

**THEOLOGY OF EMPIRE AND ANGLICANISM: REPLICATING EUSEBIUS OF
CAESAREA IN THE DIOCESE OF MASHONALAND (1890-1979)**

by

THOMAS MHURIRO

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DECLARATION

Name: **THOMAS MHURIRO**

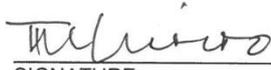
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I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.


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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my father Mr Elfigio Mhuriro, my mother Emily Mandizvidza (R.I.P.) and her brother Luke Mandizvidza (R.I.P), my wife Nyasha Madzvamutse and to our two sons: Kudakwashe and Tendaishe, together with all those who inspired and lend a shoulder to lean on throughout this academic purgatory.

Abstract

The theology of empire is a critical theme that dates back many centuries. This research work is inspired by that of Eusebius of Caesarea who was emphatic in his support for the Roman Empire under Constantine during the first part of the fourth century of our common era. It could be said that appealing to such a theme in a colonial context marred by gross injustices yet premised on gospel imperatives as they guide the progress of a given church is not only challenging but interesting as well. By using the Diocese of Mashonaland as our referral case, the idea is to interrogate how the influence of Eusebius' approach to history could be prevalent even in our time. By putting Anglican missionaries on the spotlight, who worked in the Diocese of Mashonaland, from the early 1890s up to 1979, an attempt is made to analyse their activities and attitudes, the way historians favourable to their venture narrated the Church's progress and related matters. One major question leading all the analyses made in this context is to what extent could we justify the claim that the spirit of Eusebius is behind the Mashonaland Anglican Church narratives and attitudes? This question naturally leads us to bring in other perspectives that are linked to the socio-economic developments of the country, the political dispensations defining issues of governance, and the overall impact these had on racial matters given the critical reference to Christianity and civilisation. Historians and others who help us to appreciate this context are therefore taken to task as to whether they could be trusted unconditionally. The theology of empire is therefore allowed to dictate the way we could interrogate those who opt to ignore gross injustices that the Church in this context did not challenge in any conclusive manner. The history of the Diocese of Mashonaland from this perspective is therefore an interesting narrative. Our work that looks at the period between 1890 and 1979 leaves us with a lot of curious questions that call for further scholarly investigation within the same Mashonaland Anglican context.

Key terms Anglicanism; Eusebius of Caesarea; Theology of Empire; Diocese of Mashonaland; Church history; British missionaries; Indigenous people; Colonialism; British South Africa Company; Southern Rhodesia

Abbreviations

A.C.S.A.	Anglican Church of Southern Africa
A.N.C.	Assistant Native Commissioner
B.S.A.C.	British South Africa Company
C.E.	Common Era
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.B.E.	Member of the British Empire
N.A.D.A.	Native African Development Affairs
N.C.	Native Commissioner
P.F.	Patriotic Front
P.C.R.	Programme to Combat Racism
PsyOP	Psychological Operation
S.P.G.	Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
S.S.M.	Society of Sacred Mission
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
U.N.	United Nations
U.S.P.G.	United Society of the Propagation of the Gospel
V.C.	Vita Constantini (Life of Constantine)
W.C.C.	World Council of Churches
Wits.	Witwatersrand (University of)
Z.A.N.U.	Zimbabwe African National Union
Z.A.N.U. (P.F.)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
Z.A.N.L.A.	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
Z.A.P.U.	Zimbabwe African People's Union
Z.A.P.U. (P.F.)	Zimbabwe African People's Union (Patriotic Front)

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CHAPTER 1

1. The Theology of Empire discourse and its challenges

The major aim of this chapter is to pave the way for narrating the findings of an investigation that is inspired by what has come to be known as the “theology of empire,” also known as “imperial theology.” We shall try to explain what it is, its points of departure, its relevance to the whole business of narrating history and the challenges it could pose in the way people prefer to advance and interpret facts about the past. Throughout the narrative of this investigation, we shall attempt to demonstrate how urgent it is in terms of narrating the growth of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland between 1890 and 1979. The task will also include an extensive critical review of individual missionaries and their overall involvement in shaping the Anglican Church in Mashonaland’s relations with the Rhodesian State as they all sought to serve the indigenous people within this context.

1.0. Anglican Church in Mashonaland and historiography

To initiate any inquiry on the “theology of empire” theme seems to have relevance only in connection with the fourth century Christian Church and not so much for the historical narratives of the Anglican Church in the Mashonaland of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The academic appeal of such a theme is the cornerstone of this research. It seems to be an extremely relevant viewpoint when we consider the way some expositions on the Anglican Church History that focuses on Mashonaland have been narrated and celebrated over the years from the dusk of the nineteenth century of our common era to 1979. This view is inspired by Andrew Porter’s¹ observations that express concerns about how some Church histories, though not specifically making reference to Anglicanism in Mashonaland could be written. The problem that is urgent here has to do with historical projects that tend to marginalise the recipients of missionary work and thus making them redundant in the process. Church history in this African context is understood to be exclusive and, therefore, highly problematic. In Porter’s

¹. Porter, A., 2002: Church history, history of Christianity, religious history: Some Reflections on British missionary enterprise since the late eighteenth century in *Church history*. Cambridge University Press on behalf of the American Society of Church History, 71(3): Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4146420>. Accessed on 12th September 2016

specific case, he notes the following important observations that we regard as critical in our work:

In a fit of patriotic appropriation, for example, a writer in 1915 recorded how 'The history of Samoa is the history of the London Missionary Society'. Neatly illustrating the widespread and long-lived tendency to dismiss the record and traditions of non-literate, extra-European societies, it identifies their history and development with the story of the various agencies of western expansion.²

Perhaps the problem is not so evident when people talk about events or developments from their own viewpoints or vantages. After all, historians favourably disposed to the missionaries who came to Africa could be expected to account for their engagements, their successes and frustrations and, indeed, the context according to their preferred ways of interpreting. They could not really be expected to account for the developments of which they could not make sense, especially those that took place among the indigenous people. However, the fact that the "record and traditions of non-literate, extra-European societies" were often ignored or suppressed makes the whole historiographical exercise provocative. This is because curiosity is raised as to why certain facts could be excluded in a context that requires them to be highlighted to avoid distortions.

Once there are questions regarding why certain facts with far-reaching historical significance are ignored, there is a need for all those interested in a more holistic picture and historical relevance to respond. This research aims at providing a response within a specific context of the Diocese of Mashonaland focusing on the Rhodesian days. There are certain critical facts that are urgent and yet have not been highlighted significantly in some major narratives that focus on the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

Another scholar, Odendaal, in line with the above, confirms the foregoing concerns about the exclusive histories within an African context. He observes that concerns are in abundance about how missionaries in some parts of Africa often lost sight of the fact that the indigenous people were critical in the whole missionary enterprise.³ Marginalising the indigenous in the history narratives that

². Porter, op.cit.pp. 556:

³. Odendaal, B.J, 1982: African church historiography: An evaluation, motivation exploration of an overdue exercise, University of Zululand, South Africa, pp.1-2.

should have seen them as at least a constituency of the bigger picture, cannot help us get a better understanding of developments within such contexts. The activities of the white missionaries dominate the scene in the documented narratives, hence, making it appear as if the Africans were *tabula rasa* to be written on by the Europeans.⁴ By nullifying a given people's experiences, one wonders whether this could not also constitute protracted violence against their humanity and therefore their history.

In the foregoing connection, this deliberate exclusion and nihilistic approach to the indigenous peoples' experiences, is seen as a gross misrepresentation of facts that gives us a Eurocentric or an American centred African Church history.⁵ In our case, the problem lies in the fact that indigenous Africa, from a Christian point of view would only make sense if Europe and America are given first preference or, better still, used as our lenses to understand Africa. Odendaal goes on to demonstrate how the Church, especially in North Africa, can be traced back to the first century of the Christian era, thereby boosting the view that Africa could not afford to be treated as though it was a latecomer to the Christian religion.⁶ Accordingly, Christianity never became a reality because of European missionaries, but because of African agents engaging their own people and this is the point that needs emphasis.⁷

We may not attempt a response at this point, but highlighting the problem of how indigenous Africans had their contributions to Christianity, ignored could help us pave the way for understanding the controversy advanced by the "theology of empire" that is going to dominate our exposition. If narratives are preferred by those who are quick to take advantage of others within a context, such as missionaries and colonisers, at the expense of the indigenous people, it would be unfair to leave this state of affairs unchallenged from a historiographical point of view. This is not to suggest any special responses that could also be construed as propelled by obsequious bias in favour of the indigenous. This is not about mere patriotism and propagandist attitudes to history but something inspired by

4. Odendaal, op.cit.p.2

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.pp.3ff.

7. Ibid.

academic prudence and balanced scholarship within an African context. Again, it is a yearning for informative narratives that try to challenge those that could easily degenerate into deceptive and, therefore, inaccurate histories of given people the world over.

Porter, in line with the above, is to the point. He goes on to point out that, “It is the self-confident, aggressive paternalism and the dismissal of any active indigenous role that strikes a modern reader.”⁸ The issue of unprecedented bias in terms of exposing historical facts advances itself in ways that call for unconditional attentiveness. Why would the activities of one group take precedence over the significant other that could not afford to be ignored in a given context such as the Mashonaland context in Rhodesia where Anglicanism made significant inroads? Again, it brings us to the problem of experts who have allowed biases to dictate their selection of facts, thereby limiting the way in which given developments can be accounted for to a large extent.

Porter, in line with the preceding, captures this point extremely well when he analyses the authority to which he refers by observing that,

With self- righteousness driving out self-effacement, the author's triumphalism was characteristic of many publications about missionary enterprise, many of them written by missionaries themselves.⁹

It is clear that we are worried about histories that continue to proceed with narratives that indicate to any perceptive mind that facts have been designated to give only one side of the story. Accepting such one-sided histories can be extremely problematic when the question of contributing accurate information to develop a bigger picture is taken into serious consideration. Why the other side must be ignored can cause considerable scholarly anxiety.

The above seems to be what Mandy Goedhals had in mind by making reference to this omission in some narratives of the significance of African indigenous clergy that only tend to highlight the achievements of the Europeans:

⁸. Porter, op.cit. p. 556.

⁹. Ibid.

The gap is caused by lack of research rather than by lack of activity: relatively little has been written about significant African Christian leaders of the 1930s and 1940s who combined a search for social justice with a commitment to an indigenous expression of Christianity from within the mainline churches.¹⁰

Perhaps there is an oversimplification here. Why researchers could focus on one constituent only while ignoring the others is a relevant question here. Why we cannot always encounter scholars, who could assure us that theirs is just one side of the narrative that needs to be augmented by others, engenders a lot of academic curiosity. This violence to the identities of indigenous people and the protracted abnegation of critical matters in their lives is taken as something that has had a long tradition within the context of African Church historiography in this research. We contend that a lack of research alone cannot account for such gross omissions and seemingly strategised selectivity.

In addition, it is unfortunate that the side of the story that has often gained an upper hand seems to favour only the advantaged, the rich and powerful while abnegating the underprivileged who should occupy a special place when the whole programme is premised on God. The Anglican Rhodesian context, in which this discourse of ours is anchored, seems to provide us with opportunities to interrogate further how the “theology of empire” can be said to be relevant in this context.

1.1. Biblical imperatives and contextual African historiographies

Perhaps, in line with the above, it is important to highlight the fact that the Christian God is known to rescue the poor, oppressed and underprivileged.¹¹ His story cannot be reduced to the wilful abuse of humanity when his love and its consequences could be celebrated instead. We stand reminded that salvation belongs to the realm of love, while propaganda can be assigned to the ranks of malice. The latter cannot be attributed to God in a convincing way. By undertaking

¹⁰. Goedhals, M. 2003. African nationalism and indigenous Christianity: A study in the life of James Calata (1895-1983). *Journal of Religion in Africa*, BRILL, 33(1) , pp.64. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581635>. Accessed on 28th March 2011

¹¹. Some scripture passages such as Exodus 3: 7ff, Isaiah 58: 6-7; 61: 1-3, and Luke 4: 16-30 seem to vindicate us here by emphasising God's concern for the poor and underprivileged! Unless we allow for such readings of these passages, our understanding of the Christian God could be compromised. The latter is an issue we will continue to raise in this work.

to narrate Church history in a particular context using the “theology of empire” as our lens, we should be mindful of what some scholars have brought to our attention within the Christian context. We could justify this allusion to the fact that moral values can be said to be at the heart of global Christian expansion to bear witness to the benevolence of God. Historically, it would be difficult to justify the uniqueness of Christianity and the Church without placing the issue of higher values at the centre. The insistence has always been the point of view of God who does not condone the social ostracism of people since this could ultimately contradict the claim that all humanity reflects the image of God: *the imago dei!*¹² In this connection, two African scholars, Barnabe Assohoto and Samuel Ngewa (2006:11) comment that,

Human beings, both male and female, are said to have been made in the image of God...Thus humans are different from other created beings like animals, and this fact has important consequences for how we live. First of all, it means that every human being resembles his or her Creator in some way. Consequently, every human being is special and important. We should be able to recognise the Creator in the men and women we see around us. Second, it means that we should not worship any animal.¹³

The foregoing becomes a key point when we recall that gospel imperatives were at the centre of missionary expansion worldwide.

Later on in this narrative, we shall express our perplexity with regard to encountering attitudes and expressions within the Mashonaland Anglican context that went against this understanding and that were taken for granted by some narratives. However, the Old Testament could not be regarded as convincing in the foregoing connection if the New Testament had offered us a different perspective. Indeed, the emphasis of humanity being the reflection of God cannot be understood otherwise.

Paul John Isaak, commenting on Luke 4, especially on the Nazareth saga, makes a profound observation that is extremely relevant to our context. He writes:

¹². Genesis 1:26.

¹³. Assohoto, B. & Ngewa, S. 2006: “Genesis”, in Africa Bible Commentary, Adeyemo Tokunboh,(ed.), World Alive Publishers, Zondervan, East Africa, 2006, p.11

It is clear that from the beginning to the end, Jesus was oriented to the needs of the poor, both those who were poor within themselves and those who were poor in social, economic and political contexts.¹⁴

The appreciation in this foregoing connection is simply that God has a special affinity, not so much with those who have already achieved a great deal in this life but to those who must still be assisted to get there. This indeed is consistent with His nature, otherwise, a distinction between the rich and poor; the weak and powerful, if pursued to their logical implications, could contradict God. If this Lucan perspective does not constitute what gospel imperatives should be about for us, then any missionary work that claims to have a special affinity to them and does not demonstrate the same in practice can be dismissed as superfluous, if not malicious.

It should be of concern to our academic interests, in the foregoing connection, when the case of a loving God has relevance among many Europeans who came to champion the cause of indigenous Africans as missionaries in the name of Christianity. Unfortunately, it also challenges us to look at the work of missionaries and their supporters among Africans and ask how much could be associated with the God who loves people and has their ultimate welfare at heart. Otherwise, we will not be in a position to make critical judgements on missionaries and how some scholars have elected to narrate their dealings in given international contexts.

In line with the above context regarding a caring God and in line with Jesus Christ's manifesto at Nazareth as presented in Luke's gospel, Isaak observes that,

His parents were not wealthy (2:24) and lived in a despised village (John 1:46). In His public life, He lived poorly, mixed with ordinary folk who were the poor, the "prisoners," the "blind" and the "oppressed" (4:18).¹⁵

The emphasis seems to be based on the understanding that the Good News has to do with a caring God who gives assurances through Jesus Christ to the effect that those excluded by this world are not ostracised automatically. God was able to demonstrate that these oppressed people in society needed special care. This is clear from the fact that Jesus Christ, in Luke,

¹⁴. Isaak, P.J., "Luke", *ibid.* p.1213.

¹⁵. *Ibid.*

...shocked the elite by eating with social outcasts (Luke 5:30; 19:7). He acted and spoke in a manner that caused him to be seen as a serious threat by the various establishment groups in his country and by the Roman Empire. Eventually, the religious establishment and the Roman colonial power murdered Jesus.¹⁶

The above could be seen to have a special bearing on God who, by insisting on the plight of the poor and underprivileged, can turn the tables in the name of justice and equity. It is clear that interpreting God as one who can only support the *status quo* is something that will ultimately not be sustainable if the Christianity of the gospels is respected. Attitudes towards the writing of history that tend to be discriminatory are therefore our concern in this context.

The foregoing reflections seem to make a special appeal to the African context in which the indigenous are not given the space they deserve when history narratives are preferred. This realisation should prepare us to compare and contrast the narratives about the Anglican Church and its engagement with the indigenous people of Mashonaland. Whether the gospel imperatives we are envisaging here would be located and accounted for in full happens to be a question that we will continue to encounter in this work.

Missionary Christianity, in line with the above, could therefore be judged by how much of Jesus Christ's approach was applied in given contexts. Historians who could afford to snub this position and still want to narrate the successes of a given missionary enterprise could find it difficult to convince critical minds. How an approach that claims to be based on gospel imperatives could deviate from this vocation and still be spoken of in eulogistic expressions, could be a curious development here. The role of power in a context may not always be in line with the accuracy of facts that a researcher might want to establish. This is because, in general, the things done by the powerful could not always be said to be right at all times and in all places.

1.2. The theology of empire narratives in this work

In this section we state how the theme of our work is going to be handled. The theology of empire could initially be introduced as the preferred narration of

¹⁶. Isaak, P.J.op.cit.p.1213

historical facts that deliberately promotes human power in the name of God at the expense of others (the poor, the underprivileged and those considered to be at the social margins). Ultimately, systems designed for human socio-political subjugation, human exploitation and human racial compartmentalisation are promoted as the norms for engagement in this connection. The idea of directly or indirectly boosting the position of those in power through strategic narratives that make far reaching claims about God's involvement in human history is emphasised in this connection. In this regard, human authority and ingenuity are elevated to the level of the divine in such a way that the distinction between God and mere human rulers is not possible. Simply stated, the theology of empire affirms that whatever the rulers dictate should be interpreted to be the will of God also.¹⁷ This becomes extremely critical when historians take up the cause and scout for facts to justify this state of affairs. Within the context of Church History, we could safely identify the theology of empire with narratives that favour the position that all those in power are, by that very token, absolute instruments of God.¹⁸ This leaves ordinary people with no real standing when history accounts are documented.

The foregoing understanding of the theology of empire could be said to be true of what happened in the fourth century, starting from the time of Emperor Constantine onwards. This is specifically true from how historians, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, in their writings, appreciate this novel state of affairs in the life of a Church that had experienced trials and tribulations for more than three hundred years previously.¹⁹ Attitudes consistent with Eusebius' way of narrating history create problems for us, especially where there is a need to draw a line between the limitations of human ambition for power and privileges, on the one hand, and the will of God, on the other. Human ambitions may not always be understood as being the same as what God sanctions in this world and history should help us deal with this problem by way of providing holistic narratives. Applied to other situations after the fourth century, Eusebius' approach causes

¹⁷. Variations of the theology of empire will be given in this work.

¹⁸. See Romans 13:1ff. Also, Daniel 5:21 states that "...the Supreme God controls all human kingdoms and can give them to anyone he chooses".

¹⁹. MacCulloch, D., 2010: A history of Christianity. London, UK: Penguin Books, p.190. The author indicates that "Licinius's defeat and murder in 324 ended any immediate possibility of a new violent assault on the Church"

problems that continue to challenge us today in the way history can be written. This is why we take special interest in this theme that seems to glorify God and, yet, at the same time, contradict the universal ideals that can safely be attributed to the divine in terms of theodicy and magnanimity as reincarnated in the histories of people.

1.3. The theology of empire within the fourth century setting

In this section we look at the fourth century setting in order to understand how the theology of empire could be seen at play. The Church could be said to have risen during the fourth century from obscurity to prominence; from persecution to triumph and from being illegal to being a noble movement that went on to attract rulers of the day, in so far as the religio-political landscape of the Roman Empire was concerned.²⁰ This could be viewed as a positive development. However, the question of defending gospel imperatives in such an overwhelming environment seems to have been urgent as motives of sorts also made significant inroads into the life of the Church.

In line with the foregoing, Averil Cameron also observes that the new developments in favour of the Church had the effect that “imperial hostility had turned into enthusiastic support, backed with money and patronage.”²¹ Perhaps the issue of money and patronage will become clear in our narrative as constituting a critical term of reference as we focus on the Diocese of Mashonaland in some detail. Meanwhile, Armstrong, whom we have already cited, helps us to appreciate the radical changes that could have influenced a favourable response to the empire by Christians when he notes that,

The so-called Edict of Milan was the foundation stone of Constantine's religious policy, but it was neither the first nor the last measure affecting and favouring the Christian Church. In the year prior to the meeting of Constantine and Licinius at Milan, namely in 312, there appeared a letter to Anulinus, Proconsul in Africa, restoring Church property to the Catholics, and a letter to Caecilian, the bishop of

²⁰. Armstrong, G.T.1964. Church and state relations: The changes wrought by Constantine. In: *Journal of Bible and religion*,32(1), p.3. Oxford University Press, UK. Available online at:URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1460422>. Accessed: 19th September 2010 . Two extremes are noted in this article: firstly, Christianity went through centuries of bitter persecution and secondly, a decisive turning point was reached during Constantine's time.

²¹. Cameron, A. 2014. *Cambridge histories online*, (Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press), p.538. Available online at: URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521812399.032>, Accessed on 19 August, 2014.

Carthage, granting funds to the Catholic clergy. Another letter to Caecilian in 313 granted immunity from civic burdens and taxes to the Catholic clergy.²²

Clearly, the fact that the foregoing favourable developments were now taking place against a long history of struggle and suffering, that spanned over three centuries after the death of Christ, could help us understand why a theology of empire became so urgent and attractive for historians such as Eusebius of Caesarea. The problem, however, is whether every situation could be interpreted using the Eusebian approach without promoting a state of affairs where history is reduced to eulogistic narratives about conquerors, their supporters and the successful outcomes of their endeavours. Preferred eulogies, in this case, take centre-stage and do not so much draw the full picture of what could have been happening. The victims of such historical developments would, therefore, be accounted for in less favourable terms or even be completely ignored, hence, our emphasis on the nihilistic approach to the histories of the disadvantaged. We have historical narratives in mind that could give us the impression that, once conquered, the victims should count for nothing save for a few aspects of their lives that only make sense in terms of how the victors could exploit them. Put succinctly, history could be said to have nothing to do with those considered insignificant using human standards. This problem could then be further compounded by the fact that history in this context could be a one-sided account of events that suppress some important developments which could help with providing some insights capable of advancing a balanced state of affairs. If a story about the past is told in ways that omit some essential dimensions of events and processes, that story could not help us make sense of the past or answer critical questions that could arise from the stated facts. Such a narrative will only do one thing: it would exaggerate the art of exclusion in an extremely negative fashion.

Therefore, in line with the above, the early fourth century Roman Empire began to feature in Church developments narrated by Eusebius in new, unique and challenging ways. These ways had the potential to render the sacrifices of Jesus Christ null and void ultimately, given the emphasis on what the emperor could

²². Armstrong, *op.cit.* p.3

achieve under the direct influence of God. The Church that needed to be a servant to the people found itself being turned into an imposing and conspiratorial master.

It could be submitted that the conventional understanding of divinely-initiated kingship as can be found in Old Testament figures, such as Saul and David, was abandoned.²³ Meanwhile, we could argue that the Old Testament gives us such kings to demonstrate that God was in control of socio-political and economic processes and could be radical in His calling of human leadership. Eusebius, advances the opposite since the emperor is not really accountable to God but to himself as will be supported by documented facts.

Through the pen of this most celebrated Church historian, Eusebius of Caesarea, we get the impression that God had now elected to become subservient to human leadership within the context of the Roman Empire in a wholesale fashion because rules had changed. The divine had to support everything determined by the emperor. This becomes even more problematic given the fact that it is difficult to think of mere human leaders assuming that perfection which could enable them to sustain a lasting consistency when it comes to doing what is considered right in every context and matching God in such ventures. We could argue that the Old Testament is notorious for giving us kings who could be called to order by God through prophets and so, their calling to such high offices did not imply being perfect, nor holy. They remained human and could make so many blunders that God could condemn them at any given time.

Cameron to whom we have already referred with regard to his article, "Constantine and the 'peace of the church'"²⁴, helps us in this connection. He observes that Eusebius of Caesarea who had been busy with his writings before the rise of Emperor Constantine to power, had to revise his work.²⁵ This was meant to express appreciation and, therefore, accommodate the new dispensation that had come to define Church-state relations in new ways. These ways were

²³. See 1 Samuel 15:22-23 about Saul being rejected by God and also 2 Samuel 12:7-15 about David, being chastised for his adulterous engagement with Bathsheba, Uriah's wife. God indeed was in control of the kings and not the other way round.

²⁴. Cameron, op.cit.p.538

²⁵. Ibid.

attractive to many Christians.²⁶ The Christian Church's trials and tribulations over the previous three centuries were now being reversed in most unusual ways causing historians, such as Eusebius, to see the hand of God through the military successes of the emperor and such related matters.²⁷

Cameron states that "Eusebius is our most important source for Constantine as a Christian emperor, but his view is highly partisan...".²⁸ The partiality detected in Eusebius' views is in contrast with the reports of other historians such as Zosimus who was a pagan and elected to present "a secular and highly critical picture of Constantine".²⁹ Some brief comparisons between Eusebius and Zosimus will be made at the relevant stage of this investigation. Accordingly, the emperor whom Eusebius presented to the world through his writings is problematic, given the challenges that could be posed by other contemporary historians on the same subject. The idea of balanced historical narratives becomes urgent in this connection and is the motivation for this work to critique the theology of empire from a historical and Rhodesian Anglican perspective.

A new way of writing history that was only attracted by the achievements of the emperor, in line with the above, was therefore advanced by Eusebius without reference to other views about the empire in question. Instead of narrating events that were balanced, and, therefore, not misleading interpretations, many inconsistencies could be detected in the way Eusebius' history was written as is highlighted in this research. The urgent task is to search for parallels in contexts outside the fourth century in order to establish whether Eusebius' approach, that we prefer to designate as our prototypical expression of the theology of empire, could be condemned to the past only.

In Mashonaland, and in line with the above, it appears to be the case that the kind of scholarship preferred by authorities many years after the fourth century have not been tested against the narratives we could encounter in relation to church-state matters. In other words, critiques on Anglican Church historians in

²⁶. Cameron, op.cit.p.538

²⁷. Ibid.

²⁸. Ibid.p.539

²⁹. Ibid.

Mashonaland, who could be seen in the light of an anti-Eusebius approach, are scarce. The urgent question in this connection is why this way of writing history has been found predominantly attractive in contexts identified in this investigation. Perhaps this is where we begin to sense the impact of looking at history narratives only from the point of view of the powerful as though they were the only ones who matter in history and even within Church circles.

1.4. Defining the parameters of this investigation

There is need to spell out how far this research is expected to take us. This investigation attempts to establish a link between the historical genre of the theology of empire coming to us from Eusebius in the fourth century and the historical narratives that are preferred on the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia, then Rhodesia and now Zimbabwe (from 1980) with special reference to the Diocese of Mashonaland. This narrative focuses on the period between 1890 and 1979 within the Rhodesian Anglican context. The urgent question this work is preoccupied with, in this connection, is whether Eusebius of Caesarea could be said to be the only Christian historian who fell into the trap of writing history from a partisan religio-political perspective, hence, favouring the imperial functionaries of his day. Is there a possibility of linking other historians today to the Eusebian approach? With this brief as our background, the research at hand is compiled and the findings constitute our narratives throughout this work.

1.5. The archetypal recipe for the theology of empire in Mashonaland

Church history happens to be a broad subject that includes, among many sub-themes, issues such as church-state relations, missionary ventures to unchristianised parts of the world, the turning of dogma into political ideologies, inter-church dialogues, manpower recruitment, Church growth, the involvement of the Church in secular matters and such related issues. Indeed, one could not pretend to be able to deal with all these aspects in one given narrative especially in terms of how they have been interpreted and handled by historians. A balanced selection of facts in this connection could be a helpful approach in this context and therefore is supported by our narratives.

The major attraction in our case in line with the above is the development of ideas influenced by some religio-political power structures within imperial Rome as narrated by Eusebius of Caesarea. The question that is critical, in relation to Eusebius' theology of empire is whether it could be possible to expose similar Church history trends within the Diocese of Mashonaland between 1890 and 1979. The narratives preferred are meant to constitute an argument that requires us to recall the theology of empire that originated from Eusebius' writings and how it could be seen as being revisited in some contexts today. How much the Rhodesian Anglican Church historians could be seen as paying tribute to Eusebius or not in line with their methods of narrating historical events in their context, is our urgent concern. Therefore, while we have narratives that are valuable in presenting the origin and development of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia, there is a need to investigate why the negative impact on the indigenous people is either downplayed or completely ignored in some narratives. Could we accept such narratives that are fraught with shortcomings as balanced accounts of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland? When the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations are ignored in such a profound and bewildering fashion we have reason to be concerned about the way history could be written by those who elect to do so in given contexts. Again, why such an exclusive method is found attractive by given historians seems to be another urgent question here.

Some authorities have observed that labelling historical narratives as "imperial," in Eusebius of Caesarea's writings is a descriptive characterisation of his eulogies showered upon the emperor Constantine.³⁰ Since the term "imperial" is understood to be descriptive in this investigation, it is important to keep this position in mind, for there is no independent literature that is dedicated to this theme that could help us in terms of the historical appreciation of it within the Rhodesian Anglican context. To ask a number of people what the theology of empire within the Rhodesian Church is all about, could be tantamount to exaggerating matters beyond reasonable limits. It could be seen as an illegitimate imposition of a novel concept within this context. There have not been any works that could be said to be structured in detail to advance the theology of empire as a

³⁰. Hoornaert, E. 1988: *The Memory Of Christian People*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, USA, p.13

unique focus on situations that we could exclusively rely on at the moment, as our definitive terms of reference. Therefore, what scholars have observed, in this regard, must still be applied in many other contexts and relevant conclusions must be determined.

This research highlights the quest for the theology of empire as a subject in its own right given the historical realities that we could dwell on especially within the Anglican Church in Rhodesia from 1890 up to 1979. Perhaps many other contexts outside Rhodesia could also begin to be understood more or less in the same manner, especially, as they grapple with relations that existed during colonial days between the Church and the state and how historians have narrated them over the years. It is about the boundaries between politics and religion; about the distinction between Jesus Christ and Caesar and indeed, between a given ruler and God.

The religio-political as well as socio-economic developments within the fourth century Church during Emperor Constantine's reign, in terms of its relations to the state are taken as major sources of both historical inspiration and points of references. This is done against the background of an attempt to highlight the quest for the significance of the theology of empire and, hence, to recall the legacy of Eusebius of Caesarea in a Rhodesian Anglican context of Mashonaland. Clearly, we are faced with the challenge to understand the penetration and therefore the infiltration of the Church by secular ideologies and systems that have the potential to deny Christianity its prominent position in peoples' lives. However, this is not an attempt to deny a mutual relationship between secular powers and the divine. The concern here is that matters critical to the Christian faith could be forced into subservience in the face of powerful rulers who may want to impose a different agenda altogether. To this end, gospel imperatives, that we could also understand as the benchmark of Christianity could be sacrificed at the secular altars of political expedience and economic appetites. When such developments are noted, it becomes impossible to take issues such as salvation, love, human dignity, unity, and related matters for granted. Historians who venture to expose such intricacies must be aware of contesting facts that could be available.

Using the foregoing understanding, the ecclesiastical realities, hierarchical configurations and practice of Anglicanism in Rhodesia, in the Diocese of Mashonaland are therefore those aspects on which this study focuses and critiques. This is done both from the historical as well as ecclesiastical perspectives using categories, models and thought-patterns that are firmly rooted in the fourth century Church. This preference is, therefore, inspired by the historian Eusebius' partisan stance that he adopted in his narratives. The views of the powerful and most advantaged within the Rhodesian context in which the Anglican Church was a major player, therefore, give us opportunities to see the history related to this context in a new way that departs from available narratives and that we suspect to be another version of the theology of empire. It is clear that our main concern is to use the Eusebian theology of empire approach to work out a narrative that can capture the modern missionary era in Rhodesia while paying attention to the common tenets that we can identify in both chronological contexts.

1.6. Sources on the Diocese of Mashonaland's theology of empire

This section raises the issue of source that detail the links of the Diocese of Mashonaland's links to the Eusebian model of the theology of empire. The Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia has not received much academic attention from the point of view of the theology of empire that could be linked to the fourth century Roman Empire as presented by Eusebius of Caesarea. There are several writings that purport to expose the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, but those that question such histories seeking similarities or divergences from Eusebius' theology of empire, are rare. This research seeks to contribute observations that are meant to be critical in the study of the Anglican Church History within the Rhodesian context of the past by way of critiquing the Eusebian model of writing and comparing it with some literature in this context. For example, the following questions are explicitly and implicitly responded to: what are some imperial influences that feature in the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland that could be linked to the writings of Eusebius? How do the issues of race, class and Christo-political power manifest themselves in the historical discourses that have so far been advanced by historians to expose important developments within the Diocese of Mashonaland?

Regarding the meaning of “Christo-political power” in this context, it entails the attempt to use Christianity to support political assertions. It is a concept that is inspired by the idea that secular rulers might want to use the name of Jesus Christ to ring-fence their privileged political positions and ambitions. This will be made clear when we look at the Rhodesian political dispensation that made appeals to Christianity and justified systems that otherwise had a negative impact on the indigenous people in the country. We wonder whether the historians in this context were able to capture for us the real spirit that existed between the Anglican Church and the civil authorities of Rhodesia. This concern comes against the background of the protracted exploitation and marginalisation of the indigenous people as will be demonstrated in many sections of this this work.

In this work, we also look at some of the writers who could be said to fall into the Eusebian category and examine how they promote the distortions of Anglican Church history in Rhodesia. We could have expanded this interrogation. Nevertheless, the above are some of the critical questions that are uniquely preferred on the historical narratives so far advanced by certain authorities in this context. These authorities are identified as having attempted to outline the developments of historical significance within the Diocese of Mashonaland. Perhaps the challenge here is to justify the claim that ancient historical approaches could be impacting on modern contexts directly, such as the Rhodesian Anglican one on which we are focusing...

The challenge, in the foregoing connection, is to attempt generalisations in terms of how the Christian Church could be understood across centuries, ancient and modern. Paying serious attention to how Romano-Christian and Rhodesian settings could be seen as commanding similarities or dissimilarities from a historical perspective is therefore presented here as a challenge to the rendering of Church history from a postcolonial understanding within a Southern African context.

The key term utilised in the topic preferred here is “replication” with special reference to a church leader, who existed in the past, and the impact of his ideas to the scholarship within a particular Rhodesian context. We are investigating

whether a significant emphasis on Eusebius' approach can be established. The question of how Eusebius' understanding could have influenced other modern writers makes this work necessary and relevant within the Mashonaland context. The concept of 'replication' in our work is highly charged with two major connotations: historicity and precedence. In this research, the aim is to go back to the fourth century to critique the historical authenticity of the theology of empire, while, at the same time, trying to identify current parallels using the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland as the major referral case in modern times.

The statement that there are parallels between the ways history was narrated by Eusebius and Rhodesian Anglican Church historians can only be substantiated if what preceded these narratives can be established in line with the theology of empire understood in this context. This exercise seems to underpin the uniqueness of writing about the Mashonaland Anglican Church affairs and can be a significant contribution to Church history, especially here in Southern Africa, where the writing on the origin and rise of Anglicanism in Mashonaland raises an awareness of the specific authors' sentiments that are interpreted as partisan. Now partisan narratives have the potential of distorting history in ways that can be extremely damaging, especially in contexts where a significant population of people could have been compromised by others. Attempts to highlight certain achievements selectively while suppressing others that are sensitive, is problematic. This could end up being viewed as ideological instead of historical. Our challenge is to expose facts that could help us distinguish history from ideology without actually dismissing the narratives that are advanced. It is important to note that history can help us understand the genesis and further development of a given ideology, however, it cannot by that very token, become an ideology in its own right. This clears the way for historical facts to be narrated without the danger of degenerating into an ideological expression.

1.7. Preliminary insights into the Mashonaland Anglican context

The foregoing points could be substantiated by highlighting some important facts critical to our context. Firstly, Rhodesia could be understood as a name imposed from 1890 onwards by colonisers on the area occupied by the Ndebele and Shona people, north of the Limpopo River and south of the Zambezi River. The area was

popularly known simply as Mashonaland before the occupation.³¹ Rhodes had already referred to Mashonaland as his country in 1889, even before occupying it.³² He talked about it as though it was a vacant land waiting to be occupied by the British. If the Mashona people lived there at all, they did not count for much in this new dispensation. Why this imposition came to be seen as legitimate by others raises the question of how the indigenous people were treated in the process. This question should not be ignored, especially in the name of gospel imperatives and in the name of balanced Church history that makes significant references to the Mashonaland context. Leaving out the indigenous peoples' concerns could mean that there is a way of looking at history that downplays these people's relevance to the country. Taking the name Rhodesia for granted also ignores the fact that the indigenous people had their own identities. That an illegitimate process was never questioned in any sustainable manner within the Anglican Church circles makes it urgently and academically problematic.

Secondly, where colonial atrocities could be identified and documented, it could be a distortion to give accounts that seem to treat such abnormal developments as though they were nothing or never happened especially from a Rhodesian Anglican perspective. It is bizarre to note that words such as "white thieves or robbers," "terrorists," "white-brutality", "blood-thirsty", "white savages" and such morally charged terms were never applied to the white people at any given time and in a really sustainable manner. In fact, the violent takeover or occupation of a space that was already occupied by other people could attract such terminology with reason. That this did not happen can be explained partly by the way historians chose to write about such developments. There seems to be a gross negligence of facts that was actually strategic in terms of boosting the Europeans' position over and against the indigenous within this Mashonaland Anglican context.

Thirdly, the relevance of a postcolonial approach to history is deeply anchored in the need to analyse the impact of colonialism from a perspective that should no

³¹. Hoste, H.F. "Rhodesia in 1890" in *Rhodesiana*, The Rhodesiana Society, Salisbury, Rhodesia, Vol.12, September 1965, p.1

³². *Ibid.*

longer be tied to one viewpoint. Today we can discuss the merits and demerits of the colonial era safely during the Rhodesian days.

Being a critical institution the world over, the Christian Church needs to be understood correctly and free from the distortions individuals may want to impose on it.³³ (See photo insert where the politician features prominently in the Bishop's office giving us a distorted image of the church). The Church versus empire relationship continues to be a challenge even in our modern times and this should call for continued engagements that aim at providing alternatives to biased observations and narratives.



Figure 1.1 Kunonga in his diocesan office (Note the significant absence of photos such as those of other bishops or Archbishops of the Church of the Province of Central Africa or the Worldwide Anglican Communion and the prominence of a politician)³⁴

Currently, the theology of empire project does not appear to be attracting the attention of many scholars of Church History within the Rhodesian context that is

³³. Gweshe, E, 2012: Kunonga seizures continue - with police blessings, in The Zimbabwean, Available online at: <http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/zimbabwe/61437/kunonga-seizures-continue-> .Accessed 12 October 2012

³⁴. Ibid.

defined as Anglican. Other perspectives that are neither historical nor theological and, hence, distorted are allowed too much latitude especially in understanding developments within the Diocese of Mashonaland.³⁵ By implication, the historical and theological understanding of the Anglican Church in this context could be distorted. At times, the political dimension is exaggerated to the extent of making it the only explanation that matters, hence, making our appeal to the Eusebian narratives relevant. The Anglican Church in Mashonaland is then interpreted as a political movement or whatever people would like to call it, as long as they do not claim it to be Christian.³⁶ This attitude needs to be challenged from an academic perspective and from the point of view of Church History. Therefore, this understanding is taken as an imperative dictating the approach to which we are attracted to in terms of narrating history from the point of view of the theology of empire in the foregoing connection.

Another urgent task is to boost the distinction between mere propaganda and pure historical narratives given the histories of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland that have so far been submitted. Ultimately, this research could be seen as making contributions towards the appeal for balanced historical narratives within a Rhodesian context. The latter knows something about colonial domination even within Church circles and the subsequent attempts to downplay it through partial historical discourses. Alertness to propaganda narratives, therefore, is central to our approach in this work as this can help us see where the Anglican Church in Rhodesia could be said to have conflated religious and political matters.

In addition, of critical significance in this context is the attempt to formulate a historical argument that can help pave the way for the proper understanding of

³⁵. It is critical to note that in our work we are mindful of how the Anglican Church has often found itself caught up in the political tensions within Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. This position is summed up in Appendices 9-18 where critical articles have been listed in this work.

³⁶. Thornycroft, P & Berger, S., 2010: Archbishops condemn attacks on Zimbabwe's Anglicans locked out of church, in The Telegraph, UK. Available online at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe>. Accessed on 2 January 2010. This international newspaper article is just another example that imposes distortions on the nature of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe formerly Rhodesia): The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have condemned a surge in intimidation and violence against Anglican worshippers in Zimbabwe instigated by an excommunicated bishop allied to President Robert Mugabe. A politician and an ecclesiastical leader are seen in the same light. We appeal to such materials to boost the narrative of the theology of empire in this context.

motives prevalent among African and European ecclesiastical functionaries within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. To link this whole enterprise to the imperial appraisals that occurred in the fourth century, in which Eusebius is a major narrator, implies a unique contribution in terms of recording Church history of the Diocese of Mashonaland in the twenty-first century with a focus on exposing certain intricacies that could have been downplayed in the past. This approach has the obvious advantage of exposing how Church authorities have been confused with power to the detriment of ordinary people. When historians do not expose such developments in some given contexts, we have cause to be curious.

Finally, this research is being undertaken as one of the many critical attempts to correct rampant distortions within Christian circles where the temptation to emphasise politics and to downplay Church history takes centre stage. It is envisaged that this work can eventually help by contributing insights that lead to the understanding of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland from another angle that has so far not been emphasised. This understanding can assume a new and balanced dimension and, hence, constitute a challenge for others to do critical research in their own ecclesiastical contexts.

