leaders of the nationalist movement including his priest, Father Chisa. In the eyes of the Africans, this incident had made Thorne appear as if he stood in the way of the African aspirations, hence suggesting that he was in collaboration with the colonial government. In these circumstances, Thorne was under immense pressure to resign.

But for Broomfield, more serious than the political circumstances which dented Thorne's position as a bishop was the issue of his administration of the church. To the UMCA head office in London, it was Thorne's inability to run the UMCA more

124. Canon G. W. Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Thorne. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File L1.

125. Memorandum addressed to Our Dear Lord Archbishop (undated) most probably written in 1955. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: Memo to Archbishop; File L1 A.

efficiently which constituted sufficient cause to consider his resignation. In the same letter, Broomfield continued as follows:

But this still leaves us with the general question, and I should not be a true friend to you or to the diocese, if I did not tell you what I think... I have often been saddened by the thought of your struggling with the burden of administration and finance a kind of work which I think you never wanted, but for which you were responsible: a constant source of worry, when you wanted to give your mind to other things. It is not just this crisis, though it sounds the worst yet. It has been the same year after year I think, and I know a lot of people think Nyasaland now needs quite desperately a man who is a first rate administrator. I believe you have done your work in a way very few men could have done it but now the needs of the diocese are different, and it requires a different kind of man.¹²⁶

Once again the time had come for the mission head office in London to change the style of the episcopate. Effectively, Thorne had been pressured to resign. Thorne's inability to manage the finances of the diocese efficiently, which had resulted in a financial crisis, rather than his perceived alignment with the colonial government put him in a very difficult position before UMCA officials in London. The authorities felt that the diocese needed the gifts and skills of a different man. Just as Bishop Gerard Trower had been compelled to resign for not controlling the UMCA finances more rigorously fifty years previously, now on similar grounds, Thorne was being pressurised to resign.

Meanwhile, in 1960, the year the nationalist leaders were released from detention, the mission handed the administration of Likoma Island back to the colonial government.¹²⁷ According to Father Gerard Hadow writing in the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* the reason for handing civil rule back to colonial government was that "the integrity of the

126. Canon Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 4/4/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File L1,

127. *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, October 1960. Archives of the Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba. p. 17.

mission was at stake.”¹²⁸ A far cry from Smythies’ caution to his missionaries not to usurp the “power of the sword” but rather the “power of the keys,” Hadow quoted Bishop Gore’s dictum: “By all means bring religion into your politics, but never take politics into your religion.”¹²⁹

In the interim, the administration of Likoma seemed to be an embarrassment to the mission hanging like an albatross around its neck. Father Hadow observed that the departure of the white priests also brought “a long and honourable partnership of Church and state...to an end.”¹³⁰ Though the cooperation between church and state in running Likoma Island had worked to the benefit of both parties, it is uncertain to what extent the local people saw it as providential.

By the late 1960s the activities of the Likoma Christian Association had gathered such momentum that it was almost obstructing the normal operation of the church on the island. Significantly, it seemed some clergy were using it to attain their goals in the church. For instance, on 9th December 1960, the leaders of the Association wrote a letter reminding the bishop of the promise to send three priests to Likoma. They went on to say:

We have waited for too long since you promised to consider making arrangements for the priests...although some think that boycotting the church is not a weapon to be used by Christians but we still feel that it is the right weapon to use wherever negotiations fail.¹³¹

There is also a case of the Association from Chizumulu Island which petitioned the bishop complaining that the priest in charge, Father Hadow, had forced them to go to Likoma Island for confessions.¹³² Briefly, the case of Father John Bai and the

128.*Ibid.*, p. 17.

129.*Ibid.*

130.*Ibid.*, p. 16.

131.A letter signed by S.N Kayawa, President on behalf of the Likoma Christian Association to the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Nyasaland, Frank Thorne, 9/12/60. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File A/L1.

132.*Ibid.*

Association on one hand, Bishop Thorne and Father Hadow,¹³³ on the other, illustrates the internal tension prevailing in the church at this stage. Father John Bai clandestinely used the Association to attain his personal ambitions in the church.¹³⁴ On the other hand, Father Hadow, scared of upsetting both parties, perceived Father Bai as a bad influence on the Likoma Christians, and asked the bishop to use his authority to threaten Father Bai to go on transfer.¹³⁵

In his response to Bai's refusal, Thorne cautioned him that "the priest has no choice to refuse or accept the decision made by a bishop to go on transfer, since during his ordination he made an oath of canonical obedience..."¹³⁶ Incidents such as these characterised the conflicts between the missionaries and the Africans during the last years of the colonial regime. Significantly, they underline the sense of ideological conflicts which were at play during the encounter between the missionaries and the Africans in the last stages of the colonial era, which for the Africans had been spurred by the African nationalist ideology for political emancipation.

In the interim, however, the negative political image associated with Thorne's opposition to the aspirations of the nationalist movement made his position and that of the other missionaries an embarrassment in Nyasaland and in England. The consequence of this, and also the result of the financial crisis facing the diocese, was that the question of retirement came urgently to the fore.

Correspondence between the UMCA office in London and Thorne suggests that the officials had come to the conclusion that Thorne's time as bishop was over. He was not the appropriate man to continue ruling the diocese. He was seen as too closely associated with the colonial regime and its interests at a time when the majority of people in the Anglican Church were identifying with the aspirations of the nationalist

133.*Ibid.*

134. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: Likoma Clergy; File L1, 10/60.

135.*Ibid.*

136. Bishop Thorne, A letter to Father Bai, 2/2/60. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: Likoma Clergy; File AL1.

movement for selfrule.¹³⁷ He was seen as *wa fedulo*, that is, supporting the federal government.

In the last few months of 1959, from correspondence in the head office in London, the Secretary General, Father Broomfield indicated to Thorne to consider retiring in the very near future.¹³⁶¹³⁸ In his correspondence with Father Broomfield, Thorne bitterly regretted that his administration in Nyasaland was being seen as a failure in England, to the extent that he had decided not to return to England after his retirement.¹³⁹ Despite Broomfield's persuasion assuring him of the appreciation of his work in Nyasaland, Thorne could not change his mind.

Nonetheless, matters pertaining to the diocesan constitutional developments and the training of the African clergy dominated the last two years of Thorne's episcopate. In the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* of October 1960, Thorne reported that the system for electing his successor had been laid down in the constitution of the Church of the Province of Central Africa. It provided for three priests and three lay people from the vacant diocese, together with one priest and one lay member from the other dioceses of the Province to elect a bishop.¹⁴⁰ Incidentally, the same year, characteristically, the Likoma Christian Association threatened to organise a boycott of the impending visit of the Archbishop of York to Likoma Island.¹⁴¹

In the interim, perhaps recognising the seriousness of the fundamental shortcomings of the existing theological training, the UMCA authorities in London took a step to rectify

137.For instance see confidential file marked Likoma B 1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi.

138.Father Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 4/4/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba, Malawi; File marked Bishops "confidential".

139.*Op. cit.*

140.*Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, October 1960. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

141.See Likoma Clergy; File L1A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

the situation. On 23rd November 1960, G.W. Broomfield, the secretary of the UMCA in London wrote to the bishops:

The training of the African ministry and, especially in these days, the effort to obtain a more highly educated African ministry, is obviously important. Christian education, particularly higher education in Christian schools, gives the Church the opportunity of training some of those who will be the leaders of their people in both Church and State...the Church in Africa must inevitably become more African, not only in its membership, but in its leadership at its highest level.¹⁴²

The correspondence openly admits the UMCA's shortcomings in not doing enough to educate its clergy and laity to the appropriate standard of education to the extent that now it lagged behind the rising needs of the church and the state. More importantly, it was now admitted officially that the UMCA had as yet no educated African clergy who could take over the highest leadership, which obviously meant the episcopate.

The UMCA Financial Report of that year in *Central Africa* carried an article that made a very perceptive observation on the intellectual state of the African clergy, an issue that impinged on the issue of their suitability for the episcopate. The article stated that,

A higher level of theological training is essential if the Church of the future is to obtain the leaders that she needs. In an emergency it would be difficult to find an African who could be consecrated as a Bishop and carry on. But without exception all our African clergy are what the Archbishop of York called 'bush' priests not one of them was even within two years of obtaining his matriculation and none of them would command confidence as a leader from all our Christians.¹⁴³

The Archbishop of York made this observation during his tour of Central Africa in 1960. It is obvious that despite its early lead in the ordination of the African clergy, the UMCA had not done much in training a better educated African priesthood. Rather the UMCA had managed to raise a lowly educated priesthood designed to serve only uneducated villagers but unable with confidence to serve the rising educated laity in

142. Father Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 8/9/60. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File marked Bishops "confidential".

143. UMCA Annual Review of 1960 entitled "Baptise the Nations" by Father John Poole-Hughes published in *Central Africa*, 1960, p. 29.

Malawi in the 1960s. Seventyfive years of a training policy that insisted low education for the African had produced a clergy with a very low standard.

Though character of the Anglican clergy in Malawi may not be different from that of the clergy in South West Tanganyika during this time. In 1961, Bishop Leslie Stradling of South West Tanganyika observed that, “our (African) priests are respected as Fathers in God especially in their conversation about religious matters, but sometimes they are feared because they issue orders in a very fierce manner.”¹⁴⁴ Further he noted that “in so far as this is true, I suspect that they have learnt it from us, for the English missionary is often tempted to be dictatorial.”¹⁴⁵ In their attitudes and character, these clergymen were in fact a caricature of their missionary superiors.

The fact that the African clergy displayed a European approach and lifestyle suggests that the UMCA policy to create an African rather than a European oriented clergy had dismally failed. The African clergy were largely a replica of the missionaries through the missionary methods of training and socialisation. In this instance, writing about the weakness of theological training in 1966, R. Pierce Beaver noted that:

Teaching methods tend to reflect the patterns of the “sending” country rather than the conditions and needs of the area of work too much use of outmoded lowering school method of instructions in which the teacher serves as an animated textbook: reading his notes, giving “dictation”... Students are not told to think but are told what to think. This is reflected in a curriculum which attempts to transmit “correct” information in each book of the Bible, rather than providing solid study of select books to help him develop a useful, life long pattern of studying the scriptures.¹⁴⁶

Beaver touched one critical point. Like Sabelo Ntwasa¹⁴⁷, a black Anglican clergyman writing in 1972 on the same issue¹⁴⁸ Beaver pointed out that this sort of training heavily

144. Stradling, L., *A Bishop on Safari*, London: SPCK, 1961, p. 77.

145. *Ibid.*

146. Beaver, R. P., *Christianity and African Education*, Michigan: William B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 1966, p. 21.

147. Sabelo Ntwasa was an outspoken black Anglican priest, well known in the Black Consciousness Movement circles in the 1970s in South Africa. Influenced by Black Theology, he wrote critically of the impact of missionary training methods on the character of black clergy in the church in South Africa. See

undermined the independent thinking of the African clergy. By implication it constrained their freedom to climb the social ladder. Ntwasa went further than Beaver, however. For him, the “teacherknowitall” attitude contributed to the formation of docile ministers.¹⁴⁹ In my view, this teaching methodology tended to produce an African clergy docile to their missionary superiors.

While Beaver reflected on the general state of theological education in the 1960s, in 1957 we get a glimpse of the situation as it specifically applied to the UMCA in Nyasaland. In his general report to Bishop Thorne about the St. Andrew’s students on 29th July 1957, the warden of the college, Father Cedric Frank, remarked that, “Their academic standards are as low as they possibly can be. Only one of them Cecil Chipanda is able to write with fluency at all and all of them are apparently incapable of bringing logic and reason to bear on any problem other than one touching very closely their simple lives”¹⁵⁰

In other words, Frank admits that this form of education was a handicap towards the goal of personal fulfillment and realisation of potential in life. According to this writer, this had become evident in light of the fact that in the event that “any twist in (an Examination question) nearly foil (ed) them.”¹⁵¹ However, Cedric Frank concedes that this inferior education would fit them merely “for their purpose as priests in rural areas”.¹⁵² Finally, and more importantly, Cedric Frank makes a critical observation thus:

I do not expect any advance in their general stands of intelligence or of their application of their knowledge. I have no doubt that all this was known about them before they were chosen to test their vocation at SAC and therefore I do not think it

Micheal Worsnip, *Between the Two Fires, The Anglican Church and Apartheid, 1948 to 1957*, University of Natal Press, 1991, p. 71.

148.Ntwasa, S., “The Training of Black Ministers Today”, *The International Review of Missions*, vol. Lvi. no. ii. See also Moore, B. (ed.), *The Challenge of Black Theology in South Africa*, Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1973, p. 2.

149.*Ibid.*

150.7/UMCA/1/2/9/2. National Archives, Zomba.

151.*Ibid.*

152.*Ibid.*

should now be made to stand in the way of their ultimate ordination to the priesthood provided no other unsatisfactory elements are observed in them later on.¹⁵³

Frank's concession that the students' low state of academic standard was well known even before the students went to the college once again supports the fundamental contention of this thesis that the UMCA system of education raised an African clergy with low intellectual ability. Frank's observation concurs with the observation made above in this chapter by the anonymous writer from Manda in Tanzania that the African ministry seemed to have been designed only to serve the interests of the white missionaries. In this regard, rather than enhancing their potential, this form of education undermined it. Consequently the Africans grew to depend on their missionaries considerably.

Thus, the African clergy of the 1960s and late 1970s were the products of this missionary system. The African ministry was considered as an extension of the missionary ministry. The danger with this sort of pedagogy was that it could easily produce a stereotyped priesthood, a clergy who are unable to think imaginatively and independently, and therefore, incapable of applying their theological knowledge to changing situations. Two examples will suffice.

In his letter to Father Gerard Hadow in 1963, Bishop Arden informed Hadow that he had disagreed with Canon Jameson Mwenda over the duration of penance regarding those who had consulted the sorcerer, Chikanga, on Likoma Island. Bishop Arden stated that, he "tried hard to make him see that it didn't much matter whether the period was six years if no change of heart resulted, and the six days could be better if it did result in a change of heart... however, after sleepless nights Mwenda said he had changed his mind."¹⁵⁴ Similarly, in 1968, Mr. M. Y. Zingani reported that the "[Fr. Ambali] attitude

153.*Ibid.*

154.Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Gerald Hadow, 6/7/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File L1.

towards other people (was) always harsh and dictative.”¹⁵⁵ Fr. Ambali was one of the last generation of the priests who had trained at St. Andrew’s in Likoma.

The attitudes of Fathers Mwenda and Ambali illustrate the effect of the rigid and stereotyped type of theological training that they and the others went through at St. Andrew’s College in Likoma. It was a sort of training that sought to transmit the “correct” information: what to think and not how to think. Instead of equipping the students with critical minds to enhance their independent thinking, this kind of approach undermined the students’ ability to engage more creatively with the current topical issues.

This illustrates that in his twentyfive year episcopate, so far the longest serving UMCA bishop, Thorne had not done enough to raise the standard of education for the African clergy or laity. Correspondence between Broomfield and Thorne suggests that it was partly the result of this factor that the office in London considered him as a failure and that a new man was now needed to improve the situation.

Meanwhile, in 1960, St Andrews Theological College was preparing the last batch of candidates for ordination before the college would permanently close.¹⁵⁶ Characteristic of the politicised Likoma Christian Association, a plan was hatched to boycott Thorne’s last ordination ceremony in his diocese before he retired in 1961.¹⁵⁷ Though the plan did not succeed, it was indicative of the changing times. Such an action could never have been contemplated by the Likoma Christians in the previous decades. It signified tendencies of shift of power from the white missionaries to the African. This trend had been enhanced by changes in the political arena spilling over to the religious sphere.

155.Minutes of the Ordination candidates Committee held at Likwenu, 10/ 4/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File OR1. This was in the context of the diocese’s attempts to attract young better educated boys to the ministry.

156.*Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle*, (192) 30th October 1960, p. 6. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

157.*Ibid.*

However, it is highly notable that for the entire 55 years of its operation, only 45 priests, 6 permanent deacons and 21 readers went through the classrooms of St. Andrew's College.¹⁵⁸ Fortyfive priestly ordinations in 55 years would suggest that the UMCA was ordaining at an average rate of one priest a year; which was really a very slow pace indeed in terms of the evergrowing African congregations in Malawi. The rapid increase in congregations versus the fewer number of clergy would imply that the faithful were not getting adequate sacramental ministrations as suggested by the anonymous memorandum above.

Between 1959 and 1961 Thorne was under immense political pressure from within Malawi to resign. Naturally, he turned to the governor for advice, later to the secretary general of the UMCA, Broomfield in London, who advised him to take counsel with his Archbishop, Francis Paget in Salisbury and vicar general, Christopher Lacey.¹⁵⁹ However, between 1961 and 1962, the very last years of his episcopate, Thorne started introducing significant changes in the African ministry. He made Father Habil Chipembere the first African archdeacon in Malawi on 15th January 1960 and in January 1961 canon of the Cathedral of Likoma.¹⁶⁰ Father Chisa became the first African priestincharge of All Saint's, Nkhotakota in 1961, having acted in 1960, while Father Nathan Mtaya later in the year became archdeacon replacing Fr. H.A.M. Cox.¹⁶¹

These promotions were executed largely due to the vacancies created by the departure of white missionaries and not necessarily because the authorities thought it necessary to execute them. Bold as these steps were, they fell short of the final and most radical and yet inevitable one introducing the episcopate. It was an issue that Bishop Thorne had failed or was hesitant to tackle with courage and imagination. It was an unresolved issue which, as I shall fully elaborate in chapter nine, was to haunt him in his retirement, especially in light of the fact that his successor, Donald Arden, managed to do just that.

158.*Ibid.*

159. See A letter of response from Bishop Thorne to Father Broomfield, 5/5/59. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa. File marked Bishops "confidential".

160. *Central Africa*, March 1961, vol. lxxix, no. 63, p. 33.

161. *Ibid.*

In the 1960s, the issue of the transference of power in the church from the missionaries to the Africans became a matter of heated debate in various European circles. In settler circles, under the pressure of rapid Africanisation and nationalism, apparently two irreconcilable arguments were normally advanced. There were those who urged the rapid handover of power to the Africans, and those who still argued that Africans had yet to wait for some years before they could be trusted with responsibilities.¹⁶² The former based their argument on the fears that the African governments unsympathetic to white interests might deport them sooner, before they had “completed” their jobs.

On the other hand, the latter still believed that despite the emerging political changes, the whites still had an indispensable role to play in technical jobs and in the management of finance and other administrative jobs.¹⁶³ The former category of settlers argued against the argument advanced by the latter by asserting that the Africans would overcome their weaknesses while on the job.¹⁶⁴ Generally, it would appear that the majority of the missionaries connected to the Anglican Church in Malawi belonged to the category that believed the Africans had still to wait for their time. This explains the reason why in 1960 no Anglican Church in Central Africa or some parts of East Africa took a bold step to introduce an African episcopate.

In the interim, it was being considered in England that in the new social political climate in Malawi, the church needed a leader with a new vision, different gifts and skills. Thorne’s successor must be a first rate administrator, a person with no race consciousness, one way or the other, without patronizing attitudes, with no sense of superiority, a man from England rather than someone already in the Federation, one with Catholic Churchmanship.

162.*Ibid.*

163.*Central Africa, June 1963*, vol. lxxx, no. 966, p. 27. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba

164.*Ibid.*

8.1.8. Conclusion

Two crucial factors emerge from the preceding story with respect to the development of the African clergy. Firstly, amidst the socio-economic and political developments, apparently trying to catch up with the pace of changes, the Anglican Church was not moving fast enough to introduce African leadership at the highest level between the 1940s and late 1950s. Institutionalised paternalistic attitudes of the dominant missionary leadership towards the African clergy still hampered prospects and opportunities of raising the latter to the higher forms of leadership in the church.

Secondly, of similar importance, church structures, such as the seminary training system, constrained the possibilities of raising African leadership beyond the position of mere assistant priest. An African priest was still regarded as a “glorified altar boy.”¹⁶⁵ To a marked degree this raised resentment, sometimes expressed in the activities of some African clergy opposing the racist policies of the colonial government or, in Father Bai’s case, colluding with the laity to sabotage mission central authority on Likoma Island. Rather than arising from within the church circles, these changes emanated from the political sphere. Thorne did not respond proactively to these changes.

On the other hand, responding to these developments, the UMCA head office in London resolved to introduce new leadership which it was envisaged would meet the needs of the emerging era. In this respect, it is clear that the church had been overtaken by the developments in the political arena. The end of Thorne’s episcopate, nearly coinciding with the passing of the colonial order in Malawi, ushered in a new era for the churches and Malawi as a new nation. This needed new vision and ministry which only Thorne’s successor would fulfill. This rest of the story belongs to the following chapter.

165. Quoted by George Mukuka from the 1970 Black Priest’s Manifesto, which appeared in the *African Ecclesiastical Review* (AFER), vol. xii, 1970, pp. 175-178, *Rand Daily Mail*, (23 January 1970), *Impact of Black Consciousness on the Black Catholic Clergy and their training from 1965 to 1981*, Unpublished M. Th. Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996., p. 68.

Chapter Nine

9. The diocese of Malawi

9.1 The Training of the Modern Clergy in post-independent Malawi

9.1.1. Introduction

In the foregoing chapter, I showed in various ways the impact of the colonial factor on the emerging church in Malawi. More importantly, I also illustrated that the power behind structures in the colonial state and church had the effect of constraining the rise of African leadership at the highest level at the height of the colonial period. It has also been highlighted that the passing away of the colonial regime set in motion forces that began to challenge white rule in both state and church. In this chapter, I will continue highlighting the impact of these trends on the church in Malawi in the context of African consciousness, nationalism, and political independence. With a view to understanding the calibre of modern leadership in Malawi today, I will analyse the impact of power relations between the aspiring priests on the church in the course of recruitment, selection and training between 1962 and 1972.

9.1.2. Episcopal Succession in Transition

The resignation of Bishop Frank Thorne in 1961 was controversial, chiefly because the majority of the people perceived him to have had close links with the hated federal government. In the last chapter I have shown that political pressure as much as pressure from within the UMCA, especially the head office in London, largely prompted his retirement in 1961. The UMCA head Office in London had regretted what they perceived as Thorne's administrative incompetence. This factor alone is important since it illustrates the UMCA's continuing concern for administrative efficiency since the appointment of Bishop Trower in 1901. It shows the extent to which episcopacy in the

UMCA had increasingly become more closely associated with administrative rather than pastoral matters.

In this regard, at the end of the episcopate of Thorne, the UMCA officials in London insisted that his successor needed to possess administrative skills, which they saw he lacked as a bishop. But as it will soon be noted for a while the choice of Thorne's successor became an issue that the African Christians in Malawi were contesting for reasons that tended to differ from those of the authorities in London.

On 4th May 1961, Father Mattiya Msekwanthu of Soche Parish, Blantyre, wrote a letter to the Lord Bishops of Mashonaland and Northern Rhodesia. It read as follows:

The Christians all over this diocese now are asking each other "who will be our next bishop? Who are the people to choose him? Have we not got the right of choosing the new bishop being we are the majority and the congregation of the church in this diocese? Are we not the people and the flock of Christ which that elected bishop is going to feed? We are just going to be given a man chosen by other people otherwise we do not want him! This connects to Lambeth¹ 94 and 125. There is a rumour in this diocese that the laity would like to be asked to have a part in choosing their own bishop, whether that chosen bishop by themselves be good or bad. They will have no where to go to cry.²

The issues raised in Father Msekwanthu's letter illustrate the ideological shift of power from the Whites to the Africans. During the height of colonial rule the officials in London had always exercised their right to impose a bishop, this right seemingly nonnegotiable then, was now being questioned by the Africans, hence the remark, "this time we are living is a very difficult time. It is a new generation. It is a new generation as the past is gone. Our Christians are broadminded have the right to speak. The

1. The Lambeth Conference is a gathering of all Anglican bishops throughout the world. Taking place in England at least every ten years under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury, the conference discusses matters ranging from doctrine to pastoral care. However, though the Lambeth resolutions have no binding power on any part of the Anglican Church, they nevertheless are regarded as guidelines for issues affecting the whole Anglican Communion.

2. Father Msekwanthu, A letter to the Lord Bishops of Nyasaland and Rhodesia (undated). Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba; File marked NO.

Christians all over the diocese are asking who will be our bishop? Who are the people to choose him?"

Certainly, Father Msekwanthu was aware of the Lambeth resolutions that encouraged missionary leadership in the local churches to introduce local leadership at the highest level, especially the episcopate. More closely Msekwanthu was more concerned with the role of the local Malawians, especially the laity in the process of election as he cited Lambeth resolution 94 and 125 of 1958. The significance of Msekwanthu's plea in drawing the attention of his addressees to these resolution, lay in the fact he was arguing from a position of strength, the authority of the Lambeth Conference, the church's highest and universal authority.

Lambeth resolution 94³ urged the laity to take their Christian vocation seriously by sharing fully in the work of God in the church while resolution 125⁴ exalted the clergy to take the role of the laity seriously in the running the affairs of the church. Similarly significant, by referring to these resolutions, Msekwanthu shows a sense of intellectual sophistication and maturity quite rare amongst his generation of the Malawian clergy, given the low intellectual background of their theological training.

3.Lambeth resolution 94 reads: "The Conference believing that the laity, as baptised members of the Body of Christ, share in the priestly ministry of the Church and in its responsibility for its work, calls upon the Anglican men and women throughout the world to realise their Christian vocation both by taking their full part in the Church's life and by Christian witness and dedication in seeking to serve God's purpose in the world." <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/archive/1958/195894.htm>

4.Lambeth resolution 125 reads: "The Conference rejoices that, more and more, lay men and women are finding their true Christian ministry in their daily work in the world, as well as in the organised life of the Church. All of us need to remember that the field of Christian service for the laity lies mainly in the secular sphere, where their integrity and competence can best serve the needs of the world and the glory of God. The clergy need to understand this, and to help, by their teaching and by sharing in the thoughts and problems of the laity in their daily work, to deepen this ministry. The laity need equally to understand it, to help one another by Christian discussion and loyal comradeship to bear a better witness, and to offer in their work both their responsible, skilled gifts, and a deeper understanding of Christian faith about God and man." <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/archive/1958/1958125.htm>

By citing the resolution, Fr. Msekwanthu was effectively urging the bishops to give the local people power to elect a bishop of their own choice. Father Msekwanthu believed that the time had come for the Africans, denied the opportunity since the establishment of the local church, to elect a bishop of their own choice. Nevertheless, in the light of this resolution, it is surprising that instead of insisting that a local priest be elected bishop, Msekwanthu suggested that the people wished Father Michael Scott, a white priest, to be their bishop.

However, the issue of the election of the bishop of the diocese of Malawi has to be viewed in broad context. Msekwanthu continued to argue that:

Reverend Fathers as you perfectly know that this time we are living is a very difficult time. Our Christians are broadminded and have the right to speak because they have new ideas and if they see things done in different ways which do not satisfy them, they may say so and do otherwise. This is true of this diocese since 1953 and more so in 1959. I am afraid being one of the clergy of this diocese, have heard most of my fellow African Christians saying they would like Reverend Michael Scott to be their new bishop because they saw him and studied him his heart as if to follow the sacred heart of Our Lord who died on the cross to serve sinners and outcasted creatures.⁵

It is evident that the Africans' aspiration to exercise the right to elect their leader also derived from the political impulses and nationalistic sentiments of the period. In the euphoria of the prospects of Malawi attaining political independence, and self-governement, some people wished to exercise their rights to choose their own candidate. The African Anglican Christians desired to test their rights to choose a bishop of their own choice for the first time in history.

Father Michael Scott's⁶ visit to Malawi in 1959 with his charismatic campaign against colonial rule seemed to have convinced the Anglicans that he would make a good

5. Same letter.

6. Michael Scott was an Anglican priest, political activist and a contemporary of Father Trevor Huddleston in South Africa in the 1940s and early 1950s. He was a remarkable human rights activist whose activities stretched beyond the borders of South Africa, to Botswana as well as Malawi. For further information see

bishop. Father Scott was their choice. In contrast to Bishop Thorne and the others, Father Scott symbolised and represented the new political ideological struggles and aspirations of the African people, a challenge to the white power.¹³⁹⁷ This wave of African consciousness was in fact a continuation of the spirit that had been exemplified by the Likoma Christians protesting against Thorne's administration on Likoma Island during the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1955. An attempt to boycott the ordination ceremony in 1960 at Likoma had epitomised this spirit of resistance. Finally winding up his argument, Msekawanthu asserted that:

Reverend Michael Scott being a European thought it was unwise to despise and torture other creatures because they are black skinned people. Reverend Michael Scott a true lover of other creatures and without distinguishing came to Nyasaland as if to die with and instead of Africans as well as the heathens, Islams, and not only our Christians but also of the other churches, will receive him when he will come as father and Bishop of Nyasaland and do not doubt the life of this part of Nyasaland will survive abundantly, as it is in the diocese of S.W Tanganyika and Masasi.⁸

Unlike Thorne whom they saw as working in collusion with the colonial regime, some Malawian Anglicans seemingly saw Father Scott as a priest who would make a good bishop by leading the African people to political liberation. Perhaps it had not dawned on them that the atmosphere and the needs of the new era would no longer require a bishop in the struggle since when it had been won, there would be no need for politics of confrontation. This episode illustrates a shift of power from the white people to the African people.

The Comaroffs talk of a counterhegemony which occurs when the subordinate also invoke their ideology to contest the hitherto generally accepted hegemony.⁹ For years, the Africans had taken it almost for granted that the whites had the right to impose leadership upon them. The challenge to the colonial power in state had also opened the way to the Christians in the church to press for their rights in the church.

Alan Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop: The life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton*, David Philip: Cape Town, 1973, pp. 8, 54, 134, 146, 151, 152, 154.

7. See Mufuka, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

8. Same letter.

9. Comaroffs., *op. cit.*, pp. 252, 6.

However, the wishes of the Malawian Christians to elect their own bishop were not granted, for Father Scott was never elected bishop. Perhaps it was characteristic of the mood of the period that other clergy in high circles seemed to believe that the church in Africa needed an African rather than a European bishop. Very interestingly, a source in the diocesan archives at Malosa suggests that during this time Father Trevor Huddleston of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa had suggested the name of Father Rakale¹⁰, a South African black priest “fitted to be bishop somewhere in Africa.”¹¹

However, caution was also “expressed whether the Nyasaland Africans would accept an African bishop from an entirely different part of Africa.”¹⁴⁰¹² Father Huddleston’s suggestion was significant. It illustrates his fairly optimistic and progressive thinking and attitudes towards African leadership in the early aftermath of the demise of white power in both state and church. But Huddleston was unique as a human rights fighter. It would be a matter of mere speculation as to what would have happened had the suggestion been pursued. No doubt it would have brought a new dimension to leadership in the Anglican Church in Malawi as well as the rest of the continent. It would have proved that missionary apostolate was not only confined to the white missionaries, that the Africans could equally be missionary bishops to the other Africans. In any case the suggestion was not carried out.

Nonetheless, that Msekawanthu’s letter confirmed the existence of a major problem with respect to the election of the bishop is borne out by some archival source which

10. It is most likely that this Father Rakale was Leo Rakale, a son of Father Andreas Rakale. He was the first black man to train and become a priest of the Community of the Resurrection in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. Father Rakale demonstrated very remarkable gifts in his career, no wonder that Trevor Huddleston, himself a member of the CR would have high regard for him. For this and further information see Alan Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop: The Life of Geoffrey Clayton*, pp. 7982, 175.

11. Father Broomfield, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 17/4/60. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File L1.

12. *Ibid.*

notes that, “on 23rd March 1961 the election for the Diocese of Nyasaland was postponed at the request of the Diocese of Nyasaland.”¹³

9.1.3 The Appointment of Donald Seymour Arden

Explaining the failure of the Elective Assembly to elect a bishop for the diocese of Nyasaland, on 7th June 1961, Father Christopher Lacey, the Vicar General of the diocese stated that:

In the Constitution of our Province of the Church, there is a very wise provision made that if the Elective Assembly so wish, they may refer the whole question of choosing a bishop to a committee consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our own Archbishop (of the Province) and two elected members of the Elective Assembly.¹⁴

Father Lacey continued that “the circumstances as we found them made it quite clear that it would be quite the wisest thing to do, to refer or delegate the matter to this committee.”¹⁵ This provision is provided for by canon IV of the constitution of the Province of Central Africa. By this provision, Donald Seymour Arden was the first bishop of the Anglican Church to be appointed in postindependent Malawi.

The appointment of Donald Arden was significant in several aspects. He was the first Anglican bishop who was not closely connected to the politics of the Central African Federation or previously directly associated with the UMCA either in Africa or in London. He came with a strong background of administrative and managerial skills.¹⁶ Born and bred in Australia, until his appointment Arden had worked in the dioceses of Zululand and Pretoria as a project officer and manager for some years.¹⁷ He was

13. Minutes of the Electoral College of the Diocese of Nyasaland held at Malosa, Zomba on 5th May 1961. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File A/P 5, 68 G.

14. Minutes of the Synod of the Diocese of Nyasaland held at Malosa, Zomba on 7th June 1961. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File marked OCA A/P5, 195770, Archbishop of CA, 68G.

15. *Ibid.*

16. A Life profile of Bishop S. Arden dated 21/12/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File SU1.

17. *Ibid.*

enthroned bishop of Malawi in September 1962.¹⁸ In this sense Arden was an outsider to the UMCA, which at this time was still dominated by veteran UMCA missionaries.

In the light of the Lambeth resolution that encouraged the formation of the local episcopate, the election of Arden resulting from the failure to elect an African bishop illustrates the existence of a gap between the resolutions passed at the highest level and the aspirations of the people. Despite passing resolutions that encouraged the formation of the native episcopate, the reality on the ground in Malawi at this stage did not reflect the immediate impact of such resolutions as no Malawian was elected bishop. Missionary leadership at the highest level continued. Similar tendencies have been noticed in the Roman Catholic Church in the contemporary period whereby resolutions from Rome did not immediately find concrete expression in the local context.¹⁹

Nonetheless, from the changes that were to follow, apparently Arden was given a strong mandate in London to transform the moribund UMCA into an Anglican Church with a modern outlook.²⁰ Symptomatic of these changes early in 1963, Arden announced to the Likoma clergy²¹ his intention to marry: “Jane Riddle and I are getting married on Michaelmas Day. I am more sure of the rightness of this than anything else I have ever done, and hope it may result in your getting a slightly less adequate bishop.”²²

By choosing to be a married bishop, Arden had undertaken the first radical step that began to transform the celibate status of the Anglican clergy, which closely identified it with the Roman Catholic Church in Malawi. In other words, Arden had set out to transform some salient aspects of the legacy of the Oxford Movement. In this sense he was a reformer.

18.*Ibid.*

19. See George Mukuka, *The Establishment of the Black Catholic Clergy in South Africa from 1887 to 1957*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Natal, 2001., Abraham Lieta, *The Training of Black Clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Bloemfontein (1884-1963)*, Ph D thesis currently in progress.

20. See a crosssection of letters.

21. Some of these like Father Hadow was celibate.

22. Bishop Donald Arden, A letter to Father Gerald Hadow, 17/5/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File L1.

9.1.4 Africanisation and Nationalism

Donald Arden came to Malawi when Africa was going through unprecedented social, economic and political revolution. The age-old slogan “Africa for the African” characterised the new spirit of African consciousness. A sense of belonging to Africa, a pride in things African, exemplified the new mood. In this atmosphere, struggle for self-rule from the colonial governments became the order of the day. One after another, African nations were attaining political independence on the continent. The Lancaster constitutional talks that had been held in 1961 in London paved the way for the independence of Malawi in a few years to come.

In 1963, Britain proclaimed Malawi as a republic. Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda became the first Prime Minister of Malawi. The new state pressed for a programme of Africanisation, encouraged the employment of African rather than white personnel in all sectors of the society. The Anglican Church was affected by these developments.²³ Bishop Arden’s administration faced mounting pressure to embrace Africanisation and the spirit of independence. On several occasions he would state that he felt his efforts to survive Africanisation and independence were being undermined by the lack of funds.²⁴

In the circumstances of extreme nationalism and patriotism, the ruling Malawi Congress Party increasingly turned into a party that loathed dissenting political views or any actions or gestures that seemed critical of the new order.²⁵ Missionaries fell victim to some of the policies of the ruling party. To expatriates suspected of being in opposition to the Malawi Congress Party rule, deportation usually at a short notice became the

23. For a detailed analysis of this issue see James Tengatenga, *op.cit.*, pp. 6791.

24. Bishop Donald Arden, A letter to Father John Leake (USA) 13/6/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File W/P/R/A.

25. Williams, D, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978, p. 77.

order of the day. Arden's correspondence throughout this period shows that he himself felt that a cloud was hanging over his and other missionaries' heads.²⁶

In these circumstances, the future of many missionaries, hitherto more closely identified with the past colonial regime, became uncertain in the newly independent state. Occasionally, Arden found himself in the unenviable position, on the one hand, of trying to contain the missionaries critical of the ruling party, and on the other hand, of risking estrangement from the ruling party.²⁷ Thus in the circumstances of nationalism and Africanisation, Bishop Arden set out to transform the outlook of the African clergy in the diocese of Malawi. The spirit of nationalism and Africanisation was to affect the pace, character, and circumstances of training of the African clergy.