1.8. Aim and Objectives of this investigation

The main aim of this research is to adopt a comparative approach that challenges scholars to review the impact of the theology of empire in a given age within the context of the Church history of the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia. It also attempts to influence the argument that ancient Christian ideologies and convictions could help us make sense of developments in the way later Churches could be documented from a historical perspective. The Mashonaland scenario gives us opportunities to critique the dominating practices of the Europeans over the indigenous people, all premised on God as though God were in the habit of being partisan. In order to achieve these aims, the following objectives are preferred in this work:

Firstly, a critique on narratives of Church-state relations in the fourth century during Eusebius' time is attempted, highlighting their supposed influence on similar realities within the Diocese of Mashonaland. In this connection, we are

guided by the rationale to account for the fact that Europeans seem to have an upper hand in a context they created. We must make it clear from the onset that although the tone of this presentation is harsh, at times, in terms of reference to the Europeans; the idea is indeed to challenge the given historical narratives in such a way as to write balanced historical narratives. Throughout this work, the emphasis is on how bias could compromise narratives that seek to highlight the encounters of different people and races with one another. Implied in the arguments attempted in this connection is the assumption that human encounters should otherwise be harmonious instead of militant. The Church must be careful in handling such encounters.

Secondly, attempts to highlight the shortcomings of the theology of empire in terms of defining the Church identity and purpose in the Diocese of Mashonaland are made. The Christian faith should be interrogated to find out whether it could also serve certain sections of people in Mashonaland as an ideology of socio-economic and political dominance. While the case of Eusebius has been documented by many scholars, it is not so with authors favourable to the way Anglican missionaries ordered themselves in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Thirdly, an appeal to the fourth century Church of Eusebius and Emperor Constantine is meant to enable the continued usage of insights from Church history in order to understand current Church-state interactions. Eusebius wrote favourably about the emperor and empire as understood from a Constantinean perspective that made God part of the problem and not a solution. This is brought about in order to establish whether similarities between the Roman Empire and the Rhodesian state could not be advanced as a sustainable narrative.

Fourthly, that appeal is also meant to popularise the theology of empire as a reality within the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and, hence, aimed at providing an invaluable incentive to appreciate Church history in this connection. Here again, the emphasis is to interrogate the impact of politics on the faith of a given tradition such as the Anglican Church.

Fifthly, this research is also undertaken to challenge other scholars to desist from romanticising Church-state relations in given contexts such as the Diocese of Mashonaland where competing claims could be made. In this connection we ask this major question: How can we measure the success of Church work in a context that is marred by prejudices of a racial nature, socio-economic dominance and other approaches that slotted people into moulds almost contradictory to issues of unity, peace, and love?

1.8.0. Methods in this theology of empire narrative

Investigating the influence of the theology of empire today from the point of view of writing Church history is a theme that imposes a number of limitations in terms of gathering information. For example, there are no eye-witnesses to the fourth century developments that we can approach to be furnished with some reliable insights on the subject. Our problem is even more compounded by the fact that some of the original documents we have access to have been translated either from Greek or Latin into English, hence, increasing the risk of losing out on the original meanings of some concepts. The original languages of documents may not always be accessible to ordinary researchers. In the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, the question is even more complex in the sense that it is not easy to ask people whether they were victims within this discourse of the theology of empire or perpetrators of it. Documents detailing the whole discourse of the theology of empire are scarce and, hence, making it even more complicated to isolate sources one could interrogate. Bearing this in mind, the investigation is designed as a qualitative approach to rely on both primary and secondary sources against the background of the limitations cited. It is extremely important with regard to the foregoing connection to highlight the fact that our focus is to identify the prevalence of the theology of empire in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Materials that help us to develop this narrative are available and yet not much has been done in terms of popularising the theme of the theology of empire within this context.

1.8.1. Primary sources

Primary sources of information vary from eye-witness or first-hand accounts, verbal or documented; letters, diaries and such materials that have not been

interpreted by others. Having identified the complexity of the theme of the theology of empire within the context of the Diocese of Mashonaland, the methods of gathering information put in place assume several dimensions. Limited interviews were conducted either telephonically or on a one-to-one basis as distances between South Africa and Zimbabwe made it impossible to reach out to all the people who could help with answering some relevant questions. Questionnaires were also sent to the clergy and, laity, just to establish whether any latent or manifested awareness of the impact of the theology of empire in the Diocese of Mashonaland could be determined. The selection of respondents was random as the idea was to avoid predetermined information. Our respondents needed to be those who could willingly and freely talk about the issues as they were presented to them. Some potential respondents indicated an initial interest, but later failed to submit their responses. A significant number of the clergy and laity did not bother to respond to the challenge presented to them. All these findings are submitted to help formulate a critical narrative in this context. Where the resources permitted, field work involved travelling to Mashonaland Central, Bindura and Mashonaland East, Chivhu. Mashonaland West, Mhondoro-Ngezi was also visited. The idea was to get a general feeling regarding people's understanding of the developments within the Anglican Church that had never been documented before.

In terms of document analysis, the Zimbabwe National Archives, The Anglican Church collections at the Witwatersrand University Archives in Johannesburg and the UNISA Library were used to obtain some of the most critical information and to formulate a theoretical basis for this investigation. The Diocesan Archives of the Anglican Church in Harare could not be accessed due to some disturbances that began in 2007 and came to an end only in 2012. Some documents critical to our research could not be accessed after the disturbances and one wonders how much an oral tradition should be allowed to fill the gaps created.³⁷

The disturbances within the Anglican Church mentioned above could have influenced the reluctance among many other people in Harare not to respond to

³⁷. Rev Cleophas Marandu whom I had tasked to locate some materials from the Diocesan Archives about St Oswald's Mission in Mhondoro-Ngezi could not get the information for me on time. According to his communication to me, there was not much on this Mission covering the period between 1920 and 1952 –a period in which Arthur S. Cripps could have initiated work in Mhondoro-Ngezi.

the questionnaires that were sent out to them around this period. The timing of the research seems to have posed an extremely serious limitation. This was true of some white parishioners within the Borrowdale parish who had been identified as potential respondents but declined to answer the Questionnaire sent to them.³⁸ This constituency had been identified as strategic in that it still had a significant number of parishioners of European origin and some of them could have been valuable sources regarding developments within the Diocese of Mashonaland during the colonial era. Their reluctance was therefore unfortunate as these imposed limits on the amount of data that could be gathered.³⁹ Again in this connection, it can happen that people could be overwhelmed by fear and be unwilling to express their understanding of events within a Christian context. This made this research even more urgent and curious. Hence, other relevant information could only be accessed through newspaper articles, and the internet, although with the obvious challenges such sources could pose. The general internet articles were a last resort and were approached selectively. However, some online sources are highly valuable in terms of scholarship, while others could not be verified in terms of their reliability and origin. Much caution is needed when handling such materials especially as they may not have undergone rigorous academic reviews.

1.8.2. Secondary and Tertiary sources

Secondary sources provide us with information that is not first-hand but have gone through processes such as interpretations or simply observations far removed from the original events. They are valuable in our context as they help us with theories and insights to determine whether bias is exaggerated when it comes to narrating certain developments within the Diocese of Mashonaland. Some are valuable in that they give general appreciations of history and its samples.

Again, books and articles that refer to the fourth century developments and also to the Anglican Church in Mashonaland were consulted and some of the findings constitute valuable sections of this work. The UNISA library, the internet and the

³⁸. Communication received from a possible respondent simply indicated that any engagement on the subject was not possible.

³⁹. The reluctance seems to confirm the tensions between a white versus black Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

Anglican Church Archives at the University of Witwatersrand (in the Historical Papers section) were the main sources of the materials that were utilised in this research.

Tertiary sources, simply put before us by some experts, “are quick reference materials that briefly describe biographies, events, places, and eras by condensing facts and figures into a few pages or paragraphs.”⁴⁰ Examples given in this connection are encyclopaedias, dictionaries and related materials that have this foregoing thrust in terms of providing concise but informative facts on people or things. We shall meet with tertiary sources especially as we attempt brief biographies of some of our major characters in this narrative.

Bearing in mind that our topic requires us to establish the link and impact of the theology of empire, a theme that has not been systematically dealt with up to now in connection with the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, the bibliography that was obtained from the aforementioned library and archives helped with the formulation of the argumentation preferred in this investigation and narratives.

1.8.3. Historical approach as a preferred method in this context

One authority reminds us that the historical approach involves “the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events”.⁴¹ We are also reminded that the historical approach helps us “to employ the past to predict the future, and to use the present to explain the past.”⁴² In this work, the historical approach preferred involved going back to Eusebius’ work that dealt with Constantine and to evaluate the ideas that led other authorities to conclude that the writings in question should be labelled “imperial.” This work makes an arbitrary jump from the fourth century to the late nineteenth century, during which the Anglican Church found its way to the country that was named Rhodesia by those who colonised it in 1890. The fourth century Eusebian approach is our source of inspiration in an attempt to

⁴⁰ . Introduction to Historical Research, UNISA, RSA. p.6. Available online at: Url: <http://0-lib.myilibrary.com.oasis.unisa.ac.za/Open.aspx?id=389649>. Accessed on 16 August 2012

⁴¹. Historical Research, 2005: University of Latvia, Latvia, p.45. Available online at: Url: http://www.ppf.lu.lv/v.3/eduinf/files/I_Ture/Historical_research_44-65.pdf, Accessed on 24 August 2014

⁴² . Ibid.

present a narrative on the theology of empire that is neither Roman nor part of the ancient Christian discourse. Again, the task is to look at the narratives using Eusebius as our criterion of adequacy to see whether from 1890 onwards, the Anglican Church in Rhodesia was able to adopt an independent agenda that could be said to be free from state influence. There are important stages that are looked at in this connection with special reference to the following periodisation and key players:

Firstly, 1871-1889: Important background developments in Europe such as the foundation of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands and the idea of colonialism that went with such missionary efforts. This is an extremely critical period that should not be overlooked when considering the missionary dimension of the Anglican Church in general and from a global perspective. The idea is to establish a firm basis for a narrative that could take the theology of empire seriously as a major point of reference. The question of whether the Anglican Church was free to embark on its own pastoral agenda without reference to the grand project of imperialism becomes urgent in this connection. How such developments could be critiqued by historians is, emphatically, a challenging undertaking. This background information about the British missionary impetus helps us to answer questions of how independent missionaries were in terms of implementing their Christian policies without reference to the Rhodesian state. Histories that do not bother to inform us about this important foundation and how it was conceived could be seen as incomplete. If this period was to be side-lined, how then could we understand where the Anglican Church could be situated within the Rhodesian context and beyond?

Secondly, 1890-1953: This period covers the transition from mission to province and the nature of narratives submitted by some authorities to describe what was happening then. By analysing the way some of the developments were narrated by interested historians, the idea is to determine how much the influence of the theology of empire could be said to be applicable in this Mashonaland context. Highlights in this connection include the idea of advancing the missionaries as though their main preoccupation in Mashonaland could be viewed as purely Christian without the contamination of the contemporary secular pressures such

as economics, politics and racial challenges. Arguments that have been advanced to absolve the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia from being contaminated by colonialism and its negation of the indigenous people are brought under the spotlight to test their firmness. The idea is to highlight whether such arguments could be sustainable given what later transpired in this country in terms of Church-state relations. History is allowed to dictate our bearings here in terms of the preferred narratives.

Thirdly, 1953-1979: Church-state relations in the light of black nationalist sentiments and the resultant war of liberation and how these developments impacted on the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Again, in this period, opportunities to evaluate developments within the Diocese from the point of view of the theology of empire are seen as resulting from the values at play then. There was a European-led church that required the indigenous people to subscribe to it. The major question, against this background is to find out how this *status quo* could impact on the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous population.

Analysing the narratives so far preferred in this connection, could help us establish whether the theology of empire discourse could be justified in this context. This process of subjecting some of the writings that narrate events in this period, to an academic tribunal in this connection, helps us to detail how far the ideas of those in power, both within the church and the civil establishments, could be seen as stifling the aspirations of the indigenous people. Sources that help us to work out these details become urgent in this regard. At the end of the day, the awareness of how the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland could be paralleled to the narratives preferred by Eusebius to the Roman Empire in his writings is boosted.

Primary and secondary sources are, therefore, critiqued from this historical perspective in order to determine how far Eusebius could be said to be a historian who should be remembered as influential in line with our theme. It must be clear that there is nothing that could be really isolated and directly linked to Eusebius in Mashonaland and, hence, this research has to justify the selection of materials for

a cogent presentation that attempts to read today's developments in the light of the fourth century.

1.8.4. Literature review (integrated approach)

A number of documentary sources were consulted to give focus and inspiration to the theme of the theology of empire in the Diocese of Mashonaland. These sources could be divided into two categories, namely, those that deal with methodology and those that are general historical narratives. A sample is reviewed in this chapter.

1.8.5. Literature review on methodology

Diarmaid MacCulloch, in his work *Groundwork of Christian history* identifies some critical approaches that he feels have influenced the writing of Church history over the years.⁴³ He calls them the "Liberal Western history,"⁴⁴ the "Marxist history" and the "imperialistic Christian history."⁴⁵ MacCulloch refers to them as "attitudes" that have been prevalent in the writing of history.⁴⁶ The "sectarian Christian history" is deemed too narrow and, therefore, exclusive.⁴⁷ MacCulloch reminds us that these methods help historians to define how they understand their task and, therefore, the interpretation and focus they could prefer regarding their facts. Our work is challenged in this connection in that history, at the end of the day, depends a great deal on the attitude preferred by those interpreting it.

The liberal Western history is said to enable coherence and neutrality in dealing with historical sources.⁴⁸ In this connection, facts are allowed to speak louder than the attitude a historian may want to impose. In our research, we acknowledge that most of the materials critiqued seem to be written from this liberal western perspective. The problem with this perspective is that it does not recognise other approaches as being critical to the development of narratives and therefore to given histories. MacCulloch advances it as his preferred method, while we appeal

⁴³. MacCulloch, D., 1988: *Groundwork of Christian history*. London: Epworth Press.

⁴⁴ . *ibid.* p.9

⁴⁵. *Ibid.* pp.3, 8.

⁴⁶. *Ibid.* p.3

⁴⁷. *Ibid.* p.5

⁴⁸. *Ibid.* p.9

to it as one of the many options available for consideration. Perhaps it is not the best approach to narratives that actually challenge its thrust at the end of the day.

The imperialistic approach is critical when dealing with issues of power and dominance especially as perceived within ecclesiastical circles.⁴⁹ This seems to be the approach that Eusebius preferred without paying attention to its limitations. In this research, there is the assumption that the theology of empire must always conjure in our imaginations the theme of one system deliberately set to suppress others in the name of God while claiming to be holistic. This becomes critical when dealing with Christian matters and how the image of the same institution has been impacted upon by issues of power and wealth over the years. It is, therefore, important to remember that writing the history of a given Church could actually be influenced by such attitudes as this research was able to uncover within the given context of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Ultimately, those who wield power and influence are the winners at the expense of those who are deprived of the same.

The Marxist approach enables a historian to deal with questions of how social, economic or political relationships; make their impact felt on the lives of people.⁵⁰ The question of how resources; their distribution and consumption, especially as they relate to Europe and Africa, were reviewed in this research within the framework of the Diocese of Mashonaland. The fact that a considerable amount of money came from England, to finance church work in Mashonaland, was seen to play a critical role in determining who wielded power and who was to be at the receiving end. Once there is an identification of groupings defined by the amount of material resources they command and ultimately being the critical anchor of power and its implications, missionary Christianity should be understood in ways that do not take it for granted. The Marxist approach becomes a critical attitude in understanding history in this regard. Throughout our narrative in this context, the question of who was in control of resources in the Diocese of Mashonaland is understood to be urgent.

⁴⁹ . MacCulloch, 1988, op.cit. p.3

⁵⁰.ibid . p.8

The same appreciation that MacCulloch envisaged in connection with these methods is appealed to in an attempt to blend them in cases where one could not suffice to account for the facts made available. With special reference to the Christian imperialist approach, our findings in this case seem to challenge that approach by way of demonstrating that some of the facts overlooked by it could actually be key to constructing narratives that help us shed some more light on the given state of affairs in Mashonaland. History cannot just be accounted for in terms of those who are more powerful or more exploitative than others.

K.D. Bailey's speaks of a "documentary study"⁵¹ that allows for the qualitative manipulation of data from written sources. The analysis of any written materials that contain information about the phenomena to be studied⁵² and in this case, the fourth century Christian Roman scenario versus the late nineteenth through to the twentieth century Mashonaland context is the major pre-occupation in this connection. In this work, there is a need to pay attention to the fact that the names Zimbabwe and Rhodesia that both refer to the area between the Limpopo and the Zambezi Rivers did not exist from the beginning. We have already mentioned above that Mashonaland was a preferred designation. In fact the name Rhodesia came only after the colonial invasion of the area in 1890. The name Zimbabwe as designated to the country was adopted and became popular only from 1980 after the independence that resulted from an armed conflict between Europeans and the indigenous. Usage of the names Mashonaland, Rhodesia and Zimbabwe has these limitations that need to be respected throughout this work.

Documents on Church history that can be primary, secondary or tertiary are analysed from the point of view of the theology of empire and its logical consequences within the Anglican Church in this context. Related materials also go through the same process of analysis to determine how the Mashonaland context could satisfy the idea of the Eusebian theology of empire. The main aim is to advance informed arguments, interpretations, descriptions, explanations and conclusions that are relevant to our topic that aims at establishing the replication of Eusebius' approach in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

⁵¹. Bailey, K.D., 1994: *Methods of Social Research*, The Free Press, Maxwell Macmillan International U.S.A, p.294

⁵². *ibid*

Bailey mentions up to eight advantages of document study that this research appreciates as major points of reference. He notes that documents accord us the opportunity to access subjects that are otherwise inaccessible. A good example would be people who are long dead: documents about them or left by them could be our shortest link to them.⁵³ This is true of the early Church that is far removed from us. We could only appreciate the existence of Eusebius, the emperor Constantine and their contemporaries only from documents that have survived through the centuries. Again, Bailey notes that documents are neutral because they may have been written for some other purposes that did not anticipate any research such as this one and, therefore, they could be studied without prejudice to a predetermined state of affairs.⁵⁴ It is important to note that the question as to whether a document is neutral or not is relative. In our work questions of neutrality are actually raised about some documents to determine why they could have been written.

Acknowledging the neutrality that could be ascribed to a document, examples could be given to affirm the point. We know very well that Eusebius did not leave us writings that he termed “theology of empire,” neither does the Anglican Church in Mashonaland subscribe to the same terminology in defining itself from a historical point of view. Therefore, we could safely study sources for the purposes of our theme in this regard without any prejudice. Another critical advantage in terms of this research method is that documents enable the study of ideas and facts over a long period of time.⁵⁵

In this research, document study accords us the opportunity to review developments in the fourth century and enable us to compare and contrast them as well as appreciate them from the perspective of the twentieth century Anglican Church in Mashonaland. To this end, there is a need, against the background of what Bailey says, to point out that a historico-theological investigation envisaged in this context rules out some scientific research methods such as observations (in

⁵³. Bailey, *op.cit* pp.294-5

⁵⁴. *Ibid.* p.295

⁵⁵. *Ibid.*

terms of certain historical phenomena that date back many centuries), experimentation, and surveys⁵⁶ because the nature of the information on which it is focused would not be possible if these methods were allowed to dominate research in this context. The period between us and the fourth century is too long and would not enable us to employ a method that involves a first-hand interaction with the major players.

A document study also allows a large sample size just as is the case with a survey method that allows the recording of spontaneous actions and feelings by the investigator.⁵⁷ We have documents in mind such as letters that could help us understand the feelings and developments that could have led to some outcome, such as those we shall later on encounter among the Anglican missionaries or had a lasting impact on the context in question such as the Rudd Concession that will also be referred to in connection with the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Reading these letters or related documents could shed some light on matters that might not be so obvious if a critical approach is not applied.

The other three advantages of a document study noted by Bailey include: First, access to written confessions that would possibly not be possible in an interview; second, the low cost of the research when compared to surveys and other methods that require extensive field research; and thirdly, the high quality of materials, given the fact that books and other professionally written artefacts are better than responses, such as those we could get from questionnaires.⁵⁸ The emphasis on this method in the investigation undertaken could therefore be justified on the basis of what Bailey recommends as cited above.

An “inclusive” approach, as the foregoing observations espouse, is preferred for its negation of “dogmatism,”⁵⁹ within a historico-theological framework, is allowed to determine certain procedures in terms of data collection. Hence, this implies being strategic, in terms of choosing which methods are critical with regard to helping to formulate a cogent narrative, at every stage of this thesis. This research therefore

⁵⁶. Bailey, op.cit.p.295

⁵⁷. Ibid.

⁵⁸. Ibid.

⁵⁹. Ibid.

appeals to a quantitative approach only when an urgent need to demonstrate facts that can be augmented by it is a critical factor. Good examples here are the amounts of grant monies and stipends' disparities, the size of land and the number of missionaries that can be identified in a given period within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The quantities of these resources had to be noted to enable the comparison between the missionaries and colonisers from the point of view of the expropriation of what was assumed to belong to the indigenous people before the colonial era.

Using the inclusive approach as the basis of dealing with primary, secondary, tertiary or oral, sources, the socio-cultural, theologico-political, and economic as well as historical, facts are subjected to a scholarly tribunal to determine their authenticity and relevance in connection with the argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland. The positions of certain documents are questioned in order to determine whether they will help us link the fourth century developments with those in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The aim is to produce a historical narrative and argument that presents challenges to keep on reviewing continuities especially in the Christian Church and, ultimately, to advance this project on the theme of the theology of empire for further considerations from a Zimbabwean perspective.

Bailey is neither a historian nor a theologian. His methods and reflections that go with them are meant specifically for social science research that happens to be distinct from historical and theological research. However, methods in the social sciences have been found to be suitable in historico-theological research as the foregoing observations can support. What is envisaged in this research is to avoid imposing social science research methods that will not be beneficial for a historical project. In this connection, there are limits to the application of surveys, as this only applies to documents that will be selected. Also, experimentation is not considered and observations are not seen as urgent outside the confines of the theme in terms of gathering information as already admitted above.

In line with the above, the fourth century period is far removed from us and, therefore, surveying, experimenting and observing cannot help to shed light on

certain issues of interest. The past is no longer accessible to us and so we are very restricted if we used such methods that fall outside the limits of the available documents. At the same time, some people living today could be asked to give historical accounts of events that happened in the Diocese of Mashonaland dating back as far as they could remember and in connection with the oral traditions that could have been handed down to them. Again, such an approach cannot be seen as feasible to capture every detail in the past except to give us insights into what could have been popular or not within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

In line with the qualitative method, Earl Babbie⁶⁰ encourages us to question the origin and purpose of materials. This research employs such questioning of sources in the process of gathering data relevant for this project. It is clear that some of our secondary sources need such interrogation as they are suspected of having partisan origins. Many narratives that outline the history of the Anglican Church in this context never came from the indigenous authors. On the contrary, the indigenous people's history in this context was written predominantly by European authors on their behalf. Here we call Odendaal's observations to mind to the effect that many of the writings advanced to narrate African Church history could be regarded as mission-centric or simply Euro-centric or similar preferences.⁶¹ Such approaches are, therefore, seen as inadequate and cannot be accepted as giving us comprehensive and balanced narratives of the African Church history.⁶² This way of writing can be regarded as inadequate and, therefore, the theme of the theology of empire is boosted on the basis that those with power, influence and resources happen to be the same who narrate their successes or make the less privileged the subjects of their writings.

Babbie also envisages the alertness to biases that could be embedded in the presentation of historical facts.⁶³ This is in line with what is intended in this research as we analyse various data sources without allowing prejudices and such preconceived ideas to dominate the undertaking. The underlying motive is simply to detect the theology of empire in the documents consulted and to work out

⁶⁰. Babbie, E., 2010: *The Practice of Social Research*, 12th edition, Chapman University, Wadsworth, USA.

⁶¹. Odendaal, *op.cit.* pp.1-2.

⁶². *Ibid.*

⁶³. Babbie, *op.cit.*p.512

narratives that can make our argument more convincing. It is clear that the challenge is to detect bias in a dispassionate manner to give weight to our analyses.

The qualitative approach is also preferred in this work because it enables the investigation of “complex and sensitive issues”⁶⁴ and to make meaningful analyses, and in our context, situations that are political, historical and theological as they contribute to the development of a sustainable theme on matters of power. The Rhodesian Anglican Church in Mashonaland can be understood in this connection for there are political as well as religious intricacies that are dealt with in order to give a coherent historical account. The appeal to such claims made on Bernard Mizeki’s life and the works of Arthur Shearly Cripps in Mashonaland are good examples in which politics and religion can be seen to overlap and, hence, the need for narratives that can acknowledge the task of clarifying certain developments and their possible interconnectedness. The views submitted by those in power need to be understood in the context and spirit in which they were expressed.

We should, in line with the foregoing, bear in mind that Diarmaid MacCulloch encourages us to be alert at all times to the fact that no matter how committed we are in terms of handling historical materials, objectivity is always problematic.⁶⁵ This challenges a positivistic approach to history on the basis that we might not be able to go back to the past to understand the facts as they existed then. This point is made against the understanding that every historian must be selective, that is, “quietly ignoring some facts and putting the spotlight on others.”⁶⁶ It is clear that the constructionist approach to history is preferred here since its authenticity is confined to what was selected against the background of other facts with equal weight that might simply be ignored. Obviously, the number of facts omitted and their weight in a given theme can be seen as critical regarding the bias one historian might have.

⁶⁴. Trochim, W.M.K., 2001: *The Research Methods Knowledge Base*, Atomic Dog Publishing, Cincinnati, OH, USA, p.152

⁶⁵. MacCulloch, 1988, *op.cit.*, p.9

⁶⁶. *Ibid.*

In F.H. Carr's work, "What is history?"⁶⁷, we are reminded about some critical matters in line with the foregoing. In effect, according to Carr, history "is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past,"⁶⁸ there is always a need to be critical, especially when the context is one that has already been shown to be riddled with distortions. Certainly, any context in which human consciousness plays a significant role cannot avoid this important dimension that is critical to the general outlook of our experiences. If that past has a direct bearing on what we are experiencing in the present, failure to be critical would see us accepting certain twisted facts as though they were close to the truth. The challenge has to do with whether a dispassionate analysis of facts can be afforded when the idea is to adopt a corrective stance on a history that has frequently been distorted. Perhaps there is a need to emphasise the fact that where there are conflicting interests, as can be said about the Afro-European encounters, a narrative that dispenses itself of a critical awareness and of inherent conflict could be misleading. In our case, what kind of history would help us understand the Anglican Church in Mashonaland using critical tools that are not constrained by the limitations imposed by mere narratives that pay no attention to the context? One wonders how a liberal approach could bail us here. Certainly, the challenge is too much for any approach that might ignore how another set of facts has a far reaching impact on given narratives.

It is clear that Carr makes a distinction between facts that can be recalled and are perhaps accessible to all and the way a historian can make the same facts tell a story from a unique perspective. A good example he gives is a case in which the historian would be interested in influencing the opinion of the audience and, therefore, arranges his facts in order to achieve that goal.⁶⁹ Again, a critical eye is needed to pick out the motive, sinister or otherwise, of the historian. In this trend of thought, Carr goes on to make the following important observation:

⁶⁷. Carr, E.H., 1986: *What Is History?*, Palgrave Publishers Ltd, Great Britain

⁶⁸. *Ibid.* p.24

⁶⁹. *Ibid.* p.5

It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts only speak when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts he gives the floor and in what order or context.⁷⁰

This is another clear argument against the positivist theory. However, Carr complicates matters for us here in the sense that he does not allow us to condemn certain narratives as they depend on the preference of a given historian. Objectivity is ruled out and, therefore, we might not be able to subject certain facts to a thorough scrutiny. The historian's hands are tied in this connection.

Although we tend to agree with Carr, in line with the above, our reservations in this context are also clear. What if there is abundant evidence that a given historian is manipulating facts to suit his/her given narrative without strict adherence to what those facts might point to? For example, with regard to the Rhodesian context where colonial preferences took centre-stage, an uncritical narrative of facts may not help us to get nearer to the truth. We shall see this occurring in Eusebius of Caesarea's preferred narratives and Carr may not be able to bail us out.

The reservations we may have in connection with the foregoing quote taken from Carr is that it does not give us a clear distinction between propaganda and the mere interest in stating facts from a historical perspective. The Diocese of Mashonaland is our focus in this work and we need to say something that can highlight some of the developments without downplaying their impact. It will only be logical as we look at those facts that a critical eye must be allowed to boost the argument advanced and be "selective" accordingly, as Carr proposes.⁷¹ However, selectivity here has to do with priority rather than bias in cases where there could be conflicting claims. For example, within the Rhodesian context, we are challenged to distinguish between colonialism and evangelism; goodwill and extortion and philanthropy and commercial greedy. It is important to state our understanding at this point. Once again, we refer to Carr in this connection, who contends that,

⁷⁰. Carr, op.cit.p.5

⁷¹. Ibid.p.6.

The historian is necessarily selective. The belief in a hardcore of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy, but one which is very hard to eradicate.⁷²

Carr, by making such a bold statement, in the above connection, does not make our task easier at all. What if there is a particular theme that many historians have attempted from various perspectives and tend to agree on certain critical points, would it not be possible to generalise certain developments? For example, would we not be able to conclude that underhand tactics were employed when by Rhodes and his people when they invaded Mashonaland? In fact, on this point, even selectivity would not dismiss that such a thing happened. Perhaps what would be possible is to downplay the impact of such a development.

Our case needs to be understood against the foregoing position of selectivity and interpretation. To what extent selectivity and interpretation can be allowed unabated, constitutes an extremely critical challenge in this context. Our starting point is that there are facts such as the existence of an area that was first known as Mashonaland and then Rhodesia and now Zimbabwe. Surely, these are not the results of mere selectivity and interpretation but can be regarded as a convention which in the long run, has become part of the history to be studied. Stating that there were colonial and Christian interests in Mashonaland is once again, not a selective statement but is instead a sincere expression of what was generally accepted and documented as the state of affairs. The weight of certain details such as who was favoured and who was not could then be subject to prioritisation, interpretation and selection.

Being an institution that should concern itself with transcendental values, the way the Church is run should not leave us with questions when we scrutinise its engagements with the world. The Church should be seen as being led by those higher values that benefit humanity without compromise. We are raising the issue of consistency in conduct and moral fortitude in compromised circumstances and, therefore, the whole philosophy of being Christian. Indeed, we are looking at facts imposed on us that we might select and interpret or simply ignore. However, it

⁷². Carr, *op.cit.*p.6.

must be admitted that facts ignored today might be important information for history in future. It is clear that selectivity and interpretation might compromise certain narratives.

In line with the above, we need to listen to what the Catholic Encyclopaedia says about Christianity and the Church to be in a position to appreciate the way our narratives are conceived. We read in that informative source that:

Christianity, which contains the fullness or perfection of Divine revelation, is made known to mankind by the Son of God Himself. In it are realized all the prototypes that appear in Judaism. By its very nature, it is universal, destined for all men and all ages. It differs profoundly from all other organizations, lives its own independent life, possesses in its fullness all religious truth and, in opposition to the Jewish religion, recognizes the spirit of love as its highest principle, and penetrates and comprehends the whole spiritual life of man. Its cult is at once the sublimest and purest form of Divine worship. It is in every sense without a peer among human associations.⁷³

The terms utilised in the above narrative of what Christianity is all about raise the issue of contact to the loftiest heights in terms of human standards. We must point out that the issue of gospel imperatives will continue to be appealed to in this research in order to be able to analyse facts about the engagement of missionaries. Although we are here faced with an idealised understanding of Catholicism, there are elements that we assume to be given when we talk about the Anglican Church and its ethos if the above is our canon. The Church must do its business from a unique understanding of its relationship with God and so should not be confused with any other worldly organisation. This is the reason why we support those who see Eusebius of Caesarea as a bishop who was worldly first and foremost and, therefore, unable to assert his Christian ambassadorial calling in a convincing manner especially, when his history is analysed.⁷⁴

Hence, and in line with the above, we bring this whole idea of the theology of empire to bear on his attitude towards state functionaries. In the same way, if the Anglican Church in Mashonaland under the European missionaries could not rise above the colonial institutions in terms of the ways in which it treated the

⁷³. Ecclesiastical History. Catholic Encyclopaedia, Catholic Online, USA. Available online at: URL: <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=5799>. Accessed on 9 May 2013.

⁷⁴. We have in mind the uncritical eulogies for the Emperor that originated from his pen as already cited.

indigenous, then the above description does not really speak to it as one representation of the Church universal in the true sense. If to be Christian is not an event, then a continuous engagement, in terms of soul-searching, is needed so that this consciousness by the Church universal should be clearly seen as a call to higher values and not the other way round. Supporting colonial schemes and calling that Christian can be problematic if the critical consciousness proposed in this context is allowed space and when viewed from a historical perspective.

By making the foregoing observations, we are very much aware that our interest is in the facts with which any critical historian can engage without any reservations. Again, we allow Carr space to enlighten us on the rules of engagement envisaged in this connection. There are three important points that can help us understand our position in this context as Carr states for us.

Firstly, regarding the issue of our interest in this research, Carr points out that the researcher or “recorder” of historical facts is critical in the sense that they are the ones whose interest gives the form and direction to the facts based on their intellectual engagements with the context.⁷⁵ In our case, the interest in facts that can boost the theme of the theology of empire within the diocese of Mashonaland, stems from the researcher’s curiosity, in this given context, of how the issues of religio-political and socio-economic power within Church establishments could be seen as continuing to be manifest to this day. Hence, we can now appreciate the attempt, in our case, to engage in the metamorphosis of ecclesiastical governance and its challenges within a given context in Rhodesia. The fact that we have latent and manifested tensions due to racial encounters over the years, should help us to proceed with caution.

The second point that Carr raises and is worthy of referring to, has to do with what he calls the “imaginative understanding” of the minds of the people under scrutiny.⁷⁶ Throughout this work, we are trying, to focus on missionaries as well as the indigenous leaders of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and we can appreciate that Carr’s canon is applicable. We are trying, directly or indirectly, to

⁷⁵. Carr, *op.cit.*p.16

⁷⁶. *Ibid.*p.18

understand the minds of the missionaries, the colonial authorities and others connected to them by raising the question of the disparities that give rise to our concerns in this context. Throughout the narratives, we try to draw attention to what history has actually bequeathed to us, while, at the same time, interrogating the prevalence of gospel imperatives and their implementation within the missionary context of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

We know, in the above connection, that between the indigenous people of Mashonaland and the Europeans, there is a need to account for a sustainable relationship, defined in terms of dominance of one group by another, that could have been allowed too much space in colonial times. However, it is clear that we are also envisaging the critical dimension that could prompt even more questions that have far-reaching consequences in terms of how Anglicans in the Diocese of Mashonaland could deal with issues of identity, purpose and ethos against the background of racial inequalities and rampant exploitation. How have historians helped in this regard through their narratives? Ordering Church business in certain ways simply because that is what the missionaries bequeathed to the indigenous, may not always demonstrate to us the level of religious maturity of people whom we may assume to have come of age. It may be that history, in this context, was advanced simply to narrate the state of affairs and not to make the indigenous people critically aware of what could have gone wrong. A servant, who goes on to perfect his master's, or her mistress' training and instruction, cannot be said to be mature or free. There is no evidence in terms of his/her own initiatives and motives.

Finally, in line with the above, we come to the third part of Carr's observations on what history is. It is critical to observe that we are reminded about the existential situation of the historian. In this connection, Carr notes, "The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human existence."⁷⁷ It should be admitted that, as we engage in this research, the current state of affairs has influenced a great deal of the input in this context. Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, has now been an independent state for more than 37 years and this researcher,

⁷⁷. Carr, *op.cit.* p.19

its product. Rhodesia is now a name of the past and so are some of the prejudices that were celebrated by European authorities of the day. The very fact that a critical eye is envisaged in terms of how missionaries ordered themselves during colonial times in the Diocese of Mashonaland is influenced by the reality of independence and the challenges it brings especially to the indigenous leaders of the local Anglican Church. Political independence is not complete until it is allowed to influence religion, economics, culture and such related disciplines in Zimbabwe. The problem with people who have been subjected to narratives that are one-sided over a lengthy period is that they may fail to make a distinction between the wood and the trees. Therefore, when we begin to narrate history with this in mind, we actually rescue it from the violence done to it by forcing it to be silent when its urgent call is to express critical issues at stake by way of being inclusive and bringing us closer to what could have been the case in the past.

The foregoing points we borrowed from Carr help us to say something about some of the works we are engaging that focus on the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. An observation made by Chennells in his review of Arnold's *Here to Stay*⁷⁸ should help us in this connection as one good example. Here we are in full agreement with that observation. We shall later on submit more observations about how Arnold chooses his facts when he writes about the Diocese of Mashonaland. For now, Chennells points out that:

W. E. Arnold has chosen another, and to me the least satisfactory, way of writing a history of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe. He deals with the men and women, bishops, priests and lay-people who have over the years worked for the Anglican Church in this country. Sometimes his account degenerates into a list of appointments and resignations, accompanied by a brief biographical sketch of where people had come from and where they were going. What they thought they were doing when they were here is hardly addressed, except for the Bishops who seem to have been pretty certain about their mission. What Zimbabweans thought of their comings and goings and why some chose to join the church seem not to be issues in Arnold's text. This is a pity, because a history of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe should be very interesting.⁷⁹

⁷⁸. Arnold, W.E., 1985: *Here to Stay: The story of The Anglican Church In Zimbabwe*, Sussex City, England Book Guild .

⁷⁹.Chennells, A.J, 1988: ANGLICANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE, in *Zambezia*, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe, XV (1). Available online at: URL: <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Journal%20of%20the%20University%20of%20Zimbabwe/vol15n1/juz015001006.pdf>. Accessed on 8 August 2012

From the foregoing quote, it is clear that those, like Arnold, who have decided to narrate the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could be blamed for being emphatic on narratives that are weak in terms of being critical to the context. Most of the men and women who play a leading role that is not even questioned are white missionaries who had work to do in Mashonaland. Therefore, Arnold depicts a context in which imposed racial inequalities are explained as though they had no significant consequences, yet they influenced the lives of people in such a way that Rhodesia had to witness a civil war to rectify this anomaly. The problem with mere narratives that can be identified in the above connection should be noted. It stems from the fact that in our context, when one undertakes to say something about the developments within the Anglican Church in Rhodesia from the conventional viewpoint, many questions remain unanswered. Looking at some of the narratives preferred by Arnold, some of the answers could begin to emerge.

In line with the above, meanwhile the theme of this research claims to focus on the way Eusebius wrote about some aspects of the fourth century Christian Church and how we could link its impact on the twentieth-century Anglican Church in Mashonaland, the materials sought are obviously selected from a plethora of others with similar claims. What is included and what is left out are the results of a purely arbitrary decision on the researcher's part. Furthermore, the question of accessibility can be cited as imposing limits on which sources could be consulted easily. To this end, one could not claim to be comprehensive in an absolute sense without qualification. Perhaps we could absolve Arnold from the charge advanced by Chennells. The point is that the developments he lights especially from Bishop Knight-Bruce to Bishop Burrough are worked out on the basis of materials that were available and could be scrutinised with some amount of fairness. In our approach, we take Arnold to task because the work he gives us seem to challenge us to raise more questions that are not given much attention in his exposition of the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland.

It is clear that the qualitative approach underpins the strategies we shall use to analyse Arnold's work and others related to his. Therefore, Assuch, Babbie, MacCulloch and Bailey find their preferred methods being appealed to throughout

the critical stages of this work against the background of their appreciated limitations. The quantitative approach is not ruled out for it is used as an auxiliary method in relation to the qualitative as already pointed out above. Arnold seems to bombard us with facts that are quantitative in nature so as to boost his idea of the Anglican Church that was established to stay in Zimbabwe. For example, Arnold indicates to us that at one time, the whole of Southern Rhodesia was being serviced by 23 priests and 3 deacons.⁸⁰ We are looking at more than five vast parishes and a similar number of Mission stations.⁸¹ Clearly, these quantities do not speak to the quality of work that was being done. This is not to downplay the quantitative method in order to glorify, as it were, the qualitative approach. The two, as Trochim reminds us, are often taken as complementary in any research they could be employed.⁸²

It is important, in line with the above, to note that Trochim helps us to appreciate the relationship between qualitative and quantitative methods. He observes that a mixed-methods approach that combines the qualitative and quantitative approaches has considerable value, especially in social research.⁸³ However, when conducting theologico-historical research, there is even more value when the qualitative method takes centre-stage without ruling contributions out that could require quantification. This is in recognition that “Anything that is qualitative can be assigned meaningful numerical values” in the ultimate analysis.⁸⁴ In history, the bias is not so much towards quantity, but quality. In analysing Arnold’s work, we see that the quantitative and qualitative approaches are blended to deal with the complexity of the facts he highlights for us. However, our ultimate objective in this case is to advance a qualitative narrative and argumentation based on the prevalence of the theology of empire in Mashonaland.

1.8.6. Literature review of general narratives on Church History

Several scholars who have offered valuable analyses on Church-state relations, both in general, and in particular contexts, help us to focus this research on the

⁸⁰. Arnold, *op.cit.* pp.2-3.

⁸¹. *Ibid.*

⁸². Trochim, *op.cit.* p.152

⁸³. *Ibid.*, p.154

⁸⁴. *Ibid.*

theme of the theology of empire. It should be noted that of those consulted in this research, none have been found to have analysed the impact directly that these relations have on the hierarchy of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. In the light of the theology of empire as informed by the fourth century Romano-Christian church developments connected to Eusebius of Caesarea's narratives, we wish to attempt an argument relevant to this theme. A brief integral literature review, that is also tentative, is submitted as the basis of this research from this perspective of the theology of empire. It tries to demonstrate, as far as possible, the literary strengths and deficiencies that confront any historical investigation that resembles the research envisaged for this theme, especially from the point of view of the theology of empire as understood today. A selection of these writings is included here to demonstrate how they could be seen to be inspiring our historical narratives and arguments that emphasise the theology of empire perspective. Clearly, we are talking about the theology of empire from an interpretative stance that does not guarantee any absoluteness in our position as the same authors could be understood differently in terms of other viewpoints.

In Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by A. Cushman and others,⁸⁵ with special reference to *Book X*, the scene that inspires this research is set by Eusebius. The coming in of the new Roman imperial government under Constantine is clearly introduced as the main reason for celebration.⁸⁶ The words used in this connection are quite revealing for Eusebius notes that,

Thanks for all things be given unto God the Omnipotent Ruler and King of the universe, and the greatest thanks to Jesus Christ the Saviour and Redeemer of our souls, through whom we pray that peace may be always preserved for us firm and undisturbed by external troubles and by troubles of the mind.⁸⁷

That peace that Eusebius celebrates above, and as the narratives progress, is based on the military successes of Emperor Constantine who happens to be Eusebius' hero in this context. The history of the Church within the umbrella of the Roman Empire is now presented in the form of a eulogy by Eusebius. Again he writes in this connection,

⁸⁵. Cushman, A (trans.), et.al. 1890: NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, (Church History, Book X: 2.2) Available online at: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.html>. Accessed 10 May 2010

⁸⁶. Ibid.p.775. Reference to Eusebius' Church History Book X.I.1.

⁸⁷. Ibid.

And in accordance with the utterance which commands us to sing the new song, let us proceed to show that, after those terrible and gloomy spectacles which we have described, we are now permitted to see and celebrate such things as many truly righteous men and martyrs of God before us desired to see upon earth and did not see, and to hear and did not hear.⁸⁸

Our problem is compounded by the fact that we are not so sure of how to make a distinction between a sober presentation of facts and an emotional appreciation of developments. Was Eusebius undertaking a sober analysis of the developments before him or was he both a player and a referee?

In line with the above, God is seen to be taking sides with the military and political victors set to change the history of Christianity within the Roman Empire of the early fourth century. Eusebius' is inviting in this connection as he writes,

Come and see the works of the Lord, the wonders which he hath done upon the earth; he removeth wars to the ends of the world, he shall break the bow and snap the spear in sunder, and shall burn the shields with fire.⁸⁹

Clearly and in line with the foregoing, we know that God did not do so with Constantine's army. Many questions arise when history is written from a perspective that smacks of propaganda and is underpinned by an obvious inclination towards glorifying the powers of the day at the expense of others. We are worried that a propagandistic preference in historical narratives may deny the audience opportunities to compare and contrast with other options that could be available within the same context and focus. Again, we recall that Carr, cited above, may not be able to help us here when selectivity is overemphasised.

Eusebius was not presenting the theology of empire as a subject to be studied by his audience. Neither did he utilise the concept as such. The term was coined many centuries later as a description and interpretation of this kind of writing Church history. It is an attitude that is understood as favouring the powers of the day and at the expense of the ordinary people. At this point, we are able to maintain the most important understanding preferred on the theology of empire. This kind of theology that is imperial, provides the theoretical or ideological justification for the ambitions of the powerful. It absolves mundane rulers to deal

⁸⁸. Cushman, *op.cit.*p.776. Reference is to Eusebius's Church History Book X.I.4.

⁸⁹. *Ibid.* Reference to Eusebius' Church History Book X.I.5.

with those who justly oppose them; those who are weak and underprivileged; while misappropriating the idea of God to consolidate their schemes, in whatever form they may take. It is clear that when reading such narratives by Eusebius, our point of view of the theology of empire is inspired. This is because history in this connection is narrated from the point of view of the most powerful, hence, subordinating everyone else who does not seem to count in the political and military equations of the early fourth century Roman Empire.

The above observations are made emphatic when we turn to Eduardo Hoornaert, a historian in our time. In his book, *The Memory of Christian People*,⁹⁰ he makes a reference to Eusebius that is of interest to our narratives. Here, Eusebius' presentation of Church history is seen as one aimed at glorifying the empire more than a sober appreciation and analysis of events. Instead of being a historical narrative of developments within the empire from a Christian point of view, Eusebius' work is seen to be celebrating the imperial agenda of conquest and such related achievements by ascribing everything to the Christian God. The programme of history preferred by Eusebius, according to Hoornaert (1988:13), therefore, presents us with a picture of the Christian Church that seems to confine it to the achievements of secular rulers whose agendas may not be to promote religion for its sake. However, it should be noted that Hoornaert does not talk about the theology of empire that is possible today, but one that pertains to the early fourth century in line with Eusebius' eulogy on behalf of the emperor. Hoornaert's work, therefore, inspires this investigation to ask further questions that can be relevant in today's Church, in particular, contexts such as the Diocese of Mashonaland.

In this research, we ask, in both direct and indirect manner, whether the theology of empire in the fashion of Eusebius of Caesarea could still be alive with regard to later centuries. This kind of questioning renders Hoornaert's exposition incomplete in so far as a comprehensive understanding of the theology of empire is concerned. Could we find other Christian expositions outside the fourth century that could be relevant to Southern Africa today from where we encounter the

⁹⁰. Hoornaert, op.cit. p.13

Diocese of Mashonaland? Accordingly, an appreciation of Hoornaert's ideas is preferred, in this regard. A critical review of the theology of empire theme is included in order to demonstrate that Hoornaert did not speak the final word about Eusebius' treatment of Church-state relations in this context.

It is important to point out that, Hoornaert presents his work to deal with many other aspects of Church history that are not necessarily tied to the theology of empire. Again, the very fact that the same theology is called upon as the basis of understanding the Rhodesian Anglican Church context between 1890 and 1979, in comparison with the fourth century context, is a clear testimony of what African Church history is still being deprived of. This is by virtue of the scarcity of such investigations that are emphatic about the impact of the political and military successes of certain people who may want to attribute their victories to God. In fact, it should be noted that Hoornaert and other works related to him that purport to expose Church history from a global perspective, did not have anything enlightening to say about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The theology of empire is not even mentioned in line with this context with which we are dealing. Therefore, this research attempts to contribute to the ongoing work that should be submitted in volumes that pay attention to particular geographical areas such as Southern Africa from the point of view of the theology of empire.

Diarmaid MacCulloch must be read side-by-side with Hoornaert in this context. Although MacCulloch, in the *Groundwork of Christian history*, does not mention Eusebius in particular, it could be said that this happens to be one of the authors whom he has in mind when he observes that Christian historians in the fourth century began to view the empire in a positive manner.⁹¹ This attitude is defined as imperialistic in terms of recording history, because it suppresses all other viewpoints to give the Church of Eusebius an upper hand. History is only presented from the Church's advantageous perspective. For example, Eusebius sees the hand of God in the Emperor's achievements that tended to benefit the Church.⁹² All events should make sense only in so far as they relate to the Church that gained favour within the Roman Empire under Constantine. The emperor

⁹¹. MacCulloch, 1988, op.cit.p.4

⁹². Cushman, op.cit.p.777. Reference is to Eusebius' Church History Book X.II.1-2.

overshadows the efforts of all other ordinary Christians who were responsible for making Christianity a popular religion. Eusebius' interpretation of history is, therefore, a politico-theological reflection purporting to be an account of a process commanding far-reaching historical significance during his time. Theological preferences are imposed on political and historical facts, hence, complicating the narratives that Eusebius submitted if the question of the distinction between history and theology is raised.

In the spirit of *Book X* of Eusebius' work introduced above, we tend to sense a degree of compromise when history shows obvious inclinations for bias towards those in power. For example, the fact that God is seen as taking over events using the emperor as his major instrument and directing them in history, is a point that complicates our understanding of history as an independent unravelling of events in time. We are left wondering whether history could not be, on the one hand, the whole process of God manipulating events according to their wishes. In this connection, the coming of Constantine to the throne is a great cause for celebration because it is a divine initiative. The status and wealth accorded to ecclesiastical authorities is interpreted as the "munificence"⁹³ of God and Eusebius would like to see future generations being accorded opportunities to remember these developments. In this connection, he writes,

It may not be unfitting to insert these documents, translated from the Roman into the Greek tongue, at the proper place in this book, as in a sacred tablet, that they may remain as a memorial to all who shall come after us.⁹⁴

The subsequent chapters of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical *History Book X* continue to be inspired by the view that the Emperor was indeed fulfilling God's promises of peace and prosperity to his people. Such claims are extremely difficult to evaluate from a purely historical perspective to which MacCulloch alludes in his work.⁹⁵ The point is; how we come to conclude, in concrete terms, that an event is directly linked to the divine without robbing it of its historical and human significance is not a light question. This is in view of the fact that some of the events are ignored and this even makes the God in question extremely limited. Again, when an event has

⁹³. Ibid. Reference is to Eusebius' Church History Book X.II.2.

⁹⁴. Cushman, A (trans.), et.al. op.cit

⁹⁵. MacCulloch, 1988, op.cit. p.10

been characterised as divine and opposed to others, where we place the human agent in the context of history, since matters that pertain to God transcends space and time, is illusive. Such issues must be raised when Eusebius' ideas are evaluated and the questions of God manipulating the process are brought under a closer scrutiny. The fact that the obsession with human military and political successes is dominant in a theology of the empire makes Eusebius' position in the presentation of history extremely challenging in terms of appreciating the impact of his approach across the centuries.

As though Church history was not sufficient for Eusebius' exposition of what was happening in the fourth century, Romano-Christian encounters, *The life of Constantine*,⁹⁶ takes the whole imperialistic approach to its logical conclusions in terms of narrating the historical achievements of the emperor. The work continues with praises of Constantine who is even compared with some ancient figures who were also emperors in their own contexts.⁹⁷ Both MacCulloch and Hoornaert accord us the opportunity to raise issues about history as an expression of the past written from the point of view of prejudices that favour only those who are strategically positioned in this world from the point of view of power: be it political, social or religious, for example. Eusebius finds daring critics in our times and, hence, his work does not go unchallenged by today's scholarship. This makes the theme of the theology of empire extremely urgent in so far as it provokes discussions on the relationship that should obtain between theology and history as well as between transcendental realities and common events in this world. Constantine is advanced by Eusebius almost like a divine figure, hence, complicating our understanding of him in history as a human agent who must be viewed from the point of view of limitations that obtain among all who have passed through this world.

The foregoing observation becomes urgent when we turn to *Constantine Versus Christ*, by Alistair Kee who seems to have an axe to grind with Eusebius when it comes to exposing some developments within the fourth century Church as it

⁹⁶. Cushman, A (trans.), et.al. op.cit., Life of Constantine

⁹⁷. Ibid. Life of Constantine, Book I:VII

came to relate with the Emperor.⁹⁸ Here we are challenged to look at Eusebius' work from another critical angle. Kee's version tries to capture the reasons behind Constantine's generosity to Christians that have nothing to do with the benevolence of God about which Eusebius was emphatic. He does not consider divine intervention as an urgent matter but worldly concerns that were in the realm of politics and such related matters. Kee argues that the emperor, using subtle but extremely effective methods, brought the resilient Christian Church under his influence.⁹⁹ To this end, Constantine was able to substitute the real Christ with himself. The result is that the Christian Church was unwittingly forced to worship the emperor and therefore the empire;¹⁰⁰ to preach the gospel of prosperity, and, hence, parted ways with what Jesus Christ had envisaged. Dismissing Kee's interpretation of what was at stake during the fourth century may not be that easy. Within the context of the Diocese of Mashonaland, Kee's position could persuade us to consider the radical position of missionaries such as Arthur Shearly Cripps who were not comfortable with mixing Christian matters with Rhodesian civil favours. The Church and the Empire in this connection were seen as distinct institutions that should have no binding relationships based on munificence as was true when Constantine was in power in the fourth century.

It should be possible, using Kee's observations to argue that the theology of empire in the foregoing connection, ostensibly invokes God while, in fact, emphasising the glory of the empire. Political and military appetites overshadowed Christian matters. Eusebius' works do not admit this fact. Neither do Hoornaert and MacCulloch emphasise these distortions although their reflections pave the way for such critical interpretations. Meanwhile this research is premised on the fact that distortions of history could be repeated even to this day in some particular Anglican Church contexts such as that of Rhodesia. This misinterpretation of history is important in understanding how the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could be accounted for by those with hidden agendas. We are helped to investigate how events could be directed by the powerful at the expense of the weak and underprivileged, while God is used to disguise the real motives. This is

⁹⁸. Kee, A., 1982: Constantine Versus Christ: The Triumph of Ideology (SCM Press, Ltd)

⁹⁹. Ibid, p.153-154

¹⁰⁰. Kee, op.cit. pp1153-154

extremely critical in the life of the Church that emphasises the opposite. Hence, Kee's work inspires the argument of the theology of empire in this context, while at the same time, paving the way for a critical review of Eusebius' project, using developments within the Diocese of Mashonaland.

There has been an allusion to historians whose works make critical references to Eusebius and the fourth century Church. Anglicanism, by Stephen Neill,¹⁰¹ enables us to make a leap to the twentieth century. As this work is being conceived, it should be admitted that this leap constitutes an academic "gamble" that is worth it, in so far as it is a historical investigation aimed at demonstrating continuities of political influence within the Christian Church. Neill's work gives us an overall picture of what Anglicanism is all about. It helps us to understand the major tenets of Anglicanism, that is, the spirit of communion understood as the coming together of independent Churches that could have been linked to the Church of England formerly in terms of governance and foundation.¹⁰² One advantage of reading Neill's book as part of the research proposed here is that it talks about the British Empire, a political entity that blended so easily with the spread of Anglicanism, a religious institution. The author is able to maintain a distinction between the political and the religious motifs in so far as the expansion of both is concerned. A critical Church historian will no doubt raise questions about similarities between the ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in terms of how they blended their political agendas with the Christian Church. The issue of independent churches within the Anglican Communion is also scrutinised given the role that is played by the Archbishop of Canterbury within this global ecclesiastical conglomeration.

When discussing the formation of the Province of Central Africa, to which the Anglican Church in Mashonaland belongs, Neill introduces ideas that are also attended to in this research. He observes that the formation of the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland preceded the formation of the Anglican Province that combined churches in the countries in question. Neill

¹⁰¹. Neill, S., 1958: *Anglicanism*, (Penguin Books, Ltd, UK)

¹⁰². Elgot, J. 2015: What is the Anglican communion and why is it under threat?, *The Guardian*, UK. Available online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/16/what-is-anglican-communion-why-is-it-under-threat>. Accessed on 16 September 2015.

does not talk about Eusebius in this connection and neither does he anticipate a discussion that could bring his exposition under the spotlight using categories and thought patterns that have come to be seen as major constituencies of the theology of empire in this context. This work is, therefore, seen here as an opportunity to suggest links between the fourth century Church and that of today using the foregoing insights as points of reference.

Accordingly, we have occasion to point out certain areas of deficiencies in Neill's exposition of Anglicanism, it should be acknowledged that his book is a major source with regard to understanding Anglicanism from a worldwide perspective. This broad treatment of Anglicanism paves the way for analysing claims by the same Church in particular settings such as the Mashonaland context. Issues such as the training of priests in the Anglican Church and the subsequent expectations the world might have of them constitutes some critical themes reviewed in the light of the theology of empire as it relates to Eusebius of Caesarea. In this connection, the responsibilities of individual Anglicans as they relate to the wider Church and the role of Bishops in the same context is brought to bear on the Mashonaland case under review. So this is an extremely important book that should not be overlooked in terms of understanding how the theme of the theology of empire can be formulated and narrated historically. Again, in this research, we scrutinise the context and spirit that influenced Anglicanism and question how much of the historical and theological spirit Neill captures about the Rhodesian context in which we are interested from the theology of empire perspective.

In *African Church historiography: An ecumenical perspective*, 1986, edited by Ogbu, U. Kalu,¹⁰³ certain historiographical issues, peculiar to the African context, are deliberated upon. Some of the essays in this collection help us to move away from approaches that MacCulloch, Hoornaert and others mentioned above that could influence this research. Instead of dealing with issues that are general, the African perspective is emphasised. Unfortunately, as Kalu's introductory essay reveals, writing Church history from the African perspective has been riddled with many shortcomings that range from a lack of the necessary expertise to sectarian

¹⁰³. Kalu, O.U., 1986: *African Church Historiography: An Ecumenical Perspective* (Papers presented at a Workshop on African Church History, Nairobi, August 3-8)

emphases.¹⁰⁴ We could also add that Africans in general, should find the theology of empire more appealing than has been appreciated up to now. Kalu believes that it is possible to engage, from an African perspective, in the writing “of history which will give Africa a strong voice, enable her to recover self-identity and serve as an empowerment for the future.”¹⁰⁵ Our investigation now focuses on the issue of the theology of empire suspecting it to militate against African initiatives and aspirations in so far as writing history is concerned, especially, within the Diocese of Mashonaland. The dilemma is that since not much scholarship on the part of the indigenous people was allowed to develop, only the European perspective seems to dominate the scene. This calls for an urgent corrective action from the point of view of historical scholarship. How Europeans, from a Christian point of view, ended up wielding more influence than their African counterparts, present us with an anomalous scenario that could only be articulated from the point of view of the theology of empire.

It is no accident that another contributor to the above work, Kamuyu-wa-Kang’ethe dedicates his essay to the theme of how mission churches suppressed African nationalism and patriotism. He makes it clear that his ideas are aimed at shedding light on how Africans have responded to the cultural as well as ideological infringements by European missionaries. Importantly, this research attempted detailed responses to such works, therefore, there is a need to point out that the whole point of appealing to the theology of empire in line with Eusebius of Caesarea’s approach is to contribute to the highlighting of certain anomalies within the context of the Diocese of Mashonaland. History, we are forced to argue, could not afford to be narratives of only the powerful and the influential individuals. These may not help us to attain a fuller understanding of what institutions such as the Church could stand for.

The successful articulation of the theology of empire within the African academic landscape could be one that satisfies the principles of historiography in the above connection, while at the same time, demonstrating both the successes and failures of Africans in asserting themselves within the context of Church History. Both Kalu

¹⁰⁴. Kalu, op.cit.p.10

¹⁰⁵. Ibid.

and Kang'ethe seem to make the same African mistake of responding to questions that Europeans raise and not those originating from African experiences within Christian churches. By investigating the replication of the theology of empire within Anglican circles in Rhodesia, the idea is to introduce a new way of evaluating African Church leaders asking questions that are directed to issues of authenticity and, therefore, identity. One argument that this research prefers, revolves round the issues of how Africans left to themselves could be seen to be following in the footsteps of the very people, for example, missionaries of whom they appear to be extremely critical in terms of how they transacted Church business in Africa. How far this position could be sustained happens to be the question essentially tied to the whole discussion of the impact of the theology of empire.

In line with the above, *God's Irregular: Arthur Shearley Cripps*, (1973) by Douglas V. Steere¹⁰⁶ helps us demonstrate how Africans are often ignored when it comes to viewing missionaries who laboured in their communities. Here, we are calling those missionaries to mind who did not see power and status as defining characteristics within the hierarchy of the Church. Steere's work takes us back into the history of Anglican missionary work in Rhodesia by focusing on the activities of one missionary between 1901 and 1953. Arthur Shearley Cripps' resistance to colonial greed is clearly documented and there are examples of his unpopularity among his European colonial masters in this period.¹⁰⁷ This missionary was also a champion of the now controversial land question¹⁰⁸ in Zimbabwe that could easily be seen as getting the Anglican Church and the State into an almost nostalgic partnership. Cripps was a missionary who did exactly what he preached. His case helps this research to demonstrate how a Christian prophetic voice could distinguish itself amidst an enterprise that could be predominantly political and, therefore, imperial. Why Cripps was not able to prompt Africans to begin a general uprising against the dominating powers of his day remains a mystery when everything he stood for is taken into consideration. He seems to be a popular hero who failed in his attempts to bring about the emergence of a purely indigenous

¹⁰⁶. Steere, D. V., 1973: *God's Irregular: Arthur Shearley Cripps* :SPCK, London.

¹⁰⁷. Ibid. p.87

¹⁰⁸. Ibid, p.105

Anglican church in his own context and time. Perhaps the influence of the most powerful forces ultimately prevailed.

In Cripps, Eusebius' position however, encounters a daring contender many centuries later, not in Europe, but in Mashonaland within the Southern African context. Accordingly, while Eusebius is known for singing eulogies on behalf of the state, Cripps challenged the abuses of the same institution in the Rhodesian context. This research is inspired by the stance of Cripps that is absent in Eusebius of Caesarea and that helps us to critique the Anglican hierarchy in Southern Rhodesia. Cripps' missionary work helps us to argue that it is possible for Christianity to do its business in this world without recourse to political support and influence. The theology of empire is not a theme that is treated by this book especially with special reference to Mashonaland and the Anglican Church in Rhodesia. Thus, this research can help uncover new ways of understanding Church-state relations that are not common within the Rhodesian Anglican historiographical context.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter is an introduction that started off by delimiting our area of investigation and then went on to advance its rationale. It also spelled out the objectives and outlined the methods that are preferred in this context in terms of putting some facts together that could pass the test of being history from the point of view of the theology of empire. The literature review followed in two parts to distinguish between those that were consulted for methodological guidelines and those read as historical narratives to consolidate the foundation of this research that takes the theology of empire as its major point of departure. The books that have been identified tentatively and reviewed briefly above, were seen as capable of providing a solid foundation for an investigation that seeks to establish historical links between the fourth century Christian Church in the Roman Empire and the Anglican Church in Mashonaland in so far as the theology of empire is concerned. In the next chapter, the context of the investigation is spelled out and preferred definitions are given. It will conclude by way of indicating how the rest of the chapters in this work were developed.

CHAPTER 2

2. Thematisation and definition of terms in keeping with the Eusebian-Mashonaland link

In the previous chapter, we tried to create a space in which we could talk about the theology of empire, within the framework of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, and its links to Eusebius of Caesarea without many hurdles. When we read Bill Arnold's *Here To Stay*,¹⁰⁹ the problem we are faced with becomes acute. Already in the introductory paragraphs of the first chapter of the book, we are left wondering about issues of particularity and universalism, in so far as the Anglican Church is concerned. Here we have to content with the preferred distinction between the English-born and "native-born" Anglican Bishops.¹¹⁰ It is clear that the need to define terms in our case could avoid the vagueness that we are worried about in terms of how references to Anglicanism could be used in Mashonaland.

This chapter aims at putting the key terms in this research into proper perspective and the related appreciation that goes with them. This is going to be achieved by way of definitions and clarifications of terms that have significant recurrence in our study. In the subsections included in this chapter, our objective is to clarify the way our key terms such as "Anglicanism," "Rhodesian Anglicanism," "Zimbabwean Anglicanism," "theology of empire" and the "Eusebian influence" are understood and employed in this investigation.

In terms of methodology, a documentary analysis is the main approach applied in putting ideas together that could help us appreciate the spirit in which the enumerated terms are employed throughout this presentation. This documentary review involves appreciating how other authorities have used these terms in their own narratives or what they say about them. The researcher's interpretation constitutes a key dimension in the terms preferred in the included narratives. Then an attempt is made to either reject or accept these preferred usages, as paragraphs and sections in this context dictate, in the spirit of balanced narratives and critical scholarship allowed by the theme of the theology of empire.

¹⁰⁹ . Arnold, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁰. *ibid*, p.1

Why we must accept or reject others' usages and approaches is an urgent question that could make such a historical discourse as ours more challenging. This becomes even more critical as we align our question to the argumentation being advanced to underpin the theme of the theology of empire within a Rhodesian Anglican context under the auspices of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Our theme is made urgent by the following major question: Within the Mashonaland context in which the Anglican Church had to grow and make sense, why is it that conflicting narratives are encountered when it comes to weighing missionary Christianity against worldly concerns such as socio-political and economic developments? This point is made urgent by Norman E. Thomas' article that starts off by highlighting how missionary efforts to boost the development of natives was often combined with those of the State and yet ended up in putting the two into conflict and compromise.¹¹¹

With regard to the use of the documentary method, there is a latent conviction that makes it imperative to demonstrate that terms can be taken for granted when, in fact, they have a background that needs further interrogation and clarification in their own right. Since we are talking about Mashonaland, for example, why the Christians there should be Anglican needs to be accounted for from the point of view of the theology of empire. This is a position that urges us to consider whether the Church's work cannot be compromised by emphasising policies and approaches that cannot be seen as promoting gospel imperatives. Our project benefits from the definitions given by other scholars since there is an urgent need to demonstrate the awareness of generalisations that could leave any discussions of this nature with more questions than answers when it comes to their usages. We will now proceed to look at these terms against the background that has just been given in terms of the aims and objectives of this chapter.

2.0. The term Anglicanism and its historical application

There are numerous explanations that have been advanced by scholars to make the term 'Anglicanism' tenable. We refer to this term specifically to make sure that

¹¹¹. THOMAS, N.E, 1985: Church and State in Zimbabwe, in *Journal of Church and State*, Oxford University Press, UK., 27 (1), p.113. Available online at : Url: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23916389>. Accessed: 21 June 2015

when it is used with special reference to the Diocese of Mashonaland, we are clear about its critical implications because of the dynamics peculiar to this context. We have already seen that Arnold's introduction of the term in Mashonaland leaves us with more questions that seek enlightenment on the application in this context.

To ask what Anglicanism is, in this investigation, happens to be a question tied to the quest for identity from both ecclesiastical and indigenous points of view. We have already pointed out that one of our major tasks in this context is to be able to understand Anglicanism within the context of the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia and within the framework of a greater appreciation of the theology of empire. Our challenge here is presented by Adolf Martin Ritter, who makes us aware of the problem of taking concepts for granted by giving an example to the effect that,

The world in which the Christian church assembled was, without doubt, already politically structured. One is scarcely permitted, however, to draw the conclusion that the relation between 'church and state' was regarded, from the beginning, as a particularly important problem. As a matter of fact, this wording appropriately characterises a central problem of *modern* times, in the same way as 'state' is a *modern* concept, arising in the Italian Renaissance.¹¹²

Ritter goes on to warn that we might risk being anachronistic if we were to impose meanings of terms to contexts in which they were never meant to apply.¹¹³ In this connection he points out how in the various New Testament contexts the term "Church and State" should be understood in its own right outside our modern understanding of the same.¹¹⁴

We appeal to the foregoing observations just to emphasise the idea of taking concepts and names for granted. Already, Mashonaland and Anglicanism are very incongruous names when one is imposed on the other. A convincing account is needed in this connection so that the matters of God could be distinguished from those that are merely human. Within a historical setup, it becomes even more

¹¹² . Ritter, A.M., 2013: Church and State up to c.300 CE., in Cambridge Histories Online, UK. p.524. Available online at : Url: <http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/histories/>, Accessed on 3 September 2013.

¹¹³ . Ibid.

¹¹⁴ . Ibid.

interesting when writers take certain developments for granted and narrate them as though they were the final accounts of what could be universally acceptable.

We also look at the same question of what Anglicanism is all about from other critical dimensions, such as, nationalism and socio-political and economic perspectives that advance themselves in this connection. To examine what Anglicanism is within the framework of nationalism helps us to link the entire investigation to the issue of how British missionaries transacted their businesses in an African country they came to call Rhodesia. It could also be asked how Christianity fared in terms of provoking responses that sought to make sense of this historical Anglo-Shona interaction that commanded strategic colonial undercurrents.

The responses expected in this connection are those that could engender new ways of understanding the Church in particular contexts such as the Diocese of Mashonaland and its Anglican legacy. At the end of the day, the point is to ensure that Anglicanism as a designation to some Christians in the Diocese of Mashonaland, is not taken for granted. When indigenous Christians in Mashonaland identify themselves as Anglicans, we must be able to identify whether they really understand the profound meaning of such a designation.

The theme of the theology of empire inspires us to ask whether the convictions of the powerful, or more precisely, the conquerors of Mashonaland, were not imposed in such a way that the victims, that is the indigenous, had no other theological options except to receive, in a wholesale fashion, the faith of their new masters. Indeed, the issue of freedom becomes key to our understanding of what the Church was doing in such a compromised context that could only be accounted for in terms of the conquerors and the victims.

In line with the foregoing contextualisation, we need to highlight a few questions to guide our narratives in this section. What the identity of this institution is, which fits into the ecclesiastical persuasion that came to be called Anglican in general, needs to be explained. How we could distinguish it from other Christian institutions such as Roman Catholicism, Presbyterians, Dutch, Lutheran, Methodists,

Orthodox, other protestant movements, or even Pentecostals? For the people of Mashonaland who came to subscribe to the Church of England, the critical attraction that persuaded them to choose this identity at the expense of their own indigenous persuasions needs to be accounted for. By raising such issues, especially in connection with the Diocese of Mashonaland, we are curious to know whether matters of convictions could also be matters that others might have the freedom to impose without complicating the Christian faith.

Paul Avis a seasoned scholar of Anglicanism helps us to appreciate the profound dynamics of identity. He maintains that: “My identity is my sense of who I am and where I belong. Our identity is our conviction that we are part of the meaning of things. It is where we fit”.¹¹⁵ This observation is critical in this work because as we seek to appreciate the definition of Anglicanism from a Mashonaland perspective, we must also be aware of one major hurdle: This definition does not answer the question of how people come to see themselves as “fitting in” especially in connection with traditions or religio-cultural practices that originate somewhere else and how they come to be internalised, for example, by the people in Mashonaland. In this connection, Anglicanism and Mashonaland, when put together or when one of the concepts is imposed on another, brings about an interesting historical equation. However, we must absolve Avis because his views were not meant to answer the peculiar realities obtaining in Mashonaland and from the point of view of the theology of empire. We know that it was not Mashonaland that invited Anglican missionaries and the pioneers. Mashonaland did not choose to belong to the English way of doing Church business. This is extremely critical if we are to appreciate Avis’ definition cited above.

The question of how history can have a significant impact on matters of identity in a world that has witnessed the complexity of international migration ever since, as well as the conquest and subjugation of other people in the process, becomes urgent in our discussion as we analyse the given definitions. We need to keep the fact in mind that “gospel imperatives” is a key phrase and how they should be understood universally. We can initially appreciate the fact that gospel

¹¹⁵. Avis, P., 1989: Anglicanism and the Christian Church. T&T Clark, Edinburgh, Scotland. p.1

imperatives, simply stated, have to do with the principles guiding the spread of the good news or the evangelisation of the peoples of the world. Gospel imperatives seem to exclude the subjugation of others and so, in the context of conquest, we simply exclude freedom and the love of God that goes with it. The Mashonaland context compels us to make such critical reflections.

One good example of the issue of identity with a Mashonaland dimension is urgent at this point. When Didymus Mutasa, one of the Zimbabwean nationalists wrote his autobiography, *Rhodesian Black behind bars* in 1974,¹¹⁶ he referred to the past that should be viewed as critical to his self-understanding and, indeed, his Christian identity within a compromised context. The mission station, St Faith in Rusape, that was established among his people in 1888 is described as “a Church of England Mission” that was first “run by an African Catechist from South Africa,” then later on, after the Mashonaland resistance of 1896-7, was taken over by “a European missionary...in 1902.”¹¹⁷ It was at that mission where he was baptised in 1935 and confirmed “as a member of the Church of England in 1949”.¹¹⁸ By the age of 14 years, Mutasa had become a fully-fledged Anglican and perhaps this could be an interesting phenomenon to examine in line with our discussion of the concept of ‘identity’ in this context. What is involved in Mutasa’s case, and indeed of many others, seems to be a process of being made Anglican and not so much becoming an Anglican through personal initiatives. The reason for sampling this is that it challenges any critical mind to reflect on the issue of identity if we were to look at it from the point of view of “belonging” and “fitting in.” How this Mashona individual could now belong and fit into the Anglican home in terms of faith is a challenging development in this context. Again, we are interrogating the whole matrix of becoming a full-fledged member of an institution such as the Anglican Church in a context such as Mashonaland. We must not lose sight of the fact that the idea of a conquered people has already been advanced. What amount of freedom could such people command in terms of determining religious convictions relevant to them?

¹¹⁶. Mutasa, D., 1974: *Rhodesian Black behind bars* A.R. Mowbray. & Co. Ltd, London and Oxford, Great Britain)

¹¹⁷. Mutasa, op.cit.p.14

¹¹⁸. Ibid.

In the early 1970s, when Didymus was arrested on political grounds he was not so eager to identify himself as an Anglican and only reluctantly did so, of course under duress.¹¹⁹ We are talking about a context in which socio-cultural and religio-political dominance of the people of Mashonaland by the British was not the result of a gradual development but of conquest. The identity that is a result of conquest then becomes problematic in terms of capturing the reality of things for us. People could not be said to “fit in” where the preliminaries compromise freedom of association or choice; personhood and indeed the whole idea of being directly linked to God. After the conquest of the Mashona, talking of freedom in terms of even Christian affiliation is not so obvious. Where we situate gospel imperatives, especially the concern for the poor and underprivileged is also a problem. What choices the defeated have in a context where others could dictate the pace of events and convictions could be a question not so easy to answer.

The above issue of identity needs further elaboration in this work as we shall undertake to do later. Before we could proceed with that analytical exercise, there is a need to attend to some more views about Anglicanism that are available in selected recent Church history scholarship. We need to bear the fact in mind that these definitions also shed light on the issue of the complexities of identity as history continues to record and account for the interaction of people globally and also in Mashonaland. Nevertheless, one question remains urgent in this connection: could we assume our identity in something that is solid when it is imposed from outside and with brute force? It seems to be the case that people tend to inherit their identities from the socio-cultural milieu that needs to be understood in its own right and that constitutes a historical system critical to their livelihood as they come into direct contact with others different from them. Freedom becomes a key concept in this connection. Perhaps the Marxist interpretation of the developments in Mashonaland becomes attractive in this connection. Could a people robbed of the ability to decide on their own socio-cultural affinities and to sustain them be said to have any genuine identity at all if we are to take the idea of ‘belonging’ or ‘fitting in’ seriously as proposed by Avis above? Perhaps the simple logic envisaged here is that people should fit in, and

¹¹⁹. Mutasa, *op.cit.*p.58

belong to those principles that define their origin rather than being coerced by external forces that have a domineering intent and spirit.

In an article that seeks to address what Anglicanism is, Avis offers what he terms a “phenomenological formula” or rather “bland, descriptive definition” of this concept.¹²⁰ In this connection, he maintains that “Anglicanism” is “the faith, practice and spirit (or doctrine, order and worship) of the churches of the Anglican Communion”.¹²¹ We can assert without any fear of being contradicted, in this connection, that the term “Anglican Communion” is, taken for granted but it was not always there from the beginning of the Christian faith. We also note that “Anglican Communion” in this definition is not equally important for people who may prefer other Christian traditions.

In line with the foregoing, Neill, in 1958, was able to maintain that: two hundred years ago, that is 1758, no single British bishop of the Church of England could be found “outside the British Isles.”¹²² Therefore, two hundred years before 1958, there was no “Anglican Communion” to talk about. The idea of Communion should, therefore be understood as something that evolved over a given time. We have already seen that Mashonaland only came to be exposed to Anglicanism starting from 1888. Why Mashonaland had to be understood as a function of England, from a Christian point of view, is a problematic question that will continue to be part of our engagements throughout this work.

The work at hand gets its inspiration from the facts available to scrutinise this kind of historical application of the term “Anglican” in the above connection as it came to be widely used to command a global significance. We need to come to a point where global relevance of the Church of England could be understood more in its own right as an instrument of God and not as a colonial affirmation. Hence, referring back to the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, we get the information that the term “Anglicanism” did not carry with it any theological, denominational or

¹²⁰ Avis, P., 1998: What is ‘Anglicanism?’ In: Sykes, S. et.al. (eds.) *The Study of Anglicanism*, SPCK/Fortress Press, London, UK, p. 459

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Neill, op.cit.p.358

dogmatic nuances: It was simply political.¹²³ Therefore, we need to be aware that reference to doctrine, order and worship, cited above, are questions already biased towards a theological distinction that was not always an attribute of Anglicanism from the beginning. Avis is already engaged with selectivity and interpretation. It appears we are then faced with a political development in the guise of ecclesiology. The theme of the theology of empire seems to get a boost in this connection for it is that political connotation that found relevance when issues of the gospel imperatives became urgent.

In the above connection, William P. Haugaard informs us that, before Henry VIII, there were already two major and urgent concerns: one had to do with the religious reforms that were taking continental Europe by storm and the other was the rampant nationalism underpinning British sentiments at that time.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, Nichols identifies three aspects that militated against Rome among the English people in this foregoing context as: anti-papal sentiments by the British Crown; the Lollardy phenomenon,¹²⁵ and the arrival of Lutheran ideas from continental Europe.¹²⁶ These were critical developments in making the rebellion against Rome by the English people of Henry VIII's time so urgent. Note the term "rebellion" in this connection, for it tells its own story about how the English people, though Christian, could not see any justification in also being identified as Romans. They shared the same catholic faith but could not see themselves as belonging to or fitting in when it came to the critical issue of who they really understood themselves to be. Patriotism took centre stage and went on to be the defining factor even in Christian matters. Emphatic in the foregoing connection is this idea that English people, from both a political and Christian points of view, could not, in the name of their God-given nationalism, afford to be Roman or any other nationality than themselves.

¹²³. Avis, 1998, op.cit.

¹²⁴. Haugaard, W.P. From the reformation to the eighteenth century, in S. Sykes et.al. op.cit, p.6

¹²⁵. Lollardy and the Establishment backlash, 1382 – 1425, The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music University of Oxford, UK. p.4001. Available online at: Url: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/redist/pdf/Bowers4.pdf>. Accessed on 15 September 2014. The author of the article explains how the Lollards under the influence of John Wycliffe made strong presentation against what they saw as the excesses of Rome even in matters of liturgy..

¹²⁶. Nichols, A., 1993: The panther and the hind: a Theological History of Anglicanism, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, p.3

In line with the above, we need to bear in mind the fact that we are talking about Mashonaland in our work –a place far removed from England. How one significant constituency of Mashonaland suddenly becomes Anglican is a curious development. In this context, therefore, to be Anglican could be seen as being patriotic among Christians who no longer wanted to fit into the scheme of things that had nothing to do with being English, but had everything to do with Rome. To be patriotic then does not mean discarding the Christian faith nor discarding the Church but to acknowledge both from a position that guards against foreign domination or influence. Above we referred to the fact that freedom to make informed choices is a key word in this context. We should remind ourselves that we need to appreciate this point against the backdrop of Mashonaland and its engagement with the Christian faith brought by missionaries from England. Our main emphasis here is to show how the theme of the theology of empire could be seen as urgent in a context that traditionally had no ties with England. Whether Mashonaland chose to be Anglican, is an urgent question in our theme.

There is, also in the foregoing context, the issue of matrimony that seems to be highlighted by those with obvious inclinations towards discrediting this English rebellion against Rome that came to be termed “Anglican,” as sex-driven.¹²⁷ Indeed, MacCulloch uses highly charged terms when he describes King Henry VIII as “the murderously opinionated monarch” and the marriages associated with his stand offs with the Pope in Rome as “eccentric marital adventures.”¹²⁸ Again, we see a historian advancing his own selectivity and interpretation of what was at stake here. The marriage affair referred to appears, therefore, to have been no more than a catalyst to an already fermented situation if the whole religio-political atmosphere is to be appreciated then against the background of the patriotism that inspired it. The English people seem to have come to resent the religio-political domination by Popes who were Roman, hence, there is in this connection, reference to “meddling” that was foreign and unscriptural.¹²⁹ It is clear that this was not a theological standoff or just something tied to Henry VIII’s marital expediencies. It was more of a socio-political struggle for emancipation, a sincere

¹²⁷. Nichols, *op.cit.*,p.1

¹²⁸. MacCulloch, 2010, *op.cit.* p.625

¹²⁹. Haugaard, *op.cit.*p.6.

yearning for national authenticity and personhood, though swaddled in the religious garb of a Christian nature.

Anglicanism, in the above connection can therefore be understood as a categorical rejection of external control in the name of the English identity and patriotism on Christian matters and all those values dear to the people concerned. The English people simply wanted to be left alone and to do things their own way without external interferences. We could appreciate such a development as an act of indigenising the Christian faith among the English people. God could be understood as directly accessible to them. This is one of the central points we will continue to interrogate as we discuss the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The fact is that Mashonaland is a geographical location within the Southern African context. We would not be far from the truth when we observe that this region, all things being equal, has its own unique significance that should not be confused with a region characterised by British colonial dominance. Perhaps a patriotic Christian appreciation will one day engender a new way of understanding the Church in this context. We could assume that although it could take all sorts of energies in the name of Christianity, the project has an academic appeal. We have in mind the quest for a unique Christian faith that takes the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of Mashonaland, seriously, as its major sources of inspiration. This is a real concern that advances itself as we look at how the indigenous people of Mashonaland could engage with the Christian faith.

As the English people, under Henry VIII were asking critical patriotic, ecclesiastical and nationalistic questions about their own identity against the background of Roman domination, there were complexities that militated against a smooth appreciation of the distinction that was the main reason for the protest. On Pope Clement VII's side, a critical figure in reconciling the English Church with Rome then, in 1529, there are indications that political and military pressures played a crucial role.¹³⁰ At the same time that Henry VIII was demanding the annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, troops loyal to the latter's cousin, King

¹³⁰. Nichols, *op.cit.* p.8

Charles V of Germany, were besieging Rome.¹³¹ The Pope was not free to make any favourable grants to the English monarch in this connection for fear of the obvious negative repercussions. He could not afford to make the situation worse by appeasing an English king far removed from the danger posed by the Germans¹³² that was very real and urgent in Rome. We know very well that ethical deliberations are governed by will, freedom and context. Philosophically then, once one of the three ethical dimensions is compromised, the blameworthiness of the subject is mitigated. Whether it was the Pope or Henry VIII to blame must be treated as a controversial question. Whether the divide between Rome and England could be justified theologically is another area needing more attention. A big problem could be identified in this connection and in the name of the theology of empire. It was more of a power game at play than doctrinal standoffs, which were not really present in this between the Pope and the King in this context.

In line with the foregoing narrative, MacCulloch notes that the German Emperor's intent and capabilities to deal with his enemies had already been demonstrated in Rome around 1527 to the bewilderment of the Pope who had to seek "refuge in Castel Sant'Angelo."¹³³ It is important here to see how military prowess can be a determining factor in terms of defining religious matters and convictions. Fear and trembling could not give us a sober and balanced religious intent if the issue of freedom is our standard. The voice of the powerful could dictate matters of this nature, directly or indirectly, and, therefore, the issue of belonging or fitting in, needs a qualification in this connection. We must bear this in mind when we continue to scrutinise the developments in Mashonaland as the English missionaries advanced the Christian faith as they understood it.

What seems to be the case here, and in line with the foregoing, is that in this world, some might be forced to belong or to fit in, lest worse violence could be done to their personhood and dignity in cases of recalcitrance. Pragmatism is adopted in place of common prudence. Fear is allowed to take the place of common sense as well as freedom of choice. When a heart-stricken people make

¹³¹. Nichols, op.cit.p.8

¹³². Ibid.

¹³³. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit. p.625

choices, at least the issue of freedom is ruled out. Once there is no freedom, the choices made become problematic as well. All this must have a bearing on gospel imperatives. God could not be understood as being in the habit of frightening people to make them loyal fans in the kingdom of heaven. Free will is therefore critical. It is important to remind ourselves that the Mashonaland context requires Church historians who are not sponsored to highlight certain critical facts at the expense of many others that are equally important. There is a need to keep a critical eye on the influence of politics and military engagements in Mashonaland at the same time the missionaries were engaging the indigenous people.

The way England responded to Rome is, therefore, a pacesetter in terms of indigenising the Anglican Church. We could safely assume that theological correctness was not the issue at stake, but a political gamble that eventually went wrong, especially on Rome's side. Ironically, and critical to our context, there is a need to highlight one point in the foregoing connection.

It is important to note that, meanwhile, Henry VIII set the pace in removing the reference to "Roman" from his Catholic church during this rebellion, the world evangelised by England remained "Anglican." Whether a "rebellion" or some radical consideration against Anglicanism would engender a Catholic Church in Mashonaland that could boast of its own unique identity that knows no Canterbury, is another curious development. What the rationale of that rebellion would involve could be an interesting subject worth investigating. Whether there could be some indigenous courageous Anglicans to leader such a rebellion requires some curious observations. For now, we await for history to update us on this development. We could assume that such an update could take identity and patriotism seriously as some of the major facets in defining people and their faith in God. We have in mind those who decide to become Christians guided by their own yearnings for the gospel and free from external domination in terms of their choice of liturgical expression, theological praxis and related matters. We are concerned with how a Christian faith could make it easier for people like the Mashona to feel at home without having to qualify as Anglicans first. Fitting in and belonging to Christ without being anglicised first is the challenge here

2.1. The 'Ecclesia Anglicana' concept and its development

In line with the foregoing observations, it could be concluded that Roman Christianity as well as political imperialism occasioned the emergence of the Anglican Church as later understood from a theological point of view. Because it assumed, and also spread to other parts of the world without giving up its nationalistic and patriotic sentiments, the Anglican Church could be viewed as replacing one form of imperialism with another. This is true when we look at it from a global perspective and among those who have no psycho-cultural connections with England. By applying the term "psycho-cultural" the idea is to emphasise this total and definitive awareness of being deeply rooted in a system of thought and practice that is unique in its own right and not something that could be seen as imposed from outside the subject. We are already talking about the ultimate state of affairs.

However, the above raises many issues. How other nationalities fail to take the cue from Henry VIII in terms of keeping Rome at a distance and then finding theological justification for English norms is a curious phenomenon here. How, in particular, we could conceive of a Mashonaland Church that must still pay significant allegiances to Canterbury in England without worrying about the imperial ramifications associated with such a relationship when it comes to matters of faith touches also on the issue of identity. After establishing Christianity in Mashonaland, why this particular Church could be understood as Anglican, without worrying itself about alienating the recipients of the gospel, needs more theological reflection. How the Shona people could see themselves as fitting in without feeling violated by a Church that is not ready to leave other nations to discover their own religious destiny is an urgent question here.

It is clear that the idea of a "Rhodesian Anglicanism" would not cause any problems given the fact that the colonisers of the country were predominantly of English origin and could not be expected to move away from their cultural identity in this context. However, history must still enlighten us about being Mashona and Anglican, especially, in line with what has been said about the identity of people. The Mashona are not English and there is nothing more conceivable to worry

about in this regard, and in terms of indigenising the Church, than the links we are encountering here that are problematic.

It is important to add, in line with the above, some historical elucidation in terms of the etymology of the designation “Anglican Church” as provided by certain scholars such as Kevin Ward. The contradiction of being Shona and Anglican, is crucial to address in this connection. We appeal to Ward as another reputable Anglican scholar whose insights are critical to our context, where being Mashona and at the same time, Anglican, raises more questions than answers. In his work, *A History of Global Anglicanism*, Ward warns us of the cognitive hurdles involved in the whole talk about Anglicanism especially as used in today’s world that knows of the worldwide communion.¹³⁴ Today, people talk of the Anglican Communion; in our context, we prefer the designation of ‘Rhodesian Anglicanism’ or the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, with special reference to the Diocese of Mashonaland. In many parts of the world, we hear a great deal about Anglicanism as a Christian designation to some people there. The term “Anglicanism” here is not supposed to indicate the presence of some homogenous state of affairs tied to a theologico-cultural reality that has got a global thrust. This is where we encounter a major problem. According to Ward, how we have local churches outside England that are Anglican to begin with without violating the identity of their locality should raise our curiosity.¹³⁵ This is in recognition of the fact that, in terms of authenticity as well as identity, a church cannot be Anglican, local, and, at the same time, outside England. “Anglican” in this case is simply another term for “English”.¹³⁶ Clearly, we are warned to be aware of the fact that not everything denoted as English might qualify to be intimately or indigenously connected with England.

The above understanding complicates our case, as the Englishness of the evangelised people of Mashonaland is one that is both suspect and imposed. We are persuaded to make the later observation when we read James Cochrane’s view to the effect that,

¹³⁴. Ward, K. 2006: *A history of global Anglicanism* Cambridge University Press, UK.

¹³⁵. Ward, op.cit.p.3

¹³⁶. Ibid.

Among the waves of invading conquerors were missionaries of the metropolitan churches. They were inspired by a peculiarly Western, post-Enlightenment idea not only that proselytisation and the zealous conversion of the entire human race was the supreme task of the Christian community, but that this goal was also culturally determined, that is, connected to the European meaning of civilisation.¹³⁷

Cochrane's observation seems to help our argument of the theology of empire in this connection. Both missionaries and colonisers were bound together by a conviction that was tied to a superior culture. How God could become an unconditional supporter of cultural assertiveness is problematic here. In this case, God must be tied to the general scheme of things rather than particular instances like being English in a world that celebrates more cultures than one. This view by Cochrane should be seen as making it easier to understand how, at the end, missionaries could not distance themselves from other Europeans who had commercial interests at heart. This affinity could then complicate the whole argument about pure missionary intent.

Nevertheless, Cochrane expounds on the above concern when he notes that "About these intrepid explorers and doggedly devoted envoys many legends and fables have been spun. More recently, criticism has been heaped upon their heads in equal measure".¹³⁸ When two people with different motives set out on a journey in the same ship, it might not be easier to distinguish them especially when they begin to work in a context they have to make use of the same resources. What could be given as an example here are the people of Mashonaland who had to listen to the Anglican missionaries on one hand and be subservient to the colonisers on the other. The distinction between missionary and coloniser could be blurred.

Therefore, once the missionary-coloniser partnership in Mashonaland was perfected, the cultural convictions, that seemed to hijack the general gospel imperatives distorted how the Church could understand itself. The particular cultural convictions that are blended with the Bible, in this connection, seem to militate against other cultures that might have been late comers to the gospel. It is

¹³⁷. Cochrane, J., 1987: *Servants of power: The role of English-speaking churches 1903-1930*, Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd, South Africa, p.13.

¹³⁸. *Ibid.*

our conviction in this context that a genuine principle, like the law of gravity, for example, could not be limited to time and space. A stone thrown up in England, five thousand ago, will still fall down the same way when thrown up in Southern Africa today. Here time is not the determining factor, but the general law of gravity as observed over the years.

In addition to the missionary-coloniser challenge above, Cochrane highlights the polarisation involved in connection with the role of missionaries. The example of Nosipo Majeke, though outside Mashonaland but still of relevant cadence, is advanced as one who see missionaries as outright colonial agents, while Edgar Brookes is attracted by their role that should be honoured.¹³⁹ This analysis by Cochrane is attractive to us in that it supports the thesis that the talk about domineering within a Christian context has continued to be a controversial phenomenon. The views of those in domineering positions seem to be those that must carry the day. Anglicanism seems to come to Mashonaland in this domineering mode and, therefore, it should not be taken for granted as a simple Christian expression. Other factors played a significant role in terms of its theological assertiveness, thus making its definition that absolves it from any colonial links cumbersome.

Recalling Ward, who has already been cited above, we could add some more observation in the missionary-coloniser partnership. By implicating the colonial influence on Christianity, Ward would like us to conclude that Anglicanism did not come to some parts of the world through a natural process of religious assimilation or local theological dialogue implemented with calculated missionary intent. Clearly the violence that we will continue to cite in this work could help us argue in support of this point. Here we should admit that Avis' definition cited above allows for the general understanding of what Anglicanism entails. In this connection, Ward's position could help us understand what the same Anglicanism could entail in given colonial contexts where even force was part of the package when it came to evangelising the indigenous people as the Mashonaland discourse will continue to remind us.

¹³⁹. Cochrane, op.cit.13.

The position analysed by Cochrane, in line with this trend of argumentation, could therefore, help us in making our argument cogent. In this connection, Anglicanism is therefore, a faith that commands many degrees of artificiality and convenience: degrees of significant externalities designed to claim allegiances among the indigenous people as a survival tactic more than the love of God. We shall see that in Rhodesia, the preliminaries were characterised by a significant sponsorship from both a commercial institution (British South African Company) and the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (S.P.G.). The British South African company had to use maximum force to subdue the nationalistic and patriotic sentiments of the people of Mashonaland, as we saw from Didymus Mutasa's account above. After the Mashona and Ndebeles were conquered, missionary work was done with a degree of confidence by the English missionaries within this context since all resistance had been neutralised. Claims of successful missionary work in this context therefore must be qualified.

2.2. English Church in the eyes of Rome before the breakaway

In addition to what has been said with regard to the definitions, the etymology of the preference "Anglican" for a Christian church in England, there is some significant history to it. The usage of the term can be traced back to "the medieval Latin designation" that made use of the term, *Ecclesia Anglicana* when talking about "the Catholic Church in England".¹⁴⁰ This is critical if a balanced comparison with the Mashonaland context is to be attempted. We are made to understand that the foregoing medieval designations did not constitute a theological reflection about the church's identity in terms of Christian preferences, but simply a geographical designation.¹⁴¹ The emphasis here is that there was no theological or even hierarchical distinction between what was Roman and what was Anglican since both fell under the Pope and the geography was immaterial. There were not many denominations to worry about or from which to distinguish the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. In this context, the Anglican Church was also the Roman Catholic Church in England, a designation that was overtaken by the events within the

¹⁴⁰. Ward, op.cit.p.3

¹⁴¹. Ibid.

context of the Reformation. Here we can examine the many distortions that come with the passage of time.

In addition to what has been said above, Avis traces the usage of the term *Anglicanus*, meaning 'English', and its metamorphosis, thereafter, back to the dawn of the seventh century.¹⁴² He observes that Pope Gregory the Great used the term "*Ecclesia Anglorum*" in his letters to Augustine of Canterbury and it simply meant "the Church of the English."¹⁴³ Those English in question fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff and did not feel alienated. Anselm is said to have used the term "*Ecclesia Angliae*" referring to "the Church of England" in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ In the mid twelfth century, "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" meaning the "Church of England," had become common and could be found in the correspondence between Thomas Becket and John of Salisbury.¹⁴⁵ Avis avers that in all these usages, the preferences were neither "nationalistic" nor "patriotic" but simply geographical references.¹⁴⁶ Even from this geographical perspective, there is a clear recognition of the people who are critical to this whole matrix. The English were being taken seriously as a people whose identity could not be ignored even within the Roman Catholic circles. It is interesting to note that while we can talk of Mashonaland as a geographical referral point within the Rhodesian setting, attempts to coin terms such as the "Church of Mashonaland" that can also be extended to other parts of the world in terms of that designation have remained rare to this day. It has to be the Anglican Church in Mashonaland or some designation with some latent but significant reference to Anglicanism. It is important that we are not just talking about names or references but also the cultural and liturgical implications of such a designation.

However, could we imagine, given the migration of people today, the Shona people in the diaspora establishing their own Church of Mashonaland in the heart of London, in the heart of Tokyo, Cape Town, Nairobi, Beijing, Honolulu or in the heart of Washington D.C.? This is inspired by the fact that the identity of a people

¹⁴². Avis, 1998, op.cit. p.460

¹⁴³. Ibid.

¹⁴⁴. Ibid.

¹⁴⁵. Ibid.

¹⁴⁶. Ibid.

is critical to their assimilation of the Christian faith. Attempts to suppress this identity can be viewed as a sinister move that easily translates into the total and unnecessary domination of others. It is indicative of the denial of any direct affirmation of faith between a given people and their God. To have a Church of England in Mashonaland and not a Church of Mashonaland in London raises more questions about nationalism and patriotism than about Christianity. This makes sense if we prefer to look at the term “Christian” as neutral since it does not dictate to us what forms or nationalities should take the lead over others.

Stephen Sykes observes that by the sixteenth century, Anglicanism already understood itself “as the local embodiment of the catholic or universal Church”.¹⁴⁷ We need to take the “local embodiment of the Church universal” component seriously as one that can help us to situate our understanding of Anglicanism in its proper perspective when confronted by cases such as the Diocese of Mashonaland. The advantage of this appreciation is that it enables us to review Anglicanism using the criterion that is consistent with rules of impartiality and the unalienable dignity of the people whom God created and placed them in the geographical space they occupy. It is in that space that we can expect God to visit those people directly to rule out any suspicion of cultural domination and other exploitative systems humans can put in place. It is also to appreciate the fact that history, in the above connection unravels for us the progression of how a given terminology can be understood and, therefore, used over time. This clarification aims at making our statements about Anglicanism in Mashonaland more accurate in terms of the historical realities under scrutiny. Let us not forget that the bone of contention here is that from a historical point of view, to accept Anglicanism as an instance of the local embodiment of the catholic church in Mashonaland would call for more than just a simple account. This is because Mashonaland and Anglicanism could not be said to be a case of impartial claims sharing a common appeal. The issue of indigenous and exotic, might have to be settled first. The idea of one cultural expression dominating another is crucial in this connection. To proceed with preliminaries in this connection as though one was looking at a level

¹⁴⁷. Sykes, S., 1996: The Anglican character. In Bunting, Ian (ed.). Celebrating the Anglican way .Hodder and Stoughton, , London) p. 21

playing field would be to betray the indigenous cause within a Mashonaland context.

In line with the spirit envisaged above, the Church universal seems to require neither any nationalistic nor patriotic qualification. It needs only to be Christian and its geographical location, an auxiliary distinction. For example, if we were to talk about the Christian Church in Mashonaland, people would have a sense of what we are referring to. That Church in Mashonaland may not differ very much from any other we could think of in terms of a Christian Church, but its geographical origin could give its indigenous people a sense of authenticity and meaning. The indigenous people could fit in and feel at home because, culturally, politically, economically and ethically, they would not have any Christian burdens to worry about, especially those imposed from outside the context. We still maintain that an Anglican Church in Mashonaland must always remind people of the invasion, not only of their space, but also of their cultural orientation, religious yearning and intellectual assertiveness. One could not afford to be proudly indigenous when all they could show for it are imported and imposed categories and thought-patterns.

In addition to the foregoing contentions, referring to a local sample or representation, such as Mashonaland, of a much wider Christian community, as an instance of incarnating a semi-global community of faith, is already a theologically charged mode of defining Anglicanism. The history we have briefly traced above on the usage of the term “Anglicanism” seems to support the foregoing point about unresolved encounters between England and Mashonaland. Ultimately, by talking about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland that the indigenous people must identify with one wonders whether we are not talking more about cultural domineering than theological distinctiveness. In other words, how the Anglican Church in Mashonaland differs from the Anglican Church in London is an urgent distinction here. We need to understand Ward’s argument in terms of the fact that theological connotations of the term “Anglican” were a later development.

2.3. English Church after the breakaway from Rome

According to Ward, in the nineteenth century, the “Tractarians” preferred the term “Anglican Church” to maintain a distinction “from Roman, eastern, and Protestant Christendom”.¹⁴⁸ By the late nineteenth century when talk about “Anglican Communion” was becoming more fashionable, there was an inclusive reference to those churches founded by British missionaries outside the United Kingdom.¹⁴⁹ It is clear, therefore, that to call a church “Anglican” is to remind people of its “Englishness” without any geographical limitations today. In simple historical terms, it is to make reference to those whose cultural space has been nullified by the British presence and therefore domination. To maintain Anglicanism among those whose nativity cannot be traced back to England, is therefore a feature that raises a number of historical, nationalistic and patriotic questions when it comes to outlining the growth of this particular Church. More specifically, we are posing the question: How the indigenous people in Mashonaland could be understood as Anglican without violating their cultural and patriotic identities as Mashona, or Ndebeles, is an urgent question.

Stephen Neill reminds us again that the Anglican Church is a Church controlled by the state when understood within the British Isles.¹⁵⁰ Its expansion to other parts of the world should therefore be understood against the background of British imperialism and therefore the need for an Act of Parliament to endorse Bishops in the colonies.¹⁵¹ In this connection, British nationalism and patriotism take centre-stage and Christianity is an ancillary characterisation of the people involved. Clearly, we have a big problem when the Mashonaland indigenous people become “proudly Anglican” and see themselves as fitting into the scheme of things that are English!

2.4. Evaluation of the issue of being Anglican

What is critical in the above connection is that any talk about a church is not just an abstract underscoring. The Church refers to people who have a special relationship with God and not with their imposed colonial masters. A slave cannot

¹⁴⁸. Ward, op.cit. p.4

¹⁴⁹. Ibid.

¹⁵⁰. Neill, op. cit.p.278

¹⁵¹. Ibid.

authentically claim to be a Christian when what they are convinced of is a God who is not essentially and expressly different from their master.

Within the Christian tradition and in line with the above, we encounter authors who have said various things that are enlightening on how the Church can be understood. A few examples can be appealed to in order to make some cogent generalisations later on: Hodgson and Williams refer to the fact that the Pauline understanding of the Greek term “ekklesia” denotes: “a people without national boundaries or a common language and ethnic identity –a peculiar sort of people indeed”.¹⁵² This is in addition to the understanding of the Church as the “body of Christ”, which is “an ethical and social metaphor” and “not an organic one.”¹⁵³

It is clear that the Church in this connection cannot be delimited either geographically or nationally. Simply stated and for our understanding in this context, no national or patriotic impositions can be understood as critical to the idea of a church universal. The question of people being identified as Anglicans outside England becomes even more paradoxical in this connection.

Avery Dulles who looks at various models of the Church makes one observation that is critical to cite for purposes of boosting our position. He notes that two critical distinctions about what the Church is understood to be by people, have a bearing on the theological or sociological appreciation of the concept.¹⁵⁴ The sociological appreciation embraces anyone who would like to be considered a follower of Christ without necessarily having faith at all.¹⁵⁵ This means we could have many churches as the wind dictates. Any grouping preferring to call itself a church would qualify on the basis of celebrating fellowship that knows no Christian values. However, according to Dulles, the theological appreciation requires us to take the Church seriously as “a mystery of grace, not knowable independently of faith.”¹⁵⁶ Faith becomes a critical factor in understanding what the Church should

¹⁵². Hodgson, P.C. & Williams, R.C., “The Church” in *Christian Theology: An Introduction to its Traditions and Tasks*, edited by Peter Hodgson and Robert King, Fortress Press, UK, 1982, p.225

¹⁵³. Ibid.

¹⁵⁴. Dulles, A., 1974, *Models of the Church: Critical assessment of the Church in all its aspects*, Gill and Macmillan, USA, p.115.

¹⁵⁵. Ibid.

¹⁵⁶. Ibid.

be in this connection. Theology and not nationality or patriotism becomes critical here when the “mystery of grace” is emphasised. Again, how issues of grace become confused with nationalistic sentiments, politics, racism, economics and even domineering is confusing. Simply put for our purposes in this interrogation, the rationale for insisting on the nationality of a church when what matters is Jesus Christ does not make for a strong theological argument.

The early Christian fathers had some important things to say about the Church that could help us in our narratives in this section. Irenaeus who lived between 130 and 200 CE and who was the Bishop of Lyons saw the Church as being apostolic first and foremost. In this connection, he writes:

Therefore we will refute those who hold unauthorised assemblies –either because of false self-importance, or pride, or blindness and perversity –by pointing to the tradition of the greatest and oldest church, a church known to all men, which was founded and established at Rome by the most renowned Apostles, Peter and Paul.¹⁵⁷

Perhaps the sociological understanding of the Church could be seen as being refuted by Irenaeus on the basis of its failure to align itself with apostolicity. This understanding has the advantage of making sure that there are checks and balances when the idea of a church is celebrated. It helps us to avoid the overgeneralisation that anyone with a Bible under their arms could start their own church and give it their own unique name. Universality rather than particularity is what Irenaeus would be comfortable with, if we should insist on the foregoing quote.

Tertullian (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus), whose writings date from around 200 CE, also concurred with Irenaeus that the apostolic model of the Church was of paramount importance. It appears that false teachings can only be identified by their failure to comply with the apostolic tradition. Tertullian writes in this connection:

...other churches also point to those whom they regard as transmitters of the apostolic seed, since they were appointed to their bishoprics by Apostles. Even if these heresies should devise such a pedigree, it will be no help to them. For their

¹⁵⁷. Bettenson, H., 1956: The early Christian fathers: A selection from the writings of the Fathers from St Clement of Rome to St Athanasius, (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London, GB.), p.124. N.B. Bettenson was translating Irenaeus' Latin document *Adversus Haereses* (III:ii-iii)

very teaching, when compared with that of the Apostles, will proclaim by its diversity and contrariety that it originates neither from an apostolic man; for the Apostles would not have diverged from one another in doctrine; no more would the apostolic man have put out teaching at variance with that of the Apostles...¹⁵⁸

The issues that caused the Church of England to break away from Rome become paradoxical cases comprising divergence from the apostolic tradition critical to the foregoing understanding of the Church universal. The quote seems to remind us that the unity of the Church is the criterion of adequacy rather than political and individual standoffs.

However, the above historic appreciation of how the Church should be understood, could help us evaluate what the English missionaries bequeathed to their converts in Mashonaland. To define or designate people under the auspices of 'Anglican' is to imply that something of their psychic and cultural authenticity has become English in the course of time. That process has allowed us to appreciate the fact that there are some people who are English by birth and cultural origin; there are also some who have been assimilated by virtue of their faith although without necessarily qualifying to be British citizens under a much stricter interrogation. This is, indeed, problematic especially within the Church where nationality is not the norm, but Jesus Christ.

Christianity and national identities are not one and the same. If Christianity derives from the divine, it is therefore transcendental. Any implications that tie it to nationalism or patriotism raise more questions than providing answers. Identifying the Church by way of using terms that invoke nationalistic sentiments or any similar preferences that have no direct bearing on Christ, could be problematic given the fact that, even in the early Church, leading figures such as Irenaeus and Tertullian were emphatic about apostolic linkages rather than nationalism. A term such as the "Catholic Church" could be more acceptable because of its neutral designation of Christians of a specific theological persuasion throughout the world. The Church could be identified as an institution that is emphatic about the teachings and life of Jesus Christ as proclaimed by the apostles who were eye-

¹⁵⁸. Bettenson, p.191. Here he was translating Tertullian's Latin writing called *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 20,21,32,36.

witnesses of the event. This complicates matters for those Christians who would like to be understood as Anglican, while not of any English descent. Perhaps the challenge for the indigenous people in Mashonaland would be to find out whether they could celebrate their faith by way of interrogating, the teaching of the apostles and ultimately of Jesus Christ himself independently. If originality could be affirmed in any noble categories, then such an indigenous quest could go a long way in this connection. Here we need to clarify the envisaged position. The missionaries from England or anywhere else, if they are to be true to the Christian spirit that is linked to the apostles in line with the above, could be credited with radicalism if they insist on Christianity and everything essential pertaining to it. This would essentially avoid linking the Church to any nationality and make it easier to spread it to throughout the world without causing confusion.

Nevertheless, there seems to be problems with the fact that the Church that prefers the designation, “Anglican,” even in Mashonaland, should be proud of such a limited self-identity. We have serious quibbles of conscience when we come across writings such as that of Arnold who finds solace in talking about Anglicanism being there “to stay” in Mashonaland. How would the concepts ‘apostolicity,’ ‘people of God’ and ‘body of Christ’ be brought to bear on people who already understand their faith from a nationalistic perspective of which they are not part of? For now, our concern should be directed at the question regarding why the indigenous Christians should not be confronted by genuine questions of authenticity; questions which seek emancipation from thought-control and religious straitjacket thinking, and questions of patriotic and nationalistic pride.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps a more enlightened appreciation of what it means to be a Church from a theological point of view could help in such a context as Mashonaland.

2.4.0. Curious responses about being Anglican and Mashona

One of the important questions¹⁶⁰ that were sent out to possible respondents in the Diocese of Harare (originally, the Diocese of Mashonaland) was: “By virtue of being Anglican, do you consider yourself a British subject or someone essentially linked to the English?” It should be noted that the question was asked strategically

¹⁵⁹. See Questionnaires in the Appendices 1-8

¹⁶⁰. See Questionnaire in Appendix 6

and, therefore, deliberately omitted the leading idea of being Christian; of being linked to the Church of the Apostles and the theological understanding such as that advocated for by Dulles above. It is clear that our concern in this connection is to be certain that the question was not leading or prejudicial.

One of the responses was as follows: “I think we are essentially linked to the English because the Anglican Church in general has the English as the springboard in the evangelisation quest.”¹⁶¹ What the English missionaries bequeathed to the people within the Diocese of Mashonaland seems to be appreciated as the criteria of adequacy without questioning whether this could be accepted as the norm. We worry about missionary methods that may have been designed to discourage people from asking questions about authenticity in matters of the Christian faith. As emphasised above, we worry about systems that have the obvious weakness of taking people away from the essence of things and plunging them into accidents. If Christ and His apostles are not taken as the major points of departure in terms of celebrating the Christian faith, then any name could be acceptable without raising problematic questions. Perhaps this can be the only explanation that could help us understand why there have been so many divergences among many who would like to be understood as Christians today. The sociological viewpoint identified by Dulles above has taken centre stage. If this was not the case, it would be difficult to address the current discord among Christians as the teachings of the Apostles and Jesus Christ would be a common uniting factor.

Another response to our questionnaire about the Englishness of the indigenous people in Mashonaland was given as follows:

Not at all a subject, I am African, proud to be worshiping and serving God within the Anglican Church. I believe the English just happened to get the good news first before Africa! Names mean nothing for I know when we get to heaven, God is not concerned with the fact that one is an Anglican. Children of God that is what

¹⁶¹. This is a response received (Appendix 6) from Rev Marandu on 7th July 2013 from Harare. Fr Cleophas Marandu is a former student of the Bishop Gaul College, which is an Anglican training institution for those intending to be ordained ministers in the Anglican Church.

we are! It is a privilege to be linked to the wider English church as we serve God in our shape, globally.¹⁶²

Again, we see the emphasis changing but are still not able to demonstrate how the English designation of the people in Mashonaland is a relevant Christian attribute. There seems to be something “English” of which it might be difficult to dispose. Globally, therefore, the Englishness of the Church, in this context, becomes more critical than its geographical or cultural context. Accordingly, it would seem that Anglicanism precedes Jesus Christ and the apostles regarding its significance. If the latter is not the case, then we still must have a long explanation to give about how the indigenous people of Mashonaland are really Anglican.

Yet another response to the same question was given as follows:

No, am not a British subject in any way, but maybe I would consider myself essentially linked to English for the reason that I went through an education system that was tailored for the British imperialism.¹⁶³

The response could not take us beyond what the English colonial preferences engendered in some parts of Africa, such as the country that came to be called Rhodesia. In this context, the English Church simply seems to be an extension of British imperialism and not an institution that could be understood as rising above such mundane limitations. Its adherents would therefore be those who are not essentially linked to Jesus Christ first, but to the British. This scenario makes issues of identity among indigenous Christians insidious in that the nationality of the domineering people is critical and not what Christianity is supposed to signify. Could the indigenous people of Mashonaland dispense with the usage of the term “Anglican” and so understand themselves as followers of Jesus Christ and His tradition? This seems to be a soul-searching question. When people understand themselves as Anglicans while they could be accounted for differently, we can see the impact of taking such identities for granted.

¹⁶². This is a response to the questionnaire, (Appendix 6), from Rev Shearsby Mupfudzapake on the 11th of October 2013 from the Anglican Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist in South Africa. He is also a former student of Bishop Gaul College in Harare, Zimbabwe

¹⁶³. This is a response to the questionnaire (Appendix 6) given by Rev Milford Mazula in Harare and received on 17 August 2013. He is also a former student at Bishop Gaul College.

The foregoing issues continue to challenge us to raise even more searching questions: How much freedom the indigenous Anglicans in Mashonaland have and their sincere quest for such liberties and related matters come to mind. Anglicanism in Zimbabwe is still answerable either directly or indirectly to the mother Church in England. Those who have made recent attempts to break away from the canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) found themselves unable to come up with a unique identity in terms of naming their respective rebel churches. They still wanted to be known as “Anglicans” despite not being in agreement with the Anglican Communion¹⁶⁴. How can one then claim the designation “Anglican” while not being in agreement with what is commonly termed “Anglicanism?” History may find it difficult to account for people who belong and yet not belong at the same time to the Anglican Church.

2.4.1. The challenge posed by universalism

At the heart of the critical matters raised above, is the issue of identity among some of those who are Anglicans within the Mashonaland context at which we are looking. These are already priests in the field and, indeed, the responses seem to affirm the fact that we should not take it for granted that indigenous people in Mashonaland could understand and account for their links with the Church of England that we are scrutinising. The early Church fathers cited earlier on seem to offer us a broader and neutral appreciation of what the Church should be within the framework of history and beyond. The emphasis, clearly, is on what Jesus taught and how the Apostles assimilated and transmitted that teaching, in turn. We have already been made aware that even during the early times in the life of the Church, distortions were manifesting themselves in many ways and, accordingly, heresy could be confronted using a solid standard of appreciating the Church’s identity in the world.

¹⁶⁴. Examples here will suffice: Kunonga wanted to call his breakaway group “Anglican Province of Zimbabwe”. Available online at URL: <http://www.zimeye.org/?p=69210>; Accessed 15 September 2013; Jakazi is said to be leading the “Evangelical Anglican Church International”. Available online at URL: <http://m.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/4711-new-anglican-church-formed.html>. Accessed on 15 September 2013. Also, David Kunyongana prefers the name “Reformed Anglican Church in Zimbabwe” to his congregation. Available online at URL: <http://www.zimeye.org/?p=69210>. Accessed on 15 September 2013. Curious that the designation Anglican seems indispensable among those who do not want anything to do with the English Church!

One important point has been emphasised above. Jesus Christ and the Apostles constitute our criterion of adequacy when it comes to determining the authenticity of the Christian faith and its practice. It is not Anglicanism, Romanism, Methodism, Lutheranism, Pentecostalism or any other “ism” that is not essentially linked to Jesus Christ and the apostles that could help us understand the authenticity of the Christian faith. Of course we are not ruling out the fact that most of these aforementioned pseudo-Christian expressions could advance themselves as prototypical and, therefore, the only authentic instances of the Christian faith. Although we do not have time to interrogate this at the moment, the fact is that as long as no genuine apostolic identities could be established, we are at a loss. As long as no genuine links to the most critical tenets of Jesus Christ’s teachings and their universal appeal could be ascertained, such Christian claims cannot be regarded as authentic. This is especially true when they are seen as contradicting the gospels imperatives we are concerned with here.

In addition, challenging the usage of the term “Anglican” in Mashonaland, as discussed above, could be misconstrued as political or nationalistic propaganda. This work is a scholarly attempt to understand some aspects of the Church’s history within a Rhodesian-Mashonaland Anglican context that was colonial, and should be seen as a significant initiative with regard to putting some parts of the Anglican Church record straight using the Diocese of Mashonaland as a point of reference. It is not about how many people could hold these various convictions, but how the idea of Anglicanism and Christianity has a bearing on people outside the British Isles and how they now understand themselves. We are simply maintaining that the term ‘Anglican’ should not be taken for granted in contexts outside its geographical origins.

The above position should be considered when histories such as those that are advanced within the Rhodesian context are brought to the academic interrogation we are using in this work. Again, we are mindful of the distortions that historians could advance in this connection. In *Mainstream Christianity*,¹⁶⁵ a work that offers significant insights into the Rhodesian Anglican context, the critical issue seems to

¹⁶⁵. Weller, J. & Jane Linden, 1984: *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Mambo Press, Gweru, Zimbabwe, pp.65ff.

be about suppressing viewpoints that are aware of the bias that can be exposed in this connection. The work seems to take for granted that the point of departure of Anglican missionary work was done in Zimbabwe and not Rhodesia; cities such as Harare and Masvingo are not identified by their colonial designation such as Salisbury and Fort Victoria! One who reads such narratives may not be assisted to come to the conclusion that we are talking about an Anglican Church within a colonial context. Why indigenous preferences are highlighted in a context that did not respect them could be misleading. The colonial designation of the country was Rhodesia. To talk about Zimbabwe as an official designation during colonial times will not help us move towards historical truths in this context.

2.4.2. Anglicanism as a revolutionary response to Roman oppression

Coming back to our earlier observations, we have seen that the English, under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, were not ready to accept a foreign potentate in their religious or nationalistic ambitions or in the socio-economic or cultural schemes of the English people. The Roman influence conveyed through the Popes was to be discarded and local leadership, by default, given all the responsibility to map the religious and political destiny of the English nation. This was a milestone that other nations could have ignored over the years. The fact is that once the relationship with Rome was curtailed, the Englishness of the Christian church was asserted.

However, it was not just supposed to be an English church. It had to be justified on the basis of apostolicity, otherwise, it would not be a universal church at all. Once the Catholicity of a Christian expression is lost, we have no reason to take it seriously as a Church that preaches the salvation for all.

2.4.3. The problem of a Mashonaland Church being Anglican

From the above section, we can maintain emphatically that, the term “Anglicanism” is not a neutral socio-religious or political nomenclature, if its history is examined objectively. Our theme premised on the theology of empire requires us to submit that narratives that do not question the ideas imposed by the powerful promote biased viewpoints. This is problematic because only one side of the story, the one that favours the powerful, could be emphasised at the expense

of others. Nevertheless, we are worried that history cannot be understood simply as narratives about the privileged.

Hence the following conclusions are consistent with what we have so far noted about the term “Anglicanism:” It is patriotic and nationalistic; the English people have every reason to celebrate it and is inspired by the spirit that restored the English people’s identity on matters of the Christian faith, instead of relying on other imperial nations such as Rome. The spirit of Anglicanism influenced the English people to feel at home and it fitted into the religious and political scheme of things in their context. How then could the same make others such as the Shona and Ndebele, people outside the context feel at home and fit in when the critical preliminaries essentially exclude them? The theology of empire discourse helps us to make sense of what is at stake here when one nation’s religious identity is imposed on another and such development taken for granted.

2.4.4. The dominant and subordinate dynamics

In addition, we could borrow ideas from Miles Fairburn,¹⁶⁶ although he deals with a different field and narrative altogether. His usage of the concepts we are borrowing to advance our historical discourse inspires us to discuss the entire issue of the theology of empire within a particular Anglican Mashonaland context with special reference to how the powerful assert their influence over and against the weak from a Christian perspective. Fairburn’s concepts of “dominant groups” as they impose their ideals on the “subordinate elements”¹⁶⁷ to influence general convictions seem more appealing in connection with European and indigenous people’s attitudes as experienced within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Fairburn comments as follows:

It is a truism that the ideology of the dominant groups shapes their observation of the subordinate elements in a society. It is also a truism that the dominant groups consciously or unconsciously act to shape the collective beliefs of the subordinate elements, so that the subordinate elements will observe the world as the dominant want them to observe it.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶. Fairburn, M., 1999: *Social history: problems, strategies and methods*, MacMillan Press. Ltd, London, UK.

¹⁶⁷. *Ibid.*p.177f.

¹⁶⁸. *Ibid.*

This quote must be appreciated for the powerful insights it commands. We are being challenged to accept the fact that it might not always be about gospel imperatives, but about the vision of those who wield the sceptre of power. This could explain why the indigenous people in Mashonaland agree to be understood as Anglicans without regarding it as contradicting their own identities. We are assuming that it makes sense to reject a structure that favours the identity of one group, while subordinating the other. It is curious that we read about successful Anglican missionary work only after the defeat of the Matabele in 1893.¹⁶⁹ It seems to be the case that unless we can account for power, we cannot explain whose religion will be dominant. The theology of empire narrative, therefore, helps us to understand why certain developments are not questioned in certain contexts: they happen to be a privilege of the powerful. Mashonaland's indigenous people would also have a significant number of adherents to Anglicanism because it was the religion of those who had conquered them.

However, Fairburn goes on to remind us that the usage of the terms "subordinate groups" and "dominant groups" could well be applicable in colonial and racial contexts.¹⁷⁰ The Mashonaland context, on which we are focusing, fits into this category extremely well. This is because both colonialism and racism played important roles in shaping the lives of the people. We are well aware that the indigenous were always on the receiving end while their white masters dictated the pace in religious, political, economic or social matters. Whether Anglicanism could boast about being a Christian expression that made sense to the indigenous in Mashonaland on its own unique merits, is a curious question in this context. Our submission is that a much more profound interrogation is needed in this connection in order to determine the extent of European dominance within the Mashonaland context that could have been overlooked by those who take Anglicanism for granted.

2.4.5. Some African scholars' response to issues of domination

The attempt to insist on the independency and uniqueness of the indigenous people, in line with the above, is complicated by authors such as B.S. Chuba. This

¹⁶⁹. Weller & Linden, op.cit.p.71

¹⁷⁰. Fairburn, op.cit.p.177

author, who advocates the idea of *Theology Cooked in an African Pot*, seems to provide us with essential tools to boost the theology of empire discourse which tends to support the views of the powerful. We should be mindful of the fact that to yearn for a theology cooked in an African pot in Africa is a radical response to the way theology has been practised over the years. It is almost like a wakeup call to all Africans with a theological disposition to review their bearings. Nevertheless, from an African perspective, we are concerned with Chuba's position at one stage. In his understanding of theology, he appeals to John Macquarie's¹⁷¹ definition of theology and observes that:

...we do not want to create an impression that African Christian theology is designed to be so peculiar to an African that it cannot be conducive to the universal theological academy and ecclesia. It is not meant to be a theology in which other ethnic or racial groups cannot feel at home.¹⁷²

The question we have already raised is whether the Europeans would be comfortable with an indigenous African way of living Christianity. Why the African theologian is so quick to apologise for being unique calls for further inquiry. We are concerned because there did not seem to be any sharing of theological reflections among the indigenous and the missionaries within the Mashonaland context. Books of prayer and liturgical celebrations do not seem to originate from Mashonaland, which is an indication that the indigenous people are not taken seriously. We shall look for such official books in vain as all those available books had their origin in England. A universal approach to liturgy would have to borrow concepts from across the cultures and not simply depend on the English understanding of worship. Mere translation of books from English into Shona or Ndebele may not tell us much about indigenisation unless there is guarantee that the local spirit is respected and insisted upon.

Chuba's position, discussed above, requires further attention. One way of interpreting his viewpoint is that cogency, in terms of theological expression, means that western recipes must be appealed to, and universalism protected at the expense of indigenous African perspectives. It transpires therefore, that Anglicanism could be applied universally while the Mashonaland indigenous

¹⁷¹. Fiedler, op.cit.p.48. Here, J. Macquarie's work, *Principles of Christian Theology*, New York, 1996, p.1, is cited by Chuba

¹⁷². Fiedler, op.cit.p.48f.

Christian expressions could not. Accordingly, we could ask why the indigenous people/s experiences don't count for much. The theology of empire requires us to conclude that Mashonaland is inferior and cannot, therefore, be expected to contribute anything meaningful from a theological perspective. This complicates the problem under our scrutiny.

Again, in addition to the above points, we have some serious issues: Why the so-called African theologians in the mould of Chuba are so quick to apologise when it comes to engaging in theology from a purely African viewpoint makes us curious. What the logic is in appealing to the universal thrust of theology, when, in actual fact, it is the very approach that is stifling African theological advancement by ignoring the particular systematically is another urgent question here. Why African mental excursions feel at home away from home happens to be an academic question in this context that needs responses.

In addition, why African food, cooked in African pots, be deprived of its unique African flavour and taste in favour of the European identity seems to be a problem that still must be solved. After all, we should contend that African food need not appeal to anyone else except the Africans for whom it was prepared! Africans do not need to consult Europe about how to prepare African food and how it must taste for this could constitute a serious compromise of its uniqueness and cultural affinity. Those who would like to partake of that African dish must be warned beforehand that it is African food and with all that goes with it! We do not expect an English person to find African food commanding the taste and flavour with which he/she is already familiar. What makes that food unique is its Africanness that competes with no other food! It seems to be the case that it is not about how European food can appeal to Africans but about how Africans understand the art and systems of their diet.