9.1.5 Recruitment, Selection and the Training processes of the African clergy

Following his decision to marry, an action that transformed the UMCA episcopate, Bishop Arden then sought to transform the image of the aged, half-literate, predominantly rural, poorly paid clergy into a modern better-educated clergy. For instance, in his report to the General Council of the UMCA in London on 10th January 1963, Bishop Arden stated that when he first met his African clergy,

(He) was shocked to find that hardly any of them were younger than 50 years. Not more than five of them were literally to be still at work in 10 or 15 years, none were in training. There were a dozen men with good records who could go forward to training.²⁸

Despite their good performance in liturgy and maintenance of "discipline", an elderly clergy with a low standard of education were characteristics of the UMCA trained clergy. For Bishop Arden, his new responsibilities implied putting into place the

26. See for instance, Bishop Arden, A letter to Father S. Herbert, 21/12/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba; File WP63.

27. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; Document marked W/P/U, 1963-64.

28. *Central Africa*, March 1963, no. 963., vol. lxxxii., address entitled: "Joy and Grief in Nyasaland," Extracts from the Bishop of Nyasaland address to the General Council of UMCA. January 10, 1963.

machinery and conditions that would facilitate the raising of African leadership of a higher calibre.²⁹ Indeed, pressure towards this goal had been mounting in the UMCA in Malawi and East Africa at least since 1958.¹⁴²³⁰ Bishop Frank Thorne had introduced too little change too late.

Thus during the first fifteen years of his episcopate, Donald Arden was to be preoccupied close to obsession within efforts to raise a “graduate clergy”, even “bearing in mind that this may mean assisting with fees.”¹⁴²³¹ On the other hand, the fact that the UMCA urged Bishop Arden to undertake this assignment more conscientiously suggests their recognition of the fact that in its eighty years of history in Malawi, the UMCA had failed to raise the academic standard of education of its clergy to higher levels.

Nonetheless, with respect to the church in Malawi, evidence suggests that tension existed in two areas. There was on one hand the UMCA’s vision in London, and by extension Arden’s efforts to raise an educated priesthood in the church, and on the other hand, the church in Malawi with very few resources to bring about the desired transformation. To overcome the problem of the shortage or scarcity of vocations, a fund existed to aid promising young men with their education so that on completion of their studies they could join the priesthood.¹⁴²³² However, in the interim, the issue that preoccupied Bishop Arden was African leadership in the church at the highest level. This was an issue that his predecessor, Frank Thorne, had left unresolved.

29. See for instance Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee 21st–22nd June 1969 (the Diocese of Malawi), “Clergy Training and Establishment of a Training Team”, especially minute 69/36 Graduate Clergy; Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee 8/66; Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee, 18th–19th August 1973.

30. See for instance, Minutes of the Ordination Committee held at Likwenu Mission, on 14th January 1958. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1.

31. Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee held at Likwenu Church, Malosa, from 22–23rd July 1967. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR2.

32. SU1, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

Faced with a clergy with low academic qualification, Arden was keen to encourage better educated young laymen to join the priesthood. Early in his episcopate, Bishop Arden took urgent steps to address the backlog of the trained clergy. He sent to St. John's Seminary a group of young students, who later on played an important role in the affairs of the church in Malawi. Among the first group during the late 1950s were included David Banda, Sauli, and Frank Barnaba Mkata. The middle group (1961-1971) were Nathaniel Benson Aipa (28, Later Bishop), George Mchakama (33), Arthur Mkoweka (30), Chauncy Chikokota (45), Matthew Msakwiza (32), Barthlomew Msonthi (51), John Masano (37), John Nanganga (35), James Lunda (28), Peter Nyanja (later Bishop), Peter Chiweyo, Bernard Malango, and Henry Mikaya.³³ The last group to go to St. John's College in the 1970s were James Amanze, Emmanuel Karima, Joseph Likoleche and Aidan Misi. The church in Malawi was able to send these men for training because of the existence of the Anglo-Catholic Fund about which more will be said later on. During this period, the atmosphere at St. John's Seminary was more stable than was to be the case in the 1970s. According to Bishop Aipa, one of the strengths of St. John's Seminary during this period was ascetic studies and pastoral work.³⁴

9.1.6 The impact of national politics on vocations in Malawi

Yet during the period between 1962 and 1965 there was another factor in Malawi national politics that impacted on the process of recruitment, selection and training of the Anglican clergy in the Anglican Church. Opposition to Banda's policies had led to the "cabinet crisis" of 1964.³⁵ (New: Responding to query raised by Examiner 2 on Anglican resistance to Banda's regime) Subsequently, some of Anglican Christians, prominent among them, Henry Masauko Chipembere tried to fight the repressive

33. Clergy Biographical Forms: WPGeneral, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

34. Interview, Bishop Aipa with the author, 1996, Malindi. Unfortunately the author lost the script and tape of this precious interview. See also interview, the author with Father D. D. Banda, Liwaladzi, January, 1996.

35. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-228; See also James Tengatenga *Church, State and Society*, chapter four.

policies of Banda government.³⁶ From the aftermath of the “cabinet crisis” to 1992 virtually all churches in Malawi did not openly protest against the injustices of the Banda government.³⁷ The ruling Malawi Congress Party had no opposition party to contend with.³⁸ Some of Banda’s critics and others went into exile in the neighbouring countries, notably Zambia and Tanzania.³⁹

Among many who went into political exile were some of Donald Arden’s promising, bettereducated young laymen who he thought could subsequently join the ministry. The case of Mr. Clement Marama⁴⁰ is unique. Originally from Likoma Island, Mr. Marama had been working as the chairman of Chilema Lay Training Centre at Malosa when he fell into disfavour with some of the party officials. Marama left Malawi for political exile in Dar esSalaam, Tanzania.⁴¹

It seems that Marama was an especially important prospective candidate for the priesthood, perhaps for his educational achievements. Marama’s departure in March 1965 for the exile in Tanzania⁴² was a big setback for Arden. However, it appears that Arden could not be deterred by the political repression of Banda’s regime even when it seemed to frustrate some of his plans in the church. Not even political censorship could thwart his efforts. Arden resolved to pursue Mr. Marama even in exile.

To communicate with Marama in Tanzania from oppressive political circumstances encumbered with censorship laws intended to muzzle political dissent, Donald Arden

36.For a detailed treatment of this issue see Tengatenga, *Church, State and Society in Malawi*, p. 121-122.

37.*Ibid.*

38.*Ibid.*

39.*Ibid.*

40.For a detailed treatment of this issue see James Tengatenga *op. cit.*, pp. 144-146.

41.Personal correspondence, Mr. A. C. Marama, A letter to Father Bernard Sharp (UK), 24/2/95 in possession of the researcher.

42.*Ibid.*

devised a code system of communication that sought to overcome these constraints. He meant to circumvent the system.⁴³

Though he never finally succeeded in getting Marama back to Malawi, or even communicating with him, this episode illustrates two important facts. Firstly, the length to which Donald Arden could go to acquire the necessary resources for the African Church and finally the impact of the repressive political regime of Dr. Banda on the churches in Malawi in the sphere of vocations.

9.1.7 The role of the Ordination Selection Board and the Anglo-Catholic Ordination Fund

One aspect that contrasted the passing missionary era with the emerging era was that, whereas in the former the officials had been exclusively responsible for making the final decisions pertaining to the admission and training of clergy, in the new context the church no longer monopolised the teaching profession. For the recruitment of its clergy, it had to compete with other sectors. Michel Foucault argues that structures, as part of institutions, shape personal or official relationships. They are objects dominated by power. In other words structures within an institution emit power.⁴⁴ Foucault argued that behind institutions lies power. It determines behaviour and actions.⁴⁵

The existence of the Ordination Selection Board in the diocese of Malawi was significant for the role it was mandated to play in regulating the process. Asked in 1999 what was the most decisive factor in the training process, the longstanding theological tutor, Father Hunter stated that, “training does not make such a big difference but the

43. For more information on this issue see James Tengatenga, *op. cit.* pp. 144-145.

44. Danaher, G. and Schirato, T and Webb, *Understanding Foucault*, London: Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, SAGE, 2000, pp. 3639.

45. *Ibid.*

selection of candidates and this depends on the identity of the training chaplain or diocesan secretary.”⁴⁶

For Father Hunter the character or personal life style of either the training chaplain or the diocesan secretary finally determined the sort of candidates who finally had to go for seminary training. In other words, it was the selection rather than the training in the seminary that determined the final product. But as Foucault argued, it is the institutions that shape the attitudes and practice of the people.⁴⁷

Following Fr. Hunter’s argument, a question ought to be posed as to how competent were the members of the Selection Board? In his correspondence with Father Herbert, the Anglican official in London, Bishop Donald Arden implied that as the Examining chaplain responsible for the selection of ordinands, Father Maycock, exercised no sense of judgement in the manner in which he selected the candidates for the ministry. This is how he put it:

Ordinands Selection committees go on endlessly interviewing boys he has brought from 400 miles and whose only credentials are that they cannot find a job, their headmasters describe them as lazy and a bad influence in the school and whose priests say never come to church.⁴⁸

That there seemed to have been a problem with regard to the system of selection of ordinands also tends to be supported by a retired priest, Father Peter Chiweyo of Salima parish. During the field interview he asserted that in the 1960s and 1970s the requirements for getting into the ministry were far less stringent than and he also confirmed the loose selection system.⁴⁹

46.Father R. Hunter, A letter to the author, 13/7/99; interview, Father Hunter with the author, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, 12/97.

47.Danaher, Schirato and Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

48.Bishop Arden, A letter to Father S. Herbert, 20/4/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP51.

49.Interview, Father Peter Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99.

Father Chiweyo's observation has also been supported by Father Hunter's who was at this time a trainer himself. Explaining why this had become a problem, Father Hunter said that this was the time when "doors were open" not only in the church but also in other sectors as such procedures were nonexistent.⁵⁰ Both informants strongly stressed that the social and political circumstances influenced the manner of recruitment, that pressure was on all institutions and that it was the time of freedom when obstacles should not be in the way of the aspirations of people.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the problem cannot be attributed entirely to the general trend of the period. The style and the attitudes of the individuals contributed no less to the problem. For instance, in his letter written to Father Eric Trapp on 23rd May 1971, Archbishop Arden complained about the effectiveness of one of his theological training team members, Father Leonard Viner. He said:

I cannot put him in charge of the catechist/ordinand training because he cannot get doctrine across, when he was at St. Andrews' College at Mponda's one of the ordinands told me that he had learnt in two years at Mpondas what he had learnt at Chilema in two weeks.⁵²

Father Viner was then warden of St. Andrew's College at Mpondas. Similarly, in his correspondence to Canon H. Sydenham in London, Bishop Arden described Father Viner as "lacking initiative and dull."⁵³ The above comment seems to suggest that Father Viner was at this time not very effective. On the other hand, Bishop Arden's criticism regarding the conduct and character of Father Maycock and Father Vine is supported by the existence of personal reports in the diocesan archives at Malosa. These confidential reports indicated that some aspiring ordinands had been dismissed from work on the grounds of dishonesty.⁵⁴ There is also the case of a young man, known as

50. Interview, Father Hunter and the author, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, 18/12/96.

51. See same interviews.

52. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Eric Trapp, 23/5/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP58.

53. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Sydenham, 23/3/66. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP58.

54. A/OR/R, 26/7/76, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

(GC) compelled to go for training on the grounds that he came from an old mission station of Matope.⁵⁵ Another case relates to the unsuccessful lawyer described here as (MT).⁵⁶ Then there is a case of a failed vocation, Martin Mzungu, who had to leave St. John's Seminary in 1971.⁵⁷

Thus, between 1965 and 1972, the members of the Selection Board were responsible for making decisions that finally determined the recruitment and the selection of the ordinands, the prospective priests, archdeacons, and bishops in Malawi. Why would Father Maycock conduct the selection in that manner? The plausible explanation is that there was increasing pressure to recruit bettereducated young men for the ministry to make up for the time lost during the old missionary era. On the other hand, the meagre salaries that the church was offering to the priests for their services attracted very few bettereducated laity whom the church badly needed to improve not only its services but also its image.

Largely, the Anglo-Catholic Fund existed to give financial support to young men in schools who thought of joining the priesthood. However, the existence of the Fund seemed to suggest that despite its image as a poor institution, the church still had some financial resources which could be tapped.⁵⁸ This factor was to influence many young men as to how they interpreted their "calling" to the priesthood and fulfilled it. According to Father Rodney Hunter people went into the ministry not precisely because they had been "called" but because it was much easier to earn a reasonable living there than in the other sectors where the competition was even much stiffer.⁵⁹ While Father

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. WP/R 58, 4/3/70, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi.

58. Interview, Father Hunter with the author, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, 18/12/96; Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, A letter to Mr. G. Bondwe, 3/1/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1. Bishop Mtekateka, A letter to Mr. G. Chirombo 29/6/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Mtekateka, 2/10/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1.

59. Interview, Father Hunter with the author, Matamangwe, 18/12/96.

Hunter's observation sounds to sweeping to be entirely true, it was reasonably accurate as the cases below try to demonstrate.

9.1.7.1 The case of Emmanuel Karima

The case of the ordinand, Mr. Emmanuel Karima typifies the struggles, challenges and opportunities that selection and the training processes entailed in the diocese of Malawi. While the case of Marama illustrates Arden's singular determination and initiative to get hold of a man whom he believed would make an ideal priest, the case of Karima illustrates something of a "dialogic situation." It illustrates that both the officials and the aspiring candidate had their own "undeclared" motives in the process of recruitment.

In the confidential report classified "Performa B" dated 6th May 1970, Mr. Justice H.A. Kishindo, the Diocesan Secretary, said: "I cannot recommend him for the paid ministry. He would do well for the voluntary ministry. I suggest he is allowed to continue as a teacher and perhaps help him to get into Soche Hill (teachers') College."⁶⁰ Contrary to this observation, Karima received a strong recommendation from Bishop Donald Arden: "I think he is a firstclass man, and it sounds too from his letters as if he is thinking of ordination, but he does not say so in many words."⁶¹ Despite the fact that both Karima and Arden understood the former's intention was to "serve" God, both equally carried their own private motives through that agenda. This secondary or hidden motive was rarely declared save when the need arose.

Born on 1st January 1930, Emmanuel Karima had finished his schooling in standard 6. Subsequently, after some years he quickly rose up the lower ladder of the paramilitary Malawi Young Pioneers, before finally becoming an instructor.⁶² By the time he was

60.Mr. JHA Kishindo, Diocesan Secretary, A letter to Bishop Donald Arden, 6/5/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR38.

61.Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Edward Maycock, 24/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR38.

62.OR37, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File marked "confidential".

applying for the ministry, he was busy doing further advanced studies.⁶³ In Karima there was perhaps a mixture of vocation and ambition for advancement. While these characteristics seem to have eluded Arden, to Kishindo they became more obvious as time went by.

In his various correspondences with Arden for ministry, Karima was in the habit of persuasively impressing Arden by citing the Bible and giving the latter the impression that he was dependent on him. In a typical letter he stated, "But although I have these (2 passes of London G.C.E), I do not have the peace of mind because I am not serving Christ. I do not know what I must do. My Lord pray for me."⁶⁴ In another context he said:

Where there is the spirit of the Lord there is freedom. Therefore I want you to lead me where there is freedom; for all those who are led by the spirit are the sons of God. I want to join priesthood Lord why if you can say that is possible for me. I am prepared to separate from my wife for 5 years.⁶⁵

To gain acceptance, Karima was very conscious that he had to act and perform in a manner that was expected of him as a subordinate by the dominant Arden. Not openly declaring his other motives, his speeches are designed to impress and win approval of the dominant. Karima's approach paid off. In his letter to the Examining Chaplain of the Selection Board at this time, Father Humphrey Taylor, Donald Arden asked Father Taylor to tell Karima to meet him quickly. Finally, Bishop Arden gave a strong recommendation to Father Taylor.

However, it was not only a oneway performance. Arden sought to give Karima the impression that he was the right man precisely because he was ready to study towards his advancement. Thus he stated, "We are indeed in Malawi looking for priests who have better academic qualifications than those ordained a few years ago were able to

63.*Ibid.*

64.Mr. E. Karima, A letter to Bishop Arden, 4/11/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR38.

65.Same letter.

obtain.”⁶⁶ Yet it seems Arden was keen on Karima expressly for exterior reasons. Arden declared his intentions for Karima to Bishop Stephen Neill, the Head of Theology at Nairobi University: “The reason of wanting to send Emmanuel Karima to University is terribly important from the prestige angle to have at least one African priest in the diocese at a higher or more exotic level.”⁶⁷ Bishop Arden saw Karima fulfilling the public role that the Anglican Church had at least a graduate priest. His motive was to impress the others that the Anglican Church at least was advanced as far as African ministry was concerned.

However, Arden’s intentions seemed to play into the hands of Karima who probably had his own private interests as well. Karima vowed to Arden that he was “prepared to leave his wife for 5 years.”⁶⁸ While it is possible that Arden may not have questioned the sincerity of Karima, Mr. Kishindo, the Diocesan Secretary, tried to identify the motive behind Karima’s ambitions. This is how he expressed it:

Mr. Karima is rapidly changing into an impatient man. He often writes threatening letters to his employers even on trivial matters. His mind is not very much on becoming a priest, but on getting into a University through the back door.⁶⁹

The above case illustrates the issue of power and status. Entailed in Karima’s efforts to get theological education is the search for power, the power to acquire status authority and recognition. Similarly, in training Karima, Arden had hoped that the Anglican Church in Malawi would raise its profile from a church with a poor academic record for its African clergy to a church with slightly brighter record. Perhaps Arden had wanted to make Karima his case against his critics or detractors. The symbolic presence of a priest with a University education in the diocese would enhance its prestige, let alone

66. Bishop Arden, A letter to Mr. E. Karima, 3/6/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1.

67. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Stephen Neill, 21/11/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR38.

68. Mr. E. Karima, A letter to Bishop Arden, 4/11/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File OR38.

69. Mr. J.H.A. Kishindo, A letter to Bishop Arden, 10/8/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa; File OR38.

Arden himself. Had this been achieved, it would perhaps have been the climax of Bishop Arden's ministry.

The dire shortage of vocations and the presence of the Ordination Fund were largely responsible for Maycock and Viner's actions and attitudes. Behind this was local and international church pressure to introduce quickly a clergy that was better educated than the one that had been trained during the UMCA years. In his position as Examining Chaplain, Maycock was under pressure to deliver. This pressure arose not only from the local scene, in terms of Africanisation, but also was of international nature. For instance, in 1963, Bishop Donald Arden suggested that the church, especially in America or in England, was looking forward to African rather than European leadership to represent the African Church in those countries.⁷⁰ In Arden's view it was a higher trained African clergy who were expected to do this. However, the fact that the diocese did not have them at this stage compelled the missionaries themselves to play this role.⁷¹

Yet, in his letter of 23rd December 1968 Arden's Assistant Bishop, Josiah Mtekateka, who had been elected in 1965, contested this assertion in connection with the issue of the ordination of Bishop Mtekateka's son-in-law, Mr. Alford Zimba.⁷² Responding to the claim by Father Humphrey Taylor that Mr. Zimba was rude to him, Bishop Mtekateka retorted: "I also sorry to say that we do not want intelligent people who are clever. We wish those who call them silly ones. On the same time we say we want educated people."⁷³

When interviewed, the bishop of the diocese of Northern Malawi, Jackson Bigger informed the researcher that Bishop Mtekateka was very good in assessing the character

70. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Francis Oliver Wilkinson, 7/2/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of the Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Bishop Mtekateka, A letter to Bishop Arden, 23/12/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPZimba, 50/87.

73. *Ibid.*

of a person.⁷⁴ If Biggers's assessment of Bishop Mtekateka's character as shrewd or perceptive was correct, it is perhaps right to state that Bishop Mtekateka's view of the missionaries' attitude to Africans' was accurate.

On the other hand, according to Bishop Mtekateka, the authorities' claim that the church needed an educated African clergy seemed to have been contradicted by the missionaries' attitude, as it appeared that the missionaries did not tolerate young intelligent African men to be critical of their actions. The criticism was serious since it came from the bishop, who being right at the centre of the system knew the missionaries' attitudes more closely. By making this assertion, Bishop Mtekateka seemed to have brought into the open what seemed to have been a hidden objective of the missionaries with regard to the training of the African clergy in the diocese.

The bishop's remark could have been viewed unfavourably by the missionaries as it seemed to uncover the hidden aspects of their administration. More importantly, the bishop's assertion vindicates a crucial aspect of the argument of this study that the goal of missionary education was to raise an African clergy that would not threaten missionary power. In the writer's assessment, this constituted the crux of the matter with the new form of training as opposed to the old. The church needed an educated African clergy who despite their education, nevertheless were required to be subservient and pliant to missionary authority.

Nonetheless, the presence of the Fund also attracted young men, some of whose intentions seemingly conflicted with the noble objectives for which the Fund existed. For instance, on 23rd April 1968, a member of the Selection Board, Mr. Justus H. Kishindo, the Diocesan Secretary, was quick enough to point out such weaknesses. He asserted that:

With the increase in cost of living, growing unemployment and high fees in Secondary School in education, young men were coming forth asking for financial assistance

74. See interview, Bishop Jackson Biggers with the author, St. Peter's Cathedral, Likoma, 24/10/99.

from the bishop or some notable missionary on the promise that they will join the priesthood, a promise never fulfilled.⁷⁵

It is interesting at this stage to note that while Mr. Justus Kishindo, a Malawian, was able to discern the problem relating to applications of the Fund, the missionaries were not able to recognise it immediately. This shows that Mr. Kishindo, a Malawian, was in a better position to understand Malawian cultural behaviour than the missionaries. While Mr. Kishindo could discern the problem areas or flaws in the stories told to the missionaries by the applicants, the cultural background of the missionaries tended to prevent them from easily uncovering these problems. The difference between Malawians and missionaries was pointed out to the writer by Bishop Biggers when he compared Bishop Mtekateka with Bishop Arden.

Despite the observer's assertion, it seems that Bishop Arden was at least in a position to recognise other problems which existed in the structures of selection. Seven months after Mr. Kishindo had alerted the missionaries about the undesirable effects of the Ordination Fund, on 27th November 1968, Bishop Arden wrote to Father Maycock, the Examining Chaplain of ordinands in the following terms:

We must really overhaul the way in which both ordinands are selected and the way in which we talk about them afterwards. It is quite vital that if the bishops are going to make intelligent decisions that the examining chaplain puts all the evidence in their hands before the decision is made and not after, and that we stand by them, right or wrong allowing of course for considered reviews when new facts arise.⁷⁶

Bishop Arden identified the problem at this stage precisely because he had noticed flaws in the manner in which the ordinands were selected. Largely, the process was almost entirely the responsibility of the Examining Chaplain, Fr. Edward Maycock. Efforts to "overhaul" the system were achieved in 1969 when a "Clergy Training Team" was established with Father John Leake as its leader. Its aim was stated as to

75.Mr. J.H.A. Kishindo, A letter to Bishop Arden, 23/4/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR1.

76.Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Edward Maycock, 27/11/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP51.

“coordinate training work going on in various diocesan departments.”⁷⁷ Yet one of the things which Father Hunter regretted during his time at St. John’s Seminary was that the diocese had no policy to review the decisions with regard to the ordinands’ training in the seminary.⁷⁸

Nonetheless, Bishop Arden’s observation seems to support Father Hunter’s argument that the selection of candidates essentially depended on the identity of the chaplain or the diocesan secretary. But related to this was also another problem, the existence of the Ordination Fund.

Through this Fund a number of young men were able to find assistance. It financed the training of Anglican ordinands at St. John’s College between 1964 and 1972.⁷⁹ It was also able to assist Mr E. Karima to continue his GCE as a way of equipping him in readiness for theological training.⁸⁰ It also acted as a “distress Fund” assisting married students with family needs, such as paying transport for their spouses from Malawi to see their husbands in Lusaka. In one case of Mr. Joseph Likoleche, the Fund also helped to finance domestic needs, such as buying iron sheets for a family house at Likoma Island.⁸¹ It was able to finance the training courses of “catechistordinands”, courses which prepared them to become priests.⁸²

However, the effect of the existence of the Fund seems also to vindicate Fr. Hunter’s observation that in the 1960s and 1970s the impression was given by the missionaries

77.Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee Meeting held at Malosa, Zomba, 2122 /6/69.

78.Personal conversation with the author, 7/99, Nkhotakota; see also document WP58 entitled Current state of Theological Training. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

79.OR4, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

80.OR38, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

81.WPLikoleche, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

82.Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Southern Malawi held at Malosa, Zomba, 45/12/65., Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.

that the church was the “provider of employment and status.”⁸³ According to the same source, parallels existed with politics, where politicians were concerned with status and remuneration.⁸⁴ Consequently, young men who might either have either failed somewhere or did not have a job came forward to try their luck and easily went through the sieve.⁸⁵

9.1.8 Training at Saint John’s Seminary (1962-1972)

As stated in the previous chapter, St. John’s College had been established in 1955 to train the clergy for the dioceses of the province, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. There was also St. Cyprian’s College at Ngala in Tanzania, which largely catered for East African students. However, the main college for the training of Anglican clergy in central Africa remained St. John’s Seminary. Between 1962 and 1972, the context of friction between staff and students formed an important aspect of training the African clergy at St. John’s Seminary. Training in these circumstances constituted a critical component of the shaping of attitudes and habits of some prospective clergy, future archdeacons and bishops for the Anglican Church in Central Africa. St. John’s Seminary provided a role model for the pattern of future leadership for the church in Central Africa.

In the process of training Malawian ordinands both at St. Cyprians and St. John’s Seminary, a fairly noticeable pattern emerged. A fair number of ordinands that the church in Malawi was sending for training for the ministry were “observed” whilst in seminary as slightly mentally unbalanced; at least by some of their tutors. For instance, in the case of Luwe Yeppe at Ngala, St. Cyprian’s College, Tanzania, he was described as “having a persecution syndrome”⁸⁶ or in case of Joseph Likoleche at St. John’s

83.Father Hunter, A letter to the author, 13/7/99.

84.Same letter.

85.Same letter.

86.“Confidential First Term Report”, from Father C. Potts, Warden, (St. Cyprians’ Theological College, Lindi, Tanzania) to Bishop Arden, 11/3/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR11.

Seminary as “suffering from mental disease,” “having undiagnosed complaint,”⁸⁷ “given to hypochondria,”⁸⁸; or in case of Aidan Misi, as “quarrelsome, rebellious, unpleasant, abusive.”⁸⁹

There are parallels here with regard to the perceptions of some Roman Catholic missionaries with regard to the early African clergy in South Africa in the 19th century as George Mukuka observed in his doctoral thesis.⁹⁰ This seems to suggest that this was a broader phenomenon. It begs some questions: Was the problem exclusively the students? Or was it the problem of the authorities sending the “wrong” candidates?

Even though, tension between some students and the staff became very personalised, the evidence tends to suggest that the underlying cause of the problems at St. John’s Seminary were much deeper issues. These were not unconnected with the political changes that were sweeping Africa and affecting African nations. Socially, politically, economically and psychologically, these affected the African people in their attitudes and actions with respect to whites. In the context of St. John’s Seminary, these tended to overshadow relationships, especially between staff and students.

The issue of power relations between the missionaries and the students tended to submerge into the broader issue of European power versus African consciousness. Institutions, according to Michel Foucault shape the social behaviour of people, negatively or positively. Michel Foucault argues that organised life in institutions is

87. “Confidential Second Term Report”, from Father R. Hunter, Warden, (St. John’s Seminary, Lusaka, Zambia) to Bishop Arden, 25/9/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

88. “Confidential Third Term Report”, from Father Hunter, Warden, (St. John’s Seminary, Lusaka, Zambia) to Bishop Arden, 2/11/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

89. “Confidential Second Term Report”, from Father John Weller, Warden, (St. John’s Seminary, Lusaka, Zambia) to Bishop Arden, 20/12/66. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

90. Mukuka, G., *The Establishment of the Black Catholic Clergy in South Africa From 1887 to 1957*, Unpublished Ph D. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2000. For instance, the case of the missionary David Bryant describing Fr. Mnganga as insane, pp. 147-154.

determined by domination in the form of a surveillance system, be it rules, or regulations, conventions or other practices. Responding to symbols of domination such as the “black Bible,” ordination, the meals or the timetable, relations of power between staff and students, students contested or internalised these in one way or the other.

9.1.8.1 Setting the scene: The “black Bible” Episode

In my view the story of the alleged ‘black Bible’ sets the tone of the power relations between the staff and students. It characterised the training atmosphere at St. John’s Seminary in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Father David D. Banda, on a particular day in 1960 a big Bible, black in colour, was found by chance in the library. This particular Bible was remarkable because on the inside of its cover were statements and comments in black ink that African people were not genuine Christians. The writing said that the African people would not enter the kingdom of God because they were like heathens.

The discovery of the Bible generated great excitement in the student body. According to Father Banda, the students believed that some missionary had purposely put the Bible there to show the students their place at the bottom of Christianity. The next day the students gathered in the courtyard and burnt the Bible ceremoniously while singing antimissionary songs. The incident sparked a student boycott of studies, while relations between the staff and students turned sour. It took a Visitor, Bishop Jack Cunningham, to intervene and normalise relations between students and staff.⁹¹

The story of the alleged “black Bible” finds no support other than the so-called informant, who claims to have been an eyewitness. During interviews, the researcher found that at least the very few contemporaries of Banda at St. John’s Seminary still living cannot support it or have forgotten the occurrence of the incident. Even though the writer knows the informant as having a tendency to exaggerate in telling stories, there is no substantive reason why his story cannot be considered as credible. Though

91. Interview, Father David Banda with the author, Liwaladzi, Nkhotakota, 30/1/96.

fanciful, the story of the “black Bible” suggests the existence of the underlying tension, surveillance and domination in the training processes of the clergy. It is the students’ reactions to the system that are important.

On the surface, the story of the so-called “black Bible” may seem innocuous. However, it has to be seen as a “private transcript” of the dominant. Though there is no evidence that the missionaries wrote the words in the Bible, the story presupposes the impending racial power struggle between the missionaries and the African students.

9.1.8.2. The cases of Aidan Misi and Joseph Likoleche (1965-1972)

Born on Chizumulu Island, next to Likoma Island, before joining the ministry, Aidan Misi worked at the Agriculture Department in Lilongwe.⁹² His supervisor, Mr. David Needham, described him thus: “he thinks for himself and if he doesn’t agree with someone, he will say so and state why very clearly.”⁹³ Mr Needham commended him as a good man. Further his admission at St. John’s Seminary was on the strength of the essay he wrote on why he felt called to the ministry.⁹⁴

On the other hand, Joseph Likoleche was born on Likoma Island. Later on during the early days of Dr. Banda’s rule in the 1960s, Likoleche went into exile in Tanzania.⁹⁵ It was while he was in Tanzania that he felt called to the ministry. His priest, Father Sembone, recommended him for the ministry.⁹⁶ Bishop Mtekateka gave a strong recommendation for him to enter the ordained ministry on the grounds that he knew him from Likoma as his nephew.⁹⁷ Personal information on the confidential form at Malosa for Likoleche is incomplete.⁹⁸ Bishop Mtekateka’s apparently not too demanding

92.OR24, A life profile of Mr. Aidan Misi. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi; File marked “confidential.”

93.*Ibid.*

94.*Ibid.*

95.OR32 (a), Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File marked WPLikoleche Performa B.

96.*Ibid*

97.*Ibid.*

98.*Ibid.*

approach seems to support the observation by Father Rodney Hunter that Bishop Mtekateka “was not demanding with regard to their fitness.”⁹⁹

In his first term report to Bishop Donald Arden about Aidan Misi, John C. Weller, the warden of St. John’s Seminary stated that he was “quarrelsome, abusive and unpleasant.”¹⁰⁰ It was further reported that Aidan Misi failed to cooperate with the seminary authorities. “On one occasion,” so Weller reported, “towards the end of the term I very nearly had to send him home for refusing to do what he was told to do.”¹⁰¹ Or in the case of Likoleche in his first year, allegedly he protested about the timetable.¹⁰² That the timetable was overloaded and needed lightening had been noted by the Bishop of Lusaka and Archbishop of Central Africa, Oliver GreenWilkinson who had observed in 1964:

I am convinced that most of the troubles at the seminary come from the old Warden’s unapproachableness, which is as a result of his sickness from blood pressure and is in contrast to his character in his time as Warden. The new Warden is very approachable I have already advised him about rearranging or lightening the daily programme, giving more attention to sport and improving the cooking.¹⁰³

Archbishop Francis GreenWilkinson identifies three issues that became a source of problems in the seminary: the “unapproachableness” of the warden, the daily programme and cooking. Initially, between the 1950s and 1960s, during the time of the earlier Warden, Fr. Philip Rees, these became the sources of unhappiness and confrontation between some students and the staff.

99.Father Hunter, A letter to the author, 13th July 1999.

100.“Confidential Second Term Report”, from Father Weller, Warden, (St. John’s Seminary, Lusaka, Zambia) to Bishop Arden, 20/12/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southerm Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

101.*Ibid.*

102.“Confidential First Term Report” from Father Hunter, Warden (St. John’s Seminary, Lusaka, Zambia) to Bishop Arden, 2/11/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southerm Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

103.Archbishop Francis OliverGreen Wilkinson, A letter to Bishop Arden, 31/3/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southerm Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File AP1, Bishops’ confidential.

Despite the Archbishop's advice to the new Warden, Father John Weller, evidence shows that the problems continued. Oral sources indicate that by the late 1960s these problems had reached an intensity that was affecting the relationship between staff and students adversely. For instance, a contemporary of Misi, Father Arthur Mkoweka, informed the writer that one of the grievances that the students harboured was the poor catering.¹⁰⁴ He cited the example of one of the tutors, Father Hunter, who according to this informant would go to the extent of eating with the students in the dining hall as a way of monitoring the conduct of the students.¹⁰⁵

It is almost inevitable that the issues of food or timetable caused resentment in the students. Students such as Aidan Misi and Joseph Likoleche engaged in exchanges with one or the other member of staff. With respect to Misi's quarrelsome behaviour, Weller advised Bishop Arden, "I would suggest a fairly stern episcopal warning that quarrelsome priests are not wanted and that there must be better reports on his behaviour before ordination can be considered."¹⁰⁶ Similarly, with respect to Joseph Likoleche, writing to his bishop, Josiah Mtekatoka, Father Rodney Hunter remarked that, "I am most grateful that you have had a serious talk with Joseph and that you have the matter with the Archbishop."¹⁰⁷

Weller's and Hunter's resorting to swifter action against these students entailed a manner in which the teachers sought to respond to what they perceived was a threat of a possible drift of hegemony to the Africans. It was a manner in which the missionaries sought to come to terms with the increasingly assertive spirit of the Africans in the context of African consciousness and nationalism of the 1960s. Scott noted that, "it is tempting to see displays and rituals of power as something of an inexpensive substitute for the use of coercive force or as an attempt to tap an original power of legitimacy that

104. Interview, Father A.B. Mkoweka, dean of St. Peter's Cathedral with the author, Likoma Island, 26/10/99; see also Father Peter Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99.

105. Same interview.

106. Father John Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 24/1/66. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

107. *Ibid.*

has since been attenuated.”¹⁰⁸ Weller’s and Hunter’s appeal to the bishops was an important strategy in which they sought to boost their institutional authority by invoking hierarchical power or authority over their subordinates. Scott noted that:

Every visible, outward use of power each command, contact of deference, each ranking, each ceremonial order, each public punishment, each use of honorific or a term of derogation is a symbolic gesture of domination that serves to manifest and reinforce a hierarchical order.¹⁰⁹

But it ought to be noted that in spite of the bishop’s warning, Misi’s challenge to the system continued with intensity. According to Scott, greater repression provokes even more resistance to power. In his 3rd year report to Donald Arden, Weller alleged that:

On one occasion, Aidan [Misi] has made speeches at college meetings such as he doesn’t like the fish we have on Fridays and he resents if other students have his share since this means his money is spent on others, the staff does not make students comfortable enough here and expect them to sit on the benches. When Fr. Hunter pointed out that benches were also provided at Oxford and Cambridge, Aidan replied that he had information that there the benches were more comfortable than the ones at St. John’s. St. John’s is not well known enough in Lusaka and this is the fault of the staff especially the Warden. The students ought to be informed about the Warden’s discretionary fund and that he ought to use it for taking them to entertainment in town.¹¹⁰

These allegations characterise resistance to missionary power on a small scale, usually manifested in forms like “dislike of benches” or “dislike of fish”, alleged demands to know the amount of the discretionary fund. Instead of confronting the authorities directly, Misi challenged the authorities’ power through the latter’s icons of power, benches, food and the discretionary fund. James Scott calls this form of protest lowprofile resistance. These are acts of defiance of authority. However, none of these had more impact on Misi’s relationship with the staff and the seminary than his alleged statement about the bishops’ decision. During the end of the year report, Weller alleged that:

108.Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

109.*Ibid.*, p. 45.

110.Father John Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 4/12/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southerm Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR23.

When I reported to the college that the Episcopal Synod decision to ordain ordinands only upon their finishing their 3rd year, AM resented this. He stood up and shouted that this was “episcopal oppression” while others kept quiet. He refused to sit down when ordered to do so. The other day he said something which shows that his resentment at this decision remains this alone seems to cast a serious doubt on whether he should be admitted to the diaconate at all any way for the time being. A way must be found to a more satisfactory frame of mind.¹¹¹

With respect to Likoleche, in his correspondence with Bishop Arden, Father Hunter stated:

At present his sickness is protecting him from making any decisions about whether or not to conform to the timetable. In itself, his may seem a trivial matter but probably he sees it as a symbol of a new dispensation which arriving back late, he found already in operation.¹¹²

These two episodes highlight important aspects of power relations prevailing between the staff and the students at St. John’s Seminary. The alleged charge of “episcopal oppression” and protesting about sitting on the benches attributed to Misi, and the alleged protest about the timetable by Likoleche, suggest students’ resistance to domination of power. A confidential report shows that Likoleche was deported from Tanzania as a political activist.¹¹³

The timetable acted as a form of control, a form of surveillance over the students’ life, a mechanism to regulate discipline.¹¹⁴ Since the timetable, or benches, or meals represented seminary authority, protest against these also implied protest against authority. More interestingly, behind the charge that Misi’s quarrel extended to the bishops of the province lay the staff’s attempt to use the bishops’ power or authority to induce in Misi submission to seminary authority.

111. Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 17/4/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

112. Father Hunter, A letter to Bishop Arden, 21/10/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

113. Likoleche WP/C1, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

114. Danaher, Schirato and Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-57.

Nonetheless, underlying the conflict was the tension of worldviews. Hunter, seeking to defuse his critic, Likoleche, portrays him as “mentally sick”. But becoming more aware of the waning missionary power and his standing in the African society, Likoleche contested:

Another thing to bear in mind is, we have different beliefs in societies. As an African I know what sort of beliefs we have and this cannot be denied at all. History can tell the truth what an African was and how he lived before Europeans came to Africa.¹¹⁵

Thus, St. John’s Seminary was burdened with tension and conflicts between some individual students and staff. It underlined the unequal power relations between staff and students, the domineering tendencies of the staff towards the students. In these circumstances the Malawian students believed they were being persecuted.¹¹⁶ The persecution syndrome of the Malawians had apparently been enhanced by two factors: Minute 72.8 of the Episcopal Synod noted the “strains increased (in the college) by different treatment of different dioceses in matters involving money in particular.”¹¹⁷ Strong suspicions also existed that members of staff used some Rhodesian students to spy on the Malawian students. For instance, in 1978 Bishop Peter Nyanja of the diocese of Lake Malawi reported that during his time at St. John’s Seminary, Mr. Dimas spied on the students.¹¹⁸

The allegations of “spying” seem to support Father Hunter’s perceptions of the students’ attitude towards him. Recalling his time at St. John’s, Hunter described it as almost “a waste of time.”¹¹⁹ Asked why he felt like that, Hunter further recalled that, “there was marked opposition to my seating with the students because they believed that

115.Mr. Joseph Likoleche, A letter to Bishop Arden, 2/11/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

116.See for instance interview, the Reverend Professor Amanze with the author, Gaborone, 21/5/01; Bishop Peter Hatendi with the author, Harare, 31/5/01.

117.Minute 72.8 of the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa held in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 6th July 1972. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File P10.

118.Minutes of the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File marked Central Zambia, A/P. 7/2, 1975-79.

119.Personal correspondence with the author, 13/7/99

he (that, is Father Hunter) will find out about us (students).”¹²⁰ Father Arthur B. Mkwesha also supported the claim that members of staff used student spies.¹²¹

The apparent existence of “spies” suggests a breakdown in confidence between the staff and students. To the staff, the student body had become a closed society. As a closed community, the only way to try to enter into its life was to place surveillance on the life of the student body by using the system of espionage. As Foucault states, surveillance constitutes a measure of control and management.¹²² St. John’s life was structured to keep the students under scrutiny, to observe their habits and social life, which the students resented. A claim of spying on the students suggests that the students’ life was under surveillance. According to James Scott, “spying” is a form of hidden transcript undertaken by the dominant over their subordinates.¹²³ It illustrates the nonexistence of mutual trust between the two parties. In this case there was a considerable measure of mistrust between the staff and the students.

In this respect, authoritarianism and dictatorial tendencies on the part of some members of staff became part of the ordering of a community often seen as insubordinate. For instance, Misi’s attribution to the warden, Weller, of such statements as “what I have said, I have said,” or, “Anyone must eat what I buy ...what is on the table” suggest acts of domination.¹²⁴ It suggests that the members of staff brooked no opposition or any gesture that implied disobedience.

The articulation of what Scott terms the “hidden transcript,” spelling out an underlying conflict between what they perceived and what they actually experienced, this becomes more articulated, though incoherently expressed, in ideologically loaded statements. For instance, in the case of Father Kenneth Francis reporting to Bishop Arden about Joseph

120. Same letter.

121. Interview, Father A. B. Mkwesha with the author, Deanery, St. Peter’s Cathedral, Likoma, Malawi, 26/10/99.

122. Danaher, Schirato and Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

123. Scott, *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

124. Aidan Misi, A letter to Bishop Arden, 22/12/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

Likoleche, Father Francis indicated that Joseph Likoleche was very conscious of the missionary weakness: “[Joseph Likoleche] tends to be conscious of the failures of the missionaries especially in keeping too much in their hands in the days of independence”.¹²⁵ Similarly, in an essay, it is claimed that Misi argued in favour of polygamy as more African than monogamy.¹²⁶

Likoleche and Misi looked forward to the time in the future when they would get “revenge”. In the case of Mr. Misi, this revenge envisaged a day in the future when the Malawians would have their own seminary, without the whites as well as the Rhodesians.¹²⁷ Inspired by African consciousness and nationalism, the students sought to challenge the white missionary hegemony appearing in the form of “oppressive missionary authority”. Likoleche’s “being conscious of missionary weakness,” suggests his bitterness to white authority.

Similarly, the issue of badly cooked meals forced on the students suggests missionary domination. The key principle regarding domination was the missionaries’ demand of obedience from the students. What the Reverend Shepherd of the Scottish mission said in connection with the obedience of the student to the teacher in 1946 at Lovedale College in South Africa was relevant with regard to St. John’s Seminary in the 1970s. He stated that, “Obedience is the first lesson without which all others are not of much value. The boy who cannot learn to obey, is not likely to learn much else.”¹²⁸

It was on this principle that St. John’s Seminary, like other missionary institutions, was run. What Adrian Hastings wrote about the atmosphere of training in the Roman Catholic seminaries at this time applies also in this case. He stated, “The atmosphere of

125.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 24/12/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

126.See Interview, Father James Amanze with the author, Gaborone, 21/5/01.

127.Aidan Misi, A letter to Bishop Arden, 15/11/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File OL1.

128.Bolnick, J., “Preparing the PettyBourgeoisie for Privilege – Mission School Education in the 20s, 30s and 40s”. University of Cape Town, Africa Seminar paper, 1988, p. 8., quoted in Ramphela, M., “On being Anglican: The pain and the privilege” in *Bounty and Bondage*, p. 179.

benevolent paternalism (was) akin to that of a prep school. And this regime is for fully grown men in their twenties, whose contemporaries are not only treated as independent adults, but hold down positions of responsibility and importance. No wonder that some vocations fall victim to nothing else but boredom.”¹⁵²¹²⁹

After a series of events, one of the critical issues that finally led to the breakdown of relationships between the students, particularly Aidan Misi, and the staff concerned some students’ perceptions relating to the manner in which the sacramental confession was used. During the middle of the year 1968, apparently after he had made confession to Fr. Francis, Misi alleged that information divulged in the confessional was used by members of staff to write bad reports for the students.¹³⁰ This led to Misi’s suspension.¹³¹

The issue surrounding confessions must have been very sensitive, because as a sacrament it entailed the absolute confidentiality and secrecy of the penitent. To suggest that confessions were used for personal motives by staff was to imply the abuse of the office of a priest and by implication to question the priest’s own integrity. By nature the charge was scandalous. Seemingly, the effect of Misi’s allegation was such that it disturbed relations between staff and students of St. John’s. Subsequently, Misi reported to Bishop Arden that since Father Francis had stopped him from attending the classes, this implied that the warden, Father Weller, had “already judged” him.¹³² In other words, Misi implied that his expulsion from attending classes was prejudicial since judgement had been passed even before he had had a hearing.

129.Hastings, A., *Church and Missions in Modern Africa*, London: Burns and Oates, 1967, p. 192.

130.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 17/3/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A; OL1.

131.*Ibid.*

132.Mr. Aidan Misi, A letter to Bishop Arden, 3/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

In the interim, however, a commission of inquiry was set up.¹³³ It is also interesting to note that in his correspondence with Bishop Arden, Father John Weller expressed his hope “that the commission will recommend ordination so as to sober him down.”¹³⁴ Weller’s words seemed to indicate that he was concerned that perhaps if the commission would not recommend Misi for ordination then he would even cause more trouble in the seminary, a scenario that he wanted to avoid at any cost.

Meanwhile, the preliminary results of an independent inquiry undertaken by Mr. Martin Kaunda, the Malawian Church representative in Lusaka, requested by Bishop Arden about the Misi issue seemed to be in favour of Misi.¹³⁵ Mr. Martin Kaunda reported that, “Misi is no worse in his behaviour than other students.”¹³⁶ Mr. Kaunda’s statement suggests that Misi’s conduct was a reflection of many other students. This suggests that the conduct of Mr. Misi characterised the life of the students at St. John’s Seminary. More significantly, responding to Mr. Kaunda, Bishop Donald Arden said:

I was somewhat surprised after many reports of friction with his fellow students when no less than four Malawian students came up to me at Lusaka and asked me not to believe any bad reports I had heard about him. This and your own report were about the only two encouraging reports I have heard in the last year or two and make me think that perhaps we were not mistaken in sending him forward for training.¹³⁷

The official inquiry asked Aidan Misi to apologise to Fr. Francis, which he did.¹³⁸ The members of the commission resolved that Misi leave St. John’s Seminary temporarily.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, in my view an accurate analysis and a balanced view of Misi’s problems and of the situation at St. John’s Seminary was given by Fr. Jackson Biggers in June 1968. He commented:

133.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 8/6/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A.

134.*Ibid.*

135.Mr. Martin Kaunda, A letter to Bishop Arden, 3/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

136.Same letter.

137.Bishop Arden, A letter to Mr. Martin Kaunda, 8/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WP19A.

138.Same letter.

139.Same letter.

I see ominous signs of the kind of mentality seen during those hours in your house with Fr. Augustine Chande and Fr. Frank Mkata. I recommend he come away from Lusaka, resume his old work for 2 years, then later go to Ngala (Theological College in Tanzania). I get the impression that he didn't have a very deep vocation to ministry. This does not mean that it wasn't there, it may be that Lusaka has not provided the best environment for him, certainly his now being the only Malawian there will not have assisted. I am naturally aware of the shortcomings of Lusaka staff as I indicated in my previous correspondence over Malawi students, and am not all together happy over the manner in which Fr. Weller expresses his adverse opinion. However, even making an allowance for this, and here there seems to be a grave doubt about Misi's sincerity.¹⁴⁰

Important issues arise from the above statement. Firstly, perceptively, Biggers identified St. John's as not a good environment for training. Secondly, he cited the shortcomings of the Lusaka staff which he seemed to suggest was the factor that contributed to Misi's problems of vocation. More significantly, he associated Misi's mentality with some of the serving clergy who themselves had been trained at St. John's Seminary. In other words, he cautioned Donald Arden that when eventually Misi became a priest he would be as problematic as the priests that he (Biggers) had just cited. He saw Misi in the same mould as the priests who were serving in the diocese but had previously trained at St. John's Seminary.

Obviously, both Likoleche and Misi were conscious of the waning hegemony of the white missionaries in both state and church in Africa. They invoked their African ideology to contest this hegemony. Likoleche's fondness for the political implications of Bible study supports this conclusion, as does Misi's alleged charge of "episcopal oppression." In other words, in his mind, Misi associated "episcopal oppression" with "staff oppression" or vice versa, which he saw as the worst aspect of seminary life. How did Misi view "episcopal oppression" or "staff oppression" negatively operating in the life of the seminary?

In Misi's view the bishops were looking down at the students. To Misi, so it appears, the "repressive bishops" attitude was by extension "the repression by the staff" at St.

140. Bishop Jack Biggers, A letter to Bishop Arden, 3/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; OL1.

John's Seminary. However, as I will discuss below, the issue of Misi's ordination was to be a focal point of struggle between the staff of St. John's, Aidan Misi, and Bishop Arden. It became a matter of the institutional power of the seminary staff versus episcopal power.

Yet, as Scott argues, "the frontier between the public and the hidden transcripts is a zone of constant struggle between the dominant and the subordinate not a solid wall. The capacity of dominant groups to prevail over their subordinates though never totally in defining and constituting what counts as the public transcript and what is off stage is, as we shall see, no small measure of their power."¹⁴¹ In our case, the exchange between Bishop Arden and Fr. Weller, the warden or, Fr. Hunter, the subwarden, over the position of Misi constituted something of a struggle, a struggle for power. It entailed intrigue and mastery, assumptions, misrepresentation of ulterior motives by both sides in pursuit of individual objectives or interests which were not often made obvious by both parties.

In his letter of 14th April 1969, John Weller wrote to Bishop Arden enquiring whether it was his intention to ordain Aidan Misi at the end of his 3rd year contrary to the ruling of the Episcopal Synod. In the same correspondence, he also gave Bishop Arden the impression that Misi was entitled to the "ordination equipment" thereby suggesting that he was approving of his ordination.¹⁴² Nonetheless, in his final report to Bishop Arden, John Weller once again reminded and cautioned Arden about Misi's unsuitability. He stated:

We cannot possibly recommend him to be ordained, since there are indications that if he enters the ministry he will give his priestincharge, archdeacon and bishop a very difficult time, because of his attitude to authority and also that he would quarrel with many of his people. Our disappointment with David Banda, Bartholomew Msonthi and Edward Nanganga makes it clear that we should warn bishops about men whose suitability is questionable, and I am bound to say that, unless evidence appears of a

141.Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

142.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 25/1/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A.

real growth by Aidan in humility, self control and charity, I could not hold out very much hope of his being useful in the ministry.¹⁴³

But as Scott argues, “domination seems to require a credible performance of haughtiness and mastery.”¹⁴⁴ Domination is subtle, hence it may not appear as obvious in the manner in which it functions. Thus responding to Weller, Arden retorted:

I was very upset on Friday to receive your letter of December 4th recommending that Aidan Misi be not ordained. In the absence of anything to the contrary, I have been assuming since your letter of 14th April regarding ordination equipment that he would be ordained at the end of this year as has always been the rule in this diocese and I think throughout the Province except in Matabeleland.¹⁴⁵

At that time Aidan Misi was already preparing for ordination. What is more surprising is that it seems that one staff member, Fr. Hunter, knew that arrangements for the ordination of Aidan Misi were already under way. In fact he had been asked to conduct Misi’s retreat and was at this time on his way to Misi’s ordination. This means that he was not part of the staff’s decision.

But the subordinate, in this case Father Weller, had to submit to the superior, Bishop Donald Arden. Weller felt he had no option but to retreat and to give in and apologise:

I am sorry we seem to have got wires crossed in this matter. My letter of April, 14 was certainly not in any sense an indication that I intended to recommend immediate ordination although the grant is called an “ordination grant,” it is normally given in the Rhodesian dioceses, at the time a man leaves college and starts work, which is when he needs it. I had been half waiting a letter from you to inquire of your future intentions about Aidan Misi similar to the one I received with respect to ordination to granted in future. Given the situation you faced when my letter arrived I agree that you had no option but to go ahead.¹⁴⁶ In the absence of such a letter I had wrongly assumed that you had no immediate intention of ordaining him. We both seem to have been

143.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 4/12/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OL1.

144.Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

145.Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Weller, 12/1/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A.

146.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 25/1/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A.

drawing too many assumptions from silence. I am sorry about my share in this, and will take less for granted.¹⁴⁷

Apart from the problems relating to correspondence between the two parties, there was also the issue of their individual perceptions towards the position of Misi in the church, and their respective official relationships with Misi. The two factors tended to impinge on each other. In this regard respective reaction to Misi's case was bound to differ. But since Bishop Arden held higher power leverage than Father Weller regarding the question of ordination, he automatically was the "winner" in this game of power. With regard to Aidan Misi, Weller put his finger on the problem when he said:

Even after four trying years, I don't know that I am sufficiently familiar with what makes Aidan (Misi) tick, to answer Canon Ewbank's question! His attitude to authority and especially white man's authority, is obviously a factor. Otherwise, all I can do is pass the script and Canon Ewbank's comment to you...¹⁴⁸

Misi's case illustrates the dilemma that the church authorities faced in Malawi, on one hand, with respect to the staff's assessment of the students and the financial position of the church, and on the other, the availability of vocations. Faced with the dire shortage of financial resources and the lack of quality vocations, it seems that Arden had no option but to ignore the recommendations of the staff not to ordain a particular student.

In this regard, the case of another St. John's student, George Chilombo, highlights the authorities' dilemma regarding the position of Misi. Asked whether during his time as a tutor at St. John's Seminary the diocese reviewed any decisions regarding the position of ordinands in training, Fr. Hunter responded in the negative. In this regard, writing to Bishop Arden about the unsuitability of George Chilombo as an ordinand, Hunter complained that "there has been no tradition in our church in this country for reviewing

147.Father Weller, Letter to Bishop Arden. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: WP19 A.

148.Father Weller, A letter to Bishop Arden, 25/1/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP19A.

the choice of candidates during their course.”¹⁴⁹ According to Hunter, Chilombo had shown no qualities that he was called to the fulltime ministry.

Irrespective of whether Misi, Chilombo or Likoleche were “called” to the ordained ministry, the question of whether to ordain Misi, impinged on a diocese with very slender human and financial resources. Yet the staff’s attempt to halt Misi’s ordination suggests the symbolic significance, power and authority of ordination connected to that of the staff. By threatening not to recommend Aidan Misi for ordination each time he showed an attitude of insubordination, the staff meant to make him comply.

By 1969 members of the Provincial Synod meeting at Lusaka, Zambia became aware that race constituted a part of the problem at St. John’s Seminary. Meeting on 23rd September of that year they noted that one of the problems until then was that all lecturers were whites in an African college. Their relations with the Africans were not good enough.¹⁵⁰ This resolution seems to suggest that the problems at St. John’s College were compounded by differences in racial cultural dynamics between the two groups. Certainly they were right. In that year Father Ralph Hatendi (AKC) was recruited to join the college. Subsequently, the Provincial officials observed that his [Ralph Hatendi’s] presence “had brought in a new and valuable approach to the training of these men.”¹⁵¹

However, a letter to a priest at Likoma, Canon John Parslow, from Bishop Arden suggests that it was only by 1970 that Bishop Donald Arden realised that the presence of the Ordination Fund had been largely responsible for attracting the flood of letters of application for the priesthood.¹⁵² This was two years after Mr. Kishindo had pointed out

149.Father Hunter, A letter to Bishop Arden, 26/7/76. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File A/O/R/R.

150.File P10, Minutes of the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa held at Lusaka, 23/9/69., Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

151.File entitled “Anglo-Catholic Ordination Fund”, Oliver GreenWilkinson OCA, 23/9/69, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

152.Bishop Arden, A letter to Canon John Parslow, 5/5/70. Archives of the Anglican diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File ORI.

the existence of the discrepancy relating to the Ordination Fund and the manner in which it was being exploited by the other elements for purposes for which it was not meant.

The fact that it took two years for Arden to notice the problem, suggests that there was something seriously wrong about the process. The cases of George Chilombo and Martin Mzungu leaving the seminary as a result of lack of vocation should have made the authorities in the diocese of Malawi consider reviewing the training policy regarding the selection processes. Fr. Hunter had once suggested this, but it seems the proposal was never taken up.

On a deeper level, the conflict between staff and students over the timetable, the food boycotts and the “black bible” at St. John’s Seminary reflects a broader social phenomenon in the world of the 1960s within institutions of learning. In his book, *The Dominican Friars in Southern Africa, 1577-1990*¹⁵³ Philippe Denis gave an account of the problems encountered by the Roman Catholic Church in the training of black clergy in South Africa. He made the point that African nationalism and the black consciousness movement impacted on the seminary training. Tensions surfaced in the context of the assertion of the Black Consciousness Movement against the ideology of apartheid. These tensions affected relationships between blacks and whites between the 1950s and the 1970s in the seminary. This illustrates that the sociopolitical movement on the continent was a very important factor that had a formidable bearing on the process, atmosphere, and character of seminary training.

9.1.9 The closure of St John’s Seminary (1972)

On 15th January 1972 at a meeting of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishops’ Mount in Salisbury, the bishops decided that St. John’s Seminary might soon come to an end as a

153. Denis, P., *The Dominican Friars in Southern Africa A Social History (1577-1990)*, Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 1998.

provincial college. It was becoming very expensive.¹⁵⁴ Meanwhile, minute 72.6 of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishop's Mount, Salisbury, on 1st and 2nd February 1972 noted that there was "no prospect for a provincial college to support a viable, purely Anglican Seminary."¹⁵⁵ It further noted that the longterm policy should be one of cooperation in theological training with other churches in Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi.¹⁵⁶ Effectively, this spelt the end of St. John's Seminary, seventeen years after it had been established.

The lack of adequate funds to run a provincial college when there was a dire need of clergy prompted Arden to devise a plan to overcome the problem by diversifying ministry.

9.1.10 Other Schemes of Theological Training

9.1.10.1 Catechist priest and Voluntary priest

Very early in his ministry as bishop, in 1962, Arden decided to use a large body of elderly and fairly young catechists, the linchpin of the old Anglican ministry, which had served the church well, to fill the gap of a shortage of clergy in the diocese.¹⁵⁷ A scheme was developed to give this group a better theological training while on the job in their rural parishes. In this respect Bishop Arden was a visionary. It might be recalled that in the previous chapter an anonymous author from Manda, southern Tanzania suggested a similar scheme of African ministry. First these men were trained at Mpondas, Mangochi but later on the training programme was at Chilema, Malosa.

154. Minute 49/70 of the Diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Malawi held on 15th January 1972 held at Bishops' mount, Salisbury, Rhodesia. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File OR38.

155. Minutes of the 32nd Meeting of the Episcopal Synod held in Salisbury, Rhodesia on Tuesday, 1st and Wednesday, 2nd February 1972. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File P10.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ibid.*

Qualified white expatriates could not teach in the vernacular since almost none of them was fluent enough nor did these prospective trainers have enough knowledge of the English language to qualify them either to write or speak English fluently. This is how Bishop Arden expressed the problem, “We looked at this problem for an hour and nobody can suggest where we can find somebody to train these men. The difficulty is that they have to be trained in the vernacular and this rules out any new expatriate.”¹⁵⁸ The problem was solved when the Diocesan Standing Committee meeting on 1st July 1970 resolved that the scheme would start operating when Father Aipa returned to Malawi from Europe on 29th August 1970.¹⁵⁹

The ordinands came to Chilema Lay Ministry Training Centre for six months for theological training and spent the rest of the year in the field.¹⁶⁰ At one time the priests who trained in this programme were known as the “Chilema clergy”. This group of clergy received lower stipends than the seminarytrained clergy.¹⁶¹ Some of the men who entered ministry in this manner reached heights in their service. Most prominent was Fr. Dunstan Daniel Ainani. After training at Mponda’s, he served many other parishes. He was to become the first Malawian bishop of the diocese of Southern Malawi in 1980. There were also others like Fathers E. Mphaya, D. Onaika, D. Manjawira, D. Tunthuwa, E. Chimpango, and A. Kalimbe.

On the other hand, the presence of prominent lay members with a high degree of Christian commitment in civil society, necessitated the evolution of what came to be known as “the voluntary ministry.”¹⁶² Thus in 1969, Arden introduced what came to be known as the “Voluntary priest.” These were men who, while working in their various jobs in society, and after going through a certain period of theological training were

158. Minutes of the Ordination Selection Board of the Diocese of Malawi, item entitled Permanent Assistant Priests, OR4, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, 27/1/70.

159. WP51, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

160. *Ibid*; See also Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

161. *Ibid*.

162. Minute xiv of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi held at Chilema, Malosa, Zomba, 16th to 17th August 1969. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File PU1.

eventually ordained and served as priests mostly on Sundays.¹⁶³ They were meant to volunteer their services, getting no pay from the church. Some of these men became very prominent clergymen, such as Canon John Malewezi, the father of the future vice president of the Republic of Malawi, Justin C. Malewezi.¹⁶⁴ Others included Fathers John Asani, Stewart Lane, Peter Garland, Michael Gibbs, Maxwell Zingani, Stanley Mandala, Frank Mkomawanthu, Maxwell Maputwa, Raphael Kayamba and George S. Mbaya, the father of the author.

Some of these, most notably Maputwa, became very popular and were highly respected in society.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the “regular” clergy or Seminary trained clergy often tended to look down on those who served in the capacity of these ministries. Nevertheless, it is no exaggeration to state that the Anglican Church in Malawi has taken its place alongside the other churches with pride largely due to these men. These schemes display Bishop Arden’s vision for the church in Malawi. The rationale behind both schemes was to increase the number of clergy in the diocese.

While the former scheme was largely intended for rural ministry, this group of clergy with a lower form of training distinctly served mostly rural congregations where the majority of the people had an equally low form of education. On the other hand, there were the “voluntary clergy”, a clergy with a higher standard of academic qualification than the “Catechist priest” or sometimes even the regular seminary trained priest. Apparently, in both respects the church had the advantage; the former with respect to continuation of the rural ministry while for the latter ministry the church did not have the obligation to pay them. The important point to underline here is that these ministries evolved largely because on the eve of independent Malawi the UMCA trained clergy were not only few but also ageing fast so much so that it seemed to the bishop they could not keep up with ministrations.

163.*Ibid.*

164. See File Malewezi WP51. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

165. Personal recollections, 1977-1980s.

9.1.10.2. Kachebere Major Seminary

At least since the 19th century, the Anglican Church has been seen by others as the *via media*, the bridge between two extremes, on one hand, radical Protestantism and, on the other, Roman Catholicism. Perhaps it is because of holding such a middle position, sharing both Protestant and Roman Catholic features that it has found acceptance in both camps. As is well known, the roots of this spirit were international in origin.

One of the consequences of the close cooperation between Christian Churches in the modern era has been their willingness to embark on joint enterprises in various areas of church development. Perhaps more than his predecessors, Bishop Arden was ecumenically conscious. He lived in the period when the ecumenical spirit was at its height. He seemed to flirt comfortably with, on one hand, the Roman Catholic Church, and on the other, the Presbyterian Churches in Malawi. With the latter, Arden found a companion in J. D. Sangaya, a revered leader of the Blantyre mission, while on the side of the Roman Catholics, Arden found sympathy with Patrick Kalilombe, a remarkable bishop of Lilongwe.

Following the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic Church became more open to the “separated brethren.” In the 1970s in Malawi, this spirit tended to enhance a common bond between the first generation of African bishops, *inter alia*, Cornelius Chitsulo, James Kalilombe and Josiah Mtekatika, in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches respectively. Minute 72.1 of the Episcopal Synod held on 12 June 1972 in Lusaka, Zambia noted that “while there was no prospect for the province to have a provincial theological college its long term policy for theological training therefore lay with ecumenical endeavour rather than a purely Anglican seminary.”¹⁶⁶

One of the fruits of the new spirit of cooperation between the two churches was the agreement by the Catholic Church to train Anglican Seminarians after the closure of St.

166. Minutes of the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa held in Lusaka, Zambia on 12th June 1972. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File P10.

John's Seminary. In his letter of 28th May 1969 to Frank Thorne, Arden stated that there was a very strong possibility for Anglicans to join Kachebere partly because of people like Kalilombe whom he described as brilliant intellectually and a delightful person.¹⁶⁷ Father Hunter with his students, James Amanze, Constantine Kaswaya, Thomas Chimbayi Chirwa and Emmanuel Karima, moved to Kachebere major Seminary in Mchinji district in 1973. Even though Kachebere provided a more stable family like environment, the prohibition of Anglicans to receive communion at the Roman Catholic altar seemed to offset the gains made.¹⁶⁸

Even more harmful to the arrangement was the resurgence of anti-Protestant attitudes in some Roman Catholic hierarchy regarding the presence of the Anglican students.¹⁶⁹ It is believed that the Anglican presence was seen as undesirable because their church law, allowing married priests, would have a bad influence on the Catholic seminarians who would make a vow not to marry for the rest of their lives.¹⁷⁰ Political problems caused by the disfiguring of a portrait of the President of the Republic of Malawi, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, precipitated the closure of the Seminary.¹⁷¹ The Anglicans had to find a new home.

9.1.10.3 Chilema Lay Training Centre

The establishment of the Chilema Lay Training Centre at Malosa, Zomba was a joint effort of the two leaders, Bishop Arden and the Very Reverend Jonathan D. Sangaya of the Presbyterian Synod of Blantyre. Dialogue towards this venture had been going on

167. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Kenneth Skelton, England, 26/7/74. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File WP86.

168. File OR38 Amanze dated 12/10/74. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

169. See File RC10 dated 18/12/74. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; see also interview, Father Constantine Kaswaya, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre, with the author, 26/5/01.

170. *Ibid.*

171. Personal reminiscences.

since 1966.¹⁷² The centre served the churches in many important programmes including theological training for clergy and laity, Sunday school, social and domestic work. Over three decades the training centre has served the churches well.¹⁷³

Zomba Theological College (1977)

Zomba Theological College for training men (afterwards women) for the ordained ministry was founded in 1977 as a result of the cooperation of Bishop Arden of the Diocese of Southern Malawi and the Reverend Jonathan D. Sangaya, General Secretary of the Blantyre Synod Presbyterian Church.¹⁷⁴ It was the first Ecumenical College in Malawi.

In 1977, three students, Noel Kalizang'oma, Douglas Russel Mambala and Lawrence Mndala, began at Zomba Theological College a four-year theology course.¹⁷⁵ In 1979, fairly young James Tengatenga joined the college. Two years later in October, three other students, middle-aged Vincent Mkonkha, younger Billy J. P. Masona and Henry Mbaya, joined Zomba Theological College.¹⁷⁶ In many respects, this early group of Anglican students were pioneers, mainly in terms of the model they set.

Following the elderly Kalizangoma, middle-aged Mambala and Mndala, and the younger Tengatenga, Masona and the writer, there has been a steady flow of both elderly and younger students to Zomba Theological College pursuing their studies.¹⁷⁷ The advantages of Zomba Theological College for the Anglican ministry have been

172. Minute 877 Diocesan Standing Committee held from 11th to the 12th June 1966. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File RE1.

173. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

174. Tengatenga, J., *Church, State and Society in Malawi: An Analysis of Anglican Ecclesiology*, p. 111., quoting *Ecclesia*, Sept/Oct., 1962. The Newsletter carried the bishop's charge. I am very grateful to Professor Klaus Fiedler who has drawn my attention to a book by Reverend S. Nchozana on Reverend Sangaya. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find this book.

175. Personal reminiscences, 1981-1983.

176. Personal recollections, Zomba, 1981-1983.

177. Personal recollections, Zomba, 1981-1983.

immense down the years.¹⁷⁸ The fouryear diploma theological studies compared very well with other theological institutions in Southern Africa, such as St. Paul's College, Grahamstown, St. Bede's College, in Umtata, or St. Peter's Anglican College, at the Federal Theological Seminary, Pietermaritzburg.

The atmosphere at Zomba Theological College has tended to be more stable than that at St. John's Seminary, more communal and family like. However, a few occasions in the past years have proved disturbing when a member of staff has stressed the Non-Conformist tradition, perhaps deliberately to spite Anglican tradition. This has been a source of unhappiness and tension in the college. It has sometimesoured relations between Presbyterians and Anglicans and put the ecumenical marriage to the test.

However, both traditions have sometimes suffered. The consequences of a visiting evangelist preaching a strange doctrine of the Holy Spirit, or some other doctrine in the city, has left part of his audience, some of whom are theological students, confused, or worse, embracing the new teaching, as happened in 1982.¹⁷⁹ Sometimes the minority status of the Anglicans amongst the dominant Presbyterian student body has tended to enhance a sense of unity amongst themselves, irrespective of the different dioceses that they come from.¹⁸⁰ As the Anglican numbers of students have been rising over the years, the Anglicans have become more assertive in matters pertaining to the running of the college.

The place of the Anglicans in training at a predominantly Presbyterian Zomba Theological College has also been something of an abnormality with respect to its strong Anglo-Catholic tradition. While the Synods of the Presbyterian Churches of Blantyre and Livingstonia trained women from the 1980s, the Anglicans never contemplated such a move. Why? The Anglican Church in Malawi cherishes its Anglo-

178. Being amongst the three radical Protestant Traditions, the Anglicans have tended to be conscious of their unique identity, hence have striven to sustain it. Personal recollections 1981-1983.

179. Personal recollections, 1981-1983. The writer was the witness of this episode.

180. Personal recollections, Zomba, 1981-1983.

Catholic teachings and tradition which it inherited from the Catholic Church via the UMCA between 1885 and 1962. However, indirect international pressure from the Church of England resulting from the agreement to ordain women in 1993 has presented even greater challenges. Canon Rodney Hunter responded to the developments in the Church of England by writing an open letter to the bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi, Peter Nyanja in 1993.¹⁸¹

However, Hunter's letter tended to express the sentiments of some male and female Anglicans in Malawi. The church in the region shares in the common Anglo-Catholic heritage, a tradition, discipline, and a spirituality very close to the Roman Catholic way. *Inter alia* the tradition stressed the sacraments and male priesthood. The church leadership in Malawi seems to be entrenched in the trappings of its history and tradition. Hunter's argument is not very convincing as it seems to be exclusively based on the fear that the ordination of women would jeopardise the Anglicans' reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church rather than on solid doctrinal premises.

Hunter's letter suggests that the Anglicans cherished the relationship with the Catholics more than with the others. It is ironical that Hunter made these remarks when he was a staff member of Zomba Theological College, where the Anglican participation was also meant to strengthen the bond of unity between the two traditions. If the Anglican Church was to be true to its position as "a bridge between the two extremes" of Catholic and Reform traditions, surely it ought to have taken reconciliation with the non-Catholic traditions seriously as well. Perhaps closer engagement with the churches of the non-Catholic tradition could impel the Anglican Church to consider the issue of the ordination of women.

However, Hunter's voice seemed to ignore another constituency women. In 1994, E. C. Kishindo writing on behalf of the Mothers' Union urged that women be ordained in the Anglican Church in Malawi.¹⁸² Arguing on the basis of some scriptural texts, precedence of female leadership in traditional religious practice in Malawi, ordination

181. Ross, K., (ed.). *Christianity in Malawi*, p. 109.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

of women in England and some countries in Africa as well as Europe, Kishindo made a passionate plea for the church to ordain women.¹⁸³ Kishindo's voice ought to be understood as a woman who was trying to articulate the voice of many women in Malawi. (New requirement for Examiner 1) The writer recalls in 1990s the experience of very prominent women of the Anglican diocese of Southern Malawi expressing their desire for ordination but at the same time feeling constrained by a male-dominated leadership of the church.¹⁸⁴

The place of the college in the Anglican ministry has been invaluable. A quality of clergy now serving the four dioceses in Malawi has been the product of Zomba Theological College. The Anglican Church has reached the stage now where it is discussing plans to establish its own theological college to be named after the African martyr and Christian missionary, Leonard Mattiya Kamungu. To some extent, this move will certainly be regretted, as the bonds of relationship build over the years with the Presbyterians will inevitably loosen. However, the move also illustrates a sign of maturity for the Anglican Church in Malawi. It will no longer have to depend on the others to develop its clergy.

Nonetheless, it is evident that the introduction of the ministry of the "Chilema" and "Voluntary" clergy enhanced the ministry of the church in Malawi. According to Weller and Linden, by 1962 there were 30 priests, 24 of who were Malawians.¹⁸⁵ The same year confirmed Christians numbered 1, 087 while the Easter Communicants were 9, 378.¹⁸⁶ The next fifteen years saw the number of priests rising to 100 as the number of the confirmed were at 3, 836 and the Easter communicants at 30, 691.¹⁸⁷

In the interim, efforts were made to provide further training for some men who had been trained in the seminary. They attended courses in places such as Nigeria, Kenya,

183. *Ibid.*

184. The writer had the privilege of listening to Mrs. A. Mkooko, Mrs. Makwenda and Mrs. Kadama discussing the issue.

185. Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

186. *Ibid.*

187. *Ibid.*

Jerusalem, Australia and England.¹⁸⁸ These courses widened the horizons of these men considerably.¹⁸⁹ Some of them were called upon to undertake urban ministry.¹⁹⁰ While in 1962, there was one Malawian priest working in a town; by 1979 there were 15 in Blantyre and Lilongwe.¹⁹¹ The 100 clergy working in Malawi in 1979 were divided almost proportionally equal in three categories of seminary trained, vernacular trained and voluntary.¹⁹² Meanwhile, between 1979 and 1980 Archbishop Arden's wishes for a Malawian graduate priest were realised when Father James Amanze studying in England attained his theology degrees. Following Amanze, James Tengatenga qualified for his M. Phil in the USA in 1987 and subsequently PhD at the University of Malawi in 2000.