2.4.6. Musopole's challenge against domination

The spirit in which Chuba expresses his ideas seems to be in direct contrast to that of Musopole who, on discussing "Universality and particularity," within the same context of "Theology in an African Pot", points out that there seems to be a propensity to make African theology relevant only when "western theological

methods and retaining western external examiners” have been allowed to dominate the preliminaries.¹⁷³ In other words, African theological reflection is denied independent justification because it is dominated by western viewpoints and principles and is, therefore, not free to undertake an independent interrogation of issues outside this European confinement. This happens to be an example of the domination that is not questioned by many. European superiority is taken for granted even in theological matters. Of course, this is seen as unacceptable given the fact that Musopole understands of the relationship between the universal and the particular does not allow opposition but a “continuum”.¹⁷⁴

Nevertheless, when we analyse Musopole’s point, this envisaged continuum must respect the particular to accommodate the uniqueness of theologies rather than insist on just one that happens to be western in the name of universalism.¹⁷⁵ Western theology should, therefore, be understood as a particular reflection that cannot represent all others in the world. It is this kind of argumentation that allows us to discuss the dominance of Anglicanism in Mashonaland using the theology of empire as our canon. It is clear that our concern is whether we can accept attitudes that seem to be propelled by the conviction that western theology and universalism are one and the same. This is why histories originating from such convictions do not have their point of departure in the questioning of the African context that is different from the European context. Africa must simply submit to Europe and fit in!

However, it is critical to demonstrate, historically, that open-minded missionaries such as Arthur Shearly Cripps, European by birth and upbringing, were inspired to approach Mashonaland with caution, respect and almost with terror and trembling. In *Africans all*,¹⁷⁶ this missionary takes the trouble of getting into the very depth of the Mashona religious orientation. He creates a story that captures the Mashona cosmology and theological viewpoint without subjecting it to a European tribunal. A person reading this monograph would be tempted to think that this missionary was actually black and indigenous. He talks about the 1920s in Mashonaland and

¹⁷³. Fiedler, op.cit.,p.9

¹⁷⁴. Ibid.

¹⁷⁵. Ibid.

¹⁷⁶. Cripps, A.S. 1928: *Africans All*, Sheldon Press, London, GB,

introduces the term “Mukondombera sickness,”¹⁷⁷ that people in Zimbabwe today could mistake for the AIDS pandemic. Yet his account had to do with the influenza outbreak around 1918.¹⁷⁸ The horrendous account of this epidemic does not bring in a hero from outside the indigenous context for “Mufambi”, literally, “the one who walks from place to place” takes over.¹⁷⁹ The story does not seem to make any sense until its final chapter where the following are highlighted:

Mufambi is an indigenous Christian teacher who appeals to his own indigenous people. We note with curiosity that the storyteller is an Anglican white missionary, but nowhere does he make his identity so obvious. It is in keeping with what we have already noted that where God is concerned, there is no need for the messenger to insist on his/her nationality. God speaks directly to all people and, therefore, to insist on the identity of the messenger or missionary could distort the point. We don't expect, in our context, Anglicanism to be preached, but God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

In the last chapter of the above cited monograph, we hear of the two main characters, Mangwiwo and Mangwana seeking to be taught by Mufambi about the fascinating story of Jesus Christ.¹⁸⁰ The latter is referred to as the Son of God who has a significant affinity to Africa, where he went as a refuge during his first few years of life.¹⁸¹ Mangwiwo and Mangwana could recall that when they were still young, a “Mufundisi Mutema” (a Black Teacher), had introduced them to this Jesus.¹⁸² The emphasis on the indigenous agency is extremely exceptional. Cripps ends this chapter by making the following assertions about Jesus Christ to the effect that he was:

...going about Africa day by day now and night by night as an African, since His Spirit, whose name was Munyarazi or Comforter, had gained possession of Africans and by the ministry of Africans was preaching to the poor, conquering

¹⁷⁷. Cripps, op.cit. p.19

¹⁷⁸. This researcher has been alerted to the fact that the original Daru (the uncle to the Daru of Mhondoro-Ngezi), died in Mvuma during this epidemic and no one knows where he was buried. Cripps' account sheds light on this problem when he talks of mass-graves and therefore of deceased people whose relatives could not be located.

¹⁷⁹. Cripps, 1928.op.cit.p.20ff

¹⁸⁰. Ibid.p.30

¹⁸¹. Ibid.

¹⁸². Ibid.p.31

devils, and, while He brought comfort to Africa, was bringing joy as well as comfort.¹⁸³

It seems to be the case that Cripps was setting the standard for a purely African indigenous theology that took the local sentiments and expressions, seriously, as the major points of departure. An insistence of such an approach from the Anglican Church hierarchy in Mashonaland could have advanced a different picture altogether. The unfortunate reality is that one will not come across much of the same from other white missionaries of Cripps' time in Mashonaland. The idea of using the Shona names and references makes it clear that the indigenous, according to Cripps, needed to be understood in their own right and not from the point of view of England and its missionaries in Mashonaland.

The above position constitutes the reason why the issue of the theology of empire must become an urgent project among the indigenous whose voices did not make sense in contexts such as in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Understanding the dynamics of the theology of empire prepares the African theologian to resist the domineering thrust of theologies imposed from outside the continent that ignore the existential situation of the indigenous people inclusive of how their histories should be narrated. Such an understanding has the obvious advantage of essentially Africanising the Church, thereby, moving away from the rampant Latinisation and Europeanisation that have been responsible for moulding western theology and conquering Africa from the point of view of Christianity.¹⁸⁴ This position has far-reaching consequences in terms of how Church history could be narrated from a Mashonaland indigenous perspective. It could highlight the very things that western writers were simply not interested in because they could give the indigenous people in Mashonaland an upper hand and, therefore, make their European counterparts extremely uncomfortable.

Zabulon Nthamburi requires us to appreciate, in the foregoing connection, the theological reflections that are uniquely African, as opposed to those that originate in the west and do not always respect the cultural canons of the continent.

¹⁸³ Cripps, op.cit.p.31

¹⁸⁴ Nthamburi, Z., 1981: AFRICAN THEOLOGY AS A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION in *AFER*, AMECEA Pastoral Institute, Gaba, Kenya, 23(4), p.234. (N.B. The wording has been adapted for purposes of this work). Available online at: [Url: Accessed at the UNISA online Library resources through the ATLAS electronic collection, 18, April, 2011](#)

Unfortunately, he does not refer to the theology of empire as advanced in this context. We may excuse him because that was not an urgent theme in his mind, but we acknowledge the fact that his ideas help us to advance our own position. Precisely, when comparing western theology with the one envisaged for Africa, Nthamburi writes:

African Theology is expressed in categories of thought which arise out of the philosophy of African peoples. Not only is there a sociological difference between the two, there also exist cultural and philosophical differences as well. By ignoring the African existential reality and impudently claiming universalism, western theology, as presently applied in Africa, becomes not only irrelevant but anachronistic at best.¹⁸⁵

In this work, we are drawing attention to the fact that if such attitudes that allow western theology and its imposed universality to gain the upper hand are given too much space, what kind of historical narratives could carry the day in this regard? It is clear that Cripps could be said to be in keeping with what Nthamburi envisages above.

Accordingly, we could agree with Nthamburi's charge that western theology always risks being "anachronistic" in the African context; there seems to be a need to add the fact that the reason why it has existed up to this day, has to do with the strong backing it has received from forces that imposed Eurocentrism on the African soil and the readiness by many Africans to accept it as the norm. Not many indigenous Africans who had the unfortunate experience of colonialism, like those in Mashonaland, could be found gathering enough theological courage in line with the foregoing. One fascinating factor when it comes to pioneer missionary work in Mashonaland is this fact that the white constituency did not see any reason to extend God's work to the indigenous. Good examples could be highlighted for us in this connection.

According to Weller and Linden, when Francis Balfour, whom we will also encounter later in this work, started to visit indigenous villages within the Salisbury (now Harare) precincts, he was seen by his own white Christians as wasting his

¹⁸⁵. Nthamburi, op.cit.p.233

precious time on savages.¹⁸⁶ The Fort Victorian whites in Rhodesia were comfortable to call the indigenous people, the infernal Mashona.¹⁸⁷ This is a clear indication that prejudices carried the day from the beginning and gospel imperatives were an imposition. To what extent could future historians disentangle these preconceived descriptions of the indigenous in order to give them a fair share in the narratives pertaining to them, is a question that has not been answered adequately. We sincerely must exclude Cripps from this generalisation, given what we have cited above.

2.4.7. The Berlin Conference and domination in Africa

We need to understand the foregoing state of affairs in terms of a much wider appreciation of the relations between Africa and Europe as far back as the 1880s. Dube, in line with the spirit of the Europeans' hegemony, makes reference to the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 to emphasise eurocentrism against Africa and observes that:

African communities and their lands were, of course, neither consulted nor invited to the Berlin Conference. The participants were Western European powers, traders, and their missionaries. Africa, surrounded by numerous suitors, did not have the choice to choose a suitor nor to refuse one. This was not a love story. The history speaks for itself. The modern history of Western colonisation of Africa was a violent process of taking Africa by force. It was indeed a gang rape, so to speak.¹⁸⁸

Given what has been noted above, to talk about western theology in Africa is to make reference to a theology of the conquerors, or more precisely, socio-political as well as economic rapists of sorts. It is to invoke the spirit of the theology of empire, as we shall try to demonstrate later. Dube would like us to think of the violence rapists do to their victims and apply that to what Africans were exposed. Rape is a crime against humanity and nowhere under the sun is it seen as something noble. Therefore, western theology is a theology that derives its legitimacy, not so much from principles of relevance and Christian rootedness, but put crudely, from the barrel of the gun. To advance this theology as universal is to condemn the African religious aspirations in this regard. By the use of force, perhaps this is a crude way of understanding Anglicanism in Mashonaland, but we

¹⁸⁶. Weller and Linden, p.66

¹⁸⁷. Ibid, p.68

¹⁸⁸. Dube, op.cit. p.3

will continue to interrogate facts that could help us to formulate a balanced narrative in the spirit envisaged by the theology of empire discourse.

It is clear that the above distinction is not what Chuba has in mind in his appreciation of western theology. His position requires the uniqueness of the African theology but without being exclusive.¹⁸⁹ However, as Nthamburi reminds us, we are caught up in theologico-political confusion, in the foregoing connection, as he prefers terms such as “ideology of the powerful class” and “domination” to submit certain critical attributes of western theology.¹⁹⁰ Why African theology must be neutral in a context that is not user-friendly again causes us to ask why this apologetic stance. Whether African theology is able to withstand global waves stirred by western theological currencies happens to be a challenging question here. It is important to raise the question whether it would make sense to deny Africa its unique position without rendering God null and void.

However, why many have not been able to describe western theology as a particular version of the theology of empire in Africa from the point of view of history is a curious question here. It would baffle us if the history of the Church in colonial Africa would be narrated correctly without reference to liberation themes. Western theology in the understanding of Nthamburi is clearly tied to western ideology.¹⁹¹ That ideology is not neutral at all. In our context, it was designed to deal with the Africans in a decisive manner so that Africanness in terms of theological reflection and assertiveness could be forced into extinction. It is like Europe coming to Africa, finding a book written about Africa, but deciding to ignore what is already written in favour of a story that really does not reflect the context. Europe would rather rub off that book entirely, opting to write a new one that critical historians would find one day to be irrelevant. Arthur Shearly Cripps was aware of this problem as we have seen above and would have liked to write from a very different angle.

2.4.8. A unique theology of empire in Mashonaland

¹⁸⁹. Fiedler, *op.cit.*, p.49

¹⁹⁰. Nthamburi, *op. cit.*, p. 234

¹⁹¹. *Ibid.*

It is clear, in the above connection, that the issue of the existence of the theology of empire in Mashonaland needs even more attention. At this point, we should be able to note that “the theology of empire in an African pot” could actually be distinguished from “theology in an African pot.” Musopole and his colleagues are advocating the involvement of indigenous theologians in seeking meaning and authenticity within their own cultural milieu and, therefore, moving away from the wanton dependency on western thought-patterns and categories. We are also trying to find out how deeply engrossed Anglicanism was among the indigenous who subscribed to it in Mashonaland and trying to establish whether it was possible to disentangle the chains of oppression from this perspective. In this connection, historical narratives presented with this latter objective in mind could enlighten us. Unfortunately, the scarcity of such histories baffles any enquiring mind.

The theology of empire we are faced with here seems to entail ideological systems of dominating others, worked out of Africa, but to tame Africans as it were in the guise of evangelism and civilisation. Therefore, it could be pointed out that, in general, theology may be neutral; the theology of empire is not value-free. We have already seen that it derives its strength from the existence of inequalities even in matters of faith. No wonder why narratives meant to boost the indigenous people in Mashonaland who subscribe to the Anglican Church, are not readily available.

Granted that by referring to the theology of empire we are dealing with an approach that requires us to see the schemes designed by the powerful over and against the weak in terms of theologising and narrating history, we need to proceed with caution. The following observations become relevant in this connection:

Firstly, Africans who master western theology today seem to be confronted mainly by the challenge to calculate their bearings correctly in case they get trapped in systems that have the potential to create havoc on their personhood and cultural authenticity in the name of the Christian Church. The envisaged position is one where Africans are given space to work out their own theological canons that

could contribute to the broader discourse of theologising using their unique experiences without submitting to external intimidation when it comes to reflecting about God.

Secondly, African scholars who have been brainwashed by western theologians should not exaggerate their claims by making us understand that they are African theologians in the strict sense of theologising from an African perspective. They should consider themselves Africans who have mastered western thought-forms in this regard and may, therefore, still need to be groomed in the African ways of practising theology. This distinction is urgent if we are to get positive results in the above connection.

Thirdly, the question of who calls the tune when it comes to theologising and narrating Church history becomes extremely urgent within the African context. Obviously, Africans cannot call the tune when it comes to engaging in theology from a western perspective. Therefore, the issue of a master-slave relationship in terms of assimilating faith in God and writing about it becomes central among the African scholars. The dependency of African Churches on western donor funds could be viewed as critical in this regard. Westerners will impose their ways of engaging in theology that does not respect the dignity of indigenous Africans.

In addition, Nthamburi has these developments in mind, under apartheid in South Africa before 1994, where theology was actually used to oppress Africans. We could appreciate his articulation of this point when he goes on to add that, "This is certainly, a fair assessment of the Southern Africa situation where the Dutch Reformed Church theologically justifies and condones apartheid as legitimate and as God-ordained".¹⁹² The only reason why exponents of apartheid came to this illogical conclusion, that they have a God-given superiority, is that, we can safely assume, they wielded both political and economic powers over and against the indigenous Africans whom they perceived to be inferior and whom they had subdued by their powerful guns. Again, God must always side with the powerful even in the African context. Eusebius saw God as being on the side of the

¹⁹². Nthamburi, op.cit.p.234

Emperor, just to remind ourselves. Africans seem to have accepted this state of affairs in many cases and this is why there is such a deafening silence about the theology of empire even within the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

Therefore, following the above narratives, it is safe to argue that Anglicanism is essentially linked to the English people: their cultural and religious aspirations; as well as their global socio-economic as well as political assertiveness and presence.¹⁹³ To this end, it seems to blend in so well with the thrust of western theology that does not leave space for the indigenous Africans to make their own unique contributions. We should bear in mind here that the quest is to find out how the writing of church history pertaining to the Anglicans in Mashonaland could be viewed as a theology that is based on racial supremacy, and therefore, a theology that has no regard for the weak.

Outside the Mashonaland context, we continue to get inspiring observations. Cochrane emphasises the point already made above to the effect that English missionaries' endeavours in general could not be viewed successfully as distinct from the settlers' imperial project. In this connection, he observes that: "...the truth about the role of missionaries must include their presuppositions and pre-selected values".¹⁹⁴ Cochrane's general thrust of ideas in this regard argues against a neutral approach that could regard the missionary programme as distinct from that of settlers and, hence, purely pro-indigenous. The major question Cochrane raises is whether missionaries were not part of the "dominant structures of society" to the extent that we could not view them as belonging to the dominated.¹⁹⁵ If missionaries identified themselves with those who saw themselves as the most powerful, we could easily understand why there was no urgent need to groom radical indigenous leaders within the Church in this context.

¹⁹³. Strong, R., 2007, 2015: Anglicans and Empire: Historical Interpretations, in Oxford Scholarship Online, Oxford University Press, UK. Available online at: Url: www.oxfordscholarship.com Accessed on 20 April 2011. Rowan Strong states the point as follows: "The connection between English religion and the English (and later, British) Empire has largely been explained as the history of the export, from the 1790s onwards, of British Christianity to the British colonies following the so-called Protestant missionary movement, itself consequent in turn upon the .Evangelical Revival of the mid-eighteenth century"

¹⁹⁴. Cochrane, op.cit.p.15

¹⁹⁵. Ibid.

It also follows that, wherever, the English people went and established themselves, they also asserted their religious views. The English people should not be expected to apologise regarding this matter if we could understand them as humans with all the ambitions as well as limitations that go with this nature. There is only one concern that seems to derive from what we have observed above: Would that assertiveness by the British liberate those who were not indigenous English Christians? The limitations of patriotism in matters Christian seem to be critical in this connection. The distinction between what is English and what is indigenous in Mashonaland needs to be respected.

Fourthly, after noting who calls the tune above, and from a purely Christian perspective, Anglicanism happens to be a Church that developed against the urgent need to make the English people feel at home and free from foreign domination. It asserted the identity of the English people as we have already pointed out under Henry VIII. The major question then is: what about those who are not English by birth, how could they justly claim to be Anglican from a Christian point of view?

Fifthly, other nations do not necessarily need to be Anglican but could do well to appreciate the spirit inspiring this English initiative. To continue to use the term “Anglican” to describe the indigenous people in Mashonaland, who were evangelised by the English missionaries, could give us an understanding that it was not just Christianity at stake but the whole idea of ensuring that people surrendered their cultural anchors in favour of what the newcomers brought in. It could be viewed as a thorough system, perfected to the maximum, in terms of rendering other people’s identities redundant. People in Mashonaland ended up not only being Christians but also specifically English.

2.5. Alienation, violence and the theology of empire

If the above historically-conditioned state of affairs is correct, that Mashonaland must essentially become Anglican, our problem becomes acute. There seems to have been recognition of this difficulty by those who introduced the term, “Afro-

Anglican”¹⁹⁶ to describe Africans who convert to the English Church that subscribes to Canterbury. We get an insight into this identification when we read that,

Afro-Anglicanism is an ideal context not only for cultural interaction, but also for profound discussion and discernment on how to make our world a better place in which to live. We should continue to value and celebrate our differences, and avoid temptations of divisiveness by enforcing patterns of uniformity. Our Anglican Communion needs to be a listening church based on the solidarity of compassionate love.¹⁹⁷

The above quote is emphatic on the issue of cultural differences and therefore the need for “interaction”. It also discourages the idea of “enforcing patterns of uniformity” which, in our narrative here has to do with domineering. From this understanding therefore, the following observations could be urgent:

Firstly, a person could not be authentically Mashona in terms of origin and cultural identity, indigenous in terms of roots and psychical or cultural orientation as well as social cognates and tastes, and, at the same time, an English personality with all that goes with it. If it were possible, we could end up faced with a contradiction in terms of our understanding of personhood. An identity that militates against itself render individuality null and void. The Shona people could not be understood to be English as well as indigenous.

We have already been alerted to the fact that in our Mashonaland context, the rules of engagement were such that indigenous people had to be forced to give up their religious aspirations in order to belong. They had to be baptised to assume new foreign names. Cripps violated this norm by writing a book in which the main characters were indigenous, both in name and approach, that is, from a Christian perspective! The idea of giving people new names in the name of Christianity could be seen as conquering indigenous people not only physically but mentally as well. This is why the issue of identity is urgent in our investigation: Christianity could not be used as a means to destroy peoples’ identities without contradicting

¹⁹⁶. Anglican Communion News Service, 2005: “Afro-Anglicanism conference ends; issues pact reflecting ubuntu”, ACNS: [ACNS4019](#). (Unpaged). Available online at: <https://www.anglicancommunion.org/resources/document-library.aspx> . Accessed on 28 March 2011.

¹⁹⁷. Anglican Communion News Service, op.cit.

its very rational that should involve upholding humanity and liberating it from everything that compromises the aspirations of people. (John 10:10).

Secondly, alienation could result if the indigenous people in Mashonaland were to end up being understood as commanding an Anglican personhood by virtue of being baptised into the Christian faith propagated by the English. Being Anglican and being Christian is not one and the same as we have alluded to before. Again, the issue of Christianity and nationalism needs a cautious approach, in connection with confusing the two, as this is not what we are envisaging here. How nationalism could be used to militate against God is a curious question here. We could appreciate the early Fathers' efforts to talk about Jesus Christ and his apostles and to align the Church with these individuals without bringing their nationalities to bear on their missionary work. In other words, it is not the nationality of the Apostles that takes centre-stage but the Gospel!

Thirdly, our understanding of Christianity would have to change if appreciating this faith could imply doing violence to the identity of those who are eager to assimilate it from people who happen to be of a different nationality. The understanding that seems appealing in this connection is that an exchange of religious views should not imply an excuse for dominating others. It should be an opportunity to acknowledge the marvels of a transcendental being that could not be limited by geography or nationalistic sentiments. We are, therefore, interested in missionary approaches that could help us appreciate the fact that becoming Christian is not the same as being colonised by those bringing the gospel. In our quest, the motivating element is the question of bringing God as a conqueror rather than making people aware of the presence of their creator in their day-to-day engagements with the world around them. This is the problem that we would like to continue highlighting using the Diocese of Mashonaland and the historical narratives that have a bearing on it.

Alienation and violence, in line with the above, become critical concepts when we focus on the terminology that has been introduced in the foregoing section in terms of what Anglicanism should be. We are reminded that the term "Anglican" as preferred by given nationalities that do not originate from England, or are not part

of it, is a clear indication of how much many peoples' histories are "intimately bound up with colonialism."¹⁹⁸ However, Anglicanism and colonialism become extremely critical dimensions for people such as those in Mashonaland who may find it difficult to separate the two. Like the early Church fathers who were able to insist on apostolic succession. This is in order to challenge those with contrary views. The Mashonaland context could have been approached from the same perspective to encourage the development of a Church that could take root and grow its own unique features as an indigenous institution essentially and directly linked to Christ. This does not seem to be what we get as we explore documents that could be available in this context. The apostolic connections seem to have been overtaken by a colonial dimension added by the English to the Christian church.

The confusion of peoples' religious hopes and aspirations within the colonial matrix, characterising the majority of Africa, is problematic among those who are critical and in need of some satisfactory historical distinctions with which we are concerned in our investigation. This could be cited as one of the reasons why Kalu could safely appeal to the term "decolonisation" with reference to post independence developments within some African churches.¹⁹⁹ Here the uncontested assumption is that it is a given fact in Africa that Christian churches were once colonised institutions and, hence, not really at the service of the indigenous people. For example, Kalu goes on to note that:

Decolonization was not merely the departure of colonial officials precisely because missions did not pack up and leave as the new flags were unfurled and did not hand over all the church posts to black people merely because the colonial administrators had left. Decolonization in the churches took a much longer time as deliberate measures designed to maintain influence even when indigenous people were at the helms of administration.²⁰⁰

In Mashonaland, and in line with the Anglican Church, we ask the same question regarding whether there was any decolonisation to talk about at all. We are warned here that, physically, the coloniser may be absent but, still present and still

¹⁹⁸. Ward, op.cit.p.3

¹⁹⁹. Kalu, O.U., 2000: DECOLONIZATION OF AFRICAN CHURCHES: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE, 1955-1975, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria. p. 1. Available online at: URL: <http://www.oslo2000.uio.no/program/papers/s7/s7-kalu.pdf>. Accessed: 08/09/2014

²⁰⁰. Ibid.

playing a leadership role in other ways. This is a clear recognition of the impact on the indigenous psyche of the people of Mashonaland who became Anglican. However, our challenge is to be able to account for this colonial matrix given that the Church never started off as an institution that emphasised political or economic aggressiveness. We have already seen that it was understood to be God's project for the people who had come to value the work of their creator in this world and to celebrate that understanding.

Therefore, it is clear that the issue of identity among the indigenous people, who also became Christians under the direction of exotic Churches in Africa, is critical. Kalu goes on to observe that:

... various regions of Africa experienced the process of decolonization differently based on the number and types of missions, degree of power of the church in the colonial state, character of nationalism and the nature of decolonization.²⁰¹

We concur here that the developments we are dealing with in our context, that is, within Rhodesia and in the Diocese of Mashonaland, need their own analysis as simple generalisations may not help capture the spirit of the realities at play. If people still understand themselves as Anglicans in a decolonised context, then perhaps there is a need to explain what that process entails. If the term "Anglican" is still critical for some of the indigenous people in Zimbabwe, where the term "Christian" alone could not suffice, we are faced with an extremely critical issue of identity in this context.

We could argue in the name of national authenticity and sovereignty that the term 'Anglican' as applied to any country that is not England, conjures up in any critical mind, a sense of cultural superiority and ideological domination over those people who came to assimilate it over time. It is almost like surrendering to the English in order to become Christian, in which failure to do so could imply some serious religious deficiency. We must bear in mind that evangelisation in this context was done in the name of civilisation; which meant that churches could become partners with the state without any quibbles of conscience provided that they agreed on this noble venture. Our Mashonaland case seem to fit well into this

²⁰¹. Kalu, op.cit.

mould. What then could happen if people were made to understand that there is a distinction between Constantine and Christ; between the British Crown and the Christian faith; and between any other dominating power and God, even if civilisation was part of the package?

In addition, the above scenario, raises the whole question of whether it is still accurate to use the term 'Anglican' to describe the indigenous Christians that are found in Mashonaland or anywhere else, who follow the traditions of the Church of England especially in contexts where the English political dominance has been discarded and the people are not British natives. To what extent we could associate people with English ecclesiastical preferences, with the British, without alienating them from their authentic indigenous roots that need Christianising in their own right, is a critical question. Do we always need to refer to England, even if it was the country that provided the missionaries, when we talk about Christianity in Mashonaland?

The questions raised above are urgent. In the recent past, a rebellious Anglican Bishop in the Diocese of Harare (formerly Mashonaland before the subdivisions) highlighted the magnitude of the above concerns when he asserted that he is not comfortable with a system that has always been imperialistic and, therefore, domineering. Submitting to that system would be like surrendering his patriotism to the British monarch,²⁰² -something inconceivable in an independent Zimbabwe. Here was a Christian who demonstrated how much was at stake in his conscience as an Anglican leader. What is it that makes people in Zimbabwe so endemically English in terms of their "faith, practice and spirit" and others in the same context so uncomfortable?²⁰³ Unfortunately, leaders such as the one cited may know how to raise a problem so clearly but not able to distance themselves from the term "Anglican" as we have already noted. The confusion is acute. However, we must

²⁰². Christina Lamb, 2006: The Sunday Times, UK. Available online at: Url: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article673571.ece> . Accessed on 5 March 2011. Nolbert Kunonga, then Bishop of the Diocese of Harare, was quoted as saying, "Throughout history the Anglican Church has been an extension of British colonialism and imperialism," ... "England has no jurisdiction over me".. The same bishop in his inaugural sermon on 29 April 2001 AD had insisted on this point, "denouncing some black priests as "Uncle Toms" and puppets of whites and human rights campaigns as covers for Western imperialism". Such incongruence on historical matters causes problems as it gives the impression that black priests are busy running a white Church that has no relevance to their spiritual well-being. The problem is that this Church leader had no solution to the problem he had rightly identified.

²⁰³. Avis, 1998, op.cit, p.459

admit that the concerns we are confronted with here require us to distinguish between faith in God and faith in the colonising power.

The latter observation in the foregoing connection needs appreciation against the background of an understanding that happens to be critical. Such an understanding could be premised on the fact that, as we move outside Judaism, the cradle of the Christian faith, we come to understand God as one who has no interest in taking sides when dealing with humanity. We learn that God accepts people as they are and not as what others would like them to be (cf. Acts 10: 34-35). From the point of view of history, which is our main source of inspiration in this work, we are being challenged to read narratives in this connection with a critical awareness to the effect that facts could be distorted and what people are exposed to are prejudices and ideological expositions of those ready to impose their supremacy on others.

Paul Mumo Kisau, who comments on Peter's sermon (Acts 10) in the above connection, indicates that with regard to this theme, God is not partial; He accepts all that fear Him; and, hence, God is interested in "peoples of all nations."²⁰⁴ How this God, becomes only relevant to some Christians in Mashonaland through thought-patterns and categories that are merely of English origin, is problematic. Why, within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, a purely indigenous approach to Christianity was not allowed any space is an important question in this connection. Again, it seems not fair to allow indigenous people in Mashonaland to understand their Christian identity only through England. This would imply that the route to heaven is essentially linked to those overseas countries

2.5.0. The Mashonaland synthesis of Anglicanism

It is curious to note that quite recently; Pamela Welch presented to us a work that is a study of "the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland/Southern Rhodesia"²⁰⁵ without actually subjecting the term 'Anglicanism' to an in-depth analysis in the context in which it had to be celebrated outside England. Perhaps it is taken for

²⁰⁴. Kisau, P.M. 2006: Acts of the Apostles in Africa Bible Commentary, T. Adeyemo, (ed.), WorldAlive Publishers, Nairobi, Kenya, p.1319

²⁰⁵. Welch, P. , 2008: Church and Settler in Colonial Zimbabwe: A study in the History of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland/Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1925, Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

granted that Christianity in the Mashonaland evangelised by the Church of England must be understood as essentially English. Any historical narrative in this connection, therefore, gives an upper hand to the English people and their colonial influence in Mashonaland and not the indigenous dwellers of this region. The question is how would those who assimilated it be understood over time?

Arnold,²⁰⁶ the author of an earlier work than that of Welch, also seems to have other urgent concerns to narrate. The term 'Anglicanism' once again, is taken as self-evident. The Anglican Church is simply advanced as doing God's work in challenging contexts. A doctorate dissertation submitted to UNISA, almost at the same time as Welch's book was published, investigates the process of 'indigenisation' in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.²⁰⁷ Naturally, we would expect such works to enlighten us on what Anglicanism essentially is outside the British isles; specifically and historically, within the Mashonaland context or as applied to its indigenous people.

We also observe that Musodza's dissertation deals with other concepts such as 'Africanisation,' 'indigenisation,' 'contextualisation,' 'incarnation,' amongst others, with a certain degree of elaboration in this regard.²⁰⁸ The rationale of raising this concern happens to be premised on the fact that we cannot identify changes and adaptations within an institution whose identity is not altogether clear to us. The problem of failing to distinguish between transformation²⁰⁹ and transposition²¹⁰ raises its ugly head in this connection when we look at the Anglo-Mashonaland case. How we could be in a position to discern historical transformations then if the essence of Anglicanism has not been explained within a context such as the Mashonaland one we are anxious about becomes an urgent question here. In addition, how to draw the line when we are not able to distinguish between mere

²⁰⁶. Arnold, W.E., 1985: Here To Stay: The Story Of The Anglican Church In Zimbabwe, Book Guild Ltd, Sussex, England

²⁰⁷. Musodza, A. 2008: An Investigation into the Process of Indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland (1891-1980), With Special Emphasis on the Ministry of Indigenous Christians, UNISA, South Africa: dissertation submitted in accordance with the requirements of the Doctor of Theology

²⁰⁸. Musodza, op.cit.pp.18-33.

²⁰⁹. **Transformation** in our case carries with it the spirit of revolution that is complete change.

²¹⁰. **Transposition** could simply mean substitution. It does not necessarily refer to any complete change but replacing one player with another like in soccer where the team remains the same.

translation and a radical shift on church governance and practice, becomes a difficult task.

2.5.1. 'Anglicanism', 'Mashonaland' and 'domination'

In this section it is important that we look at the conceptual significance of three critical terms in our narrative, namely Anglicanism, Mashonaland and the idea of domination. It is clear that our investigation does not take the term 'Anglicanism' for granted. Welch's work raises concerns about accurate historical narratives, in this connection, about how the English Church came to be a dominating reality on the Christian life of certain people in Mashonaland. Nevertheless, it does not look at how best this particular concept could be understood in general and, could therefore, be utilised in terms of making the issue of identity critical in a historical narrative.

Above, we are raising the issue that the indigenous were not given any space to articulate their English faith and to demonstrate that they fitted into it so well that there is nothing more that could be said about it. It seems to be the case that the identity of the English missionaries can be something that should be taken for granted even in a land that is foreign to them. There is nothing essentially English about Mashonaland unless the idea of domination is brought into the equation. That English missionaries were operating in a context that needed to be respected in its own right does not seem to be an urgent concern. How that European identity could be seen as compromising the indigenous people's aspirations is our main basis for introducing the theme of the theology of empire here. There seems to be space to argue that not many scholars have been able to enlighten us on this matter in this context.

Our attention in this connection revolves around the fact that it is Anglicanism that is at stake in Arnold, Welch and Musodza, as well as several other authors who focus on the Mashonaland theme. The term "Anglicanism" gets no academic treatment especially where we are concerned with key terms. This dearth in the understanding of Anglicanism within the context of Southern Africa, and in Mashonaland, seems to have gone unheeded and, hence, the need to attempt an urgent contribution that could challenge scholars to redesign their themes on this concept.

2.5.2. The conquest of Mashonaland taken for granted

To support the foregoing observations, a glance at one source that tries to summarise the activities of early Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland will reveal the following important state of affairs:

Firstly, the writer, we select, gives a brief background to the occupation of the country the British came to call Southern Rhodesia and states the challenges posed by the indigenous' violent protest as follows:

This rising furnished a remarkable example of what is at once our weakness and our strength in dealing with native races--our extraordinary ... capacity for trusting them. On the whole, it is that trust that is the secret of our power to govern and win them. But occasionally it is misplaced. It was so in this instance. No sooner had we conquered the warlike and independent Matabele than we assumed that they were to be at once and for ever our firm friends and faithful subjects.²¹¹

Some of the phrases in the foregoing quotation are challenging. "Our power to govern and win them," then "our firm friends and faithful subjects," are words that tell a story of mere conquest of the indigenous through diplomatic as well as other means such as military action as is widely documented to have happened.²¹² What is taken for granted is that other nations must be subdued by the British. The latter nation is advanced to us as though it has a God-given right to conquer. The source we have cited above does not indicate to us that there is a considerable problem of colonial annihilation of other people's identities in all these developments. The indigenous people's unhappiness and perpetual state of discontent does not seem to be a critical factor. The narrative treats the conquest of the indigenous as something given and something that does not call for any critical questions. In reality, it legitimises colonialism and all that goes with it. The idea of a moral outrage against colonial conquest in Mashonaland is not even implied.

²¹¹. Baynes, A.H., 1908: (PROJECT CANTERBURY), Diocese of Mashonaland, Handbooks of English Church Expansion South Africa, A. R. Mowbray, London and Oxford, Available online at: URL:

<http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/ahbaynes/handbooks1908/04.html> . Accessed on 29 August 2015

²¹². Ibid.

Secondly, we need to remember that the indigenous war of resistance especially by the Matabele paved the way for more aggressive Anglican work in Mashonaland. The article being cited here makes it clear when it states that,

The termination of the little war of 1893, however, changed the aspect of affairs. It brought many English settlers into the country, so that the Church was called to minister to her own members.²¹³

Perhaps this is where we should ask the question of whether Anglican missionary work in this context aimed at developing a religious consciousness among the indigenous people in the Diocese of Mashonaland that could help them map their own peculiar Christian brand of faith. However, the emphatic point here is that Anglicanism begins to spread its work more sustainably after the conquest of the Matabele. It is a religion of the conquerors of Mashonaland. We would expect historians to make special note of this point in order not to fall into the trap of presenting a one-sided narrative that favours the conquerors. The concern here is that future generations might not understand what was really at stake. It would be like taking the narratives of Eusebius for granted and concluding that whatever the Emperor Constantine did could not be explained otherwise.

Thirdly, and in line with the above, the Anglican missionary education undertaken among the indigenous people is often described as “industrial”.²¹⁴ We shall have more space to discuss the issue of education further but here we sample it as an introduction. In this context understanding the nature of Anglicanism becomes a puzzle. This is because it is given as a Church that seems to have been busy responding to the labour needs of the Europeans rather than making the indigenous independent and Christian. One source augments this development for us by noting that:

The work ethos, the dignity of labour, the inculcation of material needs thereby benefitting the colonial economy - these are regular themes in the utterances of missionaries in settler societies, as are the need to inculcate attitudes of docility, discipline and obedience in African workers. All this inevitably had repercussions on the content of missionary education. This question should be seen in the context of the often complex and contradictory relationships that existed between

²¹³, Baynes, op.cit.

²¹⁴, Ibid

missions, colonial administrators and what might be called the private agents of colonialism (traders, farmers, company representatives).²¹⁵

To read about such developments, within the context of Anglicanism in Mashonaland and not raise serious questions about racial supremacy would be to overlook some essential dimensions of the plight of the indigenous people. From a historical perspective, it would be very misleading to treat such compromises as though they could be overlooked. The need to correct our historical understanding of how the Anglican Church fared in Mashonaland is urgent. We should anticipate more narratives about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland that try to highlight the sinister but subtle methods that were in place as championed by both missionary and coloniser. The results of such domination in Mashonaland could be seen in many confrontations that the post-colonial era advanced as people, rightly or wrongly tried to address the anomalies that colonialism and missionaries had bequeathed. The major hurdle is that since colonialism had made the Church an accomplice, those who wanted to see a distinction between the two were confused.

2.5.3. The indigenous people and subservience in Mashonaland

In this section will consider the question of whether there was space for the indigenous people to understand and respond to God in their own unique ways. Given that the leaders of this Anglican missionary work were predominantly of British origin, assisted by native catechists and teachers, could we anticipate a peculiar brand of Anglicanism that reflect these dimensions? The available literature seems to point to the fact that while it is easy to talk about Anglicanism in general, history has not yet been blessed enough to entertain the same ecclesiological appreciation from a purely indigenous Mashona grounding. It seems there is no history in this context outside of the history provided for by the white authorities. Given the preferred prejudicial approach to the natives, we cannot expect too much from people who were groomed to do industrial work and not to think academically.

²¹⁵. Randall, P.R., 1988: The role of the History of Education in Teacher Education in South Africa, with particular reference to developments in Britain and the USA, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. Available online at: URL: <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/jspui/bitstream/10539/18116/5/Randall%20P%20R%201988-005.pdf>. Accessed on 6 November 2014

In addition to the above, we need to remember that evangelisation is frequently cited as the means through which people throughout the world became connected with Christianity. However, we need to ask whether evangelisation also means subjugating others in the process and in the name of God. Bishop Nazir-Ali in his article, "A worldwide communion" reminds us that some of the most celebrated Anglican theologians who included "Henry Venn (1725-97)" and "Rolland Allen (1868-1949)" never believed in making people "Anglican" by virtue of being evangelised by English missionaries.²¹⁶ These theologians appealed "for churches that were truly indigenous, planted in the soil and culture of their country and people: churches that were 'self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.'"²¹⁷ "Autonomy" of these churches would be a prerequisite and of course, communion with the Church of England would be a matter of courtesy and not something prescribed by any canons.²¹⁸ It is clear that the envisaged state of affairs here is that people must aim at being Christian in their own right and context and not imitators of their missionaries as this could compromise their identities. We note with much perplexity that between 1890 and 1981, there were no indigenous executive bishops in Mashonaland. This should challenge all those who believe that there was indigenisation of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland from the first day onwards.

Nazir-Ali goes on to cite several churches that went the route of being Christian without reference to the missionaries who brought the gospel to them such as in South Asia, Scandinavia and the Baltics.²¹⁹ The people were allowed to receive the gospel and deal with it in their own way, mindful of the fact that they were not the only Christians around. Such a development would not require us to speculate about the status of Anglican missionary work outside the British Isles.

When we look at the Diocese of Mashonaland, we know very well that there was no Anglican Christianity to talk about in pre-colonial times. This we could safely conclude from the fact that it was between 1888 and 1890 that Knight-Bruce

²¹⁶ Nazir-Ali, M., "A worldwide communion", in *Celebrating the Anglican Way*, op.cit. pp.56f.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p.57.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

extended the missionary work of the Anglican Church to Mashonaland.²²⁰ The context is captured by Knight-Bruce himself who described the Mashonaland he knew seven years before 1895 in one of his memoirs as “a very different place to the Mashonaland of to-day.”²²¹ He ascribed the radical colonial changes that had taken place to the obvious developments of the late nineteenth century in the country. With regard to Mashonaland, Knight-Bruce avers:

For me its great charm vanished with the coming of the white men. When I first was there I heard of but two other white men in the country, and they only during the winter. But now, of course, the vast untouched wilds and the stillness have, to a great extent, vanished.²²²

The above quotation of the pioneer Anglican Bishop takes us back to the beginning of his Church in Mashonaland. There was no Anglicanism to distinguish people from those belonging to other Christian traditions that were also non-existent at that time. It follows, historically, that the indigenous were just indigenous in their cultural settings without reference to any Christian affinity, let alone Anglican. How then could the “the indigenous Church” not come into existence in its own right that does not see it tied to England if, at one point, these indigenous were allowed to engage Christianity from their own unique appreciation of it?

The preference we have imposed regarding the usage of the term “Anglicanism” in the above connection needs justification. That preference derives from the question whether some indigenous people in Mashonaland became part of England and its cultural heritage by virtue of having been exposed to it for nearly a hundred years. Could we rightly describe as “indigenous” any religious expression that originates from without on the basis of the length of time the same have asserted themselves? We acknowledge the negative implications this question may have but it could be worse if it were to be ignored. Why, some indigenous people in Mashonaland choose to become Anglican is an urgent question here.

2.6. Military force and conversion

²²⁰, Hinchliff, P. 1963: *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, p.166.

²²¹, Knight-Bruce, G.W.H. 1895: *Memories of Mashonaland*, London and New York: Edward Arnold, p.2. Available online at: http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/knight-bruce_mashonaland1895/01.html. Accessed on 17 July 2015.

²²², Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit.

In addition to our questioning above on the prevalence of Anglicanism among the indigenous of Mashonaland, we appeal to Kalu, who reminds us, in general terms, that the colonial project often involved “God and maxim guns,”²²³ therefore, we can assume that there is a need to distinguish between evangelisation and the forceful conquest of cultures. Unfortunately, other scholars do not see it in the same light and, therefore, this complicates our problem.