Politically, since the aftermath of the publication of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter in March 1992,¹⁹³ the Anglican Church leaders, namely, Bishop Aipa and Bishop Nyanja of Southern Malawi and Lake Malawi, respectively, along with other church leaders, took a leading role in working for the democratisation of Malawi.¹⁹⁴ The Anglican Church in Malawi had come of age.

9.1.10.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the processes of recruitment and selection, the structures of training and the policies relating to the African clergy in the diocese of Malawi between 1962 and the 1980s. A few important aspects emerge. In the course of these processes, both the church officials and the aspiring priests often had their own motives which were not declared, except on rare occasions. More importantly, domination by

188.*Ibid.*, p. 139.

189.*Ibid.*

190.*Ibid.*

191.*Ibid.*

192.*Ibid.*

193. See Mbaya, H., *The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Malawi (1964-1992) with Reference to the Issue of Social Injustice. A Study of Church-state Relations.*, Unpublished M.Th Thesis, University of Natal, 1997.

194. Schoffeleers, M., *In Search of Truth and Justice, Confrontation between Church and State in Malawi 1960-1994*, Kachere Book no. 8, Blantyre: CLAIM, 1999, p. 219, 256.

some St. John's Seminary staff provoked some acts of resistance from some Anglican students. In this regard St. John's Seminary reflected what was actually happening in the wider society. It characterised the ideological conflict between the missionaries and the Africans in the 1970s. Partly, this led to the closure of the Seminary in 1972.

More importantly, the spirit of confrontation nurtured at St. John's shaped the personality of some Anglican clergy in Central Africa including Malawi who were to serve the church from the 1970s to the 1990s. As will be seen, some of the behavioural characteristics nurtured at St. John's Seminary would soon manifest themselves in the future ministry of the clergy. However, because St. John's Seminary had proved to be not a very suitable environment for training clergy from diverse backgrounds, the Anglican Church authorities decided to experiment with the other ecumenical schemes which, except with the Roman Catholic Seminary, have so far been working.

Chapter Ten

10. The Making of modern Malawian bishops (1965-1978)

10.1 Episcopal Succession in the Diocese of Malawi/ Lake Malawi (1965-1978)

10.1.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed the problems that surrounded the recruitment and the training of the African clergy in the Anglican Church in Central Africa, particularly Malawi, between 1962 and 1972. In conclusion, I asserted that being structural, these problems went a long way to shape the character and attitudes of the prospective leadership, as archdeacons or bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi. One critical issue that the episcopate of Frank Thorne had failed to tackle was the development of an Africanborn episcopate.

In this chapter I shall deal with the manner in which the election of the first African bishop and his successor in the diocese of Malawi took place between 1965 and 1978. I will argue that the election of bishops in Malawi was in most cases not determined only by the official church structures regulating the elections. Behind the formal structures of the electoral processes lay equally the “workings behind the scenes,” whose influence equally determined the final outcome of the election. I will also illustrate that with the objective of maintaining the episcopate as an administrative position, the appointment of a chaplain with administrative skills, to assist the first Malawian bishop, had the effect of undermining the role of the Malawian bishop.

10.1.2 Bishop Donald Arden and the Election of Suffragan Bishop, Josiah Mtekateka (1965)

Nyasaland attained its independence from the British government on 6th July 1964. The country took the name “Malawi,” meaning “flames of fire.”¹ In the synod that met that year, chaired by Bishop Donald Arden, the members resolved to change the name “diocese of Nyasaland” to “diocese of Malawi”,² thus keeping in tune with the national sentiments of the time. Donald Arden was at this time bishop of the diocese of Malawi, which covered the whole country. He was based in the southern part of the country in the small rural trading centre of Malosa in Zomba.³ From the outset, while some of his missionaries became overtly or covertly critical of Banda’s policies, Arden like many Anglicans did not dare oppose them.

In the spirit of Africanisation and nationalism, the ruling Malawi Congress Party vigorously encouraged the promotion of African leadership in all sectors of national life, including the church.⁴ It was a time when momentous changes were sweeping through the country, and the church was by no means unaffected. In these circumstances, the church’s administration on Likoma Island and by extension Bishop Arden’s administration was facing increasing challenge to their authority. Just like the Mchape Movement of the 1930s, the witchfinder known as Chikanga had established himself on the island between 1962 and 1965. By drawing large numbers of Christians to his practice and art of witch finding and witchcraft cleansing, he seemed to be undermining the authority of the church on the island.

Partly in support of the Mchape activities, some African Christian leaders were also defying Arden’s instructions regarding how to handle the witchfinder. In this context, in

1. Pachai, B., *Malawi: A History of the nation*, p. 74.

2. Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi, Chilema, Malosa, Malawi, 47/8/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File PU9.

3. Bishop Arden had moved the administrative headquarters from Mponda’s village in Mangochi to Malosa in the Zomba district early during his episcopate. Zomba was the colonial capital of Malawi.

4. See *Nyasaland Times*, 14/6/66, National Archives, Zomba.

an attempt to reinforce his authority, Bishop Arden urged his representative on the island, Father John Parslow, “to build up a strong public opinion of the people from the island.”⁵ He asserted that “I feel in the past discipline has been accepted so to speak from the outside, submitted to rather than accepted and that the church has relied too much on pronouncements by the Bishop rather than a genuine concern of people’s own consciences.”⁶

Bishop Arden was aware of the threat that witchfinder had posed to missionary religious authority in the past, he was also equally aware of the drastic measures in the form of sanctions that the UMCA bishops imposed on the stray Christians on Likoma Island. Similarly, he was aware of the defiance of the people towards missionary authority, partly inspired by political changes on the continent during the last years of Bishop Thorne’s episcopate hence this attempt, during his absence from Likoma, to strengthen his grip on mission authority on the island by persuasion.

As will be illustrated below, these developments had a considerable bearing on the thinking in church circles. Just as the colonial attitudes had tended to impact negatively on the missionary perceptions and practices with regard to African training and ministry, so in the new era, nationalist sentiments tended to influence the church’s thinking about African ministry. For instance, Francis Oliver GreenWilkinson, the Archbishop of Central Africa, reported at a meeting in 1963, that during the meeting in London with Bishop Donald Arden that year, Arden had been somewhat “critical of my having made so public my intention in the matter” of appointing a Suffragan Bishop. The archbishop further stated that “now he [Arden] agreed about this.”⁷

From archival sources at the diocesan office at Malosa, it is not clear what made Bishop Arden change his attitude from being critical of the issue of the archbishop’s desire to

5. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father John Parslow, 5/6/65. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File A/L1.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, A letter to Father G.W. Broomfield, 8/11/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi Malosa, Zomba; File Oliver GreenWilkinson, A/P1.

appoint a Suffragan Bishop to the position that he was now affirming. The possible explanation is that the spirit and euphoria of Malawian independence after the successful negotiations at Lancaster House in London and the mood in Malawi may have influenced his change of mind.⁸

But Arden's reluctance seemed to be indicative of the broader unfavourable mood prevailing in the region. Indications show that the dioceses of the Province were not ready to accept African Assistant Bishops existing alongside the European diocesan bishops at this stage. For instance, meeting on 18th December in 1963, the Commission on the African Assistant Bishop reported that appointment of a Suffragan Bishop was considered "undesirable" by the Provincial Commission.⁹ Why was the appointment seen as "undesirable"?

Transference of authority from the missionary to the African was still very much an issue of European power,¹⁰ status and privilege, associated with colonial power and prestige. The missionaries were not yet ready to share the episcopate still dominated by the images of English state power with an African who was still regarded as socially inferior. Moreover, the Africans' lack of special skills of administration, though no fault of their own making, tended to justify their exclusion from the episcopate. Archival evidence suggests that at this stage Arden believed that almost none of his current clergy had the necessary qualification for the position.¹¹ Seemingly, the possibility of

8. The Lancaster House discussions held in 1961 in London paved the way for Malawi to be an independent state. The aftermath of the talks definitively determined the independence of Malawi as a new nation. Henceforth, Dr. Banda and his government advocated nationalist policies. Certainly Arden would not have remained impervious to these developments. See David Williams, *Malawi: Politics of Despair, Studies in power, poverty and political paralysis*, Ontario: Oribi, 1977., p. 195.

9. See Interim Report dated 18/12/63, p. 3. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File Oliver GreenWilkinson, A/P1.

10. It ought to be clearly noted that between 1963 and 1970s the Anglican Church in Central Africa was still overwhelmingly white in personnel. In Malawi this situation only started changing by the late 1970s.

11. See ORI, Clergy File, 196270, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.

releasing the episcopate dominated by white colonial power, privilege and status to the Africans, the members of the ruled race, was minimal at the height of the colonial order.

To Arden and to a large degree his predecessor, becoming an Anglican bishop required a priest with knowledge of some administrative skills. The issue was not so much whether there was an African priest who could be a bishop, but whether the priest in question possessed the administrative skills to run the office of a bishop.¹² It was largely on this score that his immediate predecessor, Thorne, had seemed hesitant to moot the issue of an African bishop.

Realising that none of his present clergy possessed the administrative skills to qualify for the position of bishop, Arden looked elsewhere. Responding to Bishop Thorne's question as to who he had in mind for an African bishop in 1962, Arden stated, "What I had in mind was enticing Canon Jalasi from Northern Rhodesia."¹³

Persuaded by Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson that Father Sheldon Jalasi, a Malawian working in Zambia, possessed good administrative skills, he invited him to become archdeacon of Nkhotakota in 1964.¹⁴ This was a strategic appointment. From the outset, it illustrates Arden's trying to prearrange his succession while not necessarily openly declaring his intentions and not in the least consulting his constituency. By appointing Fr. Jalasi to be archdeacon of Nkhotakota,¹⁵ Arden was making a significant gesture. He was in fact suggesting that Jalasi would be the next bishop since Nkhotakota was being prepared as a miniature centre of the prospective diocese of Lake Malawi.

12. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Herbert, 2/3/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File TR.

13. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 14/12/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File D. 8.

14. Bishop Arden, A letter to his predecessor, Bishop Thorne, 1/6/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File K1.

15. Father Sheldon Jalasi became the first African priest in charge and archdeacon since the start of the Nkhotakota mission station in 1895. Jalasi's immediate white predecessor, Father Guy Carlton, had left Nkhotakota under intense colonial political pressure in 1963; See File RE25/A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

Nonetheless, as things turned out, Fr. Jalasi was never elected bishop.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the appointment of Jalasi on the grounds of his displaying administrative skills stressed the perception that the Anglican episcopate was largely an administrative office.

Two factors determined the process towards the election of the first Malawian bishop in Malawi, pressure from England, and pressure from inside Malawi. According to Father Sauli, a retired priest from Likoma Island, there was pressure on the missionarydominated church in Malawi from the Archbishop of Canterbury to promote a Malawian sooner rather than later.¹⁷ However, more significantly, evidence also suggests that strong pressure to promote an African bishop also came from within the diocese. In his letter to Oliver GreenWilkinson, archbishop of Central Africa in 1963, Bishop Arden informed him that:

The meeting at Nkhotakota of all the clergy of the archdeaconry, Chipembere and a couple of others have given me five months to find and have consecrated an African bishop for the area. It would be disastrous to put another European archdeacon there and without one at all (as we are now), the work which is roughly half of the diocese will slowly disintegrate. The suggestions were Mtekateka and Jalasi in that order. I know neither of them well enough to judge.¹⁸

It is clear that despite the generally unfavourable attitudes prevailing in the province with regard to the introduction of the first African bishop, local pressure was strong enough to influence the direction of developments in the diocese of Malawi. In effect, the clergy's request approximated to an ultimatum to Arden. But, it would appear that at this stage what was being considered was not the election of the diocesan bishop, a bishop with autonomous powers, but the election of an Assistant Bishop.

Yet, it appears that at this juncture the whole notion of a Suffragan Bishop, or Assistant Bishop became something of a problem for the church in Central Africa. The role that a

16. Asking one informant as to why Father Jalasi was never made a bishop the author was informed that Arden was never satisfied with him, Unattributable source, Blantyre, 23/5/01.

17. Interview, the Reverend Canon Sauli with the author, Madimba, Likoma Island, 25/10/99.

18. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, 16/9/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File TR.

Suffragan Bishop would play in relation to the “regular” diocesan bishop, the manner of his election, and the extent and limitations of his powers were not clearly understood. For instance, a Commission appointed to deal with this issue met in Harare on 23rd April 1964, chaired by the bishop of Matabeleland noted:

1. To investigate further the historical position of Suffragan Bishops and their position in other Provinces of the Anglican Church in Africa...also ask further historical evidence from a theologian in England to supplement that already received from Canon Chadwick.
2. To ask the Provincial Registrar whether Provincial Synod is competent to give a ruling that a Suffragan Bishop is a ‘Bishop of the Province’ in accordance with the definitions the canons.
3. To consider the method of the appointment of Suffragan Bishops, bearing in mind a possible larger membership of the Standing Elective Committee.¹⁹

The fact that the legal position of a Suffragan Bishop was unclear in relation to that of a diocesan bishop suggests that leaders of the province were not yet ready to have a Suffragan Bishop. In relation to the “regular” office of a Diocesan Bishop, the office of a Suffragan Bishop at this stage came to be seen as “irregular.” Hence, there arose problems as to how they could accommodate it. While the researcher has not been able to locate the recommendations of the commission on this issue, it seems in the end, that the office of a Suffragan Bishop was to have considerably less power than that of a Diocesan Bishop.

Nonetheless, the rules of the Province of Central Africa, commonly called canons, describe a Suffragan Bishop as having much less executive power than a Diocesan Bishop. Working under a diocesan bishop for a period to learn the ropes of power, a Suffragan Bishop may or may not succeed him through the process of elections on the retirement of the diocesan bishop,²⁰ or he may finally be elected diocesan bishop for the area where he has been serving if that area becomes an autonomous diocese.²¹

19. Minutes of the Commission on the role of the Suffragan Bishop held on 23/4/64 in Salisbury, Rhodesia. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba: File P10, 68.

20. See Canon 11 of the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa

21. *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, more importantly, the Anglican diocese of Malawi held its synod on 23rd August 1964 “to make a decision as to who could be the first African Assistant bishop.”²² It is certainly indicative of the problem surrounding the nature of authority entailed in the new structures that in the same year the Provincial Commission met two or three times to establish exactly what the position of Suffragan Bishop entailed in the Province.²³ In his letter to Arden in that year, Thorne was very anxious to know who could be elected the first African bishop. Responding to one of Bishop Arden’s letters, Bishop Thorne stated that he thought that the choice lay “between Jalasi and Chipembere, with the balance slightly down on the side of the former, largely on the score of age.”²⁴

Despite concurring with Thorne’s guess, however, Arden was too cautious to preempt the results. He asserted: “...am anxious not to say anything out loud to avoid a repetition of the Northern Rhodesia logjam.”²⁵ Though it is not clear what Bishop Arden meant by a “logjam”, it seems he might have meant reaching a deadlock after rounds of voting.

Meanwhile, the Provincial Synod Minutes of 1968 recorded that on 6th December 1964, within 30 minutes, the Elective Committee in Malawi elected Josiah Mteketeka as the Suffragan Bishop of Malawi.²⁶

22. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 1/65. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File D 8; see also *Central Africa*, December, 1964, no. 984, vol. lxxxii which reports that “one of the resolutions passed at the Synod was to request the Bishop of Malawi to go ahead with the plan to elect an Assistant African bishop of Malawi, this being a prominent matter.”

23. Minutes of the Provincial Standing Committee held in Salisbury on 12/8/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File P10.

24. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 12/8/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File D 8.

25. Bishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 19/8/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP86.

26.(a) Minutes of the Provincial Synod held in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 6/12/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; Canon 11 of the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central

Father Josiah Mtekateka, then archdeacon in the diocese of Southwest Tanganyika was born on Likoma Island in 1903.²⁷ His biographer Denis Mpassou gave us a portrait of the strength of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, some of which seems to compare him favourably or how UMCA contributed to African leadership?): Early in his life, growing up at Likoma, Josiah Mtekateka had been a personal servant of several missionaries, notably of Father Geoffrey Brailsford Hand, as his dogkeeper, who loved him much for his honesty. He also worked under Mr Oldrige as an office boy.²⁸ Mpassou stated that, one strong trait in his character at this time was his resoluteness. He said that “once he... made his decision, it (was) hard to make him change his decision.”²⁹ Similarly, it is said that, “[Mtekateka] was averse to opposition.”³⁰

However, early influence towards the ministry emanated from Archdeacon Glossop, the headman of Likoma. He encouraged Mtekateka to be obedient and prayerful to God, like Samuel of old to answer God, “Lord, your servant is listening...”³¹ Father Glossop gave him a book of prayers and a badge of St. Athanasius.³² Having served as a teacher for some years under the influence of Glossop, he was encouraged to “think of becoming a Reader.” He applied to the bishop who agreed.³³ He took the deacon’s course at St. Andrew’s College in 1936.

Africa provides for this office. A Suffragan Bishop is an Assistant Bishop holding this office subject to be renewed according to clause 9 of this canon by the diocesan bishop once every twelve months; See also chapter nine on Mtekateka’s role.

27.Mpassou, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

28.See M’passou, D., *Josiah Mtekateka: From A Priest’s Dogboy to a Bishop*, D. Mpassou in association with Bishop J. Mtekateka and Subscribers, P/A Chilema, Zomba, 1979, p. 6, 8.

29.*Ibid.*, p. 12.

30.*Ibid.*, p. 20.

31.*Ibid.*, p. 15.

32.*Ibid.*

33.*Ibid.*, p. 25.

Together with Mtekateka were Mattiya Msekawanthu, Charles Mbungonji, and Arthur Kakhongwe.³⁴ Together with three others Josiah Mtekateka was ordained deacon on 31st January 1939. Between 1941 and 1943, Bishop Mtekateka trained under Father Maycock at St. Andrew's College. He was ordained priest on 24th February 1943 by Bishop Frank Thorne.³⁵ In 1957 Mtekateka was elected to represent the diocese of Southwest Tanganyika in the UMCA centenary celebrations in London.³⁶

Undoubtedly, early missionary influence, particularly his training, gave Mtekateka a background that qualified him to be considered as a leader. By the time he was elected Suffragan Bishop in Malawi, he was Suffragan Bishop elect of SouthWest Tanganyika. He had a difficult choice to make.

Nonetheless, the swiftness by which Josiah Mtekateka was elected as Suffragan Bishop in Malawi suggests the esteem and popularity which he enjoyed in the diocese. Most of the researcher's informants cited his reputation as the great pastor as the single factor that made him an outstanding candidate.³⁷

Nevertheless, in the 1960s his background as a priest from Likoma played a more critical role in his being elected.³⁸ Canon Sauli gave us some insight into the manner in which the then Archdeacon Josiah Mtekateka was elected bishop. The following is an account of the proceedings given to the writer narrated in Sauli's own words.³⁹

34.*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

35.*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

36.*Ibid.*, p. 31.

37. See a crosssection of the interviews, notably, Mr. F. Kazembe with the author, Chigumula, Limbe, 27/6/00.

38. Interview, Mr. F N. Kazembe with the author, Chigumula, Limbe, Blantyre, 27/6/00.

39. It is very unfortunate that most of the informants that the researchers approached on this important issue seems to have either forgotten about it or are ignorant about the proceedings, accordingly, the writer is greatly indebted to Canon Sauli. In my view there is no need to question the authenticity of this account as it seem to collaborate with a personal life account of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, *From a dogboy to a priest* as rendered by Dr. Denis Mpassou.

In 1964, we the clergy of the diocese had a conference at Chongoni Training Centre in Dedza district. There were many priests who wanted to become bishop. Arden was thinking of Fathers Choo, Jalasi, Chipembele, Jameson Mwenda, Mattiya Msekawanthu and Oswald Chisa. Arden had promised some of them that one day they could become a bishop. The priests did not know that we were going to elect a bishop. Fr. Richard told me privately. At this conference I nominated the name of Augustine Chande to Fr. Richard.

However, having read in the *Church Times* there was a story about Josiah Mtekateka that he had been elected Bishop in SouthWest Tanganyika, when I went to Fr. Richard, I gave him the name of Josiah Mtekateka and he deleted Augustine's name. In the conference, the chairman said I have a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury that we should have an indigenous Malawiborn bishop. I stood up and I gave the name of Mtekateka, and Chisa supported my nomination. The priests and I did not know that there would be an election. Privately, Fr. Richard told me there would be an election.⁴⁰

One feature is notable, the absence of the members of the other dioceses in this election, for according to the rules the election of a bishop has to involve the other dioceses of the province.⁴¹ Apparently, despite the fact that according to the rules of the province⁴², the election of a bishop was a Provincial matter requiring the participation of the other dioceses in the entire province,⁴³ at this stage this provision had not yet started operating. Perhaps, the younger dioceses of the province were still in the process of acquainting themselves with the new rules. Hence, there is little evidence to suggest that at the election that eventually elected Bishop Mtekateka delegates from the other dioceses were available. It seems that the rule began to operate more consistently after the retirement of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka.

The consecration of Josiah Mtekateka took place on Likoma Island in May 1965 in St. Peter's Cathedral at Likoma.⁴⁴ More than for the significance of the venue of the consecration, as the following episode suggests, the consecration of Bishop Mtekateka

40. Interview, Canon Sauli, with the author, Madimba, Likoma Island, 25/10/99.

41. See interview the author with Father Musonda Mwamba, Gaborone, Botswana, 20/5/01; interview with Bishop Theophilus Naledi, Gaborone, Botswana, 18/5/01.

42. Rules governing dioceses in the province are known as "canons".

43. See File A/P, 195770. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.

44. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Kenneth Skelton, 21/6/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP64.

was also significant for the critical manner in which some people viewed Bishop Arden's episcopate. In his June report to the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) in 1965, Bishop Donald Arden reported that one person presented a gift of a candlestick with three surrounding flower vases at the consecration. He used this to depict the role of the bishop in the diocese, as he saw it. Arden said that:

This candlestick held a new white candle and three sprays of purple bougainvillea. The parables he made it preach tell better than I can the work of a bishop in Africa today. First, he said, we must notice that this candle was in the centre of the three sprays of flowers, equidistant from all of them. This is how a bishop must be: not hidden away in office, not spending his time only with oldestablished congregations, or people of one race, but in the middle of all his people.⁴⁵

The presenter could not have been critical of Mtekateka's episcopate because Mtekateka had not yet started operating as a bishop at this stage; rather he was critical of the episcopate of Arden, who was until then the only bishop. Ostensibly critical of Arden's administration, the gift presenter took the opportunity to advise Mtekateka not to be too preoccupied with the administration of the diocese, but rather to care for his flock. In other words, the presenter of the gift was exhorting Mtekateka to be unlike Arden. This was how an African saw the duty of a bishop: as a pastor, a shepherd, and not a bureaucrat or a manager.

The office of an Anglican bishop structured and shaped as an administrative organ made a bishop inaccessible to his flock as a pastor. This episode shows that Bishop Donald Arden's style of episcopate as an administrator was at variance with the African people's perception of leadership as shepherding.⁴⁶ However, it ought to be noted that despite the fact that the Anglican Church in Malawi took the early step of ordaining Yohana Abdallah as first priest in Malawi in 1898, the election of a bishop came very late.

45. Letter to the United Society For the Propagation of the Gospel from Bishop Arden dated 6/65. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File DU1/A.

46. For the style of Arden's administration see a cross section of the interviews.

Yet the situation of the Anglican Church in Malawi was no worse than that of the Anglican Church in Central, East and Southern Africa. In Zambia, for example, Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson in Central Zambia appointed and consecrated Philemon Mataka only in September 1964 as his assistant bishop.⁴⁷ In Tanzania, while they had their first African Assistant Bishop in 1955, he served in that position until his death in 1962.⁴⁸

In 1960, the Anglican Church in South Africa consecrated its first bishop, Alpheus Zulu.⁴⁹ For six years Bishop Zulu served merely as an Assistant Bishop of the white diocesan bishop of the St. John's diocese, prior to his election as Diocesan Bishop of the blackdominated diocese of Zululand.⁵⁰

Though Masasi in Tanzania, became a diocese in 1927, it was only in 1963 and 1968 that an African Assistant Bishop and subsequently Diocesan Bishop, respectively, were consecrated.⁵¹ The delay in raising Diocesan Bishops in all these dioceses suggests the reluctance of the white missionary leadership to countenance sharing power with their African clergy. Rather the highest position that the missionaries reserved for the African clergy was the position of Assistant Bishop, in Anglican terms, a Suffragan Bishop.

However, in Central Africa, the election or appointment of a Suffragan Bishop seemed to have been part of the strategy towards the process of dividing up the large dioceses into smaller manageable units. In other words, the division of the diocese, which necessitated the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop, was regarded as necessary merely to conduct better pastoral oversight in a huge diocese.

47. Green-Wilkinson, J., *Bishop Oliver, Letters and Reminiscences*, York: Wilton, 1998, p. 243-244.

48. Mtingele, M.H.P., *African Traditional Leadership and the African Church Today: A Critique of its Influence and Impact*, Unpublished MA (T S) Thesis, Open University of the UK, 1995, p. 21.

49. Hastings, A., *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975*, p. 160.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Mtingele, *op. cit.* p. 17.

Besides pastoral considerations, O'Connor and others rightly observed that the elevation of the African clergy to the highest level in the church did not arise essentially as a result of the independent initiative undertaken by the missionaries. Rather the promotions of Africans into highest positions of power followed similar developments taking place in the political sphere.⁵² Otherwise, the church would apparently have been unwilling to introduce African clergy to the highest positions. To be precise, political rather than religious considerations pressured the missionaries to introduce the episcopate to the African.

Nonetheless, Arden's initiative in elevating the first African clergyman to the episcopate was very significant against the UMCA's backdrop of unwillingness to raise the Africans to the high positions in the church. Yet Thorne's problem, his failure to promote an African to the office of a bishop, ought to be viewed as a complex and intricate issue, as it involved many deeper facets of the life of the church and society. His successor, Arden, while in London, had hinted on some of the problems that confronted Thorne. While there, Arden made remarks about his predecessors that were interpreted by others and particularly Frank Thorne as implying that he and the other bishops he had succeeded had failed to elevate an African to the episcopate. In one of his letters Arden argued that:

It is true that the church in Southern Africa has a rather poor record of development of African leadership, but as I have served it for nearly a quarter of a century, I am as much to blame as anyone...the roots go much further back than the policy of individuals, and I think the cure must include the whole English concept of the administrator-bishop, the size of the diocese and much deeper things. I confess to near panic when I remember that I may have to leave here at 24 hours notice and that as the job of a bishop is as at present designed, the future choice would lie between an imposed expatriate and an untrained African.⁵³

Arden's observation supports the heart of this thesis. The delay in extending the episcopate to the Africans stemmed from the problem surrounding how the episcopate as an English legacy was conceived in the missionary church. Its too close association with the administrative aspect of English civil society caused it to be considered as a

52. O'Connor et al, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

53. *Ibid.*

preserve of white elitist power. While in England the episcopate was closely associated with the privileged ruling class, in colonial Nyasaland the Anglican episcopate, like the position of archdeacon, was too closely associated with Europeans' power to govern the African people in state and church.

To put it differently, since the administrative orientation of the episcopate entailed power closely associated with the missionaries' status and prestige, the transference of this power to the Africans was considered as socially undesirable. The Europeans were too arrogant to share this power with the Africans whom they looked down upon. The dynamics of the office of a bishop in the Anglican Church, as was also the case in the Roman Catholic Church, had too many political implications as well.

A possible extension of this power to an African clergyman would have not only social but also civil and political implications in a society that marginalised the African, a risk that the mission was not ready to take. The demise of Crowther's episcopate in the late 19th century had clearly demonstrated this. The negative attitudes surrounding Crowther's episcopate had far reaching effects. They cast a long shadow on the relations and attitudes between the missionary and an African across the continent, including Malawi.

The prospect of the missionaries sharing power with the Africans in colonial Malawi, especially on the episcopal level, was regarded as a taboo. In colonial Nyasaland, the action would certainly have political ramifications, which the missionaries seemed not in the least ready to countenance.

However, there is also something unique about Mtekateka's election. Evidence suggests that the election of Josiah Mtekateka was not on account of his knowledge of administrative skills, which he did not possess. He was elected rather on the grounds of his popularity, imposing personality, personal charisma, inner or "natural" authority.⁵⁴ It

54. Interview, Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula, Mr. M. Chinkhota, with the author, Kanjedza Limbe, 26/5/01; The Reverend Rodney Hunter. A letter to the author, 13/7/99.

is interesting to note that the qualifications upon which he was elected bishop tend to conflict with the dominant English style of episcopacy perceived as largely an administrative position. In fact it illustrates the fact that in Africa, the European model of episcopacy may not be very relevant after all.

Indeed, the image or style of church leadership suitable in Europe may not necessarily be suitable in Africa, for in other places the needs are not necessarily the same, as also the understanding of leadership roles may not be the same. In other words, by electing Mtekateka as Suffragan Bishop, on the grounds of his pastoral skills and not Jalasi for his administrative skills, the dominant style of the episcopate as essentially an administrative office was rejected.

Josiah Mtekateka became a very wise, highly respected and esteemed leader irrespective of his deficiency in administrative skills.⁵⁵ On the other hand, St. Andrew's College did not prepare him for such positions precisely because there the Africans were being prepared as pastors rather than as administrators. Largely, the missionaries did most of the administrative work while the Africans ministered to the large numbers of African Christians. The administrative work that the missionaries did was part of the specialised skills that they acquired while in England. In Malawi, this system was generally received and understood, and it seemed to work without much problem for both parties.

10.1.3 Chaplaincy as a Symbol and Tool of Episcopal power

In grappling with the grounds upon which the clergy elected Josiah Mtekateka and the tensions that surrounded the office of the bishop in relation to that of his chaplain, I contend that there existed tensions between the traditional model of episcopal leadership and the view of African leadership. For instance, Arden stressed episcopacy as essentially an administrative position in the church which made it necessary for his

55. See same interview; also File WP63, A letter from Bishop Arden to Father B. Sharp, 21/6/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

assistant to have organisational skills if he was to “manage” as a bishop. The Diocesan Standing Committee meeting between 4th and 5th December 1965, noted that:

Dioceses showed that many bishops in Africa now have chaplains, as elsewhere in the world. The Suffragan Bishop said he would like to have a young expatriate priest, preferably with experience in Africa, as his chaplain, if a suitable man could be found. Approval was given to the increasing of the establishment of expatriate clergy in order to meet this need.⁵⁶

Similarly, during the Diocesan Standing Committee which met between 11th and 12th June 1966, Suffragan Bishop Josiah Mtekateka stated again that he wished “to have a young expatriate priest, preferably’ with experience in Africa, as his chaplain, if a suitable man could be found.”⁵⁷ Bishop Arden had expressed similar sentiments on many previous occasions. To a degree Mtekateka echoed Arden’s sentiments. Father Humphrey Taylor became the first chaplain of the Suffragan Bishop, Josiah Mtekateka.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, the issue of having a priest working as a “chaplain” for Bishop Mtekateka highlights one of the most critical problems surrounding the image, status and power of the office of bishop. Arden had observed that the way the office of a bishop was structured was such that the incumbent needed administrative skills, and that the problem was “how to combine the pastoral job of a bishop with the overwhelming details of finance, etc that came to a bishop without trained staff”.⁵⁹ As has already been noted above, the recent history in the Anglican Church in Malawi with respect to the episcopates of Bishops Trower and Thorne tends to support this observation.

56. Minute no. 791, “Chaplain for Suffragan Bishop of the Diocesan Standing Committee” held at Chilema, Malosa, Zomba on 4/5/65. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

57. *Ibid.*

58. See James Tengatenga, *Church, State and Society in Malawi: An Analysis of Anglican Ecclesiology*, Unpublished Thesis, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, 2002.

59. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, 11/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WO4 of Minutes of the Meeting of the Diocesan Standing Committee, Malosa held on 30th November and 1st December, 1968. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

Because Arden believed that Josiah Mtekateka would not competently manage the office of a bishop as traditionally structured, he believed that a young white priest with administrative skills was necessary to support Bishop Mtekateka in his work. He made this very clear on various occasions. For instance, writing to Archbishop GreenWilkinson on 27th February 1968, Arden stated that, “in many ways Josiah would make a good diocesan bishop but good administrative help would be essential for him.”⁶⁰ He expressed similar sentiments in another context: “My successor must inevitably be an African and the whole administration of the diocese is still so much of a juggling trick that there would be chaos as things are.”⁶¹ It was because Arden believed that administration constituted priority number one for the office of a bishop that he believed that its incumbent needed to possess administrative skills or help.

Nonetheless, the letter from the Archbishop of Central Africa, GreenWilkinson to Bishop Donald Arden in 1968 suggests that there were financial problems in the diocese of Lake Malawi where Josiah Mtekateka had been a Suffragan Bishop since 1965. The extent of the problems was such that to remedy the situation Bishop Mtekateka needed a white expatriate priest to assist him to run the finances of the diocese. GreenWilkinson put his suggestion thus,

I am sorry to hear about your own personal financial troubles. It is most generous of you to continue as bishop in these circumstances. If you did leave in probably 2 years time we shall miss you and Jane badly indeed. It seems to me essential that in these two years we should find one expatriate priest or layman who would be a wise guide to the African diocesan bishop over finance and administration. I hope it will not be necessary for you to leave us in 1970.⁶²

60. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, 27/2/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OGW, P1.

61. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, 28/3/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File P1.

62. Archbishop Oliver GreenWilkinson, A letter to Bishop Arden, 3/1/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File P1.

In the interim, moves to divide the diocese in the future were under way. The Diocesan Synod meeting in 1969 had noted that the idea of the division of the diocese as originally conceived in 1964 should be borne in mind. The original idea that Lilongwe would be the centre of the new diocese was dropped in favour of Nkhotakota as a better option, since it had a larger number of Anglicans than the former. The fact that Nkhotakota already had buildings, and was envisaged to undertake a large government-sponsored agricultural scheme programme, appeared to strengthen its case even further that it be the centre of the new diocese.⁶³

But as the time drew nearer to the stage of the division of the diocese, the issue that tended to justify the election of the diocesan bishop for the new diocese was the idea of a chaplain to assist him. This issue dominated discussions as it was seen to be more urgent for the work of the prospective diocesan bishop. Thus the minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee meeting between 10th and 11th October 1970 noted that “Bishop Josiah’s chaplain would be very much concerned with the organisational and administrative duties of the new diocese.”⁶⁴ Bishop Donald Arden also expressed similar sentiments on 15th January 1971 when he said, “Josiah Mtekateka needs a chaplain... He has little of administrative experience so he needs a chaplain.”⁶⁵ The provision of a chaplain to work for Bishop Josiah Mtekateka seemed to be regarded as the solution to Mtekateka’s “handicap” of lacking the administrative skills necessary to run the office of a bishop.

Meanwhile, minutes of the shadow⁶⁶ Diocesan Standing Committee of Southern Malawi meeting held on 23rd January 1971 suggested that the possibility of three dioceses in

63. Minute 7 of the Division of the Diocese of Malawi, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

64. Minute 49/70 of the Diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Malawi held at Likwenu, Malosa, Zomba on 10th and 11th October 1970, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

65. File A/P.7, Zambia, 1960-90, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

66. This Diocesan Standing Committee was called “shadow” since the Diocese of Southern Malawi had not yet been fully constituted. It was an interim arrangement.

Malawi should be kept in mind, as suggested at the 1969 synod. In retrospect, Bishop Arden envisaging the formation of three dioceses in 1969 and 1971 indicates farsightedness as the third diocese became a reality only twenty four years later in 1995, fifteen years after Bishop Arden had retired.

10.1.4 The Election of Josiah Mtekateka as a Diocesan Bishop of the Diocese of Lake Malawi (1971)

Finally meeting on Thursday 17th June 1971, the Elective Assembly of the diocese of Lake Malawi elected Josiah Mtekateka, formerly Suffragan Bishop, as a diocesan bishop on a unanimous vote of 38 to nil.⁶⁷ Writing to Father Bernard Sharp, Bishop Arden described Josiah Mtekateka as “a great man and my only worry is where we shall find someone of equal stature to follow him.”⁶⁸ He was enthroned as Bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi on 2nd October 1971 at St. Peter’s Cathedral, Likoma. Thus, Josiah Mtekateka became a Diocesan Bishop in the area of what came to be known subsequently as the diocese of Lake Malawi based in Nkhotakota, while Donald Arden became bishop of the other half, which now came to be known as the diocese of Southern Malawi, centred at Malosa. The same year Donald Arden was also elected archbishop of Central Africa.⁶⁹

10.1.5 Two bishops in one office?: Challenges facing Bishop Josiah Mtekateka with regard to his chaplains the legacy of the Anglican traditional episcopacy in Malawi

The office of a bishop structured largely as an administrative position raised its problems in Africa, especially in the Malawian context. Arden’s insistence on a chaplain acting as an administrator sometimes caused difficulty for the incumbent

67. Bishop Arden, A letter to Archbishop Oliver, 17/6/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File RE25/A; WP63.

68. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Bernard Sharp, 21/7/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File WP63.

69. Since Bishop Arden became archbishop, hence from this stage he will be addressed as archbishop, being the official designation for senior bishops with pastoral oversight for at least not less than four diocese in a regional area known as the Province in the Anglican Church.

African bishop. In theory, the African bishop was the “overseer” or “person in charge” while real power seemingly lay with the white chaplain who in some cases, to have his way, undermined or manipulated the African bishop, as the cases below show.

Correspondence from Bishop Josiah Mtekateka to Bishop Donald Arden over some misunderstanding between Fr. Humphrey Taylor (Mtekateka’s chaplain) and Mr. Alford Zimba over the issue of the latter’s ordination in 1968 shows that Taylor, chaplain to Bishop Mtekateka, was undermining the Bishop:

I am sorry to say that we are judging differently on the case of Zimba. I also sorry to say that we do not want intelligent people who are clever. We wish those who we call them silly ones. On the same time we want educated people... I hold my peace I do not want talk much, *I understand that Fr. Taylor is not happy to work under any African bishop, because he cannot take his counsel at all. If it was you, he could have listen, So I imagine that he will be happy to be near you like there at Zomba. ...* You may not agree with me, so I hope you will accept your Dictatorship. I say this because you do not count that African say the truth.⁷⁰ (Italics mine, unedited)

Mtekateka’s argument illustrates his opening up what he had always harboured in his heart. At last he spoke out his mind. As Scott asserted, the hidden transcript turns into a public transcript in situations of rare and extreme domination. It emerged as a reaction to acts of domination, as an act of “revenge.” It would seem that, for a long time, Mtekateka had kept in his heart the issues of his chaplain and the young educated man aspiring to become a priest, until at this stage when he found his chance to “speak out”, he demolished the white missionaries’ claim that the diocese wanted to train intelligent African people as false. Rather, so he contended, the missionaries wanted subservient, pliant young men who could not be critical.

More importantly, Mtekateka speaks out on his relationship with the missionaries in general. It was the view of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka that Fr. Taylor despised his authority as an African bishop, for he could not take his advice, and consequently he

70. Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, A letter to Bishop Arden, 23/12/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPZimba, 50/87. It should be noted that quotes in this chapter have not been edited, they are in the original form.

could not tolerate working with him. Bishop Mtekateka also criticised Bishop Arden's attitude of not trusting the African people, including himself, Mtekateka. More strikingly Mtekateka called Arden a "dictator". Was Bishop Arden a dictator? This issue will be discussed fully below.

In the archives at Malosa, one occasionally comes across an angry letter from Bishop Josiah Mtekateka to his senior, Bishop Arden. This is very significant, since when asked what kind of relationship prevailed between Bishop Mtekateka and Archbishop Arden, the majority of the people informed the researcher that it was excellent.⁷¹ This letter clearly shows that the relationship between the two was not always cordial.

Similarly, an episode that occurred in 1972 relating to the American priest, Father Jackson Biggers, later bishop of Northern Malawi, and Bishop Mtekateka shows that the relationship between the bishop and Biggers was not always harmonious. In 1972 Father Jackson Biggers, was appointed chaplain for the diocesan bishop, Josiah Mtekateka. Father Henry Mikaya, the rector of St. Peter's Parish, Lilongwe, wrote about the following incident.

In the absence of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, Henry Mikaya noted that bales of used clothes from overseas churches had arrived at St. Peter's rectory in Lilongwe for distribution to the needy. According to Father Mikaya, without waiting for the consent of the diocesan bishop, Jackson Biggers started distributing these to some parishes, leaving only a few for Bishop Josiah Mtekateka.⁷² Informed about what happened on his return, Mtekateka responded in the following manner:

Azungu ali wodzikonda chifukwa cha ndalama, ndiponso ali wanthu osawerengera akulu akulu wao, nakhala nawo azungu ambiri ndiwadziwa mchitidwe wao. This translates: Whites are arrogant because of their financial standing, *they do not also respect those placed above them*, I have stayed with many of them, I know their conduct.⁷³ (Italics mine)

71. Interview, Bishop Jackson Biggers with the author, 24/10/99.

72. Bishop Mtekateka, A letter to Archdeacon Henry Mikaya, 30/1/74. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/R.

73. *Ibid.*

Certainly, Bishop Mtekatka was referring to the arrogant attitude of his chaplain. In this comment, it seems Mtekatka went through the pain of confiding to Father Mikaya that his chaplain undermined his authority precisely because he was in stronger financial position than Bishop Mtekatka. The issue of money turned out to be the issue of power as well. It is possible that Father Biggers took the decision to distribute the bales without consulting his superior because he felt that he was justified to do so as he himself might have solicited the donation on behalf of the diocese.

That Father Biggers undermined Bishop Mtekatka's authority tends to be confirmed by an observation of Father Sharp, another missionary who had also been Mtekatka's chaplain. In his correspondence to Donald Arden about the possibility of returning to Malawi written on 16th April 1974, Father Sharp stated:

He manipulates + Josiah! But I could never express that to the bishop. May I say in confidence that the presence of Jack Biggers would make it impossible for me to even consider returning to Malawi.⁷⁴

However, what Sharp seems to imply is that the presence of Biggers was detrimental to the normal running of the office of Bishop Mtekatka. The latter was not free to operate more independently because of the manipulative tactics of Biggers. Sharp's observation became clearer when responding to Bishop Arden by correspondence about whether he must consider returning to Malawi, he implied that while he had let the Malawians run their own show, Father Biggers' had not.

Asked in November 1999 about his relationship with Bishop Josiah Mtekatka in the 1970s, Jackson Biggers, now the bishop of Northern Malawi, stated that he had a very good relationship with the former.⁷⁵ He characterised the relationship as that of a "son" and "father." He went on further to state that, "He was a good pastor and wise

74. Father Bernard Sharp, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 16/4/74. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/A.

75. Interview, Bishop Jackson Biggers with the author, Likoma Island, 24/10/99.

counsellor.”⁷⁶ Illustrating this point further, Biggers cited an example where he had to stop the scheduled ordination ceremony of Mr. Kapakasa at Chididi parish because letters of confirmation from Bishop Arden had not arrived.⁷⁷ He understood the absence of the letters as an act of the Holy Spirit speaking.⁷⁸

Nonetheless, it would not have been wise or safe for Bishop Biggers to say anything which appeared unsavoury about his former boss, as it seems that Bishop Mtekateka could have advised the people of Northern Malawi to approach Biggers to take up the post.⁷⁹ Correspondence to the author from an undisclosed missionary source, who himself worked closely with Bishop Mtekateka, recalled that Father Biggers had such a hold on Bishop Mtekateka that he seemed to control his life, to the amazement of the other missionaries.⁸⁰

Specifically, this correspondent recalled crude colonial and paternalistic, patronising attitudes which Father Biggers displayed in his dealings with the bishop and the other Malawians. According to this informant, the attitude of Biggers was such that the informant was horrified to hear that Biggers had been recalled in 1995 to Malawi, now as bishop of the diocese of Northern Malawi.⁸¹ However, this source further recollected his dismay that Bishop Mtekateka seemed not to have been bothered at all about this attitude.⁸²

The role of the chaplain in the office of the missionary bishop somewhat differed from that of the African bishop. In the former, the chaplain acted as a helper, or an enabler. In

76.Same interview.

77.Same interview.

78.Same interview.

79.The fact that Marama intimated to Father Sharp that it was upon the advice of Bishop Mtekateka that he approached Father Sharp might also suggest that upon the refusal of Father Sharp to take up the position, Bishop Mtekateka could then have suggested Father Biggers. See Personal letter, Mr. Marama to Father Sharp, 24/2/95; personal letter from Father Sharp to Mr. C. Marama, 6/3/95, in the possession of the writer.

80.A personal letter, from Anonymous to the author, 24/8/01.

81.*Ibid.*

82.*Ibid.*

contrast, in the office of an African bishop, the chaplain took the role of an executive officer, administering the work that would normally be done by the bishop while the latter took on largely pastoral responsibilities. In this regard, according to the white colonial perspective, the bishop was doing his job. In several ways this has been clearly stated by Bishop Arden.

From this particular perspective, it seems that the function of chaplaincy was to fill in the gap created by the deficiencies of a missionary institution that had not prepared Africans enough to rise up to the challenges of administrative work in the office of a bishop. On the other hand, chaplaincy may have acted as a mechanism to “cover up” the administrative shortcomings of the African bishop, which by extension could rightly be attributed to his missionary training background.

However, the irony is that in so doing the system may have contributed to undermining the independence of Mtekateka by enhancing a spirit of dependency on his chaplain. More critically, the problem surrounding episcopacy and traditional African leadership in this case raises the issue of Anglican structures and the extent to which they may become African. Being thoroughly English, to what extent could the Anglican episcopate be “African”? Mamphela Ramphele critically raised the problem of Anglicanism and Africanisation. In her article, “On being Anglican: The pain and the privilege,” Ramphele Mamphela observed that Anglicanism:

As a system, is averse to Africanisation. In fact there is a sense in which Anglicanism and Africanisation is a contradiction in terms. The Anglican Church’s hierarchical structures and its overt emphasis on received cultural traditions that are foreign militate against the notion of African Anglicanism. As a centralised system the Anglican tradition suppresses the local initiative and stifles the creativity of the spirit of ordinary believers.⁸³

Ramphele’s observation that the centralised aspect of Anglicanism has the tendency to stifle local initiative is valid. She argued from a sociological point of view, stressing the role of structures of the Anglican Church. Far from freeing Mtekateka to become a

83. Ramphele, M., “On being Anglican: The pain and the privilege” in England, F., and Paterson, T., (eds.) *Bounty in Bondage*, p. 98.

pastoral bishop, as Father Sharp and the anonymous missionary correspondent asserted, the office of chaplaincy made Mtekateka a victim of spite and missionary arrogance.

Yet, viewing Anglicanism as an organic structure, Ramphela's argument does not seem entirely correct. Striking parallels of patterns of structural authority prevail between Anglicanism and traditional African authority. Both systems enjoy centralised form of authority, requiring obedience and subservience to hierarchical authority, similarly they all tend to stress the corporate aspect of religion through the intermediaries, either the saints or the living dead. Rather, the problem must lie in the patronising attitude associated with the Anglican authority structure as opposed to the "humanness" spirit associated with the traditional African pattern of authority.⁸⁴

10.1.6 The Transition from the Episcopate of Josiah Mtekateka to that of Peter Nyanja (1977-1978)

The transition from Josiah Mtekateka to his successor turned out to be the most controversial, painful and difficult one in the modern history of the Anglican Church. The reasons for this stem from several important factors. First, Josiah Mtekateka wanted a coadjutor bishop rather than a Suffragan Bishop. According to the rules, commonly called "canons," of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, while a Suffragan Bishop is a bishop working either under or alongside a diocesan bishop, on the retirement of the latter he may or may not succeed the diocesan bishop. On the other hand, a coadjutor bishop is a bishop elected with the intention that he understudies the incumbent diocesan bishop for at least one year before he must stand for the election as a diocesan bishop upon the retirement of the incumbent. For some reason, which the researcher has not been able to establish, the successor to Josiah Mtekateka had to be a coadjutor bishop and not a Suffragan Bishop.

84. For example, both Luke Pato and Malinge Njeza argue that Anglican heritage has much that can be tapped that may be used to liberate the historical captivity of the system. See Pato, L., "Anglicanism and Africanisation" in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 101 (July 1998) 49-57; Njeza, M., "Anglicanism and Africanisation: Two critical responses to Luke Lungile Pato" in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 102 (November 1998) 41-44.

Finally, there were also individuals and groups who wanted specific candidates for their own motives. There was a clear demarcation between the Likoma clergy on the one hand and the Nkhotakota clergy and the clergy from the highlands of Ntchisi on the other hand. These divisions largely stemmed from a legacy of the UMCA missionary work in Malawi. As has been shown, Likoma's place in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi was unique. Apparently on account of this, the Likoma clergy and Christians had some pride as the custodians of orthodox Anglican Christianity. The Likoma clergy not only wanted a Likoma candidate to be a bishop but also eventually their own diocese based on the island of Likoma.

But it seemed to be frustrated by various factors. For instance, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka had on occasions openly indicated his desire to be succeeded by Father James Lunda,⁸⁵ a priest not from Likoma, but from Nkhotakota. The father of the researcher, Father Mbaya, and Father Peter Nyanja in their letters intimated to the archbishop the name of Father John Malewezi, a priest originally from Ntchisi.⁸⁶ Father Mbaya was a nephew of Fr. Malewezi. In private correspondence, Arden had indicated his preference for Father Malewezi as well, ostensibly on the basis that he possessed administrative skills.⁸⁷ With the issue of succession looming, these divisions seemed to become more obvious. In effect they became a recipe for problems.

Decades of missionary work concentrated on Likoma had ensured that the majority of the African clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi came from Likoma. Their dominant influence in the affairs of the church tended to contribute to the marginalisation of the minority groups such as those from Ntchisi or Nkhotakota. As a result of this, there emerged in the 1970s distinctions among Likoma, Nkhotakota, and Ntchisi clergy. Tensions emerged, mostly resulting from rivalry for positions.

85. Personal letter from Father Rodney Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

86. Father G. S. Mbaya, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 30/10/76. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/A.

87. Archbishop Arden, A letter to Father Adri, 25/5/78. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/A.

This state of affairs had began to threaten the stability of the diocese. The seriousness of this problem was perceptively captured by Canon John Malewezi. Writing to Archbishop Arden on 5th January 1975 he warned that “the church work in this diocese has to be looked at very seriously before it breaks into sections or tribal groups.”⁸⁸ Seemingly, though it never became a contentious issue, ethnicity or tribal consciousness had been a trend since the early days of the missionaries. It was an ongoing issue amongst the African clergy.

With the impending elections, these divisions became more apparent. Amongst some Likoma clergy they seemed to be led by Father Augustine Chande. Not only did they want their own candidate but they also looked forward to the day they would have their own diocese centred on Likoma just as Nkhotakota had.⁸⁹ This was largely because they yearned to restore the old missionary position of Likoma which in their perception had been undermined by the activities of some previous bishops, including now Archbishop Arden.¹⁶⁷⁹⁰ The Nkhotakota clergy and even more the Ntchisi clergy, on the other hand, seemed marginalised. Prominent amongst them were Canon Cyprian William Liwewe, John Mwasi, James Lunda, George Mbaya, and Father Peter Nyanja and Father John Malewezi.⁹¹

Meanwhile, the third synod of the diocese of Lake Malawi met from 23–24 April 1976.⁹² It would appear that the procedures for electing the bishop were not followed properly. According to G. S. Mbaya, at this Synod, Bishop Mtekateka “asked everyone present to write down one name of any priest who in his mind might be a candidate for

88.Father John Malewezi, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 5/1/75, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMalewezi.

89.Azizi, P. M., *The Formation of the New Anglican Diocese of Northern Malawi: Idea to Reality*, BA Theology dissertation, University of Malawi, 1997. Chancellor College library, Zomba. CC/TRS/1997/9.

90.See interviews, Mr.C.C.C. Nkambula and Maxwell Chinkhota wiith the author, Kanjedza, 28/5/01.

91.Personal reminiscences, Nkhotakota, 1977-1990.

92.Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi held at Likwenu, Malosa, Zomba from 23rd to 24th April, 1976. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File 12.

the bishopric.”⁹³ On the other hand, minute 6, “Coadjutor Bishop” of the Provincial Synod, suggests that there was confusion over the term: “The bishop spoke of his further extension of his office until November 1977 and explained the difference between Suffragan Bishop and coadjutor bishop.”⁹⁴

Thus, in his response to Peter Nyanja’s letter, perhaps seeking to rectify the irregularity, Bishop Donald Arden suggested that:

I hope very much that if your Synod decides to go ahead with an election, they will appoint a small committee of all or some of the electors who can decide among themselves to nominate to the full Elective Assembly one or two or three names. It is important that there should be agreed descriptions about each name for the benefit of those who come from outside the diocese. I will suggest some such procedure as this to your bishop when I see him next week.⁹⁵

This suggests that there were problems relating to the procedures of elections in the diocese of Lake Malawi. It would appear as if things were heading in the wrong direction. However, according to the Anglican polity, a Diocesan Bishop in his diocese has autonomy, acting without external interference. Arden’s intervention ought to be seen in light of his concern as an archbishop to ensure that the election had to run without problems.

93. Father G. S. Mbaya, A letter to Archbishop Donald Arden, 30/10/76. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/A.

94. Minute no. 6 entitled “Coadjutor bishop” of the Report of the Third Synod of the Diocese of Lake Malawi held at Nkhotakota on 23rd and 24th April 1976. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File 12, 1970-83.

95. Archbishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Peter Nyanja, 18/4/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMalewezi.

10.1.7 Bishop Arden and the election of the successor of Bishop Josiah Mtekatika: A comparison with the diocese of Central Zambia and diocese of Matabeleland

The Elective Assembly constituted to elect the successor to Bishop Mtekatika took place in Lilongwe on 19 December 1976.⁹⁶ Sauli was a recording secretary at the time of the election.⁹⁷ He describes the manner in which the election took place. The episode illustrates how Archbishop Donald Arden seemed to use his position of power to interfere in the process of the election. According to Canon Sauli, the elections were held at Msamba Catholic Centre in 1976,⁹⁸ and the candidates were Henry Mikaya, Augustine Chande, John Malewezi and Stanley Mandala.⁹⁹ This is how Father Sauli described the proceedings:

In his capacity as Archbishop, Donald Arden chaired the meeting. From the outset, Arden told me to delete the name of James Lunda. When I asked why, he said I know why. He knew his connection with Josiah Mtekatika. We did four ballots, in all Mikaya was leading. After break of the third ballot, Arden called and said 'I don't want Augustine Chande's name because he is too proud, he is not worthy.' He told me this in the office. Then he told me after lunch to put Malewezi number 2. I refused, and then he said, 'I will do it myself.'¹⁰⁰

Sauli further noted that after lunch he noticed that Malewezi's name was number 2 on the list of the candidates and not Chande's. During the debating session after lunch, so Sauli claims, Arden looked unhappy to hear the frequent mention of Henry Mikaya's name. At the fifth ballot all northerners conferred.¹⁰¹

Arden could have asked for the withdrawal of Chande's name since it was noted in the previous chapter, in connection with the problems surrounding Aidan Misi at St. John's Seminary, how he and the others were allegedly giving Bishop Arden a tough time. The minutes of the Episcopal Synod recorded that at this election Father Henry Chaseta

96. Interview, Canon Sauli with the author, Madimba, Likoma, 25/10/99.

97. That Canon Sauli was the recording secretary at this election has been confirmed by Mr. G. Bondwe, Telephone conversation 12/3/05.

98. Same interview

99. Same interview

100. Same interview.

101. Same interview

Mikaya scored 16 votes out of 22,¹⁰² thereby achieving the required two-thirds majority. With this election, Mikaya was declared a coadjutor bishop elect, meaning that he was a “coadjutor bishop to be”, awaiting the final official “approval” termed “confirmation.” If consecrated, he would then have to serve for a period of not longer than two years before standing for another final election upon the retirement of the incumbent bishop.

The above episode suggests that Arden was interfering in the process of election. Was this character consistent with his style of administration? Complaining to the Provincial Secretary, Dr. Denis Mpassou, about Archbishop’s Arden’s political interference in the affairs of Zimbabwe, in 1979 the former bishop of Matabeleland, Robert Mercer charged:

I note with alarm an Archbishop without a diocese of his own, however small: an abuse of episcopacy. A managing director is exactly what he is not. The WCC and BCC shows us how pastors degenerate into self-perpetuating oligarchy of ecclesiastical bureaucrats, when they are removed from pastoral I/ thou relationships, meddling naively in matters for which they are not trained, and doing some wickedness in the process. Such a radical change to our Central African concept of what an Archbishop is, will require an alteration to the canons. If such a change is carried through, it doesn’t necessarily follow that our present Archbishop is the best person to be travelling, fulltime coordinator. He was elected to be a bishop of the old sort.¹⁰³

Probably not wanting to confront Bishop Arden directly, by writing to Mpassou, Bishop Arden’s Secretary, Bishop Mercer chose a safe forum to air out his hidden transcript, his complaint that he disliked the interventionist attitude of Bishop Arden with regard to the affairs of the other bishops. Arden’s character seemed to be consistent with the charge made above by Mtekatika that Arden was a dictator. Sauli’s account illustrates that “behind the scenes” Arden had wanted Malewezi and not Henry Mikaya to succeed Josiah Mtekatika. Arden’s role in the other dioceses of the province also shows his tendency to try to manoeuvre his favourite candidates.

102. Minutes of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishops’ Mount, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 5/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File PU.

103. Diocese of Matabeleland file, Bishop Robert Mercer, A letter to Dr. Denis Mpassou, 7/6/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File Diocese of Matabeleland.

For example, with regard to the elections that took place in 1979 in the diocese of Central Zambia, an anonymous letter accused Arden of wanting “to impose the election of Archdeacon Siyachitema” who they argued “was not known” in the diocese.¹⁰⁴ The letter continued to say that “surely Father, you know very well that it does not matter how excellent a man may be, if he is not known, he could not be chosen.”¹⁰⁵ An anonymous letter does not necessarily contain false or distorted information. It may highlight the most sensitive aspects of the issues at stake. Though the letter cannot be said to express the mind of the majority of the Anglicans of Central Zambia, nevertheless, it suggests the existence of the problems.

At least for some people of Central Zambia prior knowledge of the candidate constituted the most important consideration for a candidate for election to the episcopate. But the elections in the diocese of Matabeleland provide a clearer case. Responding to the question raised by Bishop Kenneth Skelton of the diocese of Lichfield whether Arden wanted Skelton to pressurise Father Elliot Dhlula to be the bishop of Matabeleland, Arden stated: “This is exactly what we need, a better candidate than Siyachitema.”¹⁰⁶

In his capacity as the chairman of the Elective Assembly in all the dioceses of the province, Arden asked Skelton “what can be quoted and what not.”¹⁰⁷ Arden continued to say, “I think your estimation of him would carry great weight and I should use it tactfully...”¹⁰⁸ That Arden was interfering in this matter was confirmed by the former bishop of Matabeleland who said:

104. Anonymous letter (10/2/79), addressed to Archbishop Arden in File A/P. 7/2, Central Zambia 197579. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa. The Elective Assembly for Central Zambia had failed twice to elect a bishop.

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*

...I readily believe that Donald was sometimes an interfering one. I was told by somebody, who ought not have told me, that at my own election in early 1977 Donald pushed and pushed hard for somebody else but was thwarted by unanimity of the twelve Matabeleland voters, that he didn't give up without a fight, that he was displeased with the outcome. I am able to believe that where Donald was concerned, 'much took place behind the scenes.'¹⁰⁹

This clearly illustrates that Arden was in the habit of interfering in the elections. In the light of the preceding evidence, Sauli's allegations can not be taken lightly. But more immediately, what is of immediate concern is that Arden's conduct of elections suggests that contrary to the general impression, the Elective Assembly in 1976 did not constitute a free environment, capable of enhancing free discussion about a candidate. Since this forum tended to inhibit free discourse, apparently the suppressed voice found an alternative forum outside the official structures of the Elective Assembly. It is in this context that the allegations against Father Henry Mikaya started surfacing.

Meanwhile, according to Canon Sauli, three days later after the election of Father Henry Mikaya Archbishop Donald Arden took the bishopelect to the President of the Republic of Malawi, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, reacting to Bishop Mtekatika's announcement on 26th December, 1976, that Henry Mikaya had been elected coadjutor bishop, Aidan Misi wrote to Henry Mikaya in the following words: "congratulations of being elected to the post of bishop in the near future." More importantly, Bishop Josiah Mtekatika's letter commenting on the elections illustrates the satisfaction in which he believed the process was handled and the high regard for the candidate. He expressed his views to Archbishop Arden in 1977 in these words:

I thank God very much that the Elective Assembly were truly led by the Holy Spirit. If I was to be asked to nominate one, I would have nominated Henry. Now everything have come in line. To my mind I have no word against him. Except to recommend him to be a suitable person for that post. He is the man of intelligent, ability with full responsibility...I do strongly recommend him to be the right person to be a Bishop to succeed me. An example, see how he has handled the St. Peter's Parish of the white

109.A personal letter from the former former bishop of Matabeleland diocese to the author, 28/11/02.

110.Interview, Canon Sauli with the author, Likoma Island, Malawi, 25/10/99.

people, the trial I gave him. I am very happy with this good election.¹¹¹ (unedited quotation)

Nonetheless, the letter also indicates the existence of the underlying tension and misunderstanding over the issue of the election of Father Henry Mikaya as bishop. In this respect, Bishop Mtekateka was trying to clear doubts that Arden might have had regarding the matter.

Nonetheless, soon after his election arrangements were made for Father Henry Mikaya to attend at GABA Pastoral Institute, at Eldoret in Kenya.¹¹² What is intriguing is that soon after the election, according to Fr. Mikya, Bishop Donald Arden asked Mikaya whether he would like to be consecrated before attending a course at Edoret.¹¹³ According to Mikaya, he took the latter option. Apparently Mikaya's election was widely publicised. While in Kenya he wrote to Bishop Josiah Mtekateka and stated that:

The result of our election of a Coadjutor bishop yafika kale ku Kenya and Uganda by Press Release News. Ndinadabwa pamene ansembe aku Nairobi ndikuno ku Eldoret pamene amandichita congratulate. Staff yonse ndi participants address me as bishop elect, kukhala kwanga sindimasuka kwambiri ngati anzanga. Ubwino wake kuti pano alipo bishop m'modzi wachikhalire, Secretary General wa AMECEA. Course idzatha pa October, 23.¹¹¹¹⁴

This translates:

The results of our elections of a Coadjutor bishop have reached Kenya and Uganda through Press Release News. I was surprised when the Nairobi clergy and here at Eldoret were congratulating me. All staff and the participants address me as bishop elect, unlike my colleagues, this makes my stay quite uncomfortable. At least it is better that there is a longstanding bishop here. He is the Secretary general of the AMECEA. This course will end on 23rd October.

111. Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, A letter to Archbishop Arden, (letter dated 1977). Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya.

112. Interview, Father Peter Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99; see a personal letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

113. Interview, Father Mikaya with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 19/5/01.

114. Father Mikaya, A letter to Bishop Mtekateka, 25/1/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya.

From the preceding statement, it seems that the public saw the election of Father Mikaya as a coadjutor bishop as conclusive. He was a bishop-elect only waiting for the day when he would officially be declared bishop. It is possible that the public was not very clear about the differences between a coadjutor bishop and diocesan bishop, and that Father Mikaya would still have to stand for another election to qualify as a diocesan bishop. Obviously, many may not have been aware of the rules of the Anglican Church that required a coadjutor bishop to stand for another election before assuming autonomous powers as a diocesan bishop.

However, almost as soon as Mikaya started to settle down for his course in GABA, objections to his candidature surfaced in Malawi.¹¹⁵ A “court of confirmation” is a panel consisting of some senior clergy of the province, bishops and laity (usually church lawyers), who meet twenty-eight days after the election.¹¹⁶ Depending on whether there are what are called “canonical objections” this committee may approve or disapprove the election.¹¹⁷ A court of confirmation was supposed to sit to consider the objections.

When the “court of confirmation” met in 1977 it noted that it had received some objections concerning the candidature of Father Mikaya as coadjutor bishop.¹¹⁸ These were based on six allegations. In his letter to the other bishops of the province, Archbishop Arden dismissed most of these allegations as baseless, as they seemed to arise from motives which were questionable.¹¹⁹

115. Some of these allegations included that he had fathered a child out of wedlock, that while he was in Salima parish he had neglected his pastoral work, that he had misused Church funds at St. Peter’s Parish in Lilongwe. The first allegation was disproved as false therefore dismissed as without any foundation whatsoever, while the other ones were questionable whether their nature qualified them to be termed as “canonical objections.”

116. See Canon 7 of the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa.

117. *Ibid.*

118. File marked “Bishops confidential,” Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Malawi.

119. *Ibid.*

However, other evidence, as Archbishop Arden stated, suggested pastoral neglect and financial irresponsibility.¹²⁰ Arden informed the other bishops that according to him, it was not easy to dismiss these though it seemed to be a matter of opinion whether they could be regarded as “canonical objections.”¹²¹ Yet the expenditures incurred at this stage as a result of loans from the Roman Catholic Church seemed to confirm that Father Mikaya was extravagant in his expenditures, thereby concluding that he would be no good for the poor diocese of Lake Malawi.¹²²

In the tense atmosphere surrounding the election of Father Mikaya, there emerged different camps, one supporting him, one James Lunda, and the other Malewezi. Significantly the bishops also differed on how to deal with the issue. For instance, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka took the view that there was need to reconcile Father Mikaya and those who opposed him.¹²³

On the other hand, Archbishop Arden insisted that the issue had to be dealt with according to the provisions of the church law.¹²⁴ It seems this approach very much suited the manner in which Arden operated. Arden operated as a master of technicality, order and bureaucracy. Again, between the two bishops, the issue reflects the different training background from which they came. While Bishop Josiah Mtekateka saw Father Mikaya’s problems arising from the jealousy of his opponents, to Archbishop Arden the matter appeared to be a bureaucratic problem.

Once again there was apparently a clash between the two models of leadership, a shepherd and an administrator. In this regard, Mtekateka urged Arden to initiate reconciliation between Father Mikaya and the opposition group. On the other hand,

120.*Ibid.*

121.*Ibid.*

122. Interview, Father Peter Chiweyo with the author, 19/4/99; a personal letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

123. Interview, Father Kaswaya with the author, St. Paul’s Cathedral, Blantyre, 26/5/01.

124. Minutes of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishops’ Mount, Salisbury, Rhodesia on 12th November 1977. Elections 1976-78, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File PU3, Elections 1976-78.

Archbishop Arden viewed the problem as a matter of Church discipline, trust, honesty and integrity. Consequently he took the position that church law should be allowed to run its course.¹²⁵ Since Bishop Josiah Mtekateka believed the fundamental basis of the problems were personal, rather than arising out of Mikaya's work, he asserted:

After seeing the African paper and having read it. It came to my mind to think that, the Holy Spirit is telling us from out side our Diocese and our province, to say that the election was a proper one, chosen and guided by him. We get the same all over the world... I say this because, the whole world say definitely of the election of Henry and the majority of Lake Malawi Diocese are expecting to see Henry consecrated except the jealousy group as you know. And the right thing is the people to sit down and facetoface in order to clear mind to both sides and be conciliatory to one each other, but this ... cannot come to open, when this will be cleared. What is the answer we are going to give to the world.¹²⁶(Unedited)

For Bishop Mtekateka, what seemed to matter was not so much the allegations that emerged after the election took place, as the rightness of the manner of the electoral process that brought Father Mikaya into his position as a bishop. In the eyes of Bishop Mtekateka, the legitimacy of the process of election was more important than the allegations about the conduct of Father Mikaya that were raised after his election.

Despite the allegations of financial impropriety, to Arden what seemed more important now was the technical implication of the provision governing the office of a coadjutor bishop in relation to that of the diocesan bishop. It seemed convenient for him to resort to the legal and procedural aspect of the terms regulating the office of the coadjutor bishop in relation to that of the diocesan bishop.

Contrary to the widely held view in Malawi today that Father Mikaya's candidature as a coadjutor bishop was disqualified precisely on the grounds of financial impropriety,¹²⁷ the minutes of the Episcopal Synod strongly suggest that Father Mikaya was

125.*Ibid.*

126.Bishop Mtekateka, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 26/11/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya.

127.Father Hunter, A letter to the author, 13/7/99; interviews, Father Peter Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99; the Reverend David Banda with the author, 26/1/96.

disqualified more on technical rather than on moral grounds. Despite the fact that Mikaya was humble enough to ask for pardon for some of the allegations,¹²⁸ Arden, in a shrewd, skilled manner, used church law technically to bypass the office of a coadjutor bishop.

In his capacity as the archbishop of Central Africa, Arden persuaded his brother bishops that since the period in which a coadjutor bishop was needed had lapsed, it was no longer necessary to have one, what was required instead was the election of a diocesan bishop. This is how Minute 77.57 of the Episcopal Synod of 13 February 1977 noted that:

Synod realised that since the date of Bishop Mtekateka's resignation had now passed, it was no longer possible to appoint a coadjutor bishop under canon 1. It had, therefore, become necessary to proceed under canon 6 with the election of a diocesan bishop. The date of the requisite Elective Assembly was set provisionally for February, 11, 1978 at Lilongwe.¹²⁹

By this resolution, the bishops had effectively authorised the diocese of Lake Malawi now to elect a diocesan bishop. More significantly, in terms of this resolution, it seemed that the bishops of the province had bypassed the thorny issue of the legality of the objections raised with respect to Mikaya in terms of church law. In this instance, we encounter the technocratic aspect of Archbishop Arden's administration his ability to "spin and weave" carefully the course of the future of the church in Malawi. This seemed to sort out the problem as Father Mikaya's election subsequently was never confirmed. A more permanent solution was found apparently by the government sending him to work in the Malawi High Commission's office in New York.

But the election equally raises also another important issue: how free were the members in their discussions about the candidates in this election as a means to reach an informed decision before voting? One of the most powerful lay Anglicans in the church in

128. Archdeacon Mikaya, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 30/11/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya.

129. Minute 77.57 of the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa held in Lusaka, Zambia. 12/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; PU10.

Malawi in the period between 1980 and 1995, Mr. Matthew Chinthiti, has reasonably cited the case relating to the election of Father Mikaya. In answer to my questionnaire he said:

I did not attend the election of Fr. Mikaya in 1976 in Lilongwe. It seems that people spoke in line with what they knew, but ignorant of the allegations. An element of jealousy existed and someone must have instigated the revelation to have had it exposed. What I heard was that Fr. Mikaya was confident of the nomination and the election, since he was a suitable candidate at the time and he even went to the UK or was it on training exposure and had his vestments purchased. When he returned he found things had gone sour, the cat was out of the sleeve and consequently he was dropped. Following the confusion it seems Bishop Arden handpicked the incumbent bishop of Lake Malawi, who is a teacher by profession the way I heard. One can deduce as to who might have been behind the downfall of Fr. Mikaya. It is therefore clear that the electors may have been ignorant of the allegation. If one or someone were aware of it, they may have decided not to be regarded as troubleshooters, who would be mentioned afterwards to have revealed what was a secret. I therefore, cannot comment with a degree of authority or certainty that the people spoke honestly about them or not. For sure someone must have been ambitious for the position of Bishop that he played his cards for a late exposure of the situation at the time.¹³⁰

Despite the fact that the informant was not an eyewitness, his story demonstrates some shrewdness and insight into the core of the matter. The surfacing of the allegations outside the official forum of the Elective Assembly suggests that the latter was not safe enough to allow the electors to articulate freely and more intimately some personal aspects of the life of the candidates. This factor was crucial to determine the results of the elections. Instead, a measure of unequal power relations between, on one hand, the higher clergy (bishops and the others) and on the other, the laity constrained the atmosphere of discussions in the Elective Assembly.

The lay people and to some extent the clergy in the Elective Assembly of 1978 operated under clerical domination. As laity in the church, treated as “sons” or “children” in their official relationships to the “Fathers” and “Lord Bishops,” they had accepted their lot and were used to their status and lower place in the church’s hierarchy.¹³¹ Their low position, exacerbated by the overwhelming and constraining atmosphere and conditions

130. Response to questionnaire, Mr. Matthew Chinthitii to the author, July 1999, see Appendix.

131. Interview, Mr. G. Bondwe, with the author, Zomba, 12/3/99.

in the Elective Assembly, placed them at the mercy of the dominant voice of their ecclesiastical superiors. Not completely successful in subverting the system they then resorted to operate in the unofficial forum outside the Assembly.

Nearly all lay electors and some priests of the diocese of Lake Malawi in various ways tend to agree that their relationship with the clergy and the bishops in particular constrained the character of the deliberations in the Elective Assembly. For instance, Mr G. Bondwe, who himself participated in the elections, argued that the fundamental factor that affected the deliberations of the priests and clergy was their official relationships to the bishops in the Elective Assembly. He stated that, "Since the priests "swore" to obey the bishops (at their ordination), he a layman would be the least to disobey his bishop, by virtue of his high position in the church."¹³²

According to Mr Bondwe, traditionally, subordinate superior relationship between clergy and bishops characterised power relations between the two categories in Malawi. He further stated that,

You know very well. You priests are under canonical obedience, you do respect and cannot even argue with your bishops. In Malawi we respect our senior elders for tomorrow they will also respect you. The bishops are our elders from God. Our culture teaches us to respect our elders, Christianity teaches us to respect our church authority...I or the others, I mean my colleagues felt it was not appropriate to be seen challenging directly certain biases or wrong things.¹³³

These "wrong things" Mr Bondwe identified as manipulative aspects of the process, where it seemed some priests had been staged to speak for the archbishop.

132.Same interview.

133.Same interview

10.1.8 The “appointment” or “election” of Peter Nyanja as the diocesan bishop (1978-2005)¹³⁴

Confusion tends to surround the correct term used to describe the elevation of Father Peter Nyanja to the position of bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi in 1978. Depending on whom one speaks to, the terms “elected” or “appointed” seem to be used interchangeably to describe the elevation of Father Nyanja to the episcopal office. On the other hand, “election” suggests an element of the dominant consulting their subordinates. Was Father Nyanja “elected” or “appointed” by the bishops of the province? The question may sound trivial, but it does suggest the power that Anglican bishops wield over their flocks as far as leadership in the church is concerned.