A good example here of a scholar whose denial of the use of force in the conversion of the indigenous people is Friday M. Mbon. This scholar thinks that the religious disposition of many African people made it easier for them to adopt Christianity without the need to use force by foreign missionaries.²²⁴ There is a need to acknowledge that the appeal to English standards, in terms of spreading the gospel in Mashonaland, could be viewed as an example of direct and indirect force. As long as the indigenous were not given space to reflect about the new faith brought to them in ways that could lead them to draw their own conclusions, the evangelisation in this connection should be viewed as suspect. More will be said in this regard later in our narrative.

2.6.0. Indigenising Anglicanism in Mashonaland

It should be clear in our narrative that the major question is not about the why of Christianity. Rather, it is about the why of English culture within a Mashonaland context and in the name of the Church. Our position here is emphatic: there was a time when the English people and Christianity were not part of the indigenous heritage, therefore, the warning to tread with caution is clear when it comes to the question of identity. We must also reiterate that there was a time in history when the indigenous of Mashonaland began to subscribe to Anglican Christian thinking and principles. This latter development began to take shape in a more sustainable fashion only after the British colonialists under Rhodes invaded the country, from South Africa, and conquered the indigenous people.²²⁵ The kind of faith that could

²²³. Kalu, *op.cit.*p.4f.

²²⁴. Mbon, F.M., 2008: Response to Christianity in Pre-colonial and Colonial Africa: Some Ulterior Motives, UNISA, South Africa, p.42. Available online at: Url: <http://0-docserver.ingentaconnect.com.oasis.unisa.ac.za/deliver/connect/brill/01689789/v4n1/s8.pdf?expires=1348445198&id=70584014&titleid=10645&accname=University+of+South+Africa+%28UNISA%29&checksum=2D838AE1FCFAFF52ED4FED9A6C7E11DA>. Accessed on 03 September 2013

²²⁵. Hinchliff, *op. cit.*p.152

be expected to take root among a subjugated people makes for a curious investigation. This question needs to be dealt with in a more impartial, analytical and informative manner. We are worried about whether the conditions in which freedom to assimilate a religion for its own sake were conducive and whether the indigenous were privy to such spiritual luxury to decide when confronted by the English Church. This could help us to make accurate historical evaluations about the success or failure, especially of Anglican Christianity in this context. Also, this could help us to understand those indigenous people in Mashonaland who think of themselves as Christians in the English tradition. There is need to reiterate the fact that we are raising a question of identity and asking whether this could be imposed.

While we are faced with an indigenous context, some observations seem urgent here. Europeans who came into Mashonaland did not adjust their cultural orientation in respect of what they encountered so that we can talk about some form of mutual respect and engagement in this regard. To be specific, we are talking about English missionaries who saw it as their duty to evangelise people in this context. The change they wanted was not mutual. The indigenous had to adjust for them to fit into European schemes. In other words, Europeans did not cut ties with their cultural affinities and roots in any significant ways to enable us to see anything purely Christian as well as African in terms of empathy in them. If no change among Europeans could be envisaged, and the Africans expected to give up their values as a critical element for the success of the missionary work, it seems to be the case that one side was being prejudiced.

2.6.1. Anglicanism in Mashonaland and the local cultures

Andrew Porter, in his article, "Cultural Imperialism and Missionary Enterprise" reminds us that in a different context, the LMS, in the late eighteenth century, were being instructed to respect the uniqueness and individuality of the cultures they were intent on evangelising.²²⁶ Of major significance to our work is the fact that these missionaries were supposed to refrain from turning their converts into

²²⁶. Porter, A., Cultural Imperialism and Missionary Enterprise, North Atlantic Missionary Project, Position Paper Number 7, University of Cambridge, p.12

English replicas.²²⁷ Clearly, the need to distinguish European culture from Christianity was seen as critical. This is what we wanted to establish among missionaries of the Church of England who created the Diocese of Mashonaland. The major challenge is, therefore, the scarcity of examples that could be cited of executive missionaries who saw their role as simply to spread Christianity without permeating it with cultural preferences and politico-economic advantages. Cultural imperialism often runs the risk of making the gospel an appendix for the talk about God, though capable of being contextualised among cultures, must eventually transcend such limitations. This is in recognition of the fact that God should be understood as the author of all that human beings are capable of initiating and, could therefore, not be identified with a particular culture. We can safely state that God is the ultimate author of all the cultures we could imagine.

2.6.2. God and Anglicanism in Mashonaland

To pave the way for discussing the way God could have been presented by the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, the early Church fathers give us some important reflections. With regard to God and within a Church history context, Irenaeus, the Bishop of Lyons, pointed out that,

He is the only God, the only Lord, the only Creator, the only Father, the only Sovereign and it is he who bestows existence on all things. How could there be any other Totality...beyond him: or another Principle or Power or another God?²²⁸

Irenaeus was concerned with distortions that humanity could prefer with regard to God like what the great heretic of his day, Marcion, was trying to do.²²⁹ It is critical to review the Anglican Church missionaries' general thrust in Mashonaland against this background. The underlying conviction here is that anyone who sets out to teach others about God should be aware of human limitations, in case, they teach their own particular values to safeguard their own interests without reference to the universal. The argument proposed in this thesis is that it could be easier to teach others how to become Anglican and not how to become Christian for the two are not one and the same.

²²⁷. Porter, op.cit.p.12

²²⁸. Bettenson, op. cit.p.89

²²⁹. Ibid, p.90

In addition, Irenaeus warns us: “We cannot know God in his greatness, for the Father cannot be measured.”²³⁰ If God cannot be measured, then mere human beings, for example, missionaries from England could not have the audacity to convert indigenous people in Mashonaland to God without reference to what God could do without them. The theology of empire in this context should challenge us to ask questions about how one racial grouping could champion God’s cause when the very target of their efforts are already an indication that they could actually be contradicting the marvels of creation.

Tertullian raises the bar even higher for us when he says of God that he “is invisible, though he is seen; incomprehensible, though manifested by grace; inconceivable, though conceived by human senses. In this lies his reality, and his greatness.”²³¹ The mystery described here seems to have been ignored by missionaries who came to Mashonaland.²³² One race could not claim to see the absence of God and proceed to narrate it to their kith and kin back home without limiting the attributes Tertullian is highlighting for us. The authorities in the Diocese of Mashonaland deny what they are being implicated by our work. The preamble of the document we are focusing on reads,

In view of the many misconceptions, which are prevalent in England and throughout South Africa as to the policy of the Anglican Church with regard to the relations between the white and coloured races, this Conference think it expedient that the principles of that policy should be clearly and publicly stated²³³

We are trying to argue, against the above, that at times, what was said at a meeting of the Church and what actually transpired in the pastoral field were two different things. As we seek to understand Anglican missionaries’ position in Mashonaland on the theme of God, this thesis raises the question of whether there was not also an attempt to limit God through lack of a general appreciation such as that we are encountering among the Church fathers. Tertullian would be turning in his grave if such proclamations were weighed against his foregoing

²³⁰. Bettenson, *op. cit.* p.91

²³¹. *Ibid*, p.141

²³². Here we could just indicate that pioneers such as Knight-Bruce and Pelly will be put on the spotlight on this point.

²³³. AB1225: “Diocese of Southern Rhodesia (Records)”: Acts and Resolutions Together with Certain Documents of the Diocese of Mashonaland (Embracing Southern Rhodesia), April 22nd 1903. Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa. It will be highlighted later that the resolution in question was racist and no indigenous from within the Mashonaland context was present. The white people were both players and referees.

convictions about God who is both a reality in this world and transcendental at the same time.

2.6.3. Englishness and the evangelisation of Mashonaland

The problem of limiting God, as we allege Anglicanism to have done in Mashonaland is also inspired by the work of Michael Lapsley of the Society of the Sacred Mission (S.S.M).²³⁴ Here the process called evangelisation is urgent. Some of Lapsley's observations could be highlighted in the fashion we adopt in the following paragraphs:

Firstly, the white people are the major protagonists and, therefore, constitute our criterion of the Anglican Christianity celebrated in this Mashonaland context.²³⁵ These people had no intention of respecting the cultural setting of Mashonaland. They were English and it seems that their urgent preoccupation was to make everything to fit into the scheme of things English. 'Englishness' took centre-stage over and against Christianity without an open admission of this development. The understanding of God coming to us through the reflections of the early Church fathers we have cited requires us to look at what the English missionaries did to Mashonaland with a critical eye. Hence, the questioning of the missionary enterprise in this context should be seen as relevant. Precisely, the evangelised indigenous of Mashonaland are not given prominence in this regard up to 1980, in terms of their personhood, their own God-given reflections and authenticity.²³⁶ It is clear that the indigenous sentiments are seen as counting for nothing, thus making Anglicanism to be an extremely dominating form of Christianity in Mashonaland.

Secondly, and according to Lapsley, the indigenous Mashonaland voices were almost an appendix to a historical white discourse about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.²³⁷ These indigenous people of Mashonaland did not count for much when it came to dealing with critical issues such as the politics of the country and how this impacted on the people's faith. The question then is whether Anglicanism

²³⁴. Lapsley, M., 1986: Neutrality OR Co-option? Gweru, Harare, Gokomere, Zimbabwe.

²³⁵. Ibid., p.9

²³⁶. Ibid. My interpretation of the main gist presented by Lapsley.

²³⁷. Ibid,

was in Mashonaland to liberate the indigenous or to be part of the conspiracy against them.

At this point there is need to appeal to an observation that could support what we are getting from Lapsley. The information comes from another missionary²³⁸ who seems to be expressing some amount of bewilderment as he looks at missionary Christianity that connived with colonisers to enslave people in Mashonaland (inclusive of Matabeleland). The passage of interest to us here makes this drastic statement to the effect that,

It is becoming increasingly clear, and Governors and missionaries alike are coming to realise, that the method of the destruction of the religion and culture of Primitive races as happened in the cases of the Tasmanians, Australians and to some extent, of the Polynesians, Melanesians and American Indians are both scandalous and futile. For such a method destroys all the values that give meaning and zest to their lives, rendering them impotent and ill-equipped to face the future, cutting them loose from all their moorings on a vast and uncharted sea where they drift first to despair and finally to destruction.²³⁹

In this passage, the Reverend Denys Shropshire of The Community of the Resurrection (C.R), an Anglican missionary himself, seems to be reflecting on and, at the same time, challenging some unfortunate ideals that had been taken for granted by Church authorities in various parts of the English colonies. As one operating in Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia), we could conclude that he was talking also about something very connected to his context. It is clear that he is worried about English attitudes that tended to be oppressive and ultimately reducing indigenous people to objects.

Thirdly, Lapsley gives us an Anglican Church in Mashonaland that was almost an ancillary to the state and therefore in agreement with Shropshire's concerns. This Church is seen here as having followed the same paths that were created by the British Empire throughout the world.²⁴⁰ To argue for a purely indigenous Anglican Church in Mashonaland seems problematic if these background facts are taken seriously.

²³⁸. Shropshire, D, 1933: "Native Development in Southern Rhodesia", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 32 (129) Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society pp. 409-423, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/716425>
Accessed: 21 June 2015

²³⁹. *Ibid.* p.411

²⁴⁰. Lapsley, *op.cit.* p.9

The period on which Lapsley focuses is between 1964 and 1980.²⁴¹ From the point of view of the theology of empire, what could have been happening to the indigenous people of Mashonaland for the past 70 to 90 years before the English colonisation of this country was brought to an end in 1980, is urgent here. The question of whether it was a process of spreading the good news or a system aimed at proving the indigenous people's abilities to assimilate western cultural systems and patterns under direct and indirect duress for the benefit of Europeans becomes even more relevant. Why the indigenous people had to go through the process of being turned into something they were not before, and labour incessantly to satisfy the western appetites, habits and standards imposed on them, even in matters that are Christian and still be expected to feel at home, happens to be a curious question.

Again, it is curious that the people within the Diocese of Mashonaland would find it logical to understand themselves as Anglican without reference to the process that brought about this state of affairs. This is where the need for narrating historical facts in a more balanced fashion should challenge us. It is also clear that the definition of Anglicanism from the point of view of our understanding of the Diocese of Mashonaland calls for a more thoughtful response than could easily be taken for granted.

2.6.4. South Africa, Mashonaland and cultural domination

In this section we try to consider observations outside the Mashonaland context, in an attempt to link our discussion to a broader missionary outlook. De Gruchy, writing about early missionary work in South Africa, observes the developments that we could critically sum up in our narrative as follows:

²⁴¹. Lapsley, op.cit.p.9

Firstly, Christian faith and European culture were understood as almost synonymous by many missionaries.²⁴² Clearly, one needed to master the habits of Europeans without having to understand Jesus Christ at all.

Secondly, and in line with De Gruchy, the African culture, we are referring to, was considered backwards, “heathen or pagan,” and, therefore, in need of being civilised through conversion to Christianity.²⁴³ The concern we have here is that even the use of force to achieve this could be sanctioned as attested to by Shropshire we cited above.

Thirdly, and according to De Gruchy, most of the missionaries were not trained in enculturation as a missionary methodology and, therefore, suffered from this blind spot in terms of judging Africans.²⁴⁴ Shropshire seems to be in agreement when he makes reference to the ideals of the missionary Church by stating that,

... her aim must be to develop not merely a man nor even a Superman, but a Supernatural man, a man redeemed, permeated, enlightened and raised to newness of life by the vivifying grace of Christ...A man in whom the important thing has been God's initiative, God's movement towards man...²⁴⁵

The above quote from Shropshire seems to be in line with the critique that is informed by the theology of empire we are using as our lens in the writing of history in this context. The “Supernatural man” and the idea of “God’s initiative”, are concepts that required more than preaching to people and leaving them subservient to another racial grouping without incurring a contradiction. We shall continue to bring such convictions to help sustain some of our arguments in this context as analyse developments linked to the work of Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland.

2.6.5. A mature Anglican Church in Mashonaland

When we introduced authorities such as Tertullian, Irenaeus, Lapsley, Shropshire and De Gruchy above, it is clear that we wanted to support the idea of Anglican

²⁴². Mission Christianity, the Colonial Churches, and Ethiopianism, 1867-1898. University of Cape Town, Cape Town, RSA. p.2. Available on line at: Url: <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/projects/sochist/print/c2.1.pdf>. Accessed on 08 September 2014

²⁴³. Ibid

²⁴⁴. De Gruchy, Mission Christianity... op.cit p.3

²⁴⁵. Shropshire, op.cit.p.415

missionary work in Mashonaland that could boast of being anchored only on God. By so doing, attention was also being drawn to the fact that the Mashonaland case study we are engaging with here saw other mere human factors taking centre stage. This happens to be problematic because conclusions drawn by some historians could be seen as controversial. Here we look at Arnold's understanding of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland in 1980 to help us lay a foundation for further evaluation of the theology of empire in this context.

Firstly, according to Arnold, the Anglican Church successfully addressed the issue of identity in. It became true Zimbabwean just as the country was now under indigenous political leadership.²⁴⁶ It seems to be the case that the indigenous people were now able to determine the way Christianity could be lived in Mashonaland without reference to Canterbury. Even more curious is how the Anglican faith would be adjusted to speak to the local context that posed challenges from both the political and Christian perspectives. The issue of who was qualified to stir the Anglican Church in such a direction is urgent here.

In addition, a strange development, during the same period that Arnold introduces, is the idea of indigenous maturity in Anglican matters. This period of 'maturity' witnessed the publication by the SPCK of *The Alternate Service Book 1980*.²⁴⁷ This book of liturgical services was introduced into the Zimbabwean context and there is nothing that suggests that it was responding to the new dispensation. The service book still takes the prayer for the Queen of England for granted in a context that had just been given independence by the United Kingdom.²⁴⁸ Priests and deacons on their Ordination could still be required to declare that they believed in the Christian doctrine as handed down through the Church of England and, therefore, "expound and teach it".²⁴⁹ There is no indication of the fact that the Church of England would be used by the indigenous as a springboard to work out new ways of teaching and worshipping! We are talking about the Christian doctrine and practice worked out in England and required to be a kind of

²⁴⁶ Arnold, *op.cit.*p.1

²⁴⁷ *The Alternate Service Book 1980*, SPCK, Cambridge University Press, UK.

²⁴⁸ *The Alternate Service Book*, p.59

²⁴⁹ *The Alternate Service Book*, *op.cit.* p.373. Note that the same declaration is required to be made by the Bishop elect on p.389 during his consecration.

constitutional guide in liturgical matters to the people of Mashonaland. Besides being able to ordain more black priests and translating the liturgy into the vernacular languages, not much about restoring indigenous values and cultural religious thought-patterns could be recorded.

Secondly, and according to Arnold, the handover, to the indigenous of Anglican Church leadership in Zimbabwe, demonstrated another move towards maturity. The local clergy were now allowed, for the first time, to take control of the spiritual destiny of their fellow Zimbabweans at episcopal level.²⁵⁰ This was exactly after 90 years of systematic colonial rule. However, we have already raised the question whether the indigenous leadership would be free to work out their own system of Christian beliefs and practices without reference to Canterbury. Understanding Christian maturity in contexts that had been colonised before may not be all that straightforward. We could sense a serious problem here when people whose culture had severely been compromised are seen as being in control of an imposed process. Assimilation of dominating standards by the victims of the same process is simply not freedom or maturity at all. A history that is written to confuse this distinction should be seen as misleading especially in the Mashonaland context we are reviewing. At least we do not hear about the indigenous Anglican leadership being left alone to insist on homemade liturgies and teachings.

Arnold does not help us understand that what makes Anglicanism in Mashonaland historically complex is its close affinities to “Englishness”. This has a special appeal to the Christian faith assimilated by people who are not of English origin. It therefore requires us to interrogate, critically, the methods that were preferred in the name of evangelism. Only then would we be able to work out historical narratives that differentiate between Anglicisation, meaning the process of being made to appear English, and Christianisation, meaning being made followers of Christ. This distinction has been ignored by many historical discourses in this connection.

²⁵⁰. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.1

The problem we are faced with here is that Anglicanism is usually taken for granted. When people in Mashonaland became Anglicans against the background of colonial conquest, the impact of this process on their identities may need to be taken seriously and not treated as though it was just a normal process. One way of raising this concern is to ask whether Anglicanism liberated Mashonaland or simply turned those who prescribed to it into English functionaries with regard to matters of the Christian faith. In this connection, a definition that could include the church as a colonial instrument could be in keeping with what we have said above about domineering. Even the indigenisation that does not question but simply adapts could not help us understand how the people of God became liberated in Mashonaland.

Ward makes a point that requires our attention at this point and leads us to question the convictions of those who became adherents of Anglicanism given the compromised contexts Arnold's work could be seen as ignoring. Ward observes that,

If Christianity and 'power' (political/educational/cultural) went together, then Anglicanism was a form of Christianity which had its attractions for those whose lives were dominated or circumscribed by the colonial reality.²⁵¹

Colonialism becomes the culprit in this connection. Its prevalence was defined by structures underpinned by racial supremacy. A Christianity that relies too much on colonialism could, by that very token, be said to be very imposing as well. Now, given this context, it is difficult to regard colonialism as an innocent process because the history of Mashonaland known to us saw guns being used to subdue the indigenous people.

In addition, and according to De Gruchy, we are persuaded to think of possible conversions of convenience rather than those of enlightened commitments among the indigenous when the issue of force is a critical dimension of the process of evangelisation.²⁵² We are talking about people whose freedom and dignity had been severely compromised through violent conquest or otherwise, and, therefore,

²⁵¹. Ward, op.cit.p.3

²⁵². De Gruchy, op.cit.p.4. The author indicates that missionary methods "forced" indigenous people to submit to European capitalist systems. So we could not see the indigenous people as free Christians.

their faith is not a result of freedom of association.²⁵³ We cannot rule out the possibility of religio-cultural arm-twisting, as well because these people encountered by English missionaries were not enlightened to make informed decisions about the Christian faith that was still foreign to them.²⁵⁴ So the issue of being unable to choose freely becomes urgent even in situations such as Mashonaland, where Anglicanism gained ground.

2.6.6. Anglican structures in Mashonaland

This section introduces issues that will still be dealt with in more detail throughout this thesis. The fact that no indigenous Rhodesian became an executive Bishop of a diocese within the Anglican establishment in hundred years is a historical indictment. It carries, in our case; serious religious, political as well as dubious anthropological implications advanced as purely Christian convictions over time. It questions the successful Anglican missionary work between 1890 and 1980 that writers such as Arnold, Musodza and Welch like to advance in their works we are consulting in this thesis.

While Arnold points out that what happened to the Anglican Church in 1981 was a positive development, there is need to scrutinise this success. An institution doing its business with pure motives, religious impartiality and intent, and invoking God in the process and failing to accord the indigenous priests a fair share within a century, given all the accounts of successes recorded, is a contradiction. If maturity could be viewed as a process, then indigenous people should have started that journey within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland long before 1980. That is one of our major problems in this regard that only when colonial structures had been dismantled by a violent armed struggle, did the maturity of indigenous Anglicans in Mashonaland begin to make sense in historical discourses such as those advanced by Bill Arnold. Again, in De Gruchy's work we get a contrasting view to the effect that one of the missionary strategies in South Africa was to keep aspirants for the ordained ministry under the control of white missionaries by way

²⁵³. De Gruchy, *op.cit.*p.4

²⁵⁴. *Ibid*, p.6. This point makes sense against the background that Africans were viewed as children and therefore in need of guidance from the missionaries.

of providing them with sub-standard training.²⁵⁵ We will appreciate, in this work the fact that Mashonaland was just one of South Africa's provinces at some point in time.²⁵⁶

In addition, MacCulloch observes that the apartheid system in South Africa set the pace by stealing the task of educating natives from the churches, an act meant to "hold black Africans back rather than advance them."²⁵⁷ The education of natives in Mashonaland will be given more space later on this thesis. However, successful work by Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland, as advanced by Arnold, must still be evaluated.

We have referred to the fact that white people, mostly of British origin, were the major players in Mashonaland, while blacks constituted the ancillary staff.²⁵⁸ In an enterprise meant to benefit the indigenous people, there are facts that challenge us to question the education that natives received given the colonial interference in missionary work. An extract from one of the earliest accounts of Anglican missionary work in Mashonaland seems to be informative in this connection. It maintains that,

The chief centres of native work are (a) in Mashonaland--1, S. Augustine's, Penhalonga, where there is an industrial school for boys, numbering at present about 170, and an industrial boarding school for girls (S. Monica's), with about eighty. There are also four out-stations at this mission. 2, Rusape, with S. Faith's Mission, and the Mission of the Epiphany, and several out-stations. Two lady workers are engaged at this station with its day schools. 3, All Saints', Wreningham, with a boarding school for about thirty scholars, and out-stations. 4, Mission of the Transfiguration, at Victoria. 5, S. Mary's, Huny-anyi. 6, S. Bernard's, Mangwendi. There are also native churches in the towns of Salisbury and Umtali. (b), In Matabeleland--1, S. Columba's, Buluwayo. 2, the Industrial Mission of S. Aidan, at Bembezi; and 3, S. Matthew's, Umguza. There are now, beside the Bishop, twenty clergy, including two Archdeacons, working in the diocese, beside a considerable number of native catechists and teachers.²⁵⁹

The above account is of interest to our narrative in that it emphasises industrial work as a major component of native education. It also gives us some names and numbers of European missionary personnel among the natives within the Diocese

²⁵⁵. De Gruchy, op.cit. p.9

²⁵⁶. Knight-Bruce was the Bishop of Bloemfontein when he founded Mashonaland.

²⁵⁷. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit. p.981

²⁵⁸. Cf. Arnold's as well as Lapsley's work referenced above

²⁵⁹. Baynes, op.cit.p.154/155.

of Mashonaland. Hence, we hear of individuals such as Rev. D. R. Pelly, Rev. E. H. Etheridge, Rev. R. Alexander, Brother Sherwin Smith, Archdeacon Upcher and Mother Annie.²⁶⁰ The total number of Anglican missionaries in this context is given precisely as standing at twenty.²⁶¹ It is curious to note that when it comes to the native teachers and catechists we are just told that they were “a considerable number.”²⁶² Native ministers are therefore given as constituting a large number, while Europeans could be accounted for in detail and, hence, all the work could be attributed to the latter’s sterling efforts. Even if we could highlight the ministry of native catechists and teachers, it seems to be the case that what they taught their own people was always done under the close supervision of their English masters.

In addition to the above, educating the natives seems to be the work by the indigenous teachers but underneath; it appears to be a very English affair in Mashonaland. The thin line between missionary work and colonialism seems to have a vivid affirmation here. Also, the nature of education is underpinned by the idea of it being industrial and not academic. Why it had to be so graphically industrial, is perhaps the result of the relations based on the notion of white dominance and black subservience. Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland did not challenge this status quo. It might have taken a different dimension in other parts of the world, but in Mashonaland, we have something unique to note.

Perhaps the foregoing could be one reason that explains why white people with English inclinations felt at home and were always in control of church administration in churches that were established in countries colonised by the British. In Africa, according to Ward, Cathedrals in Nairobi, in Kenya, and Salisbury (now Harare) in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), were often seen as symbols of colonial domination.²⁶³ Accordingly, the emphasis seems to be on cultural domineering rather than on development and evangelisation. David Maxwell captures this for us in one of his review works when he summarises a source that argues to the effect that,

²⁶⁰. Baynes, op.cit.p.153/154.

²⁶¹. Ibid, p.155/156

²⁶². Ibid.

²⁶³. Ward, op.cit.p.5.

Through the use of western commodities, architecture, biomedicine, literacy and numeracy, missionaries inculcated cultural imbalances, which made colonialism possible.²⁶⁴

This passage gives us another dimension of the argument which supports the view that missionaries were simply colonial agents. This becomes a very attractive theme given contexts which never questioned the impact of these western instruments on the African soul. The question, however, is whether Christian ideals could be justified when they represent political and colonial connotations among natives who, in turn, must feel at home or develop a sincere understanding of belonging and fitting into the Anglican schemes of Church membership.

The confusion cited above among the indigenous people of the correct identities of Anglican Cathedrals in some African cities, could only be attributed to the failure by missionaries to rise above colonial and racist policies and to challenge them in the name of Christ. We shall have occasion to pursue details of the Cathedral in Mashonaland in connection with the impact of colonial symbolism, racial supremacy and the theology of empire. However, we should accept the fact that any reference to Anglicanism in Mashonaland must admit to some unwelcome dichotomies as well as limitations as we have tried to highlight above.

In addition to the above and as we seek a relevant definition, either people simply belong to the Catholic Church in Mashonaland that knows no Canterbury, in terms of doctrinal control, or we must accept the fact that they are English by birth or some mysterious process that qualifies them to be Anglican without any direct biological or political connections to England. Issues of national integrity and autonomy become urgent when the foregoing concerns are raised within the Diocese of Mashonaland. If the indigenous rights in light of the above were to be insisted upon, then the idea of turning them into Anglicans is problematic. Our definition of Anglicanism will have to be inclusive. This might involve defining Anglicanism in Mashonaland as the Church of England's dictating presence and articulation of English Christianity among the indigenous people of Mashonaland. We could also safely submit that Anglicanism is a Christianity that robs people of

²⁶⁴. Maxwell, D., 2006: Writing the History of African Christianity: Reflections of an Editor: Journal of Religion in Africa, BRILL, Vol. 36 (Fasc. 3/4) pp. 379-399, p.383. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27594392>. Accessed: 07-08-2015

their identities meanwhile glorifying English expressions and thought patterns, if we insist on the Mashonaland context. It is clear that the definition is tied to a specific context and does not claim to have the last say about the general usage of the term “Anglicanism” in other contexts outside Mashonaland. The general usage of the term might be confusing in that it might not capture what was at stake in Mashonaland during the Rhodesian times. So the emphasis on the impact of Anglicanism in Mashonaland must not be confused with other case studies from beyond its borders.

2.6.7. Uniqueness of Anglicanism in Mashonaland

In light of what has been noted above, the following points could be highlighted in our attempts to define Anglicanism:

Firstly, the term “Anglicanism” has a long history of usage that began as a neutral geographical designation and later developed into an ecclesiastically partisan position after the fallout between Henry VIII and Rome. While Anglicanism within the Reformation context could not qualify as a theological protest against Rome, it was clearly a rebellious stance from a political and administrative standpoint especially through the adoption into the constitution of the articles which sought to protect English people from any foreign authorities. Powel M. Dawley, in this connection, states that,

The Act in Restraint of Appeals denied the subjection any external authority, spiritual or temporal. Appeals jurisdiction were forbidden under the penalties of Praemunire of 1393.²⁶⁵

Secondly, the usage of the term “Anglican” within the Rhodesian context of Mashonaland, from the late nineteenth century up to the present, reminds people of how British colonialism entrenched itself even in the minds of the indigenous Christians who seem to take it for granted. The question of choosing to be different, while surrendering to the religious viewpoints of those in power becomes critical in this connection.

²⁶⁵ Dawley, P.M., 1947: Henry VIII and the Church: AN ESSAY ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. 16 (3) English Church History Number, Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, pp. 246-259, p.249. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42971931>
Accessed: 17-09-2016

Thirdly, Anglicanism is therefore a term that must still be reviewed within a setting such as that of indigenous Mashonaland that had to overthrow British imperialism in order to become free and autonomous. The bone of contention here is whether it still makes sense to a liberated people who are supposed to map their own destiny to remind them that they are Anglicans because they want to be Christians. The neutrality of Anglicanism in terms of accommodating the indigenous Christians without compromising their identities is also urgent in this regard. Therefore, our challenge here seems to be a choice between faithfulness to God or the English way of responding to Jesus Christ. The English way may not be relevant to the indigenous people. Hence, the theology of empire discourse in this context could help us address some of the concerns being raised.

Fourthly, without paying much attention to the foregoing points, Anglicanism could simply be discarded as an English colonial ploy in Mashonaland in the guise of Christianity, no matter how much appeal it could demand. This point will become clear when the narratives of the Anglican Church work in Mashonaland are exposed later in this work.

Working out balanced narratives about Anglicanism in Mashonaland against the historical background of the theology of empire is our major challenge in this thesis. By referring to the definition of Anglicanism, it is clear that there are complexities that may require more space than could be envisaged in our work. What we need to do given the above information is to link Anglicanism to the theme of the theology of empire given its expansion that saw it assuming a dominant role among those who were not originally English. Hence, we must also look at how the theology of empire could be understood before we could discuss the two as having some close affinities when looked at from the point of view of narratives about the Diocese of Mashonaland between 1890 and 1979.

2.7. The theology of empire also known as imperial theology

In this section, we shall attempt to expose certain major tenets of the theology of empire so that its links to Anglicanism in the above connection could become emphatic.

2.7.0. Theology of empire and Dominion theology

The term “theology of empire” is a key concept in our work. What is it and how does it come to dominate a historico-theological investigation such as the one we are pursuing? Our work requires us to look at Anglicanism in the Diocese of Mashonaland, being informed by the criterion of the Theology of Empire based on Eusebius of Caesarea.²⁶⁶ In the foregoing section, we have seen that Anglicanism is an English Christian church designation, which started simply as a geographical reference, then became nationalistic and patriotic, and now, could be used as a theological distinction among many other Christian traditions.²⁶⁷ We need to keep the scholarly nexus, being attempted here, in mind so as not to lose focus on our theme. Those who elect to narrate the history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland must, therefore, be aware of some of the issues we raised above in order to move away from distorted accounts of what happened. A one sided point of view that has been preferred as the main approach by those electing to narrate the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland really challenges us to ask whether history is simply what the powerful were able to do over time.

There is a need to appreciate the fact that the theology of empire is not currently identified with an autonomous subject in which one could specialise at any of the institutions of higher learning the world over. To relate the theology of empire to the Diocese of Mashonaland that is Anglican, is to introduce the dynamics of Christian history almost in a provocative and controversial sense if regional preferences are taken seriously as our points of reference. However, we need to note that in some parts of the world today, especially the United States of America, there is some significant talk about what is generally termed “Dominion Theology.” Sara Diamond defines this theology as one propelled by the conviction that “Christians alone are Biblically mandated to occupy all secular institutions until Christ returns.”²⁶⁸ A closer examination of this kind of theology will show that while it has the theme of dominance as its major emphasis; it is not related to the theology of empire as understood in this context simply because of its sectarian

²⁶⁶. Eusebius did not advance any work that he called “Imperial Theology”. Scholars who have evaluated his work have come to that conclusion as we shall have occasion to note in this investigation.

²⁶⁷. See 2.1.b.i-ii above.

²⁶⁸. Diamond, S., “Dominion Theology: The Truth About the Christian Right's Bid for Power” Available online at: http://www.publiceye.org/diamond/sd_domin.html.. Accessed on 20 November 2014

genre and orientation on which it is founded. Dominion Theology is associated with the Christian Right movement in the United States.²⁶⁹ It also lacks the historical appeal that stretches back to the fourth century which is of interest to us in this context.

Still in line with Diamond's article above, Thomas D. Ice is more to the point when he identifies Dominion Theology with Charismatics and Evangelicals of the Calvinistic tradition.²⁷⁰ Ice cites the claim that this as a combination of the light of the Reformed Faith with the heat of the Charismatic Movement by God.²⁷¹ The article is a good critique of dominion theology but it is clear that we could only talk about it from a sectarian perspective hence not similar to the theology of empire we are focusing on.

2.7.1. The Eusebian model of the Theology of Empire

The theology of empire that has a historical bearing on which we are focusing, makes special reference to the fourth century and has not been documented as a logical progression to our time. The major reason is perhaps that historians have tended to advance it as a descriptive designation of certain contextualised views about the church and the state and not so much as a subject deserving an independent investigation in terms of its impact on the history of the Church. For example, Hoornaert observes that Eusebius became too absorbed as a Church historian in issues that were exclusive and biased towards the leadership of Constantine.²⁷² To this extent, according to Hoornaert, Eusebius offers us a history that does not give a full picture of the Christian convictions of the time simply because he wants to glorify the Emperor.²⁷³ In this approach therefore, history is narrated to boost the ego of a powerful ruler of the time. Hoornaert reacts to this inadequacy, when analysing Eusebius' church history that happens to be extremely exclusive.²⁷⁴ The need to further expound on the logical implications of this history in terms of the faith and practices of the people of God,

²⁶⁹. Diamond, op.cit..

²⁷⁰. Ice, Thomas D., 2009: "What is Dominion Theology?", Liberty University, USA, *Article Archives*. Paper74. Available online at: Url: http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/pretrib_arch/74. Accessed on 20 November 2014

²⁷¹. Ibid.

²⁷². Hoornaert, op.cit. p.13

²⁷³. Ibid

²⁷⁴. ibid

who prefer to call themselves Christian across centuries, has always been urgent. The deliberate exclusion of other narratives within this Eusebian context could mean that an extremely biased picture of what was actually the state of affairs in his context could be the outcome. Instead of attending to matters that affected the whole Christian body, Constantine becomes the key figure as though everything else counted for nothing. When certain historical narratives of the English Church in Mashonaland are put under the spotlight, we should ask whether the indigenous people's aspirations are being accommodated or suppressed. In other words, we are interrogating narratives about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland to find out how the potentialities of the indigenous people or the superiority of English missionaries are handled.

2.7.2. Theology of empire and the emergence of Anglicanism

In this section we look at whether the theology of empire could not also be seen as being realised outside the Eusebian context. Mashonaland has already been advanced as our case study. The starting point of our interrogation could be this fact: Nations, such as the British, insisted on the brand of Christianity with which their society came to identify, as a symbol of freedom from foreign domination, which meant being Catholic without reference to the Pope.²⁷⁵ In other words, there was a resolute abandonment, by the English, of a religious tradition that had tended to exaggerate the powers of the Romans in Christian matters.²⁷⁶ Anglicanism itself, especially during the reign of Henry VIII, becomes our first example of how religious alienation and exploitation could be discarded in a given context by way of appealing to sentiments that constitute a national psyche and culture.²⁷⁷ We should be able to ask why other nations have reason to assimilate that same Anglicanism to the point of making it a key factor to their own identity without concerns that take issues of autonomy, national integrity and Christian indigenisation into consideration. Perhaps the narratives that advance the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland might help us answer this critical question one day.

²⁷⁵. Neill, *op.cit.* p.61.

²⁷⁶. *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷. *Ibid.* p.61. Henry VIII was for the unity of his English people over and against everything Christian that was divisive.

2.7.3. Theology of empire and Anglican Church history in Mashonaland

This section could be viewed as an umbrella of what still needs to be said in more detail about historiographical challenges on the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. This Church has a colonial dimension that should not be ignored when it is narrated. This has the obvious advantage of exposing colonial hangovers and prejudices that have survived the international and political changes we could identify as major developments in this context. Instead of being sectarian, the project could contribute significantly to an inclusive way of approaching Church history in specific contexts. The challenge however is to find people who are daring enough to engage in this kind of radical historical thinking and scholarship within the framework of the identified English tradition on African soil and especially in the Mashonaland context known to us today.

The easiest thing to do seems to be to follow the popular opinion of narrating the successful British missionary endeavours selectively, thereby, remaining conservative. Our historical accounts in this context seem to suffer from this major setback. Highlighting what was left out and why, happens to be urgent. Within the Mashonaland Anglican context, such radicalisation of church history is absent. One of our concerns in this thesis is to investigate why the latter happens to be the case. Again, where there is no deliberate scholarship to present balanced historical narratives in favour of those perceived to be the masters of a process we have a problem. The immediate challenge is the task of balancing our narratives when they are one sided. In Mashonaland, we wonder whether the views of the oppressed are taken seriously in such narratives that clearly favoured the status of English missionaries.

A system deliberately designed to keep subjugated people in check normally inculcates a culture of passivity even in situations that demand historical activism. Here this is understood as the eagerness to challenge compromised structures by an appeal to balanced history narratives. When cultural dominance has been sufficiently perfected, those who are victims of the system may not always see the logic of resisting. We have this urgent question in the background as we focus on the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland and the missionaries who played a leading role in this context.

There is a blanket indictment of missionaries in the foregoing connection. If we were to credit missionaries for educating the indigenous people, we are warned to consider the fact that the objectives could have been for the benefit of the colonial masters and not primarily for the recipients. This could sound more of a conclusion than something that has not been substantiated by facts. This will be attended to as our narrative develops. Civilisation for the indigenous Africans was meant to serve the interests of the civilised British. The British would remain, persistently masters to be served by the indigenous Africans. When such a principle is applied among those created in the image of God, human beings and in the name of Christianity, we have a much bigger problem with which to deal.

2.7.4. Indigenising the theology of empire concept

Here is a simple illustration to boost the contextual understanding of imperial theology in the above connection and how it could appeal to the Mashonaland situation:

Let us assume a utopian scenario to the effect that many cultures could accept the principle that one could teach you something new to benefit your society or to destroy it. In this connection, let us advance the following details: if someone comes across a people who do not know the value of maize as a food source and how it is produced, there are two major options that one could envisage. The stranger could engage the people by way of instructing them on how to produce more maize and consume it only under his/her directives and commands. By implication, our pioneers would need to be around for an extremely long time in order to justify and control the production and consumption of this crop. In the process, this pioneer would become the dominant figure to the extent that no production will take place without his/her consent and directives. This means people could even starve unless the stranger gives them a green light to work. Even if some radical members could come up with their own unique ways of producing and consuming the maize, it would be deemed illicit because the pioneer would not approve of it for he/she must be in charge all the time and, therefore, could not accommodate other opinions. An ideology to control and exploit others could logically develop in this connection and manipulation of the people's potentialities would be the norm.

There is a need to justify the above illustration in this context. Maize, as a food source, will not require people to change their culture at all. It could be grown in any soil that is receptive to it and will never carry the culture and preferences with it of those who discovered its nutritional value. Indigenous people in Mashonaland could take the maize seed to the heart of the Northern Cape in South Africa and plant it quietly without having to worry about cultural, political, religious or economic protocols! In other words, we are envisaging a scenario whereby even if the maize seed was discovered by the British farmers or, whoever, its future cultivation needs not have any British dependency or connotations at all.

The dictatorial behaviour illustrated above belongs to the genre identified with paternalism or maternalism in Africa. The idea is to contextualise the understanding of the theology of empire within an Anglican framework in the Diocese of Mashonaland where Christianity had to take root. It also captures the spirit of the unfortunate habit of dominating others in the name of the Christian faith and, therefore, distorting claims with regard to the salvation of the indigenous people in question. We are trying to insist on the question of whether Christianity must depend on those who propagated it or on those who assimilated it for it to make sense. Domination does not recognise the capacities and potentialities of the other, especially the recipient, in any significant way and, hence, denies them their God-given dignity. Anglicanism, as an English way of assimilating the Christian faith, went on for a hundred years in Mashonaland and never groomed a single indigenous executive Bishop! All Bishops had to be Europeans and British. Apparently, Christianity could not be done in any other way that was not controlled by English criteria! The risk of denying a direct link between the people of Mashonaland and God was systematised in this connection and people had to accept this norm. The indigenous people could not become sufficiently Christian unless they had been sufficiently anglicised.

The second option, in line with the foregoing illustration, could be any utopian scenario that could involve teaching as many people as possible in the community on how to produce and consume the maize. Once satisfied that the people have mastered the basic art of the trade of food production for this specific seed, the pioneer could move on. He has no reason to be afraid of the possibility that people

could fail to produce the maize and, therefore, starve. They could even, as creative beings, come up with their own innovative ways of planting the seed.

There is no need for any ideological justification for the continued presence of the instructor. The principle is to allow others space to become farmers in their own creative fashion. From a theological perspective, the principle is to acknowledge the presence of the image of God in others. God cannot be present in others in such a way as to make them more significant at the expense of their fellow human beings. Hunger, as a natural urge to ingest food, always forces people to find their own ways of producing food to eat because they must eat. After all, food is food and how it was produced, from a cultural point of view, (and not scientifically of course) is not extremely critical in the ultimate analysis. The pioneer we have introduced does his/her work and leaves the scene a satisfied person. He does not need to control other people's methods of food production and, hence, their lives. In other words, the stranger does not promote a dependency syndrome among the people in question. Should these people fail to feed themselves, then history would have to record them as the most celebrated fools. Their spectacular failure in terms of producing food to feed themselves would have nothing to do with our faithful and honest pioneer!