The “election” of Peter Nyanja as the bishop of Lake Malawi in 1978 and its aftermath illustrates something of a power struggle in the Anglican Church. The writer’s chief informant on this aspect of our study, Canon Sauli, stated that the second round of elections held in 1978 produced a tie between Father Henry Mikaya and Father Peter Nyanja.¹³⁵

Sauli said that in the second round of elections held at the Baptist Church in Lilongwe in 1977, Bishop Shannon of Rhodesia informed him that another name had been proposed, that of Peter Nyanja. The nomination of Peter Nyanja was significant. He came from Ntchisi. In relation to Likoma, the “cradle” of Anglicanism in Malawi, Ntchisi was often regarded as a backwater on the periphery of the Anglican Church in Malawi. Whoever might have suggested his name must have been strategically transforming direction of leadership in the Anglican Church in Malawi. It is further reported that after the first seating, the Likoma clergy group boycotted the election.

According to Sauli, this group excused themselves on the pretext the meals at the Baptist Centre were not good to the extent that they were having digestive problems.

134. Bishop Nyanja passed away on Tuesday 8th March 2005. He was due to retire on 28th June 2005.

135. See interview, Canon Sauli with the author, Likoma Island, 25/10/99.

They dispersed to various houses in the city of Lilongwe. In fact, the truth was that they were boycotting the elections to show their displeasure at the way Mikaya had been outmanoeuvred. At this election, according to Sauli, none of the candidates attained the two-thirds majority vote necessary for election. Meanwhile, church law in Central Africa provided that upon failing to reach the two-thirds majority, the bishops of the province should take responsibility for electing a diocesan bishop for the vacant diocese.¹³⁶

Reliable sources informed the author that a small group of powerful clergy, the then Vicar General, Canon C.W. Liwewe, Father John Mwase and probably Canon Hunter were responsible for suggesting the name of Peter Nyanja to Bishop Donald Arden or the bishops of the province.¹³⁷ Canon Liwewe confirmed that he and the “other European” were responsible for recommending the name of Peter Nyanja in June 1978.¹³⁸ The “other European” has since been identified as Canon Hunter.¹³⁹

The claim by Father Liwewe that he conferred with Hunter to recommend Peter Nyanja as bishop is supported by Hunter’s favourable attitude to the episcopate of Peter Nyanja in 1999.¹⁴⁰ Thus, in his correspondence with the author, Father Hunter unequivocally declared that the choice of Peter Nyanja as a bishop was much better than that of Henry Mikaya.¹⁴¹ This suggests that he played a very important role in promoting the name of Peter Nyanja as the next bishop.

The episode related to the author during an interview with Father Henry Mikaya, dean of the Anglican Cathedral in Gaborone, Botswana (2000-2002), may shed further light on the extent to which “the working behind the scenes” played a role in the 1978

136. Interviews, Father Musonda Trevor Mumba with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 20/5/01, and Bishop Theophilus Tswere Naledi with the author, Gaborone, 20./5/01.

137. See interviews, Canon C. W. Liwewe with the author, Penama, Nkhotakota, 15/11/99; Father Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99.

138. Same interviews.

139. See interview, Canon C.W. Liwewe with the author, Penama village, Penama, Nkhotakota, Malawi, 15/11/99.

140. See a letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

141. Same letter.

elections. During the course of the interview in May 2001, Father Mikaya informed the author about some acts of intrigue behind the scenes. The latter claimed to have been informed that when Charity Malango and her husband Malango, currently, archbishop of Central Africa (bishop of the diocese of the Upper Shire, Zomba, Malawi, formerly bishop of Northern Zambia) were visiting the Mikayas in New York, Charity Malango allegedly disclosed that she had been part of the “conspiracy” to sideline Henry Mikaya.

According to the informant, the Malangos informed them (the Mikayas) that they recalled that they (the Malangos) had been called to Malosa to see Archbishop Donald Arden for consultation as to who should be the next bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi. My informant went on to state that, they were told that when Bishop Arden asked them (the Malangos) who they thought should be the next bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi, at that moment Father John Malewezi looked into the eyes of Charity Malango, and she knew that she had to mention the name of Peter Nyanja.¹⁴²

Mikaya also claimed that immediately after he had been elected they (himself and his wife) were shocked to see the archbishop’s wife, Jane Arden visiting Nkhotakota talking to some people in a manner that suggested that she was instigating some people to cause trouble for them. In their view all this tended to confirm that Bishop Arden had conspired against them. These stories are part of power relations. As such they can neither be outrightly dismissed, nor merely accepted at face value.

However, if Father Hunter had a hand in the elevation of Peter Nyanja to the episcopal position, it may be because he knew him during his seminary training at St. John’s. Besides this relationship, it is notable that Peter Nyanja had displayed some qualities of leadership during his training as an ordinand. It seems while training at St. Cyprian’s College, Lindi, Tanzania, he had been accepted as *de facto* leader of the group of Malawian students. The other students were Bernard Malango and Luwe Yeppe.¹⁴³ He

142. Interview, Father Mikaya with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 19/5/01.

143. Mr. P. N. Nyanja, (since 1978 bishop), A letter to Archbishop Donald Arden, 17/2/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR.

usually wrote a letter to Bishop Arden on behalf of the others signing “on behalf of fellow students”.¹⁴⁴

After St. John’s Seminary training, while he was on a course at Mindolo Ecumenical training, Arden wrote favourably of him.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Father Peter Chiweyo also attributed Bishop Nyanja’s sense of vocation to missionary influence, especially that of Father John Weller, at St. John’s Seminary.¹⁴⁶ When asked by the author in 1996 how he felt being about called to the ministry, Bishop Peter Nyanja seemed to attribute his vocation to divine intervention very early in his life.¹⁴⁷ Having been approached by Bishop Arden at a moment when the Anglican Church seemed to be in a crisis in Malawi, about whom he thought could be bishop, Rodney Hunter could not have serious doubts about Nyanja.

Nevertheless, the “appointment” or the “election” of Father Peter Nyanja did not seem to solve the immediate problem of the divided camps in the diocese. The division was so serious that it threatened to pave way for a schism.¹⁴⁸ It is significant that the former missionary who worked for Josiah Mtekateka as chaplain in the late 1970s, Father Bernard Sharp, attributed these problems to the interference of both Bishop Mtekateka and his senior colleague, Archbishop Arden. In his letter to Bishop Arden in 1977, he said:

....You and + Josiah are aware of it, but I thought I would mention it in case both of you can soften the situation. There seem to be a hint that may be you had both slightly over played your hands a little if I may say so.¹⁴⁹

144.*Ibid.*

145.Archbishop Arden, A letter to Father E. Maycock, 5/7/72. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File OR32.

146.Interview, Father Chiweyo with the author, Salima, 19/4/99.

147.See interview, Bishop Peter Nyanja with the author, Bishop’s Residence, Area 49, Lilongwe, Malawi, 22/11/96.

148.Father Bernard Sharp, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 3/9/77. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP/A.

149.*Ibid.*

As noted earlier on, evidence exists that suggests that Arden interfered in the elections. Sharp's view strengthens this case further. However, Bishop Mtekateka's role in the elections seems harder to establish. No evidence is available to the researcher that suggests that Bishop Mtekateka could have played such a role. In fact, according to some of my informants, Bishop Mtekateka had his own candidate, Father Lunda.¹⁵⁰

10.1.9 The issue of Episcopal Succession for the diocese of Lake Malawi in Perspective

The marginalisation of Father Mikaya seemed conveniently to fit in with the designs and vision of Archbishop Donald Arden for the church in Malawi. As I stated earlier on, Arden saw one of his major responsibilities as transforming the image of the old UMCA into a modern Anglican Church. Fundamentally, this entailed transforming the model and character of leadership. Mtekateka's election had been a remarkable case in the history of the church in Malawi in the sense that he was the most popular and almost unrivalled candidate.

However, with the election of Mtekateka began also the gradual shift in the leading position of Likoma. In 1971, with the approval of Arden, Mtekateka established his headquarters not at Likoma but at Nkhotakota. Arden was very keen to have a bishop who, in some respects, would match up to his vision of a future Anglican Church in Malawi. Effectively this largely entailed breaking the Likoma hold on leadership in Malawi and shifting Anglican focus from Likoma to the mainland areas, notably, Nkhotakota.¹⁵¹

150. Personal correspondence, A letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99; Interview, Father Chiweyo, with the author, Salima, 19/4/99.

151. A cross section of correspondence at Malosa regarding this issue strongly supports this assertion. The writer is also grateful to Professor Klaus Fiedler who has drawn his attention that the diminishing numbers of the population of Likoma and Chizumulu was also another factor that contributed to the decline of Likoma dominance.

However, similar developments had been resisted during the time of Bishop Thorne. The Likomans did not want in any way to see the place of Likoma undermined. If anything, they longed to see Likoma as it had been during the missionary years. For years, the people of Likoma had internalised the symbols and traditions associated with missionary Christianity to such an extent that they had accepted them and were prepared to resist any change that sought to reverse the trend. However, people leaving Likoma Island for the mainland also played a part was also undermining the role of Likoma. Resistance to change taking place in the church had been a point of struggle against Bishop Thorne as we noted in the previous chapter. Arden dedicated his vision to the recreation of the Anglican identity by contesting the Likoma hegemony. In general, he set out to reverse what had always been taken for granted, the UMCA hegemony. In particular he wanted to minimise Likoma dominance in leadership, if an opportunity arose, by promoting candidates who came from the mainland.

To some degree Arden continued where his predecessors such as Thorne and Fisher had left off. Partly because of this, the people of Likoma did not trust Arden enough. Unfortunately, such mistrust tended to extend to his assistant, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka. They tended to believe that the latter had betrayed them for having not fulfilled some promises made.¹⁵²

One of these was that contrary to their expectations, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka openly showed preference for Father James Lunda from Nkhotakota to succeed him, rather than a priest from Likoma. This may explain why after his retirement in 1977, Bishop Mtekateka went to stay in Ntchisi and not Likoma, his place of birth. Mtekateka was not popular with his people immediately after his retirement.

On the other hand, the failure of Father Lunda, a priest from Nhotakota, to be elected generated resentment against Bishop Peter from some quarters at the beginning of his episcopate.¹⁵³ Individual or group resentment towards Nyanja in the aftermath of his

152. Interview, Mr. CCC Nkambula and Mr. M. Chinkhota with the author, Kanjedza, Blantyre, 28/5/01.

153. Personal reminiscences.

election seemed to suggest that he was not well received as a bishop. For instance, Bishop Josiah Mtekateka was reluctant to preach during the consecration of Bishop Peter Nyanja. He declared that the newly elected bishop would not have been his choice for the post.¹⁵⁴ Had Mtekateka refused, he would have gone against the Anglican tradition in Central Africa where the bishop who is leaving his office is given the privilege of preaching during the consecration of his successor. More seriously, his flock on Likoma Island refused to admit him to his Cathedral to be enthroned in July 1978.¹⁵⁵ He was not enthroned until 20th January 1979.¹⁵⁶

The people of Likoma still believed in the restoration of the old missionary diocese of Likoma centred on St. Peter's Cathedral, Likoma Island. They did not seem to see these hopes realised through the administration of either Bishops Peter Nyanja or Donald Arden.¹⁵⁷ In fact, it appeared that they harboured a grievance even against their own "son", Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, who seemed to them to collaborate with Arden's designs.¹⁵⁸ Mtekateka's retirement to Ntchisi rather than Likoma may suggest that he was not very welcome at Likoma, his birth place.¹⁵⁹

Moreover, in the view of the Likomans, Archbishop Arden and Bishop Peter Nyanja were doing exactly the opposite of what they wanted.¹⁶⁰ They had fought against these tendencies during the time of Bishop Thorne, Arden's predecessor and they were still fighting. Since they did not support the election of Peter Nyanja as their bishop, when the Christians of Nkhotakota violently resisted the bishop's attempts to relocate the diocesan headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe in 1983, the Likoma Christians

154. Father Hunter, a personal letter to the author, 13/7/99.

155. Same letter.

156. Same letter.

157. Interview, Mr. Nkambula and Mr. M. Chinkhota with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, 28/5/01; personal reminiscences.

158. Same interviews.

159. Personal Recollections, Nkhotakota, 1977-80.

160. See interview, Mr. Nkambula and Mr. Chinkhota with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, 28/5/01.

naturally cooperated with the Nkhotakota Christians.¹⁶¹ Canon G. S. Mbaya compared the extent of the loss of the diocesan headquarters to the Anglican Christians of Nkhotakota to the situation of a man who has had his jacket stolen.¹⁶²

Nevertheless, these two groups tended to see their fight against a common “enemy” for respectively a common cause, the centralisation of the diocesan administration in Likoma and Nkhotakota. The resistance proved to be the most formidable challenge to Bishop Nyanja during the early years of his episcopate. All this tends to demonstrate the fact that Peter Nyanja was not a popular candidate. But as Rodney Hunter stated, a popular candidate may not necessarily be the right candidate.¹⁶³

Maybe mainly because from the beginning Bishop Peter Nyanja was not well received by the people of Nkhotakota and Likoma, in dealing with some of his troublesome clergy largely from those areas, he tended to be drastic and heavyhanded. Correspondence between Bishop Nyanja and Arden shows that, during the first years of his episcopate, Bishop Nyanja had to contend with insubordinate clergy.

Bishop Peter Nyanja’s reaction to some of his insubordinate clergy and the latter’s reaction to his authority typically reflect something of the influence of the theological formation they had received at St. John’s Seminary. For instance, in 1980, Bishop Peter Nyanja instructed Father Aidan Misi to leave St. Mary’s Parish at Biwi to go to Karonga Parish, which the latter refused to do. The threatening and authoritarian manner in which Bishop Nyanja addressed Misi was apparently intended to compel him to cooperate:

In our interview the other week, I asked you to go to Karonga on transfer, the second time I had asked you to go. You will remember that the Vicar General wrote on 23rd February 1980 while I was in U.S.A. telling you of transfer. After consulting my

161. Personal communication, currently in possession of Mr. E. Chibingwe; See also interview, Canon G. S. Mbaya with Mr. B. Binali, Makuta village, Linga, Nkhotakota, 30/7/98.

162. Interview, Canon G. S. Mbaya with Mr. B. Binali, Makuta village, Linga, Nkhotakota, 30/7/98.

163. Personal letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

advisers, I am asking you for the last time to go and obey my instruction. I want to hear from you by 9th July 1980 by letter that you agree to go. If I do not hear by that day, I will understand you are not obeying me. I shall then revoke your license as priest-in-charge of St. Mary's Church from that day. You will not be able to continue work there, and must leave the house. This is under canon 16 paragraph two of the canons, as amended by the Provincial Synod, 1980. Enclosed is the revised paragraph. I truly hope you will change your mind and obey your bishop.¹⁶⁴

One issue stands out in this letter, the unquestionable authority of the bishop directly connected to his core role in the church precisely backed by church regulations and law. Implied is the view that the bishop stands for the church. It follows that disobedience to the bishop is at the same time seen as disloyalty to the church. In this respect, the line of demarcation between the bishop and church tends to fade. This conception of the church arises from the Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology passed on to the church in Malawi via the UMCA tradition.

A letter written by Bishop Peter Nyanja to Archbishop Arden about Father Augustine Chande's instigation against the Bishop Nyanja in 1980, illustrates the drastic measures that Bishop Nyanja was prepared to take against Augustine Chande. This is how he put it:

I feel it is necessary that before we think of whatever method we should follow; of either having another bishop or dividing the Diocese, we should first cure the existing sore. I have had enough of the blames from Chande and do not mind walking out of the ministry if the issue gets out of hand. I am sincerely saying this to you that if I do not hear from him, having last written to him a copy to you the next I will do without question is to hand the issue in the hands of the police for further investigation. I am not running my mother's affair if this is God's Church, let justice flow like a river.¹⁶⁵

All of them, Peter Nyanja, Augustine Chande and Aidan Misi were the products of St. John's Seminary during the time when European authority was increasingly being challenged by African nationalism and consciousness on the continent. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Chande and particularly Misi were on the receiving end of domination of the institutional power. On the other hand, growing up seeing

164. Bishop P. N. Nyanja, A letter to Father Aidan Misi, 1/7/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMisi.

165. Bishop P.N. Nyanja. A letter to Archbishop Arden, 10/7/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPNyanja.

authoritarian and dictatorial behavioural patterns of some missionaries, formally shaped under similar circumstances at St. John's Seminary, Bishop Peter Nyanja knew no other model to emulate. In general Nyanja, Misi and Chande were the product of a system and institution which tried to make its authority felt through acts of domination as we observed in the preceding chapter.

Socialised in the context of friction, Father Misi would have regarded his response to Nyanja as a continuation of his St. John's Seminary struggle against domineering authority. At this juncture, it is worth recollecting a prophetic warning made by the warden of St. John's Seminary in 1969, John Weller and his staff to Bishop Arden about the possibility of Mr. Misi in the future giving his bishop or archdeacon a tough time. The alleged insubordinate attitude of Aidan Misi to Bishop Nyanja's orders may seem to have vindicated John Weller's warning given in 1969 to Arden.

However, it has to be noted also that the autocratic attitude of Bishop Nyanja reflects the domineering tendencies of the St. John's Seminary training of which he was a product. With twentyseven years serving as a bishop, so far Bishop Nyanja has had the longest episcopate in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi after Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne. He became a bishop in 1978.

During his long ministry, Bishop Nyanja has managed to raise the diocese to a position where it is financially selfsustaining. The author remembers in the 1980s when the bishop was visiting villages urging his members to give adequate financial support to the church.¹⁶⁶ His efforts in this area has helped the diocese to be able to stand on its feet, especially in terms of paying its priests. Under Bishop Nyanja, the diocese of Lake Malawi has grown to the extent that in 1995 it had to give way to the creation of the diocese of Northern Malawi.¹⁶⁷ Recently, before Bishop Nyanja passed away, he

166. Reminiscences, Nkhotakota, 1980-1985.

167. Reminiscences, Nkhotakota, 1990-1996.

intimated to the author that to a greater extent his vocation to the ministry was influenced at St. Michael's Teachers' College by Father Viner.¹⁶⁸

10.1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed the manner, processes and the circumstances through which leadership was passed from the missionary Bishop Arden to the first two Malawian bishops, Josiah Mtekateka and Peter Nyanja. It is clear that the missionary church in Malawi had not prepared the Africans enough with respect to running the office of a bishop that required considerable administrative skills. Precisely this illustrates the weaknesses of missionary training of the African clergy as received over the decades.

With respect to the problems that Mtekateka faced in his relationship with his chaplains, it also reflects the problems of the office of a bishop as an English institution translated into the African context. Thus factors beyond the scope of the Elective Assembly are as important as the process itself when it come to the election of the bishop. In other words, besides divine intervention the human element still constitutes an important dimension of the outcome of the elections.

168. Reminiscences, Nkhotakota, 2005. Bishop Nyanja passed away in March 2005.

Chapter Eleven

11. Episcopal Succession in the diocese of Southern Malawi (1979-1996)

On each occasion he was received as if he were a tribal chief. In himself he was a humble and gracious man, but his style of leadership was modelled partly on the style exported by the missionaries of the earlier generation.¹

11.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I analysed some issues surrounding the succession of the first Malawian bishop, Josiah Mtekateka, and his successors in the diocese of Lake Malawi between 1965 and 1978. In this chapter, I will analyse the circumstances related to the election of the successors of Bishop Arden, namely, Bishop Dunstan Daniel Ainani, and Bishop Nathaniel Benson Aipa in the period between 1979 and 1986 in the diocese of Southern Malawi. I will argue that not solely the Elective Assembly, but the activities and “the working behind the scenes” that took place prior to the Elective Assembly decisively determined the outcome of the election of these bishops. It will also be illustrated that attempts to maintain the office of a bishop as essentially associated with administrative skills had the effect of undermining the office of the first Malawian bishop. Finally, I will also argue that the reasons that led to the division of the diocese of Lake Malawi, giving birth to the new diocese of Northern Malawi, had their roots in the missionary legacy of Likoma Island.

1. King, P., “Leadership Explosion”, London: Hogger and Stroughton, 1987. Quoted by Mtingele, M.H.P., *African Traditional Leadership and the Church in Africa Today A Critique of Its Influence and Impact*, MA Thesis p. 28.

11.2. The Election of Dunstan Daniel Ainani as Suffragan Bishop of the diocese of Southern Malawi (1979-1980)

Minute 77.58 of the Episcopal Synod Meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia on 13th February in 1977, noted that the bishops of the Province authorised the diocese of Southern Malawi to implement a resolution of the Diocesan Synod to elect and consecrate a Suffragan Bishop for the diocese in terms of canon 11.1² The enactment of this resolution paved the way for the diocese of Southern Malawi to look for a candidate who would be Suffragan Bishop, that is, an Assistant Bishop, who subsequently might succeed the incumbent.

With the enthronement of Peter Nyanja as the second Malawian bishop of the diocese of Lake Malawi in St. Peter's Cathedral, Likoma Island in 1978, it may be confidently asserted that Archbishop Donald Arden of Central Africa, the bishop of Southern Malawi, had finally accomplished his mission in Malawi. He had succeeded in laying down a firm foundation for the modern Malawian Church as far as African leadership was concerned.

Perhaps no less an achievement was the presence by 1978 of a better educated new breed of clergy mostly trained at St. John's Seminary. In Malawi and Zambia, Bishops Peter Nyanja and Philemon Mataka respectively represented a younger generation of leadership at the time when the old UMCA clergy were gradually phasing out. Yet the transformation was not completed. Soon it would be, with the appointment of Nyanja's successor in the diocese of Southern Malawi.

Bishop Arden's correspondence in the archive of the diocese of Southern Malawi shows that ever since he came to the diocese, he had been preparing for his succession by a Malawian. To correspondents overseas or in Central Africa, he would always

2. Minute 77.58, "Appointment of a Suffragan Bishop in the Diocese of Southern Malawi," of the Episcopal Synod, held at Bishop's mount in Salisbury, Rhodesia on 13th February 1977. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File PU10.

express the wish that by the time he would leave the diocese there would be a young educated cadre of priests, presumably from which his successor could be chosen.³

As noted earlier on, in chapter nine, early in his episcopate, Bishop Arden had set his eyes on a few possible, bettereducated young laymen whom he thought, if persuaded to join the priesthood, could be his possible successors. In the midst of political repression by the Banda government Arden had lost some of his most promising young men into exile. Under these circumstances, his optimism for these young men gradually disappeared and he apparently settled for those already within Malawi.

Sources in the diocesan archives at Malosa suggest that in the mid 1970s Arden regarded the then young Father Nathaniel Aipa (future bishop of the diocese of Southern Malawi) as one of his possible successors. It would seem that sending him on courses to Singapore, Geneva and Switzerland⁴ was part of preparing him for a higher position in the church. In the diocese, Father Aipa was given more responsibilities as archdeacon incharge of a selfsupporting clergy training programme and as warden of the Ecumenical Lay Training Centre at Chilema⁵ and most of all as the Vicar General. All this seemed to suggest that Arden was positioning forward Fr. Aipa as his possible successor.

3. Archbishop Arden, A letter to Bishop Thorne, 14/12/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File D 18. In this letter Bishop Arden made inquiries on Mr. Alec Rubadiri to Bishop Thorne. However, subsequently, it was the Diocesan Master of Works, Mr. Douglas Fromings who recommended Mr. Rubadiri; see also a letter from Archbishop Arden to Bishop Thorne, 6/3/70, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File WP/86. However, it is surprising that none of them ever started training, nor were ever ordained.

4. See for instance, Minute no. xii entitled "Training Committee", of the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi held at Chilema 1617th August 1969. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WP51; Archbishop Arden, A letter to Father E. Herbert, 29/8/70. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WP51.

5. Minutes of the Episcopal Synod, minute entitled "Supplementary Ministry and its methods of Training", held at Salisbury, Rhodesia, 23-24th June 1972; P10; Minutes of the Synod of the Diocese of Malawi held on 20th 22nd July 1970 at Malosa, Zomba. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WP51.

Some sources claim that, Fr. Aipa seemed to fail the “test” during the absence of Arden in the late 1980s when he was given the responsibility of caretaker of the diocese as Vicar General.⁶ It is alleged that on this occasion Fr. Aipa did not look after the diocesan vehicle well enough to the extent that it was damaged.⁷ It is further claimed that it was this incident which made Archbishop Arden lose confidence and trust in Fr. Aipa.⁸ Apparently this changed his fortunes at least for a while. At this stage circumstances developed which led to the rise of Bishop Dunstan Daniel Ainani. Yet independent of these developments, in his own right, the more elderly Ainani was rising in the ranks of the church. Otherwise, initially it would seem that Archbishop Arden had his eyes on Aipa.

Unlike the rise of others, but also quite like that of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka, the rise of Father Ainani to prominence in the church. Before conversion to Christianity, he grew up in a Muslim family. A humble education at Sani in Nkhotakota and a short spell in the King’s African Rifles in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)⁹ seem to have given Dunstan Ainani a solid background of experience which he was to use prudently. At the age of 43, Mr. Ainani applied for St. Andrew’s Theological Training based at Mpondas.¹⁰ On the basis of his work as a catechist from 1958, Father John Mwasi strongly recommended him.

Thus, Father Ainani could not boast of the formal theological training others had acquired either at the old St. Andrew’s College at Likoma, or St. John’s College in Lusaka. A short course in elementary theological studies at Mponda’s St. Andrew’s

6. Interview, Canon Zingani with the author, Namiwawa, Blantyre, 27/5/01; interview, Father Ernest Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. Interviews, Bishop Dunstan Ainani with Mr. B. Binali, Sani Nkhotakota; Father Micheal Zingani with the author, Namiwawa, Blantyre, 27/5/01.

10. Document OR1, Personal profile of Dunstan Ainani, dated 23/4/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

College¹¹ seemed to raise him to a level that put him in a position to rival others who had a far better educational background or opportunities.

During the period running up to the elections of a Suffragan Bishop in 1979, Arden's manner of communicating with the people and the latter's perception of the manner in which he was handling the issue illustrate a problem of transparency on the part of Arden. Father Stewart Lane, an advisor to Archbishop Arden stated that in the aftermath of a series of episodes Arden given the impression that major decisions pertaining to finance and the candidate had already been made.¹² In his private capacity as the bishop's "truth-teller", Stewart Lane put it to Archbishop Arden thus:

I think that's never been more true than in the matter of the Suffragan. If at any point in the process, people can say that the 'proper' procedure was not followed, then there will be an area of ill feeling which will dog the diocese for perhaps 25 years. I've already been told that the candidate has been chosen already and that all the rest is pretending.¹³

That the manner in which Bishop Arden communicated with the Malawians, in particular the clergy, seemed to close rather than open the room for interaction with them was intimated to the author by one anonymous missionary source who had been very close to Bishop Arden.¹⁴ In our conversations my informant intimated that during meetings when an issue rose that demanded wider consultation he would present his views and then expect the Malawian clergy or laity either to agree or disagree with him.¹⁵

He further noted that since the Malawian clergy operated in the very opposite manner to Arden's approach they were not in a position to respond as Arden expected, the result of

11. Though St. Andrew's College at Mpondas had succeeded the one at Likoma, nevertheless, this college was of very low standard offering merely elementary theology.

12. Father Stewart Lane, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 29/1/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPLane.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Informal discussions, anonymous missionary source with the author, Limbe, 21/5/01.

15. *Ibid.*

which was Arden's assumption that on issues that affected the life of the diocese they concurred with him.¹⁶ This strongly suggests that the Western manner of approach which was natural to Bishop Arden as a white man seemed to work to the disadvantage of the Malawian clergy and laity whose standard of education was very low. It is possible that this approach raised some suspicions or misunderstandings on either side.

However, in this particular case, Malawians' mistrust of the way in which Arden handled financial matters extended to the manner in which he was handling the issue of his successor. As Stewart Lane stated, "there seems to me to be in the diocese a great aura of mistrust concerning money, and other things, but primarily money."¹⁷ More significantly, this trust related to the manner in which some people saw Arden as not open enough especially because of his "ability to hold and manipulate facts."¹⁸

Nonetheless, in this case, the people's feelings or perceptions that a candidate had already been chosen seem to find support in an episode related to the author. One source, Father Jon Owambo, recalled that while he was serving Bishop Arden and the other missionaries with a cup of tea or coffee in 1978 at Fr. Jim Harris's residence at St. George's Parish, Zomba, he overheard conversation that the missionaries resolved that Ainani had to be the bishop.¹⁹ The testimony of Jon Owambo cannot be easily dismissed as there is evidence that he was a close friend of the host, Father Jim Harris.²⁰

This suggests that a decision regarding Arden's successor was tentatively taken during a private gathering of a small circle of white missionaries ruling the diocese, away from the Malawians. James Scott asserts that it is mostly in private rather than public forums

16.*Ibid.*

17.*Ibid.*

18.Father Stewart Lane, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 29/1/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPLane.

19.Interview, Jon Owambo with the author, Klerksdorp, South Africa, 14/7/99; cf interview, Father Micheal Zingani with the author, Blantyre, 27/5/01.

20.The claim by this informant that he was a personal friend of Father Jim Harris has been testified by other informants such as the Former Mothers' Union Guild leader of the Diocese of Southern Malawi, Mrs. Elizabeth Ngoma and Mrs. Esther Mndala.

that the dominant make important decisions that eventually influence the course of events in public. One of the factors that enhance the emergence of a hidden transcript is the existence in a gap of social status between the dominant and their subordinates. In situations of domination, a hidden transcript of the dominant largely emerges to affirm and even to entrench this social gap between the dominant and their subordinates.

In a similar manner, Arden's action ought to be viewed also within the context of a prevailing social and intellectual gap between himself and the Malawian clergy and laity. Father Frank Mkomawanthu and my other informant²¹ stated that as far as his thinking and vision was concerned, Arden was always so far ahead of his Malawian clergy that in public debate, he came across as manipulative and dictatorial.²² But Stewart Lane's statement that Arden had the "formidable ability to hold and manipulate facts, and to perceive combinations and possibilities...in a way faster than (his) diocese can follow and in a ways perhaps more pragmatic and less principled than someone in (his) position ought,"²³ is significant with regard to the issue of succession.

Perhaps it was because of this manner that another source, Jon Owambo, perceived Bishop Arden as dictatorial.²⁴ As noted in the previous chapter, this perception seems to be consistent with that of Bishop Robert Mercer who accused Arden of interfering in Mercer's affairs in the diocese of Matabeleland.²⁵ On various occasions, Arden had expressed the wish that his successor be a man who could continue what he was doing

21.KL want to remain anonymous.

22.Interview, Father Micheal Zingani with the author, Namiwawa, Blantyre, 27/5/01; Father Stewart Lane, "the truth teller", A letter to Archbishop Arden, 29/1/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa; File WPLane.

23.Father Stewart Lane, A letter to Archbishop Donald Arden, 29/1/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WPLane.

24.Interview, John Owambo with the author, Klerksdorp, South Africa, 14/7/99.

25.Bishop Robert Mercer, bishop of Matabeleland, A letter to Dr. Denis M'passou, 1/7/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.

more successfully.²⁶ For him to get his way, he had to be masterful and yet be statesmanlike. In the end the process of electing the bishop took its due course with its “procedure.” The people “participated” and believed that they were “part of the process” while the manner in which Arden handled the election suggests that the process bore every mark of his design.

One crucial factor tended to undermine the peoples’ power to engage Arden on critical issues. In his letter to Bishop Arden in 1978, Father Stewart Lane stated, “As I know only too well, it is very difficult in Malawi to get people below you in position to say honestly, or at least in a way clear to us Europeans, what they think, especially when they disagree.” Culturally, Malawians are a timid people, they feel uneasy to “challenge” their seniors by age or positions. Generations of a tradition that fostered respect for authority undermined any tendencies to criticise or “fight” back.²⁷

In their relationship to Bishop Arden, Malawians were constrained not only on a cultural and intellectual level but more crucially on the ecclesiastical level. Mamphela Ramphele made an important point when she stated that as a model of ministry, monarchical episcopate encourages undemocratic tendencies and is adverse to notions of dialogue.²⁸ Largely due to his intellectual and social background, a wide gap existed between Bishop Donald Arden and Malawians especially the clergy. He thought and planned ahead of Malawian clergy.²⁹

Nonetheless, irrespective of whether the candidature of Ainani was imposed or not, an episode that took place in 1978 seems to indicate the strength of Ainani. It is reported that in a conference that took place at Chilema Ecumenical Centre at Malosa in 1978,

26. Archbishop Arden, A letter to Father John Kingsnorth, 2/3/71. Archives of the Anglican Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File P7.

27. Mbaya *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

28. Ramphele, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 187-89.

29. Interview, Father Mkomawanthu with the author, Mpondas, Mangochi, 12/11/99; Interview, Anonymous KL with the author, Limbe, Blantyre, 15/3/99

there was a burning issue³⁰ that turned into something of a puzzle in the conference. The issue demanded a lot of searching. In this regard, it is reported that the members of the assembly were challenged by Arden as to how the issue would be dealt with. Then, at the invitation of the chairman, Father Ainani boldly went forward to take the seat of the chairman. For a while, he tackled the issue successfully while Arden listened as part of the audience.³¹

This episode illustrates the courage and wisdom of Ainani, which tended to contrast with his humble educational background. In this episode, the influence of his military discipline, notably courage, may also be seen. His display of astuteness in dealing with a matter at hand must have won the confidence, respect and admiration of Arden and the others at a time when the latter was looking for a capable Malawian to succeed him.³²

The matter of the successor to Bishop Donald Arden reached its climax in June 1978.³³ Prior to that period, the lack of finance had seemed to make the idea difficult to realise. Since that year, however, the promise of K3, 000 from the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) in London, the expectation of the money from Colorado, and the agreement by the Christian Service Committee to buy the diocesan hydro plant, raised the possibility that the idea would be implemented.³⁴

Finally, Dunstan Daniel Ainani was “elected” Suffragan Bishop in 1979. He was consecrated on 17th June 1979 at Chilema, Malosa. The position of Suffragan Bishop is intended to be a training post towards the position of full diocesan bishop. In this regard its incumbent possesses limited executive powers. As was noted earlier on, Bishop

30. The informant, Mrs Ngoma was unable to give details apart from saying that it was a pastoral issue.

31. Interview, Mrs. Elizabeth Ngoma with the author, Bangwe location, Blantyre, 24/7/99.

32. See Questionnaire in the appendix, Mr. M. Chinthiti.

33. See letter from Father Stewart Lane to Archbishop Arden, 12/2/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPLane.

34. *Ibid.*

Mtekateka was the first to occupy this post in Malawi. For reasons unknown to the author, however, Peter Nyanja never became a Suffragan Bishop.

11.3 The Election of Bishop Dunstan Ainani as the Diocesan Bishop of the diocese of Southern Malawi (1980)

As Archbishop Donald Arden was due for retirement in 1980, another election was called, this time to elect a diocesan bishop to succeed him; for until then Bishop Ainani had merely been a Suffragan Bishop, that is, an assistant bishop. Besides the Suffragan Bishop, priests contesting were Father Bernard Malango, Father James Amanze, Father Constantine Kaswaya and Father Aipa.³⁵ Inevitably, the Suffragan Bishop Ainani triumphed. According to Mr. Khofi Phiri there was a general feeling that since Bishop Ainani had proved himself as a Suffragan Bishop he had to be given a further chance.³⁶

Similarly, Canon Parslow, a longstanding missionary priest in Malawi, observed that having previously been an Assistant Bishop to Bishop Arden and having learnt a lot from him, Ainani was the obvious candidate.³⁷ This suggests that Bishop Ainani's previous position as an Assistant Bishop made it easier for him to win the next elections. In this respect, writing to Father Henry Mikaya on 11th March in 1981, Bishop Ainani stated, "I won the election at the first ballot with overwhelming majority."³⁸ One would expect that because Ainani had served as an assistant bishop, it would be almost a foregone conclusion that he would win the election.²⁰³⁹

Yet one source, Mrs. Alice Chilinkhwambe, suggested that during the Elective Assembly she did not feel free to contribute in the discussions since her experience of

35. See interview, Father Ernest Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98; Mrs A. Mkoko with the author, 5/6/00, Malosa, Zomba.

36. Interview, Mr. Khofi with the author, Nkhotakota, 24/5/01.

37. Interview, Father John Parslow with Mr. B. Binali, Chichiri, Blantyre, 27/8/98.

38. Bishop D. Ainani, A letter to Father H. Mikaya, 11/3/81. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya. (Quotation unedited).

39. Cf Interview, Mr. Khofi with the author, Nkhotakota, 21/5/01.

the previous Elective Assembly showed that anything negative said about the leading candidate was likely to be used against the individual concerned after the elections.⁴⁰ This episode shows that the Elective Assembly after all was not strictly a sealed house as Bishop Theophilus Naledi of Botswana wanted to believe.⁴¹ Somehow, information found its way out. Nonetheless, eventually Bishop Ainani was enthroned on 26th April 1981, at Malosa.²⁰⁴²

The preceding episode suggests that the idea of electing a Suffragan Bishop with the possibility that he might succeed the incumbent diocesan bishop makes a mockery of the principle behind holding the elections, that is, wanting to choose the best candidate for the post from the available personnel. The Suffragan Bishop's contesting elections with the other candidates who are in fact his subordinates, juniors, works out to his own advantage but to the disadvantage of his rivals. In this respect, the balance of power is uneven, weighing heavily in favour of the candidate who is a Suffragan Bishop.

On the other hand, perhaps recognising that the success of his forthcoming election as a diocesan bishop very much depended on his successful performance during the period that he served as Suffragan Bishop, Bishop Ainani worked to the best of his ability so as to reduce his chances of losing the elections.⁴³ Reference has already been made above, in chapters two and four, to the constraining effect that the episcopal mode of ministry tends to have on the subordinate groups or the dominated.

In other words what has to be underlined here is that episcopal power tends to resist the challenge to its monopoly of power. The fact that Bishop Ainani won at the first ballot with an overwhelming majority suggests that he had undue advantage over his rivals, owing perhaps to his powerful position as a bishop. It is in this context that the

40. Mrs. Alice Chilinkhwambe, interview with the author, 13/4/00.

41. Interview, Bishop Theophilus Naledi, Gaborone, 18/5/01.

42. Bishop D. Ainani, A letter to Father Mikaya, 11/3/81. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPMikaya.

43. Cf interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhotakota, 24/5/01.

sentiments expressed by Mr. Khofi Phiri about the feeling that since he had done so well as a Suffragan Bishop he had to be given another “chance” have to be viewed.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the elevation of Bishop Ainani to Diocesan Bishop in 1980 marked the end of the episcopate of Bishop Arden in Malawi. He retired to England. Dr. Khotso Walter Makhuku, the bishop of Botswana succeeded Bishop Arden as Archbishop of Central Africa. According to the informants, two aspects characterised the episcopate of Arden. Together with his wife, Jane, Arden displayed abilities as a capable administrator, a thinker, planner and builder always seeking to do something exciting and new.⁴⁵ Certainly above all his predecessors, it was Arden who had succeeded in planting the local episcopate. He managed to do this largely because of the sociopolitical changes in which he worked tended to open up things for such changes.

11.4 Some Highlights of the Episcopate of Bishop Ainani (1980-1985)

Inevitably during the year which Bishop Ainani served as a Suffragan Bishop he carefully observed how Bishop Arden was running the diocese. In many aspects he sought to emulate his predecessor, the white bishop. Thus, writing to Fr. Henry Mikaya in New York on 11th March 1981, Bishop Dunstan Ainani said, “My work is not an easy one because as you know if you have handed over or taken over from a white man you find many things difficult. But still I am getting on better with it.”⁴⁶ Bishop Ainani looked to Bishop Arden as his role model. Indeed, it would seem that Bishop Ainani believed that Arden was right in most of his administration.

The researcher has been informed anonymously by one missionary who was fairly close to Bishop Ainani that he was in the habit of saying that “if this thing was not useful enough the missionaries would not have taught us.”⁴⁷ The assertion seems to suggest

44. Same interview.

45. See a crosssection of interviews

46. *WPMikaya*, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba. The quote has not been edited. See also questionnaire Mr. Matthew Chinthiti

47. Informal discussions with the anonymous, Limbe, 15/3/99.

that Bishop Ainani believed that all that the missionaries taught was correct or right. This trait in Bishop Ainani may explain why he seemed to emulate his white predecessor, Bishop Arden.

One of the most enduring legacies that Bishop Arden left in Malawi during his eighteen years episcopate was his passion for putting up buildings in the form of churches, clergy houses, clinics and schools.⁴⁸ In his letter to Fr. Mikaya, Bishop Ainani asked the latter to assist him to identify organisations that could assist in providing funds for the church buildings. He put it as follows:

Our difficulty in this diocese is Church buildings. I am going to be enthroned on the open 26th April 1981 as I was consecrated on the open on 17th June, 1979. This time I have decided enthroned at the ruins of Likwenu church. You know that that church was burnt down by wild fire in 1975. Since then nothing have been done to replace it. So now we are appealing for building funds, do you know any organisation which support church buildings there?⁴⁹

For Bishop Ainani the work of a bishop was closely associated with erecting church structures and other church related structures. While his predecessor Bishop Gerard Trower was known for the extension of mission work in Malawi, Arden was known for planning and putting up churches, clinics, schools and clergy houses. Just as he had seen Bishop Arden working hard seeking financial assistance to uplift the church, in his style and image, Ainani was trying to emulate his immediate predecessor very closely.⁵⁰ In other words, in image and style Bishop Ainani was becoming an extension of Arden. Arden's successor had to continue his previous master's work.⁵¹ It is quite possible that Bishop Donald Arden had promoted Ainani because he thought he would continue his work in a manner that Arden would approve.

48. See interviews, Father Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98; Mzokomera with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 7/2/99.

49. Bishop Dunstan Ainani, A letter to Father Henry Mikaya, 11/3/81. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; WPMikaya.

50. See interviews, Mr. Mzokomera with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 7/2/99; Father Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98.

51. See interview, anonymous (Zomba Theological College) with the author, Zomba, 19/4/99

It seems to be a general tendency amongst outgoing leaders to seek to be succeeded by subordinates who they think will closely follow their style of leadership. Similar to the manner in which Josiah Mtekateka leaned on his white chaplains, in this respect, Ainani tried to follow his predecessor's style very closely. Yet in some respects, the episcopate of Ainani reflects a sense of individuality and independence. Amongst other things, prior to his election, Bishop Ainani had been popular for his fervour for evangelism.⁵² He had shown his gifts as a pastor in raising Chilipa parish to a degree that earned the admiration and respect of the others.⁵³

At a time when Donald Arden was in the process of translating Anglican hymns into Malawian version, Ainani was composing original Malawian hymns with popular tunes.⁵⁴ His hymns which became more popular than those who were subsequently incorporated into the new Malawian prayer and hymn book.⁵⁵ His work in composing a new version of hymns with Malawian rather than Victorian chant has to be seen as his strategy for evangelism. Ainani was the "singing evangelistic bishop."

11.5 Bishop Ainani retires (1985)

It seems that through Ainani, Arden had intended to perpetuate the UMCA tradition that the person of the incumbent bishop defined and portrayed the essence of the church. In various ways, Ainani displayed these. Characteristic of Ainani's image as a bishop was his sense of discipline in performing his duties. Further, this tradition stressed that the power of the office of a bishop embedded in the images, symbolism and the functional role of the office, was relatively speaking, greater than the individual occupying the throne.

Because of this attitude towards his ministry and personal life style, Bishop Ainani exemplified a sense of discipline and stability. Most certainly these aspects of his

52. Interview, Father E. Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98.

53. Same interview.

54. Personal recollections, 1979-87.

55. Personal recollections, 1979-87.

personality reflected his earlier military training background which was so much part of his personality as a bishop.⁵⁶ In this respect, Ainani's leadership tended to reinforce the Christian moral character in the clergy and the flock of the diocese.⁵⁷ However, in this regard, Ainani was sometimes respected not so much out of respect as out of fear, as his instructions to some of his clergy did not sound like instructions but like orders from above.⁵⁸ As one informant stated, "...as a soldier, [Ainani was] trained to be disciplined, to give orders and to be followed."⁵⁹

However, the domineering tendencies that Bishop Ainani displayed must also be seen as perhaps reflecting authoritarian tendencies inherent in the office of a bishop.⁶⁰ Perhaps for pastoral reasons this was necessary for the clergy to enhance a sense of purpose and direction for the diocese.

Domineering attitudes may also be a manifestation of a sense of insecurity, emanating from feeling threatened. It has been observed that, "he could not distinguish the life of a soldier and that of a bishop. He was too commandeering."⁶¹ In this respect domineering tendencies act as a "defense mechanism," designed to resist subtle challenges to the existing dominant power.

Yet the UMCA's insistence that its incumbent possess administrative skills, despite the fact that the missionary training system had not prepared the African clergy for such responsibilities, created difficulties for the incumbent. Like Bishop Josiah Mtekatoka, Bishop Ainani lacked the gifts of an administrator. Because of this deficiency, as was the case with the episcopate of Bishop Josiah Mtekatoka, an administrative secretary

56. Personal reminiscences, interviews Father Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98.

57. See interview, Father M. Malasa with Mr. B. Binali, Mpinganjira, Mangochi, 23/1/98, Father E. Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98.

58. Response to questionnaire Chinthiti

59. Interview, Anonymous Doctor with the author, Chancellor College, Zomba, 14/3/99.

60. See Moltmann, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

61. Interview, Mrs. Chilinkhwambe with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, Blantyre, 13/4/00.

solely responsible for the organisational aspect of the diocesan work had to be employed for Bishop Ainani. Mr. Andrew Hamisi, born and bred in Malindi, Mangochi district, became a diocesan secretary at the beginning of Ainani's episcopate in 1980. However, it is also fair to note that in spite of his lack of administrative skills, one informant observed that like his predecessor, Arden, Ainani "tried to follow financial administration closely, very serious with punctuality. He would go through books checking finance details."⁶²

The second half of the episcopate of Bishop Ainani was almost entirely dominated by squabbles and wrangles with his diocesan secretary, Mr. Hamisi. One alleged that the other was misusing diocesan funds.⁶³ On one hand, the quarrel centred in Mr. Hamisi accusing the bishop of incompetence and maladministration, and on the other hand in the insubordination of Mr. Hamisi to the bishop.⁶⁴ It was alleged that Mr. Hamisi looked down upon the bishop as uneducated and accused him of gross misuse of diocesan funds, while the bishop looked upon Mr. Hamisi as rude, insubordinate and noncooperative.⁶⁵

The matter became so heated that it tended to obstruct the running of the diocese as the bishop and his diocesan secretary were locked in a bitter fight that seemed to have become personalised in the end.⁶⁶ There were allegations of financial abuse by both parties.⁶⁷ In this as it may be in other cases, it might be that Ainani may have been influenced by the widely held perceptions that Donald Arden was misusing diocesan funds.⁶⁸

62. Interview, Mr. D. Mzokomera with the author,

63. Personal Recollections, Zomba, 1981-1984.

64. Personal Reminiscences, Zomba, 1981-1984.

65. Personal Recollections, Malosa, 1981-1984.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*; Minutes of the Emergency Diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Southern Malawi held at St. Paul's Cathedral Hall, Blantyre on Tuesday, 6th May 1986, 7.05 p. m. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; Mr. Chinthiti response to the questionnaire.

68. See Interview, Anonymous KL with the author, Limbe, 15/3/99; Father Lane to Archbishop Arden, 29/1/79. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPLane.

Though on the surface the quarrel between Bishop Ainani and his diocesan secretary, Mr. Andrew Hamisi between, 1983 and 1985 seemed to be just another “quarrel,” it reflects a power struggle, albeit one transcending personality differences. Mr. Khofi Phiri asserted that Father Aipa and Mr. Hamisi instigated the demise of the episcopate of Bishop Ainani as Aipa encouraged Hamisi to be insubordinate to Bishop Ainani.⁶⁹ According to this source, it was part of a strategy to “overthrow” Bishop Ainani with a view to opening the way for Father Aipa to become bishop.⁷⁰

Mr. Phiri’s testimony cannot easily be dismissed, since he played a crucial role in ensuring the election of Father Aipa as bishop of Southern Malawi.⁷¹ Other sources also supported his claim.⁷² Eventually the quarrel between Bishop Ainani and Mr. Hamisi precipitated a break down in the administration of the diocese amidst mudslinging from both sides, culminating in the dismissal of Mr. Hamisi as the diocesan secretary.⁷³

However, this struggle ought to be put into perspective. It would seem that two factors played an important role in enhancing the struggle for power between the two. Though by virtue of his education, the diocesan secretary, Mr. Hamisi, wielded considerable influence in relation to his superior, Bishop Ainani, on the other hand, by virtue of his position as Diocesan Bishop, the latter had more executive power than his diocesan secretary. Hamisi’s quarrel with Bishop Ainani undermined the latter’s administration.

Linked to this was the tribal factor. It would appear that during the last years of Arden’s episcopate a feeling had been rising amongst some clergy and laity in the diocese of Southern Malawi that they were being dominated by the clergy from the Central

69. Interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhotakota, 21/5/01.

70. Same interview.

71. *Ibid.*; interviews, Mrs. Agnes Mkoko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00.

72. Same interview.

73. Personal recollections, 1981-1985

Region and Likoma Island. It would seem that the quarrel between Mr. Hamisi and Bishop Ainani characterised this spirit.⁷⁴

Coming from the Central Region, Bishop Ainani was seen as a “missionary” by some clergy from Southern Malawi.⁷⁵ The term might, however, have been used in a complimentary sense as much as in a derogatory manner. Mr. Hamisi himself, like Bishop Aipa, hailed from the same village of Malindi, Mangochi district, in the Southern Region.

In fact, one of the reasons for Ainani’s early retirement was the problem that he had with Mr. Hamisi. Hamisi made Ainani’s administration and life so difficult that it contributed to Ainani being seen as a failure. The manner in which Bishop Ainani handled Mr. Hamisi’s case largely contributed to the situation where Bishop Ainani was himself forced to resign by Archbishop Khotso Makhulu in 1986. It ought to be noted that tribalism was resurfacing as a major factor in the wider society in Malawi during this period.⁷⁶

During his last years in office, Bishop Ainani appointed Father Nathaniel Aipa as the Vicar General of the diocese.⁷⁷ The fact that Father Aipa had once served in this position during the time of Bishop Arden suggests his prominence in the affairs of the church at this stage. On the other hand, it would seem that the appointment of Father Aipa was also largely due to his seniority in age and experience, and his better education amongst a clergy who were poorly educated in the diocese. Nonetheless, this meant that Aipa was now the second in charge after Bishop Ainani. In fact, by this appointment, Bishop Ainani was projecting Aipa as a leading candidate for succession. It was a subtle way in which Bishop Ainani was promoting Fr. Aipa to succeed him without saying so in words.

74. Interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhonkhotakota, 24/5/01; Interview, Anonymous KL with the author, 15/3/99.

75. Personal reminiscences, Zomba, 1981-1984

76. Lwanda, J. L., *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Paralysis*, Glasgow: Dudu Nsomba Publications, p. 128.

77. Personal reminiscences, Zomba, 1981-1987.

However, as the period of the elections drew nearer, Bishop Ainani was under immense pressure. In a move that was without doubt suspicious, Bishop Ainani ordained the former minister of the Churches of Christ, and writer, Dr. Denis Mpassou deacon and priest within a short space of time.⁷⁸ In taking this action, it seemed to some people that Bishop Ainani was staging Dr. Mpassou as a rival candidate for the post of bishop.⁷⁹ Amidst all these developments the bitter fight between Bishop Ainani and his Diocesan Secretary continued unabated.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, a series of events led to an emergency Diocesan Standing Committee meeting which took place at St. Paul's Cathedral in Blantyre in 1986.⁸¹ The high profile members of the province, including Archbishop Khotso Makhulu, attended this meeting. The meeting minutes suggest that Bishop Ainani was being accused of misuse of church funds and abuse of his authority in the manner in which he had handled the issue of his diocesan secretary, Mr. Hamisi. The general impression of these minutes is that Bishop Ainani was under immense pressure from the members of the province to retire soon, so as to make a way for his successor. Eventually, this led to his retirement at the end of 1986.

11.6 The Election of Father Nathaniel Benson Aipa as the Diocesan Bishop of Southern Malawi (1986)

In holding the office of a Suffragan Bishop, an individual priest is projected as the possible successor of the incumbent bishop. This creates the impression that the incumbent Suffragan Bishop has almost an automatic right of succession. This is inevitable since the ruling of the church provides for this position. Nonetheless, to a great degree, this enhances tension and sometimes open conflicts in the diocese since the leading candidate seems to have undue advantage of power over the others.

78. Personal Reminiscences, Zomba, 1981-1990.

79. Personal Recollections, Zomba, 1981-1990.

80. Personal Recollections, Zomba, 1981-1990.

81. Minutes of the Emergency Diocesan Standing Committee of the diocese of Southern Malawi, St. Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre.

Consequently, this tends to predetermine unfair electoral competition amongst the other candidates. This is a weakness in the Anglican electoral system where fairness underlines the principle behind the elections.

Until 1997, the most influential Anglican layman in Malawi, Mr. Matthew Chinthiti, noted the differences in dynamics that impacted on the elections held during the period when Bishop Arden was still running the diocese and subsequent period following his departure from Malawi.⁸² Whereas previously the process running towards elections had occurred within the overarching influence of the white missionary bishops, now elections took place within the dynamics of the traditional Malawi social and cultural milieu.⁸³ One important factor was that by this time, that is from the 1980s onwards, stiff competition was emerging amongst rather more ambitious clergy who had acquired a reasonably better education than their predecessors.⁸⁴ More importantly, in the new circumstances, under pressure to succeed in the elections, some aspects of African cultural beliefs and traditions tended to surface. Hitherto, these seemed to have been suppressed by missionary cultural hegemony. These related to how African society is understood to have harnessed spiritual power to advance one's cause of fortune or misfortune.

More specifically, in the period running up to the elections of 1986, some sources claimed that rumours were circulating that Father Aipa was consulting practitioners of African medicine to influence the course of the election in his favour.⁸⁵ According to this informant, he had heard this from a very reliable source, who also happened to have been a candidate on this occasion.⁸⁶

82. Response to Questionnaire, Mr. Chinthiti.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. Interview, Mr. O. Sadyalunda with the author, ESCOM, Head Office, Blantyre 28/5/01; Mrs. Chilinkhwambe with the author, Kanjedza, 13/3/00.

86. *Ibid.*

The allegation that Aipa was resorting to these means has also been noted by other sources.⁸⁷ But as James Scott stated, rumours may not be merely dismissed, they constitute an essential element of the story contributing to its larger picture.⁸⁸ Regardless of whether the candidate indulged in these practices or not, stories relating to consulting traditional medicine men belong to the private domain of the life of the individual, what James Scott refers to as the “hidden transcript.” However, as far as the present researcher is concerned, as a form of hidden transcript, the rumours of using African medicines or “witchcraft” or “magic” ought to be seen as acts, symbols, and signs of resistance to the challenge of a rival candidate.

Stories or rumours of “witchcraft” or “magic” operate as a form of psychological intimidation intended by the perpetrator to prevail over their victims. They serve to resist competition, or dominate one’s rivals. Apparently, these claims to spiritual power were meant to affect their opponents adversely and paralyse them into withdrawal from competition. As a form of control, perhaps, it was meant to reverse the situation. In this respect it acted like a form of surveillance meant to control or manipulate the actions of the others.⁸⁹ This ought to be seen as a tactic perhaps used by the candidate in order to resist the challenge from his opponents. These were the rumours, which may or may not have had some substance.

Mr. Ikbald Medi, one of the electors, described the preliminary stages of the diocesan Elective Assembly that took place in 1986 as “fundamentally flawed.”⁹⁰ He went on to claim that the presiding officer of the process, Father John Parslow, the Vicar General, did not explain properly the procedures to the extent that some electors were disadvantaged.⁹¹ If Mr. Medi’s claim is correct it implies that from an early stage the direction of the elections was negatively affected, then the possibility was that the

87.Cf., interview, Father Kaswaya with the author, St Paul’s Cathedral, Blantyre, 26/5/01.

88. See James Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

89. On the principle of surveillance see for instance Danher, G., et al, *op. cit.* p. 74.

90. Interview, Mr. Ikbald Medi with the author, Shire Highlands Hotel, Limbe, Blantyre, 28/6/00.

91. *Ibid.*

outcome would respectively be affected. Nonetheless, more importantly and more seriously, in the period running towards the final meeting of the Elective Assembly, Mr. Khofi Phiri claimed that he had been approached by the candidate.⁹²

According to this informant, he had been persuaded to campaign for him. He had accepted to do so in return for a promise to send him on a trip to visit Birmingham, the link diocese of Southern Malawi.⁹³ He also claimed that he used his influence privately to convince some members of the province including Archbishop Khotso that they should elect Father Nathaniel Aipa.⁹⁴ A former politician and diplomat, this source asserts that he used his gifts to “play his cards well” to the advantage of the candidate since he believed that he would receive his reward afterwards.⁹⁵

The critical influence of this informant in favour of Bishop Aipa has also been supported by other sources.⁹⁶ Mrs. Agnes Mkoko also claimed that prior to the elections, a close circle of Aipa’s influential friends, notably Mr. Stak Banda, played a critical role in influencing the opinion of the people to the advantage of the former.⁹⁷

This source specifically recollected the episode on the day of the elections when some clergy and laity including women were travelling from Malosa to Blantyre, the venue of the election, when Mr. Stak Banda tried to campaign vigorously for Father Aipa. Bishop Aipa’s greater responsiveness to the powerful laity⁹⁸ rather than the clergy of his

92. Interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhotakota, 24/5/01.

93. *Ibid*; See also Interview, Canon A. C. Chimsanjo with the author, Mawira, Nkhotakota, 23/9/99.

94. Interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhotakota, 24/5/01.

95. Same interview.

96. Interview, Father Zingani with the author, Namiwawa, Blantyre, 27/5/01; Interview, Father Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, Zomba, 26/7/98; Interview, Father Mchakama with the author, Malosa 24/2/00; interview, Mrs. A. Mkoko with the author, Malosa, 5/6/00.

97. Interview, Mrs. A. Mkoko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00.

98. Father Hunter. A letter to the author, 13/7/99.

diocese throughout his episcopate may thus reflect the critical role that the laity played in ensuring his successful election.⁹⁹

In his (Master of Arts Thesis) on the impact of African traditional leadership on leadership and structural authority in the Anglican Church in Tanzania today, Mkunga Mtingele has observed similar dynamics at work in the elections. He comments, “in some of these campaigns highly placed government officials who come from that diocese get involved; carrying with them the art of political campaigns into the church.”¹⁰⁰

However, the final elections were held at St. Paul’s Cathedral in 1986.¹⁰¹ They were presided over by the Archbishop of Central Africa, Khotso Walter Makhulu.¹⁰² There were also other Provincial members from Botswana, Bishop Theophilus Naledi, Father Trevor Mwamba, the Provincial Secretary and Bishop Clement Shaba from the diocese of Central Zambia. Three leading nominated candidates were: Father Bernard Malango, Father Constantine Kaswaya and Father Benson Aipa.¹⁰³

It is said that two elements characterised this Elective Assembly. First, it is claimed that there was a degree of subtle intimidation by influential laymen.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, this coupled with tribal, regional or ethnic loyalties had the effect of constraining other electors.¹⁰⁵ Again, it is claimed that the general feeling was that Father Aipa had to be given a chance.¹⁰⁶ Even when concern was raised about some aspects of his life style, it

99. See Interview, Father Joel Malanda with Mr. B. Binali, Ntcheu, 8/8/98; personal correspondence, A letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

100. Mtingele, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

101. Interviews, Mr. Ikbald Medi with the author, Limbe, 28/6/00.

102. Same interview.

103. Same interview.

104. Interview, Mrs. A. Mkoiko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00; Interview, Mrs. A. Chlinkhwambe with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe 13/3/00.

105. Interview, Father Chimsanjo with the author, Mawira, Nkhotakota, 23/9/99.

106. Interview, Mrs. Mkoiko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00; Mrs. A. Chlinkhwambe with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, 13/3/00.

was apparently felt that these would disappear over time once the candidate was a bishop.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, one informant claims that the overbearing influence of some visiting delegations who were personal friends of Aipa had a decisive effect on the election.¹⁰⁸ As one source put it, “there was a feeling that this was now the time for Father Aipa.”¹⁰⁹ It is almost as if there was a belief that being in the office of a bishop would automatically transform Father Aipa. One of the leading candidates in the election related to the author the shock of going through the experience of the Elective Assembly. He put it in this way:

You knew that from the beginning the results of the election were almost a foregone conclusion. I was called in and interviewed only for a short time, while Bishop Aipa was there almost for 2 hours. ...eventually I accepted to step down from the race and accept him to be my bishop.¹¹⁰

Not only did the informant express disappointment about the alleged unfairness in which he believed the election took place. There was a feeling that so much had already taken place before the day of the Elective Assembly that what was taking place was almost a formality.¹¹¹

However, when the informant was asked why he had withdrawn, he cited intimidation and pressure as the main causes.¹¹² He claimed that though he had the highest standing as compared to Aipa, he was pressured to give in to Aipa on the grounds that he was too young and not experienced enough compared to his rival.¹¹³

107.Cf Interview, Malasa with Mr. B. Binali, Mpinganjira, 23/1/98.

108.Interview, Mrs. Agnes Mkoko with the author, Malosa, 5/6/00.

109.*Ibid*, cf. Interview, Father Malasa senior with Mr. B. Binali, 3/8/98..

110.Interview, Father Kaswaya with the author, St. Paul’s Cathedral, Blantyre 26/5/01.

111.*Ibid*, See also interview Mrs. A. Mkoko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00; Interview with Mrs. E. Ngoma, Bangwe Location, Limbe, 24/7/99.

112.*Ibid*.

113. Interview, Father Kaswaya with the author, St. Paul’s Cathedral, Blantyre, 26/5/01; Interview, Mrs. Chilinkhwambe with the author, Limbe, 13/3/00; Interview, Mrs. A. Mkoko with the author, Malosa, 5/6/00.

Similarly, in her observation, Mrs. Agnes Mkoko noted this pressure.¹¹⁴ However, more significantly, she seemed to suggest that Father Kaswaya himself had come to accept the view of the people that he was too young to be bishop, consequently he withdrew from the election.¹¹⁵ This implies that Kaswaya yielded to the pressure from the people rather than directly from his rival. However, his decision to withdraw ought to be viewed in light of claims that Kaswaya made.

He claimed that outside the assembly hall, some people associated with Father Aipa had warned him that if he became bishop he would die.¹¹⁶ This message, so the informant claimed, was couched in metaphorical language of the African tradition and culture. This source stated that, he had been confronted by some people who told him that they had bought a goat; that if he accepted to become bishop, they would slaughter it and bury it.¹¹⁷

In Malawian traditional mode of communication such language implies death. Supposing the story to be true, it may be understandable why the informant had to withdraw, for he might have been scared that he would die. This claim seems to suggest that Father Aipa became a bishop simply because Father Kaswaya had given in to public pressure.

Even though Kaswaya claimed that he had the most popular support, this claim ignores the fact that in his own right Father Aipa was also a popular candidate in the diocese.¹¹⁸ The fact that the influence of Father Aipa extended to some members of the province,

114. Interview, Mrs. Agnes Mkoko with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 5/6/00.

115. *Ibid.*

116. Interview, Father Kaswaya with the author, St. Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre, 26/5/01.

117. *Ibid.*

118. See interview, Mrs. Chilinkhwambe with the author, Kanjedza, Blantyre, 13/3/00; Interview, Father Hunter with the author, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, 18/12/96.

some of whom were personal friends of his since seminary days at St. John's in Lusaka in the 1960s, seemed to work to his advantage during the elections.¹¹⁹

Certainly good intentions lie behind the provision for participation of the other members of the province in the local diocesan elections in justifying the principle that a bishop is elected not for a particular diocese but for the whole church of God.¹²⁰ However, in this case, it may seem that the visiting electors tried to exercise undue influence on the electors as one source alleges was the case with the Elective Assembly that took place in Malawi in 1986 that finally elected Bishop Aipa.¹²¹

However, suggestions that the Elective Assembly that elected Bishop Aipa or any other bishop in the province when Khotso Makhulu was archbishop of Central Africa (1980-95) could have been undermined by some intimidation or undue influence were vehemently refuted by the then Provincial Secretary, Father Musonda Mwamba.¹²² He vehemently argued that Archbishop Makhulu was the most forthright man and he would not allow anything to go amiss.¹²³ The bishop of Botswana, Theophilus Naledi, seemed to concur with him in this regard.¹²⁴

Nonetheless, the claim by Father Mwamba does not tell the whole story. The author was reliably informed that Archbishop Khotso was in the habit of treating his brother bishops as his "boys".¹²⁵ Contrary to Fr. Mwamba's claim this would suggest that Archbishop Khotso was overbearing in his relationship with the others and was a bully. That kind of attitude could not have facilitated conditions and circumstances that were very favourable to the elections.

119. *Ibid.*

120. A/P5, 195770. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba, c.f. Suggit, J. "Bishops: Legacy from the past or hope for the future?" in *Bounty and Bondage*, p. 82.

121. Interview, Mr. Khofi Phiri with the author, Nkhotakota, 24/5/01.

122. Interview, Father Mwamba with the author, Gaborone, Botswana, 20/5/01.

123. Same interview.

124. Same interview.

125. Abraham Lieta, informal conversations with the author, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2002.

Moreover, the minutes of the Emergency Diocesan Standing Committee of the diocese of Southern Malawi meeting, held at St. Paul's Cathedral hall in May 1986, at which Archbishop Makhulu and the other members of the Province were present, tend to support the observation that he was a bully.¹²⁶ At that meeting, Khotso used his influence to pressure Bishop Ainani to resign.

In the context of this particular election, one of my sources, Mr. Owen Sadyalunda, questioned the Christian morality of the manner in which candidates like Father Aipa were allegedly involved in preparing for the elections.¹²⁷ Likewise, drawing from his experience of elections in Zimbabwe as well as the other dioceses in the province, the former bishop of Harare, Peter Hatendi, questioned whether the silence of the church laws on the issue of canvassing or clandestine campaigning does not really encourage malpractice in the form of bribery by candidates who aspire to be bishops.¹²⁸ To minimise these malpractices, he suggested the review of Church law with the intention of making a provision in which these omissions could be addressed appropriately.¹²⁹

Both Mr. Sadyalunda and Bishop Hatendi raise critical issues. Private canvassing or campaigning always take place, especially when senior leaders or the outgoing bishop want to make sure that they get the right candidate. It is a normal way in which the outgoing bishop wants to hear the views of the others about a particular preferred candidate. However, when secrecy shrouds the procedure or the process of elections, there is always a tendency to engage in "behind the scenes" activities so as to ensure one's success, thereby compromising the integrity and credibility of the election in the process.

126. Minutes of the Emergency Diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Southern Malawi held at St. Paul's Cathedral hall, Blantyre, 5/86. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

127. Interview, Mr. Owen Sadyalunda with the author, ESCOM Head office, Blantyre, 28/5/01.

128. Interview, Bishop Peter Hatendi with the author, Harare, Zimbabwe, 31/5/01.

129. Same interview.

Nonetheless, the reasons for the fierce struggle for the position of a bishop lie largely in the power centred in and surrounding the office of a bishop. The office of a bishop as presently structured in the Anglican Church wields a lot of power, authority, status, prestige and influence.¹³⁰ This is largely because of the power intricately associated with the priesthood and the episcopate. The prospect of the extension of this power to Africans in the form of episcopacy tended to act as a stumbling block to the supreme European missionary social position and prestige.

In the context of the Anglican Church in SouthWest Tanganyika, Mkunga Mtingele portrayed the immensity of power, symbolic or real, invested in the office of the bishop that attracts ambitious clergymen to the office. He put it as follows:

Apart from tribal prestige there is also a consideration of personal status and prestige and all the privileges which go with the office. Once a bishop is elected, he suddenly becomes a different person, he is not the same. In terms of the quality of life he steps into the shoes of the European missionaries and in terms of the respect he commands, he steps into the shoes of a tribal chief. Suddenly there is created a gap between him and his people, with his friends and relatives, his priests and the community around him. Some even become arrogant; overnight they pretend to know more than anybody else.¹³¹

Certainly, the preceding character traits are reflected in the broad spectrum of African bishops continentwide. Yet even here it ought to be noted that the African bishops have merely slotted into the missionary colonial structures of authority with very little or no adaptation to the existing local conditions. To a great degree the African bishops differ very little from their white missionary predecessors. Power may sometimes blind the one who wields it. For instance, Malawian bishops today as was the case with their missionary predecessors over a century ago, tend to appreciate or enjoy being addressed as “my Lord Bishop” and perhaps would be less happy if they were addressed otherwise.¹³²

130. See Interview, Father John Parslow with Mr. B. Binali, Chichiri, Blantyre, 27/8/98.

131. Mtingele, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

132. Personal Reminiscences.

The writer recollects how the now the late Bishop Aipa used to make much of being addressed as “my Lord bishop” and having his episcopal ring kissed as a symbol of subservience and subordination to his authority, in the years between 1987 and 1992 in the diocese of Southern Malawi.¹³³ As Mr. Matthew Chinthiti suggested, in his episcopal style, Bishop Aipa adopted this “boss syndrome.”¹³⁴ Mr. Chinthiti’s assertion tends to be supported by the evidence in the archive at the diocesan headquarters at Malosa, Zomba. Responding to the sermon preached by Father Alford Zimba at Malosa, Church of the Ascension, Father B. N. Aipa then Vicar General, wrote to the former on 14th April 1975 that:

It has come to my notice that your preaching and prayers at Mkuli Church on Sunday, 13th April were gravely irregular in their content. I have discussed this matter with members of the Pastoral Committee today, and have to inform you that you are suspended from preaching but not from administering the Sacrament until such time as your irregularity can be fully investigated.³⁰¹³⁵

It is quite revealing that on this letter, the diocesan bishop, Donald Arden, scribbled a note. The note dated 18th April, stated that, “[Zimba] had not been called to the Pastoral Committee. No member present had been at service”.¹³⁶ This episode suggests that even before he became bishop, Father Aipa displayed autocratic tendencies. Father Aipa’s attitudes cannot be isolated from his formation at St. John’s Seminary in the 1960s. It has already been illustrated that autocratic tendencies characterised the training of the African clergy at St. John’s Seminary in the 1960s. However, it is likely that even these attitudes fell on ground that had already been sown with similar attitudes in the earlier period.

One anonymous source has suggested that Bishop Aipa’s attitude to episcopal authority ought to be viewed in light of his background as a young man growing up at Malindi mission under the old authoritarian, autocratic priests, such as Fathers Habil

133. Personal Reminiscences.

134. Mr. Chinthiti, response to the questionnaire.

135. Archdeacon B. N. Aipa (bishop from 1987-96), A letter to Father A. Zimba, 14/4/75. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa; File WP 50/87.

136. *Ibid.*

Chipembere and Paul Lundu.¹³⁷ These priests understood their status and power as the power of small “chiefs” or small “kings”.¹³⁸ Father Mkomawanthu suggested that the influence of these priests could positively as well as negatively have influenced Bishop Aipa’s attitude to authority and style of ministry.¹³⁹

This is, however, not to suggest that in every respect Bishop Aipa emulated these priests. During his school days at Malosa, Aipa and others of his generation were under the influence of the autocratic, authoritarian, and selfcentred teacher, Father Pocklington.¹⁴⁰ Before he became a priest, for a short period, Mr. Aipa worked as a teacher.¹⁴¹ Like others, such as Fathers Misi and Peter Nyanja, during his seminary days at St. John’s, Father Aipa was socialised into an authoritarian system, an institution that demanded of its students nothing short of unquestionable loyalty and obedience to authority.

According to Canon Barnaba Chipanda, the most decisive influence on the life and ministry of Bishop Aipa during the time he was serving as a priest was Canon John Rashid, then his superior at Matope Parish.¹⁴² He intimated to the writer that not only did he spend a long time with him but his relationship with him was such that he would call Father Aipa his “son.”¹⁴³ The informant went on to assert firmly that what Bishop Aipa came to be was what Father Rashid was.¹⁴⁴

137. Interview, Father Frank Mkomawanthu with the author, Mpondas, Mangochi, 12/11/99.

138. For this conception of priesthood see interview, Father D. D. Banda with the author, Liwaladzi, Nkhotakota, 30/1/96.

139. *Ibid.*

140. Unofficial conversations, Father G. Mchakama with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 29/7/99; In the interview with the late Bishop Aipa (Malindi, 1996), which unfortunately is lost, the bishop attributed his vocation to the priesthood to Father Pocklington at Malosa.

141. Interview, Father Malasa with Mr. B. B. Binali, Mpinganjira, Mangochi, 23/1/98.

142. Interview, Canon Barnaba Chipanda with the author, Mpondas, Mangochi, 12/11/99.

143. Same interview.

144. Same interview.

Nonetheless, the attitude of Bishop Aipa to episcopal authority is reminiscent of the medieval period where the bishop in his secular and religious role was seen as the “Lord” who “ruled” his subordinates.¹⁴⁵ These titles have no place whatsoever today in the changed circumstances in which the bishop no longer wields civil and judicial functions as was the case in the middle Ages.

Rather, their existence unfortunately recalls to mind the oppressive role associated with the clergy of that period. At their worst today they act as an obstacle or an impediment to a possible meaningful pastoral relationship between the faithful and their bishop. Acts such as these disfigure and in no way promote the meaningful and mutual fellowship, that is, “koinonia” that Jesus intended for himself and his people.

Because these titles obscure rather than enhance the right kind of relationship that is supposed to prevail between a bishop and his priest, it would not in the least be doing a disservice to the church if they were to be discontinued altogether. Religious traditions that place a bishop in the role of a “king” or “chief” rather than that of a chief pastor or shepherd, a “high priest,” contribute to the distortion of the true role of a bishop as a chief shepherd of his flock.

This means that all the worldly titles and symbols of his office which contribute nothing to his role as a pastor need to be discontinued or discouraged. If taken too seriously by the individual bishops, prelacy may influence their life style to the extent that they cease to operate as “fathers in God” but rather as “lords” in the “Lord.”