The above approach that has been discussed is emphatic on the issue of personhood, emancipation and cultural autonomy and integrity. Christianity is not meant to be a way of keeping people under subjugation, no matter what urgent rationale is given. It must be a religion that is meant to free people in the name of God as the manifesto of Jesus in Luke 4: 16ff, maintains. This could be said to be what the English people were emphasising against Rome under the kingship of Henry VIII. Our understanding of the theology of empire should take this scenario seriously. We ask how the English missionaries responsible for the creation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland handled the issue of allowing Africans to take care of their own Christian destiny without manipulating them in the process.

2.7.5. The theology of empire within academic circles

The foregoing sections have set the scene for us to discuss our theme at the level of ongoing research. Perhaps it could be argued that the theology of empire

allows us to understand the dynamics of control of one group by another and from the way such a development could be documented historically. Peculiar to this manipulation, is the unfortunate strategy of turning God into a partisan divine figure and presenting historical discourses to support such a position. We take our cue from the fourth century dominated by Eusebius' accounts within the settings of imperial Rome where we find it difficult to distinguish between the emperor's position and that of God. In this connection, God could only be understood from the point of view of the emperor's personal achievements.

To augment the above, church history events in the past are supposed to help appreciate the present so that we can anticipate the future for which we can account in a more enlightened way. Without appreciating the historicity of the Christian faith and all that has a bearing on it, and how these are tied to the present and the future, the Church as an institution based on the work of God in the world would not make much sense. Hence, a grounded understanding of the theology of empire seems to be imperative in every age. We shall proceed to outline some aspects on how this appreciation of the theology of empire can be presented using the following schemata:

What precisely is the theology of empire? What is its theoretical justification? We have already encountered two church historians who have inspired this work, Eduardo Hoornaert and Diarmaid MacCulloch. The two have been described as the source of certain insights that could help us appreciate the dynamics that inform the theology of empire. As already noted above, Hoornaert considers the praises that were bestowed by Eusebius of Caesarea on the Emperor Constantine and all that he stood for in the context of the Christian Church. Eusebius left us some works that we shall continue to cite in this research. As we sample these works, we see considerable emphasis on the person of the Emperor Constantine, giving him exaggerated glory and attributing everything the emperor stood for to God in a unique kind of relationship.

However, Hollerich reminds us that Eusebius has drawn, through his approach, a great deal of attention from scholars. For example, we hear that,

At one time or other, they have characterised him as a political propagandist, a good courtier, the shrewd and worldly adviser of the Emperor Constantine, the great publicist of the first Christian emperor, the first in a long succession of ecclesiastical politicians, the herald of Byzantinism, a political theologian, a political metaphysician, and a caesaropapist.²⁷⁸

This attestation makes it clear that Eusebius' way of advancing historical narratives is controversial especially with regard to his treatment of the Emperor Constantine. Our point of entry into this controversy is the theology of empire characterising his presentation of history in his context.

Nevertheless, the eulogies preferred by Eusebius on the emperor are also seen as lacking the impartiality that one would expect. David Fergusson is even more critical regarding the way Eusebius wrote. To this effect he observes:

It can be plausibly argued, however, that in the history of the early church the position of Eusebius is strikingly egregious. In claiming that the emperor bears the image of the Word of God in a preeminent way by which he can rightly exercise divine sovereignty on earth, Eusebius flouts all the cautionary words in the Hebrew Bible about kingship and its need to be regulated by the law and the prophets. The king is only one other human being, susceptible to error and prone to sin. The political reserve that this demands is entirely absent in the eulogy to Constantine. Imported into Christian doctrine, we have here something akin to the imperial cult of paganism.²⁷⁹

The foregoing quote indicates to us that when a historian has his/her own personal interests, all other facts could be twisted to suit his/her preferences. We say this in view of the Diocese of Mashonaland where the missionaries and settlers dominate the stage and the indigenous people appear to be treated like an appendix. The histories that we encounter in this context are those that still must be polished as it were.

Jean Comby makes the above point more urgent in this context when he confronts Eusebius and observes that:

In spite of Eusebius' praises, Constantine was never a model Christian. He was baptised on his deathbed (337), and his many crimes are witness to morals that

²⁷⁸. Hollerich, M.J.,1990: Religion and Politics in the Writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the First "Court Theologian", in Church History, 59(3), Cambridge University Press, UK. p.309. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3167741>. Accessed: 17 September 2016.

²⁷⁹. Fergusson, D.,2014: Church and state: theological traditions in Cambridge Books online, Cambridge University Press, UK, Available online at: Url: <http://0-ebooks.cambridge.org.oasis.unisa.ac.za/ebook.jsf?bid=CBO9780511607097>. Accessed on 17 February 2014

were far from being Christian. He played the executioner to his own family, ordering the death of his father-in-law, three brothers-in-law, a son and his wife. A good example of faith without morals!²⁸⁰

Therefore our challenge is to find out why Eusebius undertook to write narratives that turned the same Emperor into a superhero in his own right, thereby, ignoring other facts that are critical when the character of the emperor is scrutinised carefully. The historian here is busy highlighting certain important facts while systematically suppressing others just to protect the image of the emperor who must be seen to be thoroughly Christian.

When we continue to analyse Eusebius' writings later in the above connection, we shall attempt to demonstrate that it was this historian's selectivity and personal allegiance to the emperor that led him to gloss over a number of compromising developments in the life of the Emperor Constantine. This lack of critical appraisal in the work of Eusebius, which deals with the Roman Empire, allows a history that exaggerates biases. Eusebius' writings constitute praises that talk about God taking sides when dealing with humanity. Of course the emperor's side is also God's side in this connection. If the emperor is always on God's side, then it would be logical to assume that everything he stood for, was sacrosanct. When history is narrated in this fashion that involves singing uncritical eulogies on behalf of the mighty and powerful, in this case, on behalf of Constantine and his empire, it degenerates into the theology of empire. It has no interest in presenting the other side of the story that may not be favourable to those in power.

In this investigation, we are raising one major question to the effect that just as Constantine had his own political ambitions protected by the Church represented by Eusebius, could we also find the same protection accorded by Anglican missionaries and historians to forces that occupied Mashonaland from the 1890s onwards? We shall later review some responses from Anglican Church people when faced with the Mashonaland occupation against that background of calculated trickery and militancy, over and against the indigenous people. Our concern is triggered by the fact that the words "Christianity" and "civilisation" are

²⁸⁰. Comby, J., 1985: How to read church history Vol. 1: From the beginnings to the fifteenth century, SCM Press Ltd, London, UK, p. 68

seen as pivotal to Colonialism as we shall continue to highlight in connection with the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia. The praises showered on the Pioneer Column, by historians of the day and beyond, seem to suggest the presence of attitudes that might not be novel to the history of the Church. Could this also not tell us that Eusebius' spirit happens to be alive and kicking more than sixteen centuries later? Our curiosity is even boosted when Eusebius' church history is understood by Hoornaert as the "theology of the empire."²⁸¹ Clearly, we are confronted by narratives that are worked out to defend the powerful and, could, hence, be used not only to present biased historical accounts, but even for propaganda purposes across the ages.

When a critical stance is not allowed in narrating the developments of a system and from a historical point of view, numerous problems are encountered especially when recorded facts are analysed for their accuracy and their intent. The problem is further compounded by making God part of the scheme of exploiting other people. Eusebius' historical accounts of the Christian Church as it came to terms with the Roman Empire in the fourth century will be referred to in more detail later in this work. However, at this stage, the point to emphasise is that a theology that has come to us with the adjective "imperial" appended to it, begins to show its face in a more sustainable fashion in the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, a celebrated historian advanced by ancient Christendom. The empire takes centre stage and seems to replace the kingdom of God in which even the weak are taken seriously as children of God and not to be looked down upon.²⁸²

Our major focus on Eusebius' writings is not so much on the details included but on how the materials advancing that narrative are selected and blended together. We could allow a distinction between methodology and content in this connection. The emperor Constantine is spoken of in eulogistic terms, in fact to the point of making him the Christian ruler par excellence. Comby again notes that Christians came to revere Constantine in such a way that they accepted him as their leader, "a new Moses, a new David"²⁸³ and, therefore, a messiah in his own right. This

²⁸¹. Hoornaert, op.cit. p.13

²⁸². Cf. Luke 4:16ff.

²⁸³. Comby, op.cit. p.69

was their preferred interpretation but that tended to ignore other factors. In the work that Eusebius sets out to give an outline of Constantine's life and advances the notion that there are similarities between Moses and the upbringing of the emperor, several points are emphasised.

Firstly, Moses was brought up in the house of the very tyrants that God raised him to destroy just as what God did with Constantine.²⁸⁴ An appeal is made to an Old Testament hero so that Christians could feel at home with the Emperor Constantine. We have already been informed by Fergusson that even this appeal to the Old Testament was done without taking much caution regarding the way kings were understood in that context as they had to submit to the law and the prophets and not to their own personal schemes.²⁸⁵ The theology of empire has this tendency of submitting God to the empire and not the other way round and, thus, contradicts the very foundations on which Christian theology is founded.

Secondly, and according to Eusebius, while some may find the story of Moses far-removed and more on the mythical side, Constantine was "given to us to be eyewitnesses of miracles more wonderful than fables, and, from their recent appearance, more authentic than any report."²⁸⁶ Again, Eusebius exposed the emperor's life in such a way that the accounts of the Biblical Moses could become less appealing than those of Constantine, since they could be viewed as far-removed or on the mythical side. In other words, the past as recorded in the scriptures could actually be dismissed in order to accommodate the Eusebian emperor, Constantine! This makes the emperor even more important than the Bible!

Already we can see that Eusebius has a strong case in favour of the emperor as a messenger sent by God. Comby has already informed us that here was an example of a ruler who paid lip service to Jesus Christ but was not able to demonstrate that faith in his actions. In this connection, Constantine was not able

²⁸⁴. Eusebius Pamphilius of Caesarea, *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, The Bagster translation, Internet Medieval Source Book, Fordham, UK. Available online at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>. Accessed 29 October 2009.

²⁸⁵. Fergusson, *op.cit.*

²⁸⁶. *Ibid.*

to submit himself to Jesus. If rulers are praised on what they claim to stand for and not on what they actually do, it would be difficult to give them any credit at all. Eusebius' work will be further reviewed in our presentation but this initial reference gives us a foretaste of the historical narratives relevant to our position on the theology of empire and the kind of problems they raise to the critical reader. We are already prepared to question whether the narratives about the English missionaries in Mashonaland have been presented to us differently. Could we anticipate narratives that could distinguish between the things of God and those that were purely human?

2.7.6. Biased narratives of Church history

The above historical understanding of an emperor who did not live up to the ideals of Christianity and, yet, is spoken of as the example of saintliness has led to a number of works that are a direct response to Eusebius' observations. Some even go as far as contradicting Eusebius in quite a radical manner.²⁸⁷ We shall have occasion to demonstrate that the writings about Anglicanism in Mashonaland have not been subjected to such a scholarly tribunal but the foundations were laid by those who scrutinised the works of Eusebius. Already, there are allusions to the fact that the theology of empire happens to be a problematic reflection about how God mixes with humanity especially in the area of power as exercised by the mighty and ambitious of this world. It becomes even more critical when ecclesiastical authorities subscribe to these ambitions especially in ways that expose the gospel as an accomplice in the crimes against the people of God. Finally, when historians narrate developments in favourable terms that have a bearing on the powerful that could otherwise cause moral outrage, history is distorted. The narratives that we will continue to look at about the Diocese of Mashonaland seem to challenge us to use Eusebius as our good example of writing history from the point of view of empire.

There is a need, in line with the above, to pave the way for a focused analysis of the theology of empire by way of contrasting Eusebius's views and Augustine's, both identified as models of the theology of empire by some authorities who will be

²⁸⁷. Kee, A. 1982: *Constantine versus Christ: The triumph of ideology*, SCM Press, Ltd, London, UK.. This work will provide the foundation on which the argument against imperial theology will be made together with others

referenced below. The justification for making this comparison is simply that we need to be aware that the theology of empire could assume more than one version as we are trying to demonstrate. Placing Augustine side-by-side with Eusebius, is one way of helping us demonstrate the two possible versions of the theology of empire that have their points of departure from different angles.

To distinguish Eusebius' theology of empire from that of Augustine of Hippo, we turn to MacCulloch. Here we are made to understand that it was Augustine's choice to subordinate history to theology.²⁸⁸ Simply stated, Augustine envisaged a situation whereby the Church could be the predominant institution over and against any other, hence, the criterion of adequacy in terms of interpreting the events in the world. No unique meaning could be envisaged unless determined by the Church as understood by St Augustine. To this end, MacCulloch observes that the theology of empire, in the fashion of Augustine, is that reflection about God that sees the Church as making conscious advances in terms of bringing everything, and in the ultimate analysis, under its control.²⁸⁹ Ultimately, this theology constitutes a system of thought that reduces the significance of history, while glorifying faith.²⁹⁰ History has no significance unless connected to the dictates of the Church. Hence, MacCulloch's preference for the term "ecclesiastical imperialism."²⁹¹ The Church in this mould is understood as an empire in its own right. Our concern is simply that it may not be as assertive and abusive as other human empires that have made their mark in this world and, hence, its influence exaggerated.

Accordingly, there is a clear distinction between Eusebius' position and that of St Augustine. One author, F. Edward Crantz helps us to appreciate this position when he notes that:

In the West, Augustine gives a general answer to the problem of a Christian society in a Christianized Empire, but his solution contradicts that of Eusebius. To Augustine, the nature of the Christian Roman Empire is still that of Babylon, human society is still a mixture of two opposed cities, the earthly city and the city of God.²⁹²

²⁸⁸. MacCulloch, 1988, op.cit.p.4

²⁸⁹. Ibid.

²⁹⁰. Ibid.

²⁹¹. Ibid.

²⁹². Crantz, F.E. 1952. Kingdom and polity in Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Harvard Theological Review*,

Eusebius' seems to elucidate for us the earthly city in which the Roman Empire becomes our protagonist. Again, Crantz notes in this connection:

Here, on the basic level of terms and concepts, we meet our main difficulty in understanding Eusebius. His thought is neither overly speculative nor complicated, yet those trained in one nor another of the Western traditions find his Christian terminology a stumbling-block. Catholic and Protestant may disagree, for example, about the kingdom of God; each, however, will probably feel that Eusebius is arbitrary or perverse in his use of the concept to explain the imperial power of Constantine. But Eusebius, all in all, appears to have been an honest writer and to have been guided in his thought by a form of the Christian experience.²⁹³

Again, and in line with the above, the Christian experience in Eusebius' context is one that has ceased to take its bearings from Jesus Christ but from an earthly ruler whose principles may not rise above the limitations of this world. The emperor whose dealings with others are attributed to God, fall short of such claims. Throughout this investigation, we are focusing on how far human limitations could allow the divine to augment such weaknesses so that we can see a true replica of God's intentions in the rulers of this world.

In his famous classic, *The city of God*, Augustine denies any divinity as an essential attribute of the emperor as Eusebius had come to celebrate. In fact, the Roman Empire was a result of God's design in time. His statement, to the effect that, "Divine Providence alone explains the establishment of kingdoms among men,"²⁹⁴ rules out any appreciation of the deification of the Roman emperors. Clearly, Augustine goes all out to protect the sovereignty of God and, as such, does not want to credit emperors for any significant contribution in the realisation of the Roman Empire as an institution to reckon with in the world. Thus, he maintains that, "The one True God, who never permits the human race to be without the working of His wisdom and His power, granted to the Roman people an empire, when he willed it and as large as He willed it."²⁹⁵ It is clear from the terms of reference of this investigation that the following question becomes imperative: Why would such a provident God not permit the people of

Cambridge University Press, UK. 45 (1), p.47. Available online at:URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1508885>. Accessed on 17 September 2016.

²⁹³. Crantz, op.cit.p.48

²⁹⁴. Welsh, G.G. et.al. (trans.), 1958: St Augustine: The city of God, Image Books, NY, USA, p. 99

²⁹⁵. Ibid.p.116

Mashonaland to have the same privileges in terms of allowing them their own space and leadership without having to appeal to those from Europe?

What needs to be highlighted in connection with the above is the fact that in both Eusebius and Augustine's reflections that have been qualified as constituting the theology of empire, the issue of who is in control takes centre-stage. In Eusebius, the Roman Empire seems to be the institution that matters most as it is conceived as being directed by God through the person of the emperor and, hence, qualifying the latter as divine. Crantz's observation again informs us on this point, as he points out that Eusebius' understanding of the emperor was two pronged:

From one standpoint he is the third in a series of royal figures: 1. God the Father. 2. The Logos-Christ, the archetypal image of the Father. 3. The Emperor, the image of the Logos-Christ. From a somewhat different standpoint, Constantine is an example of the kingship of any Christian man, re-stored to the true image of the Logos and in some way participating even here in the kingdom of heaven.²⁹⁶

The above is an understanding that really sets Constantine and his empire apart and, hence, in the realm of divinity. It complicates matters for us since that status is not privy to others directly

Augustine would like to see the Church being accorded that most celebrated position. Clearly, Augustine seems to be concerned about the possibility of exaggerating human achievements to the exclusion of God. So it is clear that Augustine's position could rightly be labelled "Christian imperialist," as MacCulloch proposes and as already cited above. Meanwhile, there seems to be some polarisation between Augustine and Eusebius, the challenge is to understand how this could impact on the writing of Church history.

In our work, and in line with the foregoing, Eusebius' theology of empire is our main lens through which we are able to ask how other Christian leaders and authors have handled this complex problem and perhaps to be on the lookout for the blending of Augustinian and Eusebian positions. For example, we shall use this lens to critique the role of a Church leadership within a political matrix, Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia) that we suspect to be a replica of the Roman

²⁹⁶. Crantz, op.cit.p.53

Empire and the way it was understood by Eusebius. The colonisation of Mashonaland by the British and the role of the Anglican Church, in the process, may not resemble the partnership that existed between imperial Rome and Christianity directly during the time of Eusebius, but here the conviction is that some similarities could be detected in the way history has been written. The latter is done against the background of an understanding to the effect that Church expansion and the narratives preferred on it could be hijacked and presented from the point of view of those whose interests are to glorify those in power. Hence, the urgency to attempt links on narratives obtaining in centuries that are further apart. The tradition on which we are focusing happens to be the same since it is still the Church that dominates the theme. Eusebius is therefore our main lens through which the theology of empire and its logical implications within a given Church context that we have preferred to be the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia between 1890 and 1979.

2.7.7. Theology of empire and imperialism

We also need to allow a distinction between the popular talk about ‘imperialism’ and the theology of empire especially within this Southern African context. When people talk about imperialism, they normally have secular developments in mind. Brian Stanley helps us to appreciate what is at stake in this connection. He points to a number of historical assumptions in terms of how the term “imperialism” has been understood over the years. These assumptions could be summed up as follows:

Imperialism is real;²⁹⁷ has a specific period in world history;²⁹⁸ and, happens to be openly exploitative.²⁹⁹ By being openly exploitative, it means we could not confuse it as though it were a disguise of something. In our Mashonaland context, the gun became the ultimate arbiter and continued to define who was who in terms of status between the indigenous blacks and the exotic whites.

However, the above understanding is limited to the political and economic dimension of history and, is hence, not directly connected to theology, understood

²⁹⁷. Stanley, B., 1990: *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Apollos, Leicester, England, p.33

²⁹⁸. Ibid.

²⁹⁹. Ibid.

here simply as 'God-Talk' and among the people who affirm the Christian faith. The theology of empire would involve an amalgamation of these socio-political and economic projections sealed by an appeal to the divine, understood as sanctioning both the proceedings and outcomes and advanced through historical narratives. Church historians are our major concern here. There seems to be a need to be cautious in making the correct calculations here when interpreting and narrating developments that are a blend of secular and Christian dimensions. Could narratives about secular ideals blend well with those attributed to God without complicating our understanding of the distinctions that could set the two apart? We are aware that dominance by God may not mean the same as dominance by human beings. The colonial project by the British may not be the same as God's programme for Mashonaland.

Regarding the definition of imperialism, Stanley prefers to maintain that:

The essence of imperialism is control by an alien national or racial group; such control may be primarily political or primarily economic, and need not imply formal territorial rule; it may also be contrary to the original intentions of the imperial power, or only indirectly related to those intentions.³⁰⁰

In our investigation of narratives in this context, the issue of imperialism is urgent especially where suspicions of missionary work being understood as serving the mundane interests of secular rulers are rampant but not readily acknowledged in historical narratives. The assumption is that we may blend a theology of empire discourse with a secular discourse. However, following Stanley's position above, we could treat the two separately. In our context, the preference is the former. The discourse of imperialism that could still be possible without reference to Christianity finds a marriage of convenience when the Church fails to distance itself from those with colonial intent on behalf of the British empire.

It is clear that the case of the theology of empire is not anticipated in the definition that Stanley offers above. Yet, it could also be maintained that the theology of empire happens to be more on the ideological control that is predominantly religious but blended with politico-economic theories and interests. Therefore, any talk about the theology of empire should acknowledge the fact that other

³⁰⁰. Stanley, op.cit.p.34

dimensions of life must be taken seriously as was true in the Roman Empire of Eusebius where the material generosity and political favours of the emperor came to be viewed as the work of God in history. There is something wrong with this understanding especially when superficial reflections are allowed too much space. The problem comes when an in-depth analysis is made. Generosity changes its moral impetus when the preliminaries are based on ulterior motives. The same thing could be said about the evangelisation of the nations. If the motive is subjugation, in whatever form, we reject any suggestions that seem to absolve it as a philanthropic or some civilising undertaking. If the evangelisation of people aims at making them masters of their own religious destiny, without having to answer to some alien powers or systems, then we condone any ensuing eulogistic sentiments it.

2.8. Summary of critical issues in this chapter

This chapter attempted to work out and expose definitions of terms that are key to how we intend to submit our narratives in this investigation. On the issue of methodology, it is clear that our emphasis was on documents that help us to appreciate the usage of terms such as “theology of empire” and “Anglicanism.” The following highlights could sum up what was observed and noted:

Firstly, to talk about Anglicanism outside the British isles requires many qualifications. This is because Anglicanism simply challenges us to insist on the Englishness of the Christian faith from a historical point of view. The inclusive usage of the term tends to give rise to issues of religious control and exploitation, therefore, making indigenous attempts to understand Christianity from the point of view of their own unique perspectives, very problematic. Imperial Anglicanism is already something that is anticipated by virtue of having British missionary work linked to the expansion of the British empire. Because the British empire was very dominating, the Christian faith would find it difficult to rely on the system without even having to take the weaknesses of empire building on board. This is obvious from the fact that the identity of the indigenous subjects could be compromised when factors that were essentially from the outside of it were imposed without distinction. The Anglican Church in this connection could be viewed as an ancillary

of the State. It served the interests of the state which in turn was able to dominate the indigenous people without reference to their God-given potentialities.

Secondly, the writings that have so far been advanced purporting to expose the history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland seem to take the whole idea of Anglicanism for granted. The uniqueness of Mashonaland is overshadowed by those who seem to be out to assert the Englishness of the Church. The latter's association with British imperialism is downplayed. There is little information that challenges the whole missionary enterprise that tend to assume the Englishness of even the indigenous people and their ways of thinking about God. This means that history in this context is written only from the point of view of one group of people: the English missionaries, historians favourable to them and their benefactors. How the indigenous people in Mashonaland could end up being understood as Anglican and therefore, English, is a state of affairs that needs further analysis in the name of history and the scholarship associated with it.

Thirdly, the theology of empire as advanced by certain authorities, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, requires us to view history from the point of view of those who are emphatic about the bias of God in favour of emperors and conquerors. We saw that Augustine was in favour of the dominance of the Church and not the empire. When God is seen as taking sides in human history, then we can expect many distortions and manipulation in the way facts are documented. The powerful could develop the habit of exaggerating their kingdoms as God-ordained without worrying about what that could entail in the ultimate analysis.

Fourthly, our appreciation of the theology of empire is inspired by the criticisms levelled against Eusebius of Caesarea whose writings favoured the Roman establishments of his day. Of critical significance in this connection is the fact that Eusebius' writing of history is exclusive, leaving no room for other expressions that were not privy to the imperial schemes in place. Such selectivity in terms of documenting history has the obvious disadvantage of exaggerating facts that may not help us in terms of coming closer to how things were in the past.

2.9. Conclusion

It is our assumption that the explanations preferred to enable us to coin definitions attempted in this chapter will help us to proceed with our narratives with a degree of lucidity. They also could prepare us to appreciate further amendments in relation to new developments that the investigation will highlight. In connection with our consideration of the Diocese of Mashonaland and the narratives preferred on it by some authors that support our case for the prevalence of the theology of empire in this context, we must be able to develop this theme with some amount of conviction.

The next chapter will bring us face-to-face with ideas that could help us affirm the fact that the spread of Anglicanism to Mashonaland is a good opportunity to discuss the theology of empire in Southern Africa. It should be born in mind that we are focusing on how missionary work done in the name of God could end up serving the interests of the powerful and hence missing out on its primary focus. Was Anglicanism in Mashonaland a lost opportunity to address the benevolence of God who takes no sides in cases of human dissoluteness? How have historians handled facts and perspectives in this connection? Of major significance, how many indigenous historians were able to take up the challenge to narrate such developments, from the beginning, such that the side of the weak could also be highlighted?

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF A MISSIONARY ANGLICAN CHURCH IN MASHONALAND

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter, our envisaged approach is to analyse documents which outline some historical details that could help us trace the spread of imperial Anglicanism from South Africa to Mashonaland after 1890. We have already seen that imperial Anglicanism is understood in our investigation as British Christianity that followed the footsteps of British imperialism to the various parts of the world. This Christianity was not intended to transform the lives of people they encountered in the foreign lands, but to support the colonial work of the British. We have three main objectives to achieve in terms of making our narratives and arguments cogent. They can be stated as follows:

The first aim is to ensure that we get an insight into the background of the current Diocese of Mashonaland; where the Anglican missionary project, here involved, started and to understand how it can be traced against the background of a country that had indigenous people who knew nothing about missionary Christianity or any related versions of this faith. Bearing in mind that we would like to use the theology of empire as our lens to understand the narratives we encounter in the documents consulted, we shall constantly be highlighting points to this effect.

Secondly, our aim is to make some observations about the sources of funding and related sponsorships that make it imperative for us to speak of an imperial Anglicanism. In this connection, one major question becomes urgent. Could it be argued successfully that what we prefer to call imperial Anglicanism was attracted more to those who were rich and powerful than to the disposed and powerless and indigenous people who lived in the country long before it was called Rhodesia? In addition, can the provision of resources by settlers to the missionaries in this connection be seen more in terms of making sure that the Church became subservient to the state than just as a gesture of goodwill? When we hear of Anglican missionary work in Mashonaland getting some sponsorship from colonial agents, can it still be a misinterpretation of history to associate the

coloniser and the missionary? By attempting to answer such questions, we may be able to describe the nature of Church-state relations that obtained in Mashonaland as well as the related controversial issues using the theme of the theology of empire as our criterion of adequacy.

Therefore, using a document analysis as our main method, we intend to make sure that the argument and narratives that are underpinned by the Church-state partnership are sustainable within the Rhodesian Anglican Church context.

3.1. The development of the Diocese of Mashonaland

There are important developments that preceded the establishment of the Diocese of Mashonaland that are critical to note. We need to go back a little into history before 1890. This is an attempt to appeal to facts that will enable us to make some justifiable generalisations about the nature of Anglicanism as advanced outside the British isles. The following subsections will highlight them as some background information.

Therefore we are going to make brief incursions into the beginning of the 18th century of our common era (CE) in order to be able to appreciate the background information critical to the origin of the current Diocese of Mashonaland as a product of both British colonial and Christian expansion many years later. Important in this regard are issues such as funding, the nationality of manpower and the assumed Christian imperatives that became urgent during the latter part of the nineteenth century in Southern Africa. Our challenge is to account for the existence of an English Church in a particular African context from the point of view of the theology of empire. How Mashonaland became part of England from an ecclesiastical and historical perspective is a development that must continue to attract the attention of critical scholarship within the framework of Church history in this part of Southern Africa. This is because a lack of enlightenment, in this case, could lead to such distortions that could make the whole Anglican project a mere charade or something that was not enlightening in terms of how the indigenous Christians and the United Kingdom could be said to have some genuine links.

3.2. English organisations and societies

According to Stephen Neill, the name Thomas Bray (1656-1730) deserves special mention if we are to say something about the genesis of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.).³⁰¹ This society played a pivotal role in the spread of Anglicanism throughout the world from the beginning of its inception and has continued to do so, to this day, although with some slight changes to its original name.³⁰²

Rowan Strong creates a more vivid picture for us of what the atmosphere was like when imperial Anglicanism began to be more assertive in terms of missionary work in the colonies. One episode tells us how an interested audience attended a service in London just to be updated on what was happening in the colonial fields. Strong makes certain observations with regard to this particular event:

The setting, in one of Sir Christopher Wren's new churches built after the Great Fire of London, epitomised in wood and stones the resurgent Anglicanism that had developed since the restoration of the Church of England in 1660.³⁰³

The resurgence being referenced had been about English Christianity at home, but here we are faced with its new version that had to take the reality of the colonies seriously. This is important to us since we could understand this new development in the name of missions as one that could one day be forced to accept the spirit of colonialism without much resolute questioning. What makes our reading of this narrative, in London, interesting is the following state of affairs as presented by Strong,

Wren's church that day was alive with dignitaries of church and state seated before the preacher on an occasion that expressed the Church of England's new mission to the English colonies overseas that the Church had too long neglected.³⁰⁴

Church and state officials were in attendance perhaps to affirm the partnership that was envisaged in these overseas colonies. However, we still need to go back a little just to get our bearings on this narrative correct.

³⁰¹. Neill, op.cit.p.197.

³⁰². In 1965 it became the USPG changed in 2012 to Us and now back to USPG once again.

³⁰³. Strong, R., 2007: Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850 in *The Construction of an Anglican Imperialism: British North America in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford Scholarship Online, Oxford, UK. p.2. Available online at: [Url: www.oxfordscholarship.com](http://www.oxfordscholarship.com) Accessed 18 September 2010

³⁰⁴. Ibid.

The facts are as follows: King William III of England was approached by Bray in April 1701 to grant permission for “the formation of a Body Politic and Corporate for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.”³⁰⁵ We are told that “on 16 June 1701, a Charter was issued to Dr Bray and his associates.”³⁰⁶ Earlier on 8 March 1699, Bray had been instrumental in the formation of the Society of the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K), which was a voluntary organisation and not a corporate body.³⁰⁷ The aim of the S.P.C.K. was “to publish and circulate books and Bibles” and also provide missionaries, who, in turn, could “found and direct schools” within British colonies.³⁰⁸ As a corporate and “chartered society,” the S.P.G. got its “support and authorisation from both Church and State”.³⁰⁹ There were two major terms of reference for this chartered Society:

Firstly, to cater for the spiritual needs of British citizens living in colonies overseas by way of providing “orthodox clergy.”³¹⁰

Secondly, and as an act of charity, the Society was to promote the conversion of natives in the colonised lands from “Barbarism and Idolatry” to Christianity.³¹¹ We notice here that the idea of evangelising the colonised. That God’s work could comfortably be done against the background of colonisation could be seen as a development that has extremely serious implications in our context. How the Anglican Church would be able to achieve the two objectives with the impartiality we could envisage in the spirit of Christianity, is an urgent focus in our context.

It is clear, therefore, that British imperial and colonial incursions created interests among English Christians that engendered the missionary project with which we are concerned. How such a Christian missionary project would distance itself from the negative connotations of colonialism makes for an interesting reading of historical narratives in this connection. It is in this partnership of coloniser and

³⁰⁵. Neill, *op.cit.*, p.197

³⁰⁶. *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷. *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸. *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹. *Ibid.*

³¹⁰. *Ibid.*, p.198

³¹¹. *Ibid.*

missionary that concerns for the development of the theology of empire in this context emerge.

While Neill indicates to us, in the foregoing connection, that the second aim of the S.P.G. had to do with the conversion of natives, Rowan Strong in his own work, seems to imply that there was some amount of vagueness in this regard, as he refers to “other provision” for “spreading the gospel to these English territories.”³¹² Perhaps what could be assumed with some amount of certitude is the fact that the Anglican Church work under the auspices of the S.P.G. would have, as its primary role, the spiritual welfare of the English colonists but against the background of some qualifications. This becomes clear from Strong’s narrative when he notes that:

Notwithstanding a focus on white settlers, one of the most obvious ingredients of the Anglican perspective of the SPG, right from its inception, was to see the empire as the opening up of territories of missionary opportunity, an opportunity required to be taken up by the society as a consequence of gospel imperatives.³¹³

The idea of preaching to a subdued people is in our context a very challenging undertaking. The challenge here was whether the Anglican Church could be in a position to reconcile conflicting values. This is because colonialism fell more in the politico-economic sphere of the British interests and was not always achieved peacefully among people, who were, in turn, not aggressive. On the other hand, missionary work had to depend on the gospel imperatives, and the problem is how these could be seen accommodating the aggressiveness and violence that often propelled colonial mechanisms.

However, that missionary work was being premised on “gospel imperatives” would imply engaging people who would view others from the point of view of the Christian God rather than from the point of view of their own cultural prejudices or socio-economic and political advantages.

³¹², Strong, 2007, op.cit.p.2

³¹³. Ibid. p.3

Strong further observes that “colonies,” in this eighteenth-century period, was a term confined to “North America and the West Indies”.³¹⁴ What is strange in this connection is that no sooner were the British missionaries faced with indigenous people in the Americas, than they forgot the gospel imperatives. The available information favours the view that Anglican missionaries began to worry about distinctions rather than about what the Christian God could do.³¹⁵ Accordingly, Strong observes that:

In this discourse, the identity of Gentile =Native American was set in the starkest contrast to that of Christian = English, not for any reasons of racial or ontological difference but on the basis of a theological distinction between Christian and non-Christian. Indigenous Americans were radically other than the English because they were not Christian.³¹⁶

We should prepare ourselves for more attitudes of this nature that will continue to be referenced, but it gives us a taste of what missionaries often ended up doing over and against the gospel imperatives that could be envisaged. We are worried that sustainable highlights on this missionary deficiency in terms of favouring colonialism may not have attracted the kind of attention the theology of empire may require in order to boost its appeal.

We refer to the above points because our context in which the Diocese of Mashonaland developed was a British colonial development, a century later, this time in Southern Africa, but championed by the same theologico-political and economic zeal as well as human resources: almost similar to the North American context. We must bear in mind that our main contention is on the impact of the theology of empire in the early Church and the subsequent emergence of imperial Anglicanism in the eighteenth century and beyond. How do we get the Diocese of Mashonaland to be part of this long discourse that puts the theology of empire in the spotlight? Why do historians of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland not investigate the deficiencies of missionaries in detail to highlight the influence of colonialism on Christianity in this context?

³¹⁴. Strong, *op.cit.*p.3

³¹⁵. *Ibid.*p.8

³¹⁶. *Ibid.*

3.3. The S.P.G. and Rev. W. Greenstock

We have already referred to how the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (S.P.G.) emerged in connection with the North American colonies. In Southern Africa, we get the following narrative relevant to the formation of the Mashonaland Diocese: Rev. W. Greenstock was an S.P.G sponsored missionary stationed in Port Elizabeth South Africa in 1874.³¹⁷ In December of that year, he submitted a proposal to the S.P.G. “to make a Missionary tour of eighteen months to the Matabele diggings and the regions south of the Zambesi.”³¹⁸ A grant of 450 British Pounds (*see Table A for the equivalent in 2011*) was made available, and he set off in the company of Thomas Baines.³¹⁹ The latter died in Durban and Greenstock could only proceed to Matabeleland later in 1876, after spending some months in Transvaal.³²⁰ Meanwhile, a separate proposal to establish the diocese of Matabeleland had been submitted by another SPG member, and, in 1877, plans were being mooted to implement it.³²¹ However, in 1879, there seems to have been some unfavourable developments in South Africa³²² that led to the temporary suspension of the plans for the new mission that was supposed to be led by Rev Greenstock.³²³ This is a critical development that never materialised but could have put the Anglican Church in a unique position, for no colonialism had yet been effected in Mashonaland at that time. The Bible could then have preceded the gun.

Therefore, between 1877 and 1887, there seems to be a break that could not be accounted for. We do not hear anything about what was happening during that

³¹⁷. Classified digest of the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Bible in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892 [microform] 1895 : (with much supplementary information), London, UK. p.362. Available online at: https://ia600401.us.archive.org/35/items/cihm_17065/cihm_17065.pdf . Accessed on 16 October 2009

³¹⁸. Classified digest of SPG records.,p.362

³¹⁹. Ibid.

³²⁰. Ibid. It should be noted that in Musodza, A., 2008:..An investigation of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland (1891-1981), with special emphasis on the Ministry of Indigenous Christians (UNISA doctorate Thesis) the date for Rev Greenstock’s arrival in Matabeleland is given as 1875 (see p.39 of thesis). Perhaps there is confusion here, since after Baines’ death, the source consulted in this work speaks of some delays that saw Greenstock “ministering in Transvaal for some months” .

³²¹. Ibid.

³²². Beginning of the Anglo-Zulu War, 10 January 1879: South African History Online, RSA. Available online at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/beginning-anglo-zulu-war-10-january-1879>. Accessed on 26 March 2012. N.B: “Many historians mark the 10* January 1879 as the beginning of the Anglo-Zulu war, while others claim that the 12 January 1879 (first attack) or the 22 January 1879 (first decisive battle of Isandlwana) marked the beginning of the war.” We could therefore assume that this war interfered with the missionary plans for Mashonaland to which we are referring..

³²³. Ibid.

period in terms of extending Anglican missionary work beyond the Limpopo from South Africa.

Table 3.1: [The value of money granted to Rev W. Greenstock by the SPG today]³²⁴

In 2011, the relative worth of £450 0s 0d from 1874 was:

£34,300.00 using the retail price index

£42,600.00 using the GDP deflator

£207,000.00 using the average earnings

£276,000.00 using the per capita GDP

£534,000.00 using the share of GDP

3.4. The S.P.G and Knight-Bruce

Above we introduced a missionary who was the first to be attracted by the Mashonaland venture. That venture did not get off the ground. Here we look at the second attempt that got things going in terms of the work of God in Mashonaland.

3.4.0. Background of Knight-Bruce

The history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland could not be complete without reference to the pioneer Bishop of Mashonaland,³²⁵ George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce.³²⁶ He was born in 1852 in England.³²⁷ He graduated at the University of Oxford, Merton College, in 1876, with a BA degree³²⁸ and was ordained in 1877 and married to Lillian in 1878.³²⁹

Knight-Bruce worked in various parishes in England from 1877 until 1886.³³⁰ In 1886, he was appointed the third Bishop of Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, South Africa, and there are indications that he was already engaging with

³²⁴. Conversion of currency requested, 2011: UK. Available online at: Url

<http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php?/>. Accessed 26 September 2011

³²⁵. Details of how the Diocese of Mashonaland was later multiplied over the years are given later on in this work..

³²⁶. Knight-Bruce, George in Dictionary of African Christian Biography, Center for Global Christianity and Mission Boston, Massachusetts, USA. Available online at: Url: http://www.dacb.org/stories/southafrica/knight-bruce_george.html. Accessed on 15 September 2011

³²⁷. Ibid.

³²⁸. Ibid.

³²⁹. Ibid

³³⁰. Ibid

the S.P.G. to fund an expedition into Mashonaland through Matabeleland.³³¹ A grant of 1000 British pounds (*see Table B for current estimates of the value of this money*) was made available for the Bishop's eight months journey.

One source informs us that Knight-Bruce arrived at Lobengula's kraal in May 1888.³³² Arthur Keppel-Jones observes that Knight-Bruce was informed of the fate of other Europeans in Matabeleland, fortune seekers of sorts, who had given themselves up to local beer (also called Kaffir beer) and were, therefore dying from it.³³³ These Europeans were far from being ambassadors of the so much talked about western civilisation because the vices mentioned in this context include fornication, concubinage, unethical business deals and so on.³³⁴ Our attention to these European characters will help us get a balanced insight when we compare the missionaries' reaction to the vices of the indigenous people they encountered in the country. The bias that will be cited in this connection will boost our argument for the theology of empire as we have indicated earlier. The distinction made between Europeans and indigenous people in terms of ministering to these two groups helps us to insist on how cultural preferences were allowed too much space at the expense of gospel imperatives.

Still, in the above connection, it was imperative for Knight-Bruce to call at Lobengula's Enkanwini residence because he could not proceed to Mashonaland without clearance from the Ndebele king, which he only managed to secure after two weeks of pleading.³³⁵

Table 3.2 . [The value today of money granted to Bishop Knight Bruce by SPG]³³⁶

³³¹ Classified Digest, op.cit. p.363.

³³² Knight-Bruce, G.W.H., Journals of the Mashonaland Mission 1888 TO 1892, Project Canterbury, UK. Available online at: Url: http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/knight-bruce_mashonaland1892/. Accessed on 24 September 2013

³³³ Keppel-Jones, A., 1983: Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, RSA, p.55

³³⁴ Ibid

³³⁵ Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit.

³³⁶ Conversion of currency, op.cit.

In 2011, the relative worth of £1000 0s 0d from 1887 is:
£91,200.00 using the retail price index
£113,000.00 using the GDP deflator
£433,000.00 using the average earnings
£689,000.00 using the per capita GDP
£1,180,000.00 using the share of GDP

The journey that was undertaken by Knight-Bruce is significant with regard to the establishment of the Diocese of Mashonaland in that, for the first time, an Anglican bishop had scouted the area that needed to be missionised and had come to know the kind of people that were going to benefit from this missionary incursion. The Mashona that Knight-Bruce encountered were described as “fallen humanity,” “wretched creatures” “in character,” cowards in the face of the Matabele, disunited, disrespectful and irreverent and, therefore, an insult even to their own personal dignity; commanded a slave mentality, but all the same, better missionary targets than the Ndebele.³³⁷ These powerful adjectives used to describe the Mashona seem to pave the way for how the settlers would later treat them.