11.7 Highlights of the Episcopate of Bishop Aipa (1986-1995)

In a colourful ceremony held on 4th January 1987,¹⁴⁶ Father Benson Nathaniel Aipa was consecrated Bishop Benson Nathaniel Aipa at Kwacha International Conference hall at Chichiri in Blantyre city in the presence of the then head of state, Dr. Hastings

145. See chapter one.

146. Personal Reminiscences.

Kamuzu Banda.¹⁴⁷ It was a powerful state function. In the afternoon that day at St. Paul's Cathedral in Blantyre, the newly elected bishop delivered his charge to his diocese.¹⁴⁸

In his address, the bishop stressed discipline, loyalty and obedience to his clergy, the very principles which the then ruling Malawi Congress Party called the "cornerstones" of its political ideology. In content and character it differed little from the political slogan and propaganda of the ruling Malawi Congress Party slogans designed to mute dissent. It was as if the speaker was a political functionary.¹⁴⁹

The episcopate of Bishop Aipa represents a landmark in the history of the Anglican Church in Malawi. He was the second St. John's-trained priest to be a bishop in Malawi in 1996, following Bishop Peter Nyanja who had been appointed bishop in 1978. Unlike his predecessor, Bishop Dunstan Ainani, Bishop Aipa was fairly well educated and internationally exposed. Above all, Bishop Aipa had a charisma and physical stature that was imposing.

Bishop Aipa began his episcopate with a high profile. His attendance at the state functions which tended to receive more publicity than the other church leaders present seemed to raise the profile of the Anglican Church in Malawi.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, the presence of state ministers on church occasions at which Bishop Aipa officiated tended to have similar effect. Church and state functions at which he officiated frequently appeared on the front page of the newspapers.¹⁵¹ For the first time in recent history, the hitherto low profile Anglican Church was in the political limelight.

Perhaps the climax of Bishop Aipa's episcopal ministry was when the Anglican Church in Malawi hosted the head of the worldwide Anglican Church, the Archbishop of

147. Personal Reminiscences.

148. Personal Reminiscences.

149. Personal Reminiscences .

150. Personal Reminiscences.

151. Personal Recollections.

Canterbury, Robert Alexander Runcie in Blantyre in June 1989.¹⁵² In his pastoral visit, Dr. Runcie visited historic places and addressed crowds of people.¹⁵³

The previous visit by an Archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher, had been twenty-nine years previously in 1960. The effects of the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Anglican Church in Malawi are beyond the scope of this work, suffice to say that his visit marked an important milestone in raising the profile of the local church.¹⁵⁴

With respect to liturgical worship, like his more distant predecessors, notably Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne, Bishop Aipa showed a strong taste for Anglican ceremonies, rituals and traditions.¹⁵⁵ More than his immediate predecessor, Bishop Ainani, he seemed comfortable and very much at home in a service which was full of ceremonial.¹⁵⁶ This is not unusual since he had grown up in the old UMCA liturgy which Bishop Donald Arden had finally discontinued.¹⁵⁷ Seemingly, more out of nostalgia than anything else during his wedding anniversary in 1990, Bishop Aipa made concerted efforts to celebrate mass at St. Martin's Church at Malindi using the old UMCA liturgy.

Remembered by very few old clergy and certainly none of the young clergy and a good part of the congregation, the old liturgy seemed more of a theatrical performance than a celebration.¹⁵⁸ Bishop Aipa's action in trying to revive the old UMCA liturgy illustrates the loss felt by many in the Anglican Church of the beauty, dignity and reverence associated with the old liturgy of the UMCA. Maybe it is unfortunate that Bishop Aipa never had the opportunity to carry this out in full.

152. Personal Recollections.

153. Personal Recollections.

154. Personal Recollections.

155. Personal Recollections.

156. Personal Reminiscences.

157. Interview, Father Mkomawanthu with the author, Mpondas, Mangochi, 12/11/99; and Anonymous. Doctor, Chancellor College, Zomba, 14/3/99.

158. Personal Reminiscences, Malindi, 1990.

11.8 The last years of Bishop Aipa's Episcopate

The last years of Bishop Aipa in office were perhaps the most controversial in the recent history of the Anglican Church in Malawi in the recent period, and perhaps also the most painful to him personally and to his family.

Bishop Aipa had taken over a diocese that was associated with his predecessor's problems of administration especially in matters of finance. As Mr. Chinthiti stated expectations were high for him "to put the house in order."¹⁵⁹ Riddled with allegations of sexual and financial impropriety, from 1995 his episcopate progressively declined.¹⁶⁰ The public perception of the Anglican Church in Malawi today that financial mismanagement only occurred under the administration of the African bishops is not entirely correct.

Such problems occurred during the episcopates of Bishop Gerard Trower and Frank Thorne. However, what made financial mismanagement a controversial issue under Bishop Aipa is that during his time the structures of financial accountability were more open to public scrutiny than had been the case during the time of Trower and Thorne. Moreover, during this time the laity became more articulate in the affairs of the church than was the case in the previous years.

Amidst these problems during the period between 1994 and 1996, the clergy's mistrust of their bishop and vice versa compounded these problems. Thus, while the laity seemed to get a hearing from the bishop, the clergy found it increasingly hard to communicate meaningfully with the bishop. As a result, Bishop Aipa found himself increasingly isolated from his clergy.¹⁶¹ While the latter, hitherto divided by ethnic or

159.Mr. Chinthiti, response to a questionnaire.

160.See interviews, Mzokomera with the author, Malosa, 7/2/99; Father Salaka with Mr Binali, Chancellor College, Zomba, 12/5/98; Father Malanda with Mr. Binali, Ntcheu, 8/8/98. See for instance, *The Nation*, Wednesday, 9 July 1997, National Archives, Zomba.

161.See interview, Father Salaka with the author, Zomba, 12/5/98.

regional cliques partly promoted by Bishop Aipa himself, appeared to unite against the bishop.¹⁶²

The breakdown of meaningful fellowship with his clergy, enhanced by the traditionally “lordly” image and style of his episcopate, precipitated the disaster. The clergy perceived that their bishop was inaccessible, virtually “separated from them.”¹⁶³ The estrangement of the clergy from their bishop can be seen as a legacy of the perception of the office of a bishop that somehow tends to elevate, at least in Malawi, a human being to something like a “demigod.”

Under these circumstances, by his attitude, Bishop Aipa seemed to convey the impression that his presence in the church was indispensable.¹⁶⁴ However, the rising consciousness of the clergy and the laity tended to increase their critical attitude towards Bishop Aipa.¹⁶⁵ One informant asserted that the crisis the church was facing largely arose from the existence of a gap of perceptions. On one hand, there was what the people were accustomed to see as the church’s ideal, the image associated with the episcopate of Bishop Frank Thorne, and, on the other hand, what they saw was reflected in the style of Bishop Aipa.¹⁶⁶ The people had seen that the style and life of Bishop Aipa tended to conflict with and did not measure up to what they had come to consider as the ideal.

It is highly possible that the emerging critical attitude towards Bishop Aipa might also have strengthened the resolve of the clergy to sign a letter petitioning the bishop to vacate his post in 1995.¹⁶⁷ The unfortunate circumstances leading to the end of the episcopate of Bishop Aipa seemed to confirm public opinion, at least in some circles, that in contrast to the white missionaries who had run the church properly, Malawian

162.Same interview.

163.Interview, Father Mphaya with Mr. B. Binali, Katema, 26/7/98; Mr. D. Mzokomera with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 7/2/99.

164.Personal Reminiscences.

165.Personal Reminiscences.

166.Dr. Zoani, interview with the author, Chancellor College, 5/5/1999.

167.Interviews, Father B. Salaka with Mr. B. Binali, Chancellor College, Zomba, 12/5/98; Mr. D. Mzokomera with the author, Malosa, Zomba, 7/5/99.

bishops had failed to run the church. This tended to provide some grounds for some at least to believe that to run properly as a white institution, the church needed missionaries rather than Malawian leadership. James Tengatenga succeeded Bishop Aipa in 1997.

11.9 The Establishment of the diocese of Northern Malawi and the Election of Bishop Jackson Biggers (1995-1996)

The causes which prompted the idea of carving out the diocese of Northern Malawi from the diocese of Lake Malawi in 1995 are largely connected to the historical legacy of the Anglican Church in Malawi on Likoma Island. These are closely associated with the UMCA identity of the African Anglican Christians of Likoma Island and how they sought to express it amidst the rising importance of the other places, hitherto regarded as merely outposts of Likoma.

As noted in chapter seven, during the episcopate of Bishop Frank Thorne in the 1950s, the Anglican Christians of Likoma tended to believe that in many respects the traditional place of the Likoma Anglican Church was being undermined by the activities of the bishop.¹⁶⁸ They were alarmed by what they understood to be the gradual downgrading of Likoma in favour of other places such as Malindi or Nkhotakota.¹⁶⁹

For instance, the people of Likoma had accused Bishop Frank Thorne of selling the vessel Chauncy Maples,¹⁷⁰ of removing the church vestments and chalices from the cathedral¹⁷¹, or removing the seat (cathedra) and staff of the bishop of Likoma from Likoma Cathedral.¹⁷² Initially, this tended to provoke some internal resentment that subsequently gave way to some form of resistance. For instance, an attempt to “fire”

168. See Chapter seven.

169. See interview, Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula and Mr. Maxwell Chinkhota with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, 28/5/01.

170. Interview, Mr. A. Mkoko with the author, Malindi, 18/12/96.

171. Response to questionnaire, Mr. Chinthiti.

172. Interview, Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula and Mr. M. Chinkhota with the author, Kanjedza, 28/5/01.

Bishop Frank Thorne through a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury during the latter's visit to Likoma in 1955 has already been mentioned in chapter nine, so has an attempt to boycott an ordination ceremony in 1960 at Likoma.

With the election of Bishop Donald Arden in 1962, pressure mounted. Confiding in Father Christopher Lacey, his assistant and advisor, about the "Likoma problem" and the role of the priest in charge, Gerard Hadow, Bishop Arden complained that Father Hadow was undermining the confidence that he was trying to inspire in the people of Likoma Island.¹⁷³

Arden's efforts to win the confidence of the people of Likoma were shattered when Archdeacon Lacey was deterred from landing at Mbamba harbour in 1964.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that Lacey was refused entry to Likoma because of his close association with the administration of Bishop Donald Arden.

The election of Mtekateka had been much welcome on Likoma Island. However, after he had been in office for a while, Mtekateka was regarded by the people of Likoma as "unreliable" or a "traitor"; apparently for his willingness to cooperate with the administration of Bishop Donald Arden. In his (Bachelor of Theology) dissertation, Peter Azizi stated that he had found out that one of the reasons that the people of Likoma gave for wanting the division of the diocese was the failure of Bishop Mtekateka to "honour his promise".¹⁷⁵

The promise apparently related to an agreement between Bishop Mtekateka and Father Mikaya.¹⁷⁶ It is said that it was agreed that if the latter won the elections, the diocese of Lake Malawi would then be divided to pave the way for the establishment of the

173. Bishop Arden, A letter to Father Christopher Lacey, 15/11/62. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File L1.

174. Interview, Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula and Mr. M. Chinkhota, with the author, Kanjedza, Limbe, Blantyre, 28/5/01.

175. Azizi, P. M., *The Formation of the New Anglican Diocese of Northern Malawi: Idea to Reality*. B. A (Theology) dissertation, University of Malawi, 1997. p. 5.

176. *Ibid.*

diocese of Northern Malawi.¹⁷⁷ In the aftermath of the failure of Father Mikaya to become a bishop, the people of Likoma were disgruntled because their plans were frustrated.¹⁷⁸

Peter Azizi was right to note that the people of Likoma resented Mtekateka's inability to fulfil their wishes. The people of Likoma seemed to have looked to Bishop Mtekateka as a key to the solution of their problem, the status of Likoma as the primary seat of missionary Christianity in Malawi. Father Hunter suggested that some people of Likoma blamed Bishop Mtekateka for closing the printing press.¹⁷⁹ Contrary to the wishes of the people, he seemed to cooperate with Arden's vision of transforming some aspects of the legacy of the UMCA.¹⁸⁰

However, in my view, the fundamental factor related to the missionary identity of the people of Likoma, a legacy of the UMCA and not merely the role of the individuals, important though these were. The close association of the Anglican Church in Malawi with the Likomamissionary ethos, culture and tradition had given the people of Likoma an identity which formed part of the profile the of Anglican Christianity in Malawi. The Anglican Church in Malawi came to be nicknamed *Chalichi cha aLikoma*, "Likoma Church" simply because it was so closely interconnected with the history, ethos and ethnicity of the people of Likoma. The MissionaryLikoma identity of the Anglican Church in Malawi had defined the social and ecclesiastical outlook of the people by the late 20th century.

To some Anglican Christians of Nkhotakota and Likoma, the "election" or "appointment" of Peter Nyanja in 1978 seemed a big setback and disappointment to their cherished dreams.¹⁸¹ Effectively, it marked the beginning of the rise of the

177.*Ibid.*

178.*Ibid.*

179.A letter from Father Hunter to the author, 13/7/99.

180. *Ibid.*

181.Personal recollections.

resentment against the ecclesiastical authorities, especially Archbishop Arden and by association Bishop Mtekateka.¹⁸²

The movement of resistance to the authority of Bishop Nyanja rose to a higher degree.¹⁸³ For instance, in the midst of the opposition by the Anglican Christians of Nkhotakota to the decision by Bishop Nyanja to transfer the diocesan headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe between 1982 and 1983, the Likoma Christians joined hands with the Nkhotakota Christians.¹⁸⁴ The fact that the Anglican Christians of Likoma joined hands with the Anglican Christians of Nkhotakota suggests that the people of Likoma had a vested interest in exerting pressure against Bishop Nyanja.

Coupled with this spirit, there began to surface explicit wishes for the division of the diocese of Lake Malawi to pave the way for the establishment of the new diocese of Northern Malawi. On Likoma Island, these acts tended to manifest in acts of resistance in various forms. There were boycotts of confirmation tours of Bishop Nyanja and other functions and during these occasions he suffered abuse from some people.¹⁸⁵ In their attitudes to Bishop Nyanja, between 1980 and 1983, some prominent Likoma clergy became insubordinate to his authority.

In the previous chapter, I referred to the pressure that Bishop Peter Nyanja faced in 1980 from Father Chande, one of the prominent Likoma priests agitating for the division. To him the matter was so serious that he had threatened to hand it over (to civil authorities, police) for investigations. To Bishop Nyanja, it seemed that he was being unfairly accused. As he put it, he (wished) that “justice flow (ed) like a river.”¹⁸⁶

182. Personal recollections.

183. Personal recollections.

184. Personal Correspondence, the Likoma Christians to Mr. Lipenga E. Chibingwe. This was a telegramme which expressed solidarity and support for opposition to Bishop Nyanja's plans now (2003) in the custody of Mr. E. Chibingwe.

185. Interview, Father Hunter with the author, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, 18/12/96.

186. Bishop P. N. Nyanja, A letter to Archbishop Arden, 10/7/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; File WPNyanja.

It is obvious that the issue of the division of the diocese was very closely intertwined with the problems caused by Chande to Bishop Nyanja. Apparently, Bishop Nyanja treated it so seriously that he was considering handing it over to the police. The letter illustrates the agony that Bishop Nyanja was going through with regard to the issue of the division of the diocese of Lake Malawi. It was under these circumstances that Bishop Peter Nyanja sent Canon Hunter to Likoma Island to try to bring the situation under control.¹⁸⁷ Subsequently, Canon Rodney Hunter failed to accomplish his mission.¹⁸⁸

On the surface, these acts may appear as mere manifestations of disloyalty, or insubordination to constituted authority. On the other hand, they represent a concerted effort on the part of some Anglican Christians from Likoma to overturn the status quo. It seems to me that the direct or indirect attack on the authority of Bishop Nyanja was merely a sign of the discontent of the people of Likoma with what they saw as the rival authority symbolised by Bishop Nyanja's episcopate.

The real issue related to the place of Likoma as the traditional centre of the Anglican Church in Malawi, connected with its missionary prestige, status and power. The desire to restore the old UMCA Likoma with its manifestations of material power, the legacy of the UMCA historical background, seemed to have been the greatest motivation for the people of Likoma to urge the division of the diocese. They had expressed their resentment towards Frank Thorne precisely because he had changed his residence from Likoma to Mpondas in the South. They were hostile to Bishop Arden because he seemed to continue to undermine the place of Likoma.

In 1965, even though they had a cathedral as the "spiritual headquarters" of the Anglican Church, the people of Likoma did not like seeing Bishop Arden making Nkhotakota the administrative headquarters of the new diocese of Lake Malawi. Mr. Nkambula's claim that Thorne's removal of the bishop's staff and throne from the

187. Personal recollections

188. Personal recollections

cathedral infuriated the people of Likoma¹⁸⁹ suggests the symbolic importance wielded over the people of Likoma.

That the main issue was the influence of the missionary legacy on the people of Likoma seems to be supported by similar developments that took place in Nkhotakota between 1982 and 1983. With some support from the people of Likoma, the people of Nkhotakota resisted the actions of Bishop Peter Nyanja when he set out to remove the administrative headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe, largely because they felt they were being deprived of their century-old “property.” For instance, one observer, Canon G.S. Mbaya, compared the removal of the administrative headquarters from Nkhotakota to the unfortunate experience of having your only jacket or coat stolen from you.¹⁹⁰

During the peak of the controversy in 1982, another source, Mr. D. S. Chibingwe, angrily argued that the bishop could take the headquarters to Lilongwe only after digging out the bones of the missionaries from All Saint’s Church graveyard, Nkhotakota, and taking them to Lilongwe.¹⁹¹ Implied in this argument was the idea that being so closely associated with the missionaries’ legacy, the church was so much a part of the soul of the people that they could not just imagine their existence apart from it.

Meanwhile, between 1985 and 1995, vigorous calls for the establishment of the diocese of Northern Malawi mounted. Attached to these were two demands. One insisted that the diocese had to be based on Likoma Island, the other insisted that the bishop needed to be not a Malawian but a white priest.¹⁹²

189. Interview, Mr. C.C.C. Nkambula and Mr. M. Chinkhota, Kanjedza, Blantyre, 28/5/01.

190. Interview, Father G.S. Mbaya with Mr. B. Binali, Linga, Nkhotakota, 5/10/98.

191. Personal Reminiscences, informal conversations, Mr. D.S. Chibingwe with the author, Nkhotakota, 1982. The informant was subsequently arrested apparently for his role in the violent opposition to the plans of Bishop Nyanja to move the Church headquarters to Lilongwe.

192. Personal reminiscences, 1994-95.

Acting on the advice of Josiah Mtekateka, one of the members of the Committee working for the formation of the diocese of Northern Malawi, Mr. Alford Clement Marama, in 1995 approached the former chaplain of Bishop Mtekateka, Father Bernard Sharp to become a bishop.¹⁹³ Thus, in this letter, Mr. Marama wrote:

It has now been resolved by the Diocese of Lake Malawi to establish a new Diocese of Northern Malawi and the consecration of its first Bishop will be in June 1995.

I have been elected on the House of Laity to choose the right person for the see of Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Northern Malawi.

In confidence, Bishop Mtekateka recommended your name to and furnished me with your present address...I am now asking, you in absolute confidence, if you are prepared to allow me to put up your name for the See of the Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Malawi? I shall be very obliged for your prompt reply because our programme is very tight as indicated below.¹⁹⁴

This letter is significant for three reasons. It shows the influence of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka over the people of Likoma in the decision as to who could be the right candidate as the bishop of the diocese of Northern Malawi. Even though long retired, Bishop Mtekateka was still in a position to influence the course of events in the church in Malawi. The choice of his former chaplain, Father Bernard, suggests that amongst all his former chaplains, perhaps Bishop Mtekateka trusted Father Sharp the most.

The fact that Bishop Josiah Mtekateka turned to England for a bishop of the new diocese of Northern Malawi to be based on Likoma Island, the seat of the early English missionaries, suggests his (and Likoma Christians) desire to revive the old missionary tradition. It was this tradition that had hitherto fashioned Likoma as the cradle of Anglicanism in Malawi. Thus, the primary reason for the choice of a white man could not have been consideration of money only as others tend to suggest, since it has always been known that money from England does not come easily. However, responding to this letter in 1995, Father Bernard Sharp stated that:

193. A letter from Mr. C. Marama to Father Bernard Sharp, 24/2/95 (in possession with the writer).

194. Same letter.

I am honoured that Bishop Mtekatka and yourself consider me a suitable candidate for the new see. But I feel I must decline. I do not think it appropriate to have a European as a bishop in Malawi...surely there must be an energetic, theologically sound, committed senior priest in Malawi suitable for the position.¹⁹⁵

Certainly having worked with both Father Bernard Sharp and Father Jackson Biggers as his chaplains for sometime, Bishop Mtekatka must have decided for Father Sharp against Father Biggers on account of his previous negative experience with Biggers in 1976¹⁹⁶ when Biggers seemed to Mtekatka as selfish. Certainly his complaint to Mikaya about Biggers's conduct in 1976 suggests that Mtekatka was conscious of the fact that Biggers' wealthy background seemed to influence him as to treat Mtekatka with disrespect.¹⁹⁷ Rather the primary motivation for the choice of a bishop from England was the desire to revive the old missionary legacy, the English Likoma connection, and to revive the glory of the old UMCA Likoma mission.

For years, this image had been imprinted in the minds of the people of Likoma; it was in their consciousness, consequently, they had more or less accepted it. In the term of the Comaroffs, it had been hegemonised. In other words, by their actions, Bishop Mtekatka and the people of Likoma were trying to reconstruct the past history of Likoma.

Perhaps, more than any other person in Malawi during this time, it was Bishop Mtekatka who was most qualified to revive this tradition. Nearly all his life, he had been tremendously influenced by the English missionaries.¹⁹⁸ During the interview with the bishop of Northern Malawi, Jackson Biggers, the latter told the author that the people of Likoma always insisted that Likoma would always be the centre of the new

195. A personal letter (in possession of the author) from Father Sharp to Mr. C. Marama, 6/3/95.

196. In his letter to the author dated 24/8/01, Father Sharp argues whether Bishop Jackson Biggers was chosen because of his wealthy background?

197. See chapter nine.

198. See Mpassou, D., *op. cit.*, p. 25. A Life history of Bishop Josiah Mtekatka, *Josiah Mtekatka: From a Priest's DogBoy to a Bishop*.

diocese while the northern town of Mzuzu would merely be another station of the diocese.¹⁹⁹

That the people of Likoma tried to restore the old UMCA missionary legacy, for instance, the missionary status of the bishop as “Lord” bishop, may be ascertained from their attitude towards their bishop. During the visit to Likoma in October 2000, the writer recalls the experience of pride and esteem in which the people held their bishop, Jackson Biggers. In his style and manner of communication and attitudes, he impressed his people as a “ruler” while they seemed to respect him for that.²⁰⁰

Certainly, in the minds of the people of Likoma in the 1990s, the episcopate of Jackson Biggers seemed to fill a gap which had apparently been created by the activities of some bishops who seemed to undo the Likoma UMCA legacy. On Likoma Island in Malawi, the European episcopate²⁰¹ via the UMCA, had left a legacy enduring into the 21st century.

11.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been shown that the missionary influence on the succession of Malawian bishops characterised the period between 1979 and 1996 in the Anglican Church in Malawi. In particular, I highlighted the role of the episcopate of Arden in directing the course of the Malawian episcopate. More significantly, I illustrated that

199. Interview, Bishop Biggers with the author, Likoma Island, 24/10/99.

200. Personal reminiscences, St Peter’s Cathedral, Likoma Island, Sunday, 22/10/00. Following the ordination of the two deacons, Matewere, Magangani and Father Mpata there were festivities, meals and dances in the mission premises. In the dances that followed Bishop Biggers rather than the newly ordained was the focus, who on each and every occasion he presented a gift in cash to the dancers while the people cheered him with ululation as the great tribal chief. The spectacle evoked in the author some imagination of the missionary bishop possible perhaps in the missionary era.

201. Of course, it might be argued that Biggers was not English, rather he was American. However, in Malawi distinctions between English and American or others are almost blurred as to most Malawians White people seem to be all one, the English.

besides the official procedures of election, other factors falling outside the official procedures equally impacted on the outcome of the elections.

This seems to suggest that the official forums may not necessarily be the most relevant platform of the election, the unofficial stage is equally important. Finally, the preference of a former missionary, the American, Jackson Biggers, former chaplain of Bishop Mtekateka, to a Malawian as the bishop of Northern Malawi, clearly illustrated the extent to which missionary influence had made its distinct mark on the life of the Anglican Church in Malawi over the years. This may suggest a sign of strength and maturity as well as of weakness for the church in Malawi.

Chapter Twelve

12. Conclusions

At the outset of this study, I set out the proposition that shortcomings in the recruitment, selection and training of the African clergy and the election of bishops have contributed to the formation of an African leadership that has not been able to face the challenges confronting the Anglican Church in Malawi today. I further proposed that contrary to the missionary presuppositions that the Africans were incapable of taking responsibility, the African clergy were in fact the victims of the missionary system that sought to maintain the missionaries in power by subtly excluding the African from meaningful sharing of power.

So far, I have outlined the history of the development of the mission of the Universities Mission to Central Africa in the Church of England in the 19th century to Central Africa in Malawi in the 20th century. I have illustrated that coinciding with the British expansion, the Anglican mission to Central Africa was carried out under the aegis of British expansion. I especially argued that the ideological view that Africans possessed no civilisation as compared to the Europeans in the 19th century Europe largely gave impetus to the idea of the missionary enterprise to the Non-Europeans.

More specifically, I have illustrated that the missionary presupposition that the Africans needed superior civilisation in the form of commerce and Christianity which the missionaries assumed that the Africans lacked, considerably appeared to justify the idea of mission to Central Africa. In turn, it has been demonstrated that the missionaries' attitudes of cultural superiority sowed seeds that in due course bred conflict which consequently spelt disaster for the missionaries at Magomero between 1861 and 1862.

In the period between 1863 and 1885, I argued that the missionary observation that the Africans were culturally different from the missionaries tended to serve as the principle upon which the entire process of the formation of the African Church and the making of

the African clergy was carried out. In this perspective, the African ministry was viewed as a special category which had to be treated in its own terms. In this purview, I demonstrated that the policies of Bishops Steere and Smythies (1863-1885) in initiating the lower forms of ministry for the Africans, teacher, catechist, reader, subdeacon and deacon was meant to serve particularly the African conditions.

Indeed, this was a logical development of the missionaries' work that led to the development of an African clergy who appeared to belong to their own class of ministers. I highlighted that the cornerstone upon which this African ministry rested was the presupposition that since the priesthood was an alien system to the African order and manner of life style, the latter needed a lower form of ministry before finally being entrusted with larger responsibilities. I argued that this ministry practically confined the African clergy to the margins of the European ministry and society.

It was also illustrated that, while prior to 1900 the office of the bishop was pastorally oriented, however, from 1901 to 1980s it became increasingly associated with the administrative ability of the bishop. It has been shown that from the episcopate of Maples right through Hine's, Trower's, Fisher's, through the resignation of Bishop Thorne, through the appointment of Bishop Arden, the UMCA stressed the administrative role of the bishop almost at the expense of his pastoral function. Concerned with the running of the financial matters of the diocese more efficiently, the function of the bishop increasingly came to be closely associated with his ability in as an administrator. However, it was also observed that Trower's episcopate was significant in terms of his progressive outlook with respect to the African ministry particularly with respect to his desire to promote systematic teaching of theological training.

It is very significant that this development was accompanied by the increasingly hardening attitudes of the missionaries towards the African ministry. From this stage onwards, the Africans were considered as incompetent, unable to engage even in debate (chapter seven) on matters of policy. Consequently, an African was characterised as a "child." Bishops Fisher in Nyasaland and Frank Weston in Zanzibar considered that he

needed an indefinitely long period to “develop” before they could be entrusted with “responsibility.” Thus the theological pattern of ministerial training as reflected in the structure of St. Andrew’s College in chapter six tended to reflect these developments. In spite of this, some missionaries, particularly Archdeacon William Percival Johnson, rose above some of these constraints. Johnson’s close interaction with his students enhanced the ministry of the African clergy while at the same time it enriched his. Priests like Ambali and Kamungu became successful as a result of what they experienced of their relationship with Johnson. But they also contributed to the ministry of Bible translation in which Johnson had been engaged for most of his life.

One of the weaknesses of the training systems was that St. Andrew’s Theological College did not equip the students with administrative skills, precisely because it was not designed for such purposes. A theological system of training was in place which seemed to justify the perpetuation of the subordination of the Africans to the missionaries. Thus by the end of his episcopate (1960-1961), Bishop Thorne, in his letter to Father Broomfield implied that it had been the weaknesses of the system that the missionaries were almost exclusively involved in the administrative work and less in pastoral work which was undertaken by the African clergy. Similarly, one of the weaknesses of theological training at St. Andrews was that its staffing needs tended to be seen as subordinate to those of mission stations especially in times of emergencies, such as war or financial constraints. Though the issue of finance is not the main thrust of this thesis, however, from what we have observed so far, we have showed that in the 1940s and the 1950s the shortage of finance impacted negatively on the training of the clergy. This continued to be the case even throughout the 1960s.

Politically, it is during this period that colonialism as an ideology of subjugation was being reinforced in East, Central and Southern Africa. Thus, the events in the church have to be seen in the light of such developments. In short, developments in the church as well as in society impacted negatively on the process of training and the ministry of the African clergy. Yet, despite these developments, the African clergy seemed to develop their own way of coping with mounting repression within the system.

Developing a forum to deal with their own cases, *milandu*, at the back of their superiors on another level suggests their disillusionment with the missionary system of justice. It was a critique of missionary system of authority, a form of resistance intended to undermine missionary power. The case of Kamungu, a very successful missionary to Eastern Zambia best represented the struggle of an African priest overcoming missionary prejudice by trying to prove that he was just good as a European.

Examining the unfolding of the episcopate of Bishop Frank Thorne in chapter eight (1936-1961), I established the fact that despite a fair increase in the numbers of the African clergy, missionary association of European ministry with European power militated against missionary efforts towards sharing responsibility with the Africans more meaningfully. Amongst various ways, this was illustrated by the fact that the level of theological training education was kept as low as possible, and the ministry of the African was looked upon as separate from, and independent of the missionary.

Clearly, this distinction exacerbated the view that since the Africans were deficient in administrative skills they were not very helpful to serve in any capacity except as pastors for the rural ministry.¹ Compared to the struggles engaged in their counterparts of the Livingstonia Mission,² the failure of the African clergy in the UMCA to contest power in the church during this period suggests the extent to which missionary power had prevented the African Clergy from contesting power.

In chapter nine, covering the period between 1962 and 1972, I have highlighted the reaction of the Africans (clergy and laity) to the continued missionary tendencies of repression at the height of African consciousness and nationalism on the continent. Largely from the perspectives of hegemony and counter hegemony, hidden and public transcripts, I have highlighted the struggles between the Africans and the missionaries

1. See letter from Father Gerald Broomfield to Bishop Frank Thorne dated 21/10/59 file marked "confidential"; Letter from Bishop Thorne to Bishop Broomfield dated 2/12/59, file L1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba; the undated Memorandum from Manda, 7/UMCA/1/2/9/2., National Archives, Zomba.

2. See Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

in the context of the rise of African consciousness, the African resistance to European and missionary domination. Specifically, I have shown that being conscious of the passing away of the colonial and missionary hegemony in Africa, the Africans seized their own African ideological and cultural symbols to assert their identity as a way of challenging missionary hegemony.

On a deeper level this was a continuation of the efforts by others, such as Kamungu, far back in 1912. Thus, for instance, the efforts of Father Msekawanthu in challenging the right of the missionaries to impose a bishop, and later the activities of Aidan Misi and Joseph Likoleche to challenge missionary domination at St. John's Seminary, demonstrate a new challenge to the authority of the missionaries. This illustrated that as far as the missionaries asserted their ideology, the Africans also invoked their ideology to counteract the existing ideology.

More critically in chapter ten, the inability of the Anglican Church in the Province of Central Africa to come to terms with African leadership in the mid 1960s was shown in their hesitation to accept an African even in the position of an assistant or Suffragan Bishop.³ On the other hand, these attitudes must be seen as a means by which the church sought to come to terms with new reality, sharing power with the Africans. Similarly, pressure exerted by the clergy of the diocese of Malawi on Bishop Arden in 1964 to come up with an African Assistant Bishop within six months clearly shows the frustration of the clergy who saw the missionaries as obstacles in the way of the African people. More importantly, it illustrates the fact that despite the odds of a low education stacked against them, the African clergy were still in a position to influence the course of events.

Nonetheless, it seems that by the time of Bishop Arden between 1962 and 1965, a view had been reinforced in the UMCA, even from the previous years, that considered the role of the bishop largely as that of an administrator. This expectation seemed to bear

3. See Interim Report of the Minutes of the Provincial Commission dated 18/12/63, file marked Oliver GreenWilkinson, A/P 1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.

negatively on the prospects of raising an African priest to the office of a bishop amongst the clergy who were considered not to possess administrative skills. The UMCA's insistence on having a missionary chaplain to run the administrative matters in the office of the first Malawian bishop, Josiah Mtekateka precisely because the latter did not possess administrative skills illustrated the weakness of the the training system which never prepared the African clergy in such specialist fields. In this regard, the provision of a chaplain for Bishop Mtekateka may have served as a mechanism to cover up for a system that had failed the training of African clergy. On the other hand, the fact that the provision of a chaplain for Bishop Mtekateka tended to undermine his authority suggests the existence of the problems regarding the European conception of the episcopate as largely an administrative position.

Mtekateka's protest to Bishop Arden in 1980 that contrary to the missionaries' claim that they wanted to raise an educated African clergy in Malawi, they instead desired to educate a submissive African clergy, exposed the missionaries' hidden transcript, made it a public transcript. As noted, Mtekateka's observation supports the central argument of this study that the objective of the missionary educational system was to raise a low standard African clergy. However, it must also be stressed that the period between 1960 and 1980 in Malawi may be seen as a "golden age" in terms of African ministry. Despite the lack of financial resources, Bishop Arden took bold steps to introduce the African episcopate and made efforts to raise educational standards and numbers of the Malawian clergy.

With respect to the election of bishops in chapter ten it has been established, through oral interviews and archival evidence, it has been established that besides the role of divine intervention, the human factor also played a critical role in determining the outcome of the elections in Malawi. For instance, Bishop Arden played an important "behind the scenes" role which determined the process of the election of bishops in Malawi between 1977 and 1980 just like other influential lay people also determined the election in the postArden era.

In chapter eleven I illustrated the fact that despite the absence of the missionaries, the continuing support of the missionaries in the affairs of Malawian bishops and people was still being felt in the late 1980s and 1990s, since the church was still missionary in structure, orientation and ethos. This was shown by the style of the episcopate of Bishop Dunstan Ainani. Similarly, the people's view of the crisis associated with the episcopate of Bishop Aipa at the end of 1995 also seemed to confirm this view.

Above all, the influence of Bishop Josiah Mtekateka in the quest for the election of a white bishop demonstrates the extent to which the Anglican Church was still European in its outlook. This seems to suggest that despite the fact that the English missionaries planted an African Church, the church itself could not run more independently without considerable support from the overseas church. This therefore, raises an important question: to what extent can it be said that the church in Malawi is "independent"?

The preceding factors show beyond doubt that the development of an African clergy and bishops in the Anglican Church in Malawi between 1905 and 1996 was considerably undermined by the shortcomings in the processes of recruitment, selection, training of clergy and election of bishops. These problems were largely institutional; they were part of the system and part of the structure of the church. In the final analysis, they shaped the character of the leadership in Malawi.

The problems of succession which confronted the Anglican Church in Malawi in 1976, 1977, later on relating to the administration of Bishop Ainani in 1985 and to the episcopate of Aipa (1995 and 1996) may be attributed to some of these factors. It is ironical that when it came to elect a bishop of the new diocese of Northern Malawi in 1995, other Anglican Christians at least saw the solution of the problems facing the church in Malawi in the election of a white bishop. It was almost as if they were turning the clock a hundred years back. The missionaries brought their message as a 'mixed parcel' of Good and Bad News. There was much that one would admire but there was also a lot that one would not consider as Good News.

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7. Mrs Anonymous M	15 February 1998	Malindi Mangochi
8. Father B.Salaka	12 May 1998	Chancellor College Zomba
9. Father E. Mphaya	26 July 1998	Katema Parish
10. Father A.D. Chizito	27 July 1998	Liwonde Parish
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12.Father J. Malanda	8 August 1998	All Saints Parish Ntcheu
13. Canon J. Parslow	27 August 1998	Chichiri Blantyre
14. Father P. Mapundula	10 October 1998	Mwanza Anglican Church
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20. Father P. Chiweyo	23 September 1999	Salima
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Dean		
23 Bishop J. Biggers	24 October 1999	Bishop's Residence, Likoma
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25. Canon B. Chipanda	12 November 1999	Mpondas Mangochi
26. Father F. Mkomawanthu	12 November 1999	Mpondas Mangochi
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28. Canon A. Misi	12 January 2000	St. Thomas Rectory Lilongwe
29. Canon G. Mchakama	24 February 2000	Diocesan Hqtrs Malosa
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