In his own work, and in the foregoing connection, Knight-Bruce writes about the Mashona people: “I am afraid that now they are cowards, and are not ashamed of it, but they have retained in parts a good deal of savage brutality.”³³⁸ We should remember that the North American attitudes of British missionaries had already set the tone almost a century earlier. We should bear in mind that we are dealing with people who preferred to be understood as Christians, first and foremost and motivated by gospel imperatives. How the preceding descriptions could be celebrated within missionary circles, seem to provide us with more reasons to advance the theology of empire in this context.

What could be of major interest to us, in line with the foregoing characterisation of the indigenous people, are the following facts:

³³⁷ Classified Digest, op.cit.p.364

³³⁸. Knight-Bruce, G. W. H. 1895: Memories of Mashonaland, Project Canterbury. Edward Arnold, London and New York, pp.17-18

Firstly: Other European authorities such as Jean Maclean took the liberty of highlighting the brutality of the Ndebele towards the Mashona,³³⁹ hence, affirming Knight-Bruce's observations. The concurrence is even more emphatic as we learn that, before Knight-Bruce, Robert Moffat is said to have been disgusted by the Africans' "extreme selfishness, filthiness, obstinate stupidity and want of sensibility...";³⁴⁰ and "...a Jesuit brother" observed that "Lying, excessive immorality, drunkenness and laziness are their capital virtues."³⁴¹

However, we have already seen that some of the Europeans who came to the country they called Rhodesia were no better candidates when it came to the issue of virtue. The fact that such a distinction was preferred here, could help us determine the narratives that could try to balance the attitudes of the observers. Our emphasis on the foregoing vices is highlighted deliberately in line with the theme of the theology of empire and how it could be seen as downplaying them when the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland is exposed from this viewpoint. The indigenous people are portrayed as those who had surrendered themselves to vices of all sorts and Europeans, even though examples of the same are cited, spared from such a crude characterisation.

In view of our position so far, we need to remind ourselves that we could search in vain for narratives on the Diocese of Mashonaland that concentrate on the vices of those who brought Christianity and civilisation into the country. Why such vice was abhorred among the natives in a context in which the Europeans, such as those Knight-Bruce encountered, were not leading by example, seems to indicate that the settlers were allowed more latitude than the indigenous. The question then is why were these vices signs of inferiority for the indigenous from a racial perspective, while other explanations are preferred for the Europeans? In this connection, we could safely conclude that Europeans could be allowed by historians to get away with murder as long as the indigenous people were the victims.

³³⁹. Maclean, J., 1974: The Guardians. Books of Rhodesia Publishing. Co. (PVT) LTD, Bulawayo, Rhodesia, p.7

³⁴⁰. Ibid. p.9

³⁴¹. Ibid.

Secondly: It looks as if such negative descriptions were meant to emphasise the need for missionary work to be introduced as a matter of urgency among the Mashona. It is curious to note that other matters are being brought into the missionary's observations that may not really be targets for evangelisation. The examples that emerge clearly from the above-stated vices are stupidity and laziness that may not necessarily disappear when people become Christians.

Thirdly: We are also informed that during this journey, Knight-Bruce was assisted by "three half-castes, three Bechuana, one Matonga, and two Basutos, in addition to the native carriers who were constantly hired on the way."³⁴² The latter are important given the foregoing descriptions that seem to contradict the indigenous' characters as lazy, not polished in manners and, therefore, uncivilised. That they could be hired seems to indicate that there was something they valued about themselves. The latter could imply that these natives had already mastered the art of negotiating when it came to the provision of labour to others.

3.4.1. The North American Anglican connections

It is important for this investigation to note that the work submitted by Strong, when compared with the Mashonaland context, reveals to us something that seems to point to the endemic pride English missionaries often commanded. Why it is correct to talk about the pervasive English pride in this historical connection will become clear if we consider certain developments. In North America, Strong informs us that English missionaries sponsored by the S.P.G. had to engage in some serious debates on whether the indigenous people they encountered there were human, and if so, whether their mental capacities and moral outlook were up to standard.³⁴³ The question of whose standard had to be used, again, raises more questions than answers. Strong goes on to observe in this connection that:

Perhaps it was the missionaries' reports of the difference between the native peoples within and those beyond the pales of settlement that led the metropolitan Anglicans, by the 1730s, to begin to advocate 'civilization' as a preliminary to conversion. By this time the society's preachers were finding less and less in common between the English and the Native Americans, in tune with the reports of their North American clergy.³⁴⁴

³⁴². Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. pp.17-18

³⁴³. Strong, op.cit., p.5

³⁴⁴. Ibid.p.7

We should be mindful of the fact that gospel imperatives are essentially not in keeping with racial discrimination as we shall continue to emphasise. That missionary work often ended up entangled in matters of racial distinctions and other non-essential issues seems to suggest that bias was very hard to get rid of even among the civilised. Again, it was the writings of those who chose to narrate developments from a biased perspective that emphasised racial superiority instead of salvation.

In addition to the above, the idea of convictions formed on the basis of superior and inferior cultures was therefore being allowed to take shape within contexts that were supposed to be governed by “gospel imperatives” and, therefore, supposed to be very Christian. If Christianity was to be based on distinction, how could the Christian God make a difference in human lives? How could the same God command a universal appeal? The concern here is whether from the point of view of God, as understood by Christians, such distinctions could be sustained without contradicting the gospel imperatives that informed all missionary work as claimed from the onset. Again, instead of focusing on how the people of God could be approached, worldly standards took centre-stage.

Strong, in line with the above quote, goes on to note the following example:

Dr Cutler in Boston reported in 1734 that a native woman, as a consequence of his baptizing her, had left behind ‘the Barbarity of her kindred in which she was educated’. The following year his colleague, the Revd Miln in Albany, New York, passed on the comments of the commanding officer of the garrison at Fort Hunter that thanks to Miln's ministry the Mohawks had grown more civilized and orderly, observing the Sabbath. The implication was that this was a surprising development, because more often the picture was of the indigenous peoples as persistently uncivilized.³⁴⁵

It is important to note here that there seems to be a suggestion to the effect that Christian baptism had the magical effect of making people civilised overnight. Clearly, such observations would make it imperative to get all the indigenous people baptised.

³⁴⁵. Strong, op.cit. p.10

We should note, in the above connection, that in his own work, Knight-Bruce makes similar observations. A good example is when he notes that,

At one of our mission stations the catechist put up a flag on Sunday, and the chief forbade anyone to work. This was the same chief about whom an Englishman, who went to live near him, said that he was a wild kind of creature before, but since our catechist had come he had become much better, and given less trouble to the authorities than he had done.³⁴⁶

We notice that in both cases, although continentally and chronologically very much apart, the English way of looking at the indigenous peoples they encountered was consistent. Regarding this state of affairs, Strong observes that,

But it appears that neither the missionaries on the ground nor the society's leader's in London were able to recognize the devastating effects of cultural deconstruction among the Mohawks, nor the local agency of some Mohawks.³⁴⁷

In addition to the above, narratives critical to such developments that could augment Strong's observations, coming from a Mashonaland context, are scarce, for the focus is simply to look at the perceived superiority of the Europeans among the indigenous. Surely, we are warned by Strong when he appeals to cultural deconstruction as a result of missionary work among the natives. Why historians should not be engaging in research on themes such as "the alienation of people by missionaries in Mashonaland" could be an urgent question here.

Our interest in the foregoing quotes revolves around the issue of a radical historical shift from the talk of Christianity to the call for civilisation: from the call to become Christians to a call to assume a new culture altogether. That culture for the indigenous people in Mashonaland had to be English. It is clear that instead of the gospel imperatives as the general norms, British lifestyles, systems and thought patterns would take centre-stage in the colonies using civilisation as an excuse. The indigenous people would be judged according to how they conformed to English culture more than to the Christian God, unless it could be argued successfully that we are dealing with one and the same principle here. However, we wonder whether European civilisation is the ideal in terms of international, interracial and cultural encounters and preferences. In Mashonaland, it could be

³⁴⁶, Knight-Bruce, 1895, pp.45/46.

³⁴⁷, Strong, op.cit.p.10f

argued that British missionaries such as Bishop Knight-Bruce, appealed to the same principle to distinguish themselves from the indigenous people as available evidence helps us to put together a narrative in this connection.

The initial encounters of the people of Matabeleland and Mashonaland by Knight-Bruce seem to indicate the fact that Christianity was synonymous with the English culture. In the following paragraphs, we shall proceed to sample some of the bishop's many observations that are quite revealing in terms of asserting the English culture at the expense of the gospel. We are curious to see radical examples of virtue lived to the full as a result of gospel imperatives. But we have already introduced Knight-Bruce as our pioneer Bishop in Mashonaland. Perhaps it is that special position in history that could be exaggerated if the issues we are raising were to be ignored. In fact there does not seem to be much about the impact of his blunders in this connection. Perhaps a theme on the blundering missionaries in Mashonaland could help us with some tools to compile unique information that could boost the theme of the theology of empire.

3.4.2. The indigenous people's cultures

Going back to 1888, Knight-Bruce's diary entries over two days could be used as examples of his attitude towards the Matabele then, as an Englishman more than as a missionary. On 24 May, while at Lobengula's kraal, he noted the following: "I felt that I was in a world of savage heathendom, which was a worse one than I had expected."³⁴⁸ We notice that the bishop was not talking about the people and how they understood God, but about their culture in general. On the following day, 25 May 1888, he contrasted the Matabele king's capital with the European establishment, the Hope Fountain Mission in the same area, by noting that,

The sight of the Mission House after the little ride of nine miles, in contrast to the Chief's Kraal, gave a feeling of the blessedness of Christianity such as I had never understood before.³⁴⁹

The Bishop sees Christian values even in the way Europeans built their houses, while savagery is attributed to the structures put up by the Matabele. Clearly, we have a bishop who had come to Africa anticipating European structures all over.

³¹⁹. B265, Knight-Bruce, Bp. George, Wits Library Archives.

³⁴⁹. Ibid.

That this could qualify as a Christian attitude leaves us with more questions than answers.

We have already referred to the Bishop's lofty moral principles that seem to be a European derivative. Yet in 1893, in a letter dated 26 April and at a place called Matabis, 107 miles south of Victoria (present day Masvingo), the Bishop could not hide the truth. While his conviction was that Europeans had an obligation to take religion and civilisation to the north, the behaviour he encountered among the whites was lamentable. He observed that, "At times and in places, the whole population almost seems made up of those who get drunk or who make others drunk."³⁵⁰ While probably in Salisbury (now Harare) in May 1893, in another letter dated 24 May, the Bishop observed something disturbing among the white settlers. He therefore noted that, "Over and over again it is the white man who is the depressing influence, covering his own inefficiency with the abuse and knocking about of the native."³⁵¹

It seems, in line with the above observations, to be the case that sin only matters when it is committed by the indigenous person. When it is committed by the rich and powerful, it assumes a new dimension. Sin is a bad thing when the African commits it. If it is committed by Europeans, it must be interpreted differently. This, indeed, is extremely problematic and our appeal to the theology of empire seems justified. We emphasise this point because narratives that could help us understand that they were worked out by people interested in balancing facts seem to be elusive in this connection. Nevertheless, why none of the celebrated historians have not written about the abomination and moral decadence in Mashonaland in the hands of the Europeans, is a million dollar question that raises the case of the theology of empire to the loftiest of heights in our context. Perhaps it could explain why the indigenous did not take some of the good things that came from Europe seriously. It could only take an extremely analytical mind to see the difference between civilisation and barbarism especially when they come in the same package.

³⁵⁰. AB355f, Wits Library Archives.

Of major significance to this work, and in connection with the preceding, only short sightedness, in terms of analysing documentary evidence, could view our narrative as one that is bombastic when it comes to talking about the British. The truth is that we are only highlighting the fact that many of the good things that the Europeans brought to Mashonaland, when we look at what Knight-Bruce is saying, could be negated by those who did not see the indigenous people as humans who could learn one or two things presented to them by those from outside their context. There is an admission here that the so called civilisation was at times illusive as Europeans themselves often failed to uphold its values

3.5. Knight-Bruce and the BSAC

Reading Knight-Bruce's work cited earlier on in connection with his presence in Matabeleland around 1888, one would be curious to hear how he became involved with the BSAC and how his Christian values came to dictate the pace of events that had a bearing on his person as Bishop. What we only hear seems to be a rapid development of events in Matabeleland. He sums it all up in one statement when he notes that while waiting for Lobengula to give the Anglican Church permission to start a mission in Mashonaland, "...the British South Africa Company was organized, and everything was considered to be on a different footing, and I never saw him (Lobengula) again."³⁵² We have already noted that other sources indicate that Knight-Bruce put in a word for Rhodes during that time in question. Why he decides to leave out this important detail in the work we are citing speaks volumes in terms of how historical facts can be manipulated by way of elimination and substitution as well as personal preferences in line with editing information.

Yet, in another related work of his, Knight-Bruce has this to say by way of introduction:

The thrilling scenes of Church history set with martyrdom have been in Central Africa; in Southern Africa, there has been the steady movement forward that annexes, almost silently, one race and country after another. We at home hardly even realise how the red colour-wash of English rule is painted further and further

³⁵² . Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit 74/75

over the world's map; but perhaps we do not realise at all how a greater King is spreading His kingdom, for truly it 'cometh not with observation.'³⁵³

A far-reaching theological insight not supported by human acts. A critical look at the passage, cited above from Knight-Bruce's diary entry, reveals one major development that should unnerve us. The spread of the British influence is also the spread of God's kingdom. Clearly, the audience in England would have every reason to view colonialism in favourable terms because the entire imperial project is ultimately designed and desired by "a greater King," God. We have insisted that this causes anxiety among those who know very well that colonialism was not a development that any conscientious observer could associate with God, especially among the indigenous people in Mashonaland. However, the language utilised in this connection often had its own appeal. Obviously, it was meant to advance the propaganda consistent with the will to dominate. Reacting to Mr Selous Courtney's appreciation of Mashonaland, Knight-Bruce pointed out that,

So there Mashonaland lay, filled with the cruelty and fear that reign in most absolutely heathen countries. For the life of these untouched masses is not that state of natural innocence and peace that people affect to think who 'do not believe in Missions.'³⁵⁴

The sceptics regarding missions, therefore, had to be made to appreciate what was at stake among the indigenous. Here were people in need of civilisation and more so in urgent terms! For example, while in Matabeleland, Knight-Bruce had this to say:

One hears stories here of darkness and cruelty that make one feel the need of the light of the Gospel. The present chief has recently killed his own favourite sister and brother; the latter was gaining too much power, and an Induna was sent out to kill him. These royal orders caused no astonishment. 'I know what you have come for; do it quickly,' he said at once.'³⁵⁵

Sorrow and utter sadness is what immediately comes to any civilised mind. The indigenous people were really in a world that needed urgent redemption according to this narrative. Mashonaland, no doubt and according to Knight-Bruce, was a world characterised by barbarism and the darkness associated with it reigned freely and unfettered. Clearly, we would not be blamed for exaggerating facts in

³⁵³. Knight-Bruce, 1892: op.cit. p.1/ 2.

³⁵⁴. Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit. p. 3/4

³⁵⁵. Ibid. p. 4/5

this connection. As the Bishop ventured further into Mashonaland the atmosphere of cruelty, filth and stench prevailed, according to British standards of course! Again our narrator observes:

The track of the impi was constantly crossed, and presently the town was passed that had just been destroyed. The chief and all the men had been killed, as well as the older women who could not walk; the boys, the younger women, and the cattle had been taken back to Matabeleland. One poor survivor, either of this or a similar raid, who joined the Bishop had a doleful little song he used to sing [5/6] over the camp fires at night: 'I am a great man, and I come from a river; it is a pity I have not a mate'.³⁵⁶ Nearly all his family had been killed.

It could be argued that such observations, as the above, could then be used to invoke philanthropic sympathy among the British back home. We do not hear about invitations to understand these indigenous people in their own right: their cruelties and kindnesses; their successes and weaknesses, in order to minister to them without imposing the standards that they would take long to appreciate. The bishop was in a hurry to draw conclusions. He knew very well what the problem was, but did not know what the best solution could be. A question that needs to be answered in this regard is: how could one undertake missionary work without understanding the context? When two people are fighting, the solution might not lie in just stopping the fight. It might call for further investigation because stopping the fight might not be a permanent solution.

However, we should not lose sight of the emphasis put on the backwardness of the indigenous people in Mashonaland and Matabeleland as seen by Bishop Knight-Bruce. With such observations in place, an appeal to those with immediate ready-made solutions to civilise the indigenous people would make a great deal of sense. We continue to cite such facts in order to put forward a strong case for the theology of empire in this context

3.5.0. The role of philanthropy in Mashonaland

In the light of what has been said above, while such sympathy is consistent with the human nature that we could conventionally sanction; our concern is that it is open to abuse as was the case when colonisation replaced evangelism. In our context, those who came into the country they called Rhodesia and caused the

³⁵⁶. Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit. p.5/6

damage they did to both the Shona and Ndebele infrastructure, did not live up to the altruistic standards often claimed to be the spirit that motivated them. Philanthropy also came to be a major function of colonialism. The irony with which we are concerned in the context of the theology of empire is premised on the fact that those who came into the country to evangelise and to civilise the indigenous people fared no better than the barbaric people they had condemned. The question regarding whether the indigenous people were worse off than before colonialism is a question that needs some serious discussion. We have already seen that in Knight-Bruce's time, even the so-called civilised white people in Mashonaland were no better than the indigenous people who were not civilised.

Another major point that needs to be highlighted in the above connection is one we will always regard as problematic. It forces us to accept that colonisation was the preferred model in that it would bring about peace and order. This country, left to itself, was inhabited by the Shona who, because of the Ndebele raids, were going to become extinct over time. The passage about the raiding of Shona villages cited above could support this observation. However, the Bishop does not openly declare that he will support that kind of colonisation that the BSAC effected. There is no indication that the colonisation by Rhodes and the evangelisation by the Anglicans among the natives would be done from the same perspective. The fact that there is dead silence about this state of affairs, speaks volumes in terms of the furtive convictions that obtained then. Also, serious concerns should be raised when one form of evil is used to substitute another while insisting that a better deal is being put in place in the process. Human reason is underestimated when people get away with such sinister distortions.

3.5.1. The BSAC and Church resources

The success of Knight-Bruce's expedition into the area between the Limpopo and the Zambesi can be measured by the fact that the S.P.G. was able to pay yet another 7000 British pounds (*see 2011 value of this money in Table C below*) in May 1890, as a grant, spread over seven years, to assist with the establishment of Missions in the region explored.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ . Classified Digest, op.cit.p.364

Table 3.3. [The value of money granted to Bishop Knight-Bruce by SPG today]³⁵⁸

In 2011, the relative worth of £7000 0s 0d from 1888 was:

£640,000.00 using the retail price index

£780,000.00 using the GDP deflator

£3,020,000.00 using the average earnings

£4,660,000.00 using the per capita GDP

£7,920,000.00 using the share of GDP

In 1890, when the Pioneer Column, organised by Cecil John Rhodes, marched into Mashonaland, Canon Balfour, of the Anglican Church was among them as chaplain seconded by Knight-Bruce.³⁵⁹ A more elaborate picture is drawn by the following facts: The Anglican Church's priests were very much involved in the colonial enterprise, especially during the actual occupation of Zimbabwe, hence, they were collaborators in an imperial enterprise. The names of the priests given here are Canon Francis Balfour (BSAP Chaplain) as already noted, Rev. F.H. Surridge (a member of the Pioneer Corps), and Rev. H. Wilson Trusted (also police chaplain stationed at Fort Tuli).³⁶⁰

In addition, Ward informs us that Rhodes' pioneers worked hand-in-glove with Bishop Knight-Bruce and to this end, this bishop "had a special place in the hierarchy of the colonial regime."³⁶¹ Having a special place in a system simply means being part of it. Any explanation to the contrary could be misleading.

The above is also supported by the fact that Knight-Bruce appears with Shippard and others at Shoshong where the issue had to do with compelling a certain Wood to desist from meddling in Matabeleland, thereby protecting Rhodes' interests.³⁶² In his memoirs, Knight-Bruce does not refer to this fact explicitly. At least this was not a religious matter, but something deeply rooted in the English politics of appropriating the land north of the Limpopo and the Anglican Bishop had to be

³⁵⁸ Conversion of currency, op.cit.

³⁵⁹ Classified Digest, op.cit.p.364

³⁶⁰ Arnold, op.cit. p.12.

³⁶¹ Ward, op.cit. p.156

³⁶² Keppel-Jones, op.cit.p.73

privity to it as a key mediator. Why he was interested could only be explained by the fact that Knight-Bruce understood himself as a key player in the colonisation of Mashonaland.

In line with the preceding, Steven Douglas Edgington in his doctoral thesis questions why the BSAC had to be so generous to the missionaries, among whom, some were Anglicans.³⁶³ The responses he includes in this connection are critical and need to be highlighted in our work as well.

Firstly, what could be viewed as the pacifist strategy by an imperialist: Rhodes is said to have been aware that any resistance to his ambitions to move deeper into Central Africa would be costly, and capitalism does not have vested interests in the incurring of losses. Rhodes, therefore, left no stone unturned, including the silencing of a missionary conscience and whoever else would prove to be an adversary, such as Knight-Bruce who could not approve of some clauses in the Rudd Concession.³⁶⁴ Rhodes had to get what he wanted. He could not entertain obvious liabilities, even the moral principles that emanated from Western Christianity and, therefore, its civilisation.

To attempt a distinction between merely missionary motives and those that were imperialistic is to make an unnecessary scholarly gamble in the Mashonaland context. It is like attempting to make a clear distinction between two people who agree to murder someone but disagree on whether to poison or to hang the victim. Neither of the two could claim to be more humanistic than the other! At the very least, their motive is the same: they both want to see their victim dead; they are both of the same persuasion. In history, such conglomerations should help us understand how vice could be celebrated by way of making it somewhat more appealing and humane.

³⁶³. Edgington, S.D., Economic and social dimensions of mission farms in Mashonaland Highveld, 1890-1939, PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1996, p.30. Accessed online at UNISA

³⁶⁴. Ibid.p.30. Here we are reminded that Knight-Bruce seemed to have been expressing some reservations in terms of supporting Rhodes but we are also made to understand that the opposition was tied to the clause in the Rudd Concession that would see Lobengula being given some firearms (cf. footnote 11 on p.31 of the same work). It was not necessarily a definitive moral stance against Rhodes.

The word “evangelism” becomes our first casualty in the foregoing connection. It is exchanged for the total subjugation of people while its agents are enlisted to promote purely materialistic schemes in the name of God. The Constantine of the fourth century is replicated in the nineteenth century Mashonaland context. In fact, the Constantine of the fourth century could easily be substituted for Rhodes. Both aimed at gaining political mileage while appealing to Christianity as a major ally but without openly declaring their ulterior motives. History, in this connection, stands challenged to expose some of these significant truths without technically watering them down in ways that could make them count for nothing much.

Secondly, the political expediency of a crafty megalomaniac: Rhodes is said to have been aware of the historical links between the Tories and the Anglican Church.³⁶⁵ By being generous to the Anglican missionaries, he was endearing himself to politicians back home in Britain, thus making his ambitions look as if they were also Christian, first and foremost.³⁶⁶ Mashingaidze, in his own research, observes that Rhodes needed missionaries to help cover up his commercial interests by appearing to be one on a philanthropic or humanitarian mission.³⁶⁷

In the two cases just cited, the pragmatism of Rhodes is evident. Edgington goes on to conclude that, “The missionaries were always part of the political equation for Rhodes, both locally in Southern Africa and in the larger imperial arena.”³⁶⁸ It was the imperialist who won in the ultimate analysis using the Church as his mouthpiece.

3.5.2. The Anglican Church and colonialism in Mashonaland

In line with the missionary participation in the colonisation of Mashonaland, we are also informed that it was the same Anglican priest, Francis Balfour who presided over the ceremony to mark the formal occupation of the country by Europeans in September 1890.³⁶⁹ Rhodes should have celebrated such a victory over the Church. In early 1891, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa held a synod

³⁶⁵ Edgington, op.cit,p.31

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Mashingaidze, E.K., 1973: Christian Missions in Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930, Doctorate thesis submitted at the University of York, p.61

³⁶⁸ Edgington, op.cit.p.32

³⁶⁹ Weller, J. & Linden, J., 1984, op.cit. p.6

during which Knight-Bruce was formally asked to take over the newly created Diocese of Mashonaland.³⁷⁰ By July that year, Balfour was ready to begin his missionary incursions among the Mashona of Zimbabwe.³⁷¹ In this connection, Rhodes was committed to providing for another missionary, in addition to Balfour's,³⁷² hence, supporting the Church's efforts as well as his. Without this background, it is difficult to understand how the Diocese of Mashonaland came to be part of the colonial schemes masterminded by Rhodes.³⁷³

The narrative above could help us highlight three important points, to the effect that:

Firstly, although Anglican missionary work in Mashonaland was initiated by Greenstock in 1875, serious commitment to its foundation was made by Knight-Bruce and his team between 1888 and 1891. The company formed by Rhodes, the BSAC, created a favourable environment for Anglican work in Mashonaland when it invaded the territory and brought it under British rule.

Secondly, Rhodes and his European settlers who invaded Mashonaland gave a moral, economic as well as a political boost to the establishment of the Diocese of Mashonaland. A good example of this is recorded by Archdeacon Upcher of the Anglican Church as follows:

Mr. Rhodes, with his Administrator, on passing my stand to-day, stopped to speak, and asked me to let him build me a house. ... So he builds a parsonage, the foundation to be in before he leaves, which is shortly. The Administrator told me a good stand had been selected for the church at Bulawayo. I am glad to say Mr. Rhodes has helped us well with our school.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁰. Classified Digest, op.cit.p.365

³⁷¹. Ibid. p.385

³⁷². Ibid.

³⁷³. There is a need to note that from 1891 up to 1980, people referred to the Diocese of Mashonaland, a name that was inclusive of the whole country. Then, it was Southern Rhodesia (from 1914-1952). Then, it was again the Diocese of Mashonaland (from 1952-1980). However, Manicaland (1981) and Matabeleland (1952) were created in due course, hence ,redefining new boundaries. In 1980, the name 'Diocese of Harare' was preferred to maintain the distinctiveness that was now a reality. In addition, it should be noted that, in Zimbabwe, two more dioceses were created, that is, Central Zimbabwe and Masvingo. However, the Diocese of Harare remains the centre of Anglicanism for reasons that will be highlighted in this investigation. Harare also happens to be the capital city of Zimbabwe. The reference to the Diocese of Harare should inevitably command a much wider application as the mother Diocese of Anglican churches in Zimbabwe and from the point of view of resources to sustain this Church.

³⁷⁴. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit.p.203/204.

However, people may want to interpret this development, the fact that the BSAC authorities were so eager to support the Anglican missions remains significant, and some of the reasons why this was the case have been highlighted

Thirdly the S.P.G made significant funding available for the Anglican missionary project in Mashonaland. It is clear that the Society and the Company were in solidarity in bankrolling the Diocese of Mashonaland from the very onset.

3.6. Missionary neutrality in Mashonaland

In this section, it is important to highlight the problems that any claims to missionary neutrality in Mashonaland could raise. We stand reminded that neutrality in a compromised situation is the same as taking a stance against the victim. Here the concern that is urgent is the attitude of Europeans to the indigenous people of Mashonaland.

3.6.0. Anglicanism within the broader missionary enterprise

David Chanaiwa, who wrote about the occupation of Zimbabwe,³⁷⁵ helps us to formulate a narrative that augments the foregoing sections. In the first chapter Chanaiwa looks at the involvement of missionaries in the occupation of Zimbabwe. It is clear from his subtitle, “*A case of effective collaboration*”³⁷⁶ that the proceedings of his exposition will make drastic charges regarding the role of missionaries in the colonising exercise within the Mashonaland context. When read side-by-side with others, such as those of Bill Arnold and Pamela Welch, who are also interested in the subject of missionary-coloniser relationship, we begin to detect some radical divergences here.

Chanaiwa’s work is premised on the popular political rhetoric of the pre-independent Zimbabwe³⁷⁷; hence, it is infused with nationalistic ideals that tended to dismiss everything that was connected to the Church as colonial. Such rhetoric does not allow the history of the Church to be exposed by using a neutral tone that

³⁷⁵. Chanaiwa, D., 1981. *The occupation of Southern Rhodesia: A study of economic imperialism*, East African Publishing House., Nairobi, Kenya

³⁷⁶. Ibid, p.1

³⁷⁷. It should be clear that Zimbabwe is the former Southern Rhodesia. Mashonaland and Matabeleland were colonised the same way by the British. In this work they are sometimes treated as one.

could disassociate missionaries from the sinister motives prevalent among the colonisers. To this end, what we meet with are historical facts that seem to reduce Christianity in Zimbabwe to a mere ideological and, therefore, partisan movement. Perhaps, Chanaiwa is aware of the damage done by the Church that absolved colonisers. There is need to point out that Chanaiwa's narrative is very inclusive when the term Church is used while our theme tries to put a lot of attention on the Anglicans. However, the Mashonaland context (inclusive of Matabeleland) is a common denominator here. A brief review of some of the highlights in this connection will help us appreciate the historical realities that confront any critical investigation in this connection.

According to Chanaiwa, the evangelisation and colonisation of Africa are inseparable and this can be proved by the decline of both; especially as Africans discarded European political systems.³⁷⁸ In other words, the state was very much part of the missionary enterprise, therefore, its decline spelled disaster for missionary work. In simple terms, hatred of the state implied hatred of the missionary and vice versa. This contradicts the work of Arnold that sees Anglicanism flourishing in Mashonaland beyond the colonial era! We know that the controversy we could encounter in this connection requires even more time to analyse it than is allowed in this investigation.

We have already cited Ward above to the effect that Knight-Bruce was just part of the state machinery, thereby discrediting his purely missionary claims. What Chanaiwa acknowledges is a clear conspiracy that involved the use of force by colonisers who were in partnership with contemporary Anglican missionaries. The missionaries capitalised on this brutality by converting the dispossessed and conquered Africans. Hence, colonisers provided missionaries with protection from recalcitrant African leadership.³⁷⁹ To this end, missionaries provided an ideological justification of colonialism as a way of reciprocation. The argument, therefore, is that European values were advanced, while African values were suppressed by people who claimed to be messengers of God. Hence, missionary work was

³⁷⁸. Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.1

³⁷⁹. Ibid.

compromised from the very onset.³⁸⁰ We should stand reminded that the talk about the theology of empire must take such misrepresentations of God by the powerful over the weak seriously as major points of departure. We must still bear the fact in mind that narratives in this connection could hide the real motives of the colonisers so that they could appear as if they were simply there to support civilisation and Christianity.

Chanaiwa refers to the popular accounts of missionary work by the London Missionary Society (LMS). Thirty years of labouring yielded nothing, prior to the colonisation of the country, in the area of Matabeleland.³⁸¹ We are talking about the period between 1859 and 1890 when Mzilikazi, and later his son Lobengula, resisted the conversion of their subjects to Christianity.³⁸² This frustrated the missionaries in question to such an extent that they looked forward to the day when the powers of the Ndebele kingship would be neutralised,³⁸³ by European forces of course.

It is also recorded that one of the missionaries, John Smith Moffat, left Matabeleland in 1865 as a frustrated man only to return as a diplomat of the British Crown in 1887.³⁸⁴ We also hear that his son, Howard Unwin Moffat, later became the second Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.³⁸⁵ Rev. David Carnegie was emphatic about the colonisation of Matabeleland because he was convinced that the destruction of Lobengula would make it possible for the ordinary Ndebele to come forward and be converted to Christianity.³⁸⁶

A Roman Catholic Jesuit priest during the conquest of Matabeleland, Fr. Peter Prestage, is described by Chanaiwa as “One of the most colonialist and hawkish missionaries” who went on to absolve all the excesses of the British South Africa Company during the occupation.³⁸⁷ Prestage maintained that the colonisers had

³⁸⁰. Chanaiwa, op.cit. p.2

³⁸¹. Ibid.p.3

³⁸². Ibid.

³⁸³. Ibid.

³⁸⁴. Ibid. N.B. It is important to point out that the Crown who was represented by John Moffat is Queen Victoria

³⁸⁵. Ibid.

³⁸⁶. Ibid. p.4

³⁸⁷.Ibid.

“brought this iniquitous and infamous system of warfare to an end,”³⁸⁸ thereby, referring to the Lobengula kingship of course. It is clear that there was some missionary concurrence on the fact that effective evangelisation could result from the initial military humiliation of the indigenous people. Hence, the whole point of ensuring that an Anglican priest could bless the Union Jack on the occasion of the British occupation of the country could make sense. Why Anglican missionaries found it easy to identify their ministry with military conquest of the very people who needed the good news is problematic in our narrative

3.6.1. Further compromise of Knight-Bruce’s position

Just to make sure that our focus is not blurred by the foregoing narrative inspired by Chanaiwa’s work, we need to make more references to how the Anglican Church, under Knight-Bruce, is connected to the outlined colonial scheme in order to highlight the issue of the theology of empire.

3.6.2. Charges against the missionaries in general

Chanaiwa happens to be too general in his treatment of the missionaries’ attitudes. While his observations are in keeping with what could be concurred on after consulting documents that shed some light on the missionary –coloniser relationship in this context, it is the specific Anglican connection that we should be concerned about here.

Our main protagonist during this period is, of course, Bishop Knight-Bruce as already shown. Chanaiwa is an African scholar taking note of the historical events from the discontented position of his own people. He has no sympathy for this Anglican Bishop who “highly recommended” the people that tricked Lobengula into signing a treaty that surrendered the indigenous sovereignty in this context to the BSAC.³⁸⁹ The three officials involved in this fraudulence included Rudd, Thompson and Maguire.³⁹⁰ In this connection, Knight-Bruce was seen as a collaborator of Rhodes³⁹¹ and, therefore, as part of the conspiracy to dislodge the indigenous from whatever they had come to value as definitive of their livelihood

³⁸⁸. Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.5

³⁸⁹. Ibid.p.31

³⁹⁰. Ibid.

³⁹¹. Ibid. p.38

within the traditional setting. These are English people advancing into new territory with Christianity, commerce, politics and military conquests in the same bag. How this could differ from a Constantinean programme of defeating all other adversaries in the name of God is one critical dimension of our investigation here.

3.7. Simplified narratives of the Mashonaland context

It is one of our major concerns in this context that the colonial context of the indigenous in Mashonaland could have been misrepresented many times over. Misrepresentations that command a Christian dimension have the obvious impact of compounding our problem. We have here an example in the introduction to Knight-Bruce's *Journals of Mashonaland*. The writer states the following:

The Prime Minister of the Cape, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, had learnt from General Gordon to believe in the colonising office of 'God's Englishmen,' and Mashonaland seemed to him a fair country to add to England's land lordship. Very quickly he obtained the concession of mining rights over all the land from the Matabele chief; formed the South African Chartered Company, and sent up their Pioneer force to take possession, which it did with peace and success.³⁹²

The above observations are made in such a way as to simplify a rather complicated matter. Any leader within the African context similar to the pre-colonial era of the country that came to be called Rhodesia was very much aware that resources such as land constituted what could qualify as collective wealth and was, therefore, not the monopoly of any one individual who had the liberty of giving it away without any qualms of conscience. This could be the reason why we hear of no fences, demarcations or even title deeds in the Mashonaland that the BSAC invaded. To this extent, it is safe to maintain that the Matabele chief could not have given up, easily, the land he guarded so jealously for commercial gain and at the expense of his own people.

Accordingly, David Cauter comments that:

No black chief, neither the Ndebele King Lobengula nor the Mashona paramount over whom he (spuriously) claimed suzerainty, ever made a genuine grant of land to Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company. The Pioneer Column which trekked up into Mashonaland in 1890, guns bristling, embodied that imperial urge, that boundless appetite for gain, conquest and expansion of which Rhodes had

³⁹². Knight-Bruce, G. W. H., 1892: JOURNALS OF THE MASHONALAND MISSION 1888 TO 1892 (Project Canterbury), Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Available online at: http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/knight-bruce_mashonaland1892/. Accessed on 24 September 2013

become the symbol. 'You have the proud satisfaction of knowing that you are civilising a new part of the world', he told the Pioneers.³⁹³

The passages cited above tell us about how cunning English colonisers and their missionary supporters were. To describe the process of colonisation in question as "peaceful" would be to downplay the indigenous feelings of autonomy and integrity. Those who participated in the colonising venture of Mashonaland were ready to twist the very principles they claimed they were promoting. Civilisation was successfully confused with greed and the plundering of resources. In our context, we could safely argue that God was therefore successfully misrepresented as someone, who, at times, could actually be seen as ambiguous and therefore unpredictable in His dealings with the indigenous people. Christian leadership, in this context, was therefore compromised in the sense that it was ready to lend its support to those who had sufficiently mastered the habit of committing the sin of covetousness while maintaining that they were on a civilising mission and Christian evangelism. This is evident from the fact that, as Cauter goes on to note:

The Company allowed adventurers and settlers a free and rapacious hand. Having pegged out 'their' land without reference to the natives, whites defended 'their' rights by forming vigilante possess , by staging punitive expeditions, and by commissioning themselves as policemen of convenience. Kraals were fired on, burnt to the ground. When a white trader, Bennet, believed himself to have been robbed by men from the kraal of a certain headman, Ngomo, the result was a bombardment in which twenty-one natives were killed and forty-seven head of cattle taken in reprisal.³⁹⁴

In the light of what has been said above, therefore, the author of the *Mashonaland Journals* is at odds with Cauter. The latter seems to be interested in narrating facts as presented to him. The former, Bishop Knight-Bruce to be precise, has a clear mission to get the preliminaries of public relations right. This seems to be achieved by way of twisting facts in order to present an appealing case on behalf of the settlers by maintaining that it was a peaceful occupation. This seems to be one of the unfortunate ambiguities in the writing of history: balancing the truth, while at the same time, making significant strides to suppress it, if needs be. In line with the theology of empire we are using as our lens, it is clear that since the

³⁹³. Cauter, D., 1983: *Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia*, Allen Lane Penguin Books Limited, London, UK, p.29

³⁹⁴. Ibid.

indigenous could not commit to writing what they had undergone, what they thought and how they planned to rid themselves of this problem, only one side of the story has been advanced to us. That side happens to be directed by the writings of the powerful settlers and influential missionaries.

Caute, therefore, gives us a picture of people who were actually punitive and yet claiming to be civilised, if not Christian. The settlers were people who could kill and rob at will and get away with it. They were a law unto themselves and, yet, the general picture we have is that they were doing something noble in Mashonaland. At least we do not meet with any histories of protest from the Anglican fold that was also part of the colonial project in place. There are historical reasons why it was not urgent for Knight-Bruce to see things differently.

3.7. Knight-Bruce's convictions about the indigenous people's status.

It is curious to note that the attitude of Knight-Bruce over and against the indigenous people in Mashonaland was one that did not see them as people at an equal footing with the Europeans. What is also clear is that the plundering and looting in the foregoing connection does not receive due acknowledgement, perhaps because the victims are of no significant consequence. The idea that the occupation of another people's space is talked about in neutral terms gives us the impression that there was no problem, least of all, from the Anglican Church's point of view. In his own memoirs, the Bishop makes it clear that the indigenous' people are perceived to have an inferior status without prevaricating about this preconception. When arguing for the Christianisation of natives to the effect that they should not be supplied with intoxicating drinks such as brandy and spirits, supplied of course, by European traders, he stated: "We are dealing with totally different conditions. We have to do with a collection of babies in moral questions, who don't know their right hand from their left, and who have no power of self-control."³⁹⁵

Why such indigenous people, referred to above, could have been found with chiefs, families and such social norms becomes a mystery then if the facts are not

³⁹⁵.Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit.p.143

being distorted. The Bishop continues to argue for the need to protect the indigenous people, who are supposed to be children from his standpoint, by noting that:

...and in the earliest stages of raising them we do ask that this totally unnecessary difficulty should not be put in their way and in ours. I know that in one colony questions were asked which virtually amounted to this: 'Why should a white man be allowed to kill himself with drink, and why should not a native be allowed to do the same?' Our answer would be: 'Because he is a poor baby, and ought to be protected.'³⁹⁶

According to Knight-Bruce therefore, missionaries were protecting the less developed indigenous people from their moral and intellectual backwardness. How that protection would not amount to exaggerated paternalism remains a pertinent question given the fact that in Europe, drinking was not really an issue that required missionaries to rescue the situation.³⁹⁷ Again, our preference for the theology of empire as our criterion of adequacy in this investigation seems to be justifiable. The bishop's attitude does not give us a man of God who really understood humanity from a Christian perspective within the Mashonaland context. Some other cultural preferences carried the day and, therefore, it would be extremely difficult for him to protect them from those with similar views, but, who were bent, at the same time on occupying Mashonaland. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why even the entire legislative system in Rhodesia never equated the indigenous people with the Europeans. It was racial prejudice that won in this contest. To expect writings, among people such as Knight-Bruce, that could document the evils that were being done to the indigenous by the whites would be to anticipate the impossible. The missionary perspective in this context simply did not allow an impartial perspective.

3.9. Chanaiwa's list of conspirators

In light of the above section, attitudes attributed to Knight-Bruce could be cited as some of the reasons why he is criticised by other writers. Accordingly, Chanaiwa includes Knight-Bruce among those who provided Lobengula with "inaccurate and conspiratorial information" because they were "double-dealers and impostors."³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. pp.143/144

³⁹⁷. Ibid.

³⁹⁸. Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.131

The list in question includes John Moffat, Helm, Robinson and Sheppard.³⁹⁹ Finally, Chanaiwa observes that Knight–Bruce was with the pioneer administrator, Jameson, when the latter marched and occupied Matabeleland.⁴⁰⁰ We are aware that such a move was defended on the grounds that Knight-Bruce was participating, not as a chaplain to the British forces, but as the “Bishop of Matabeleland and Mashonaland.”⁴⁰¹ When the British public expressed some degree of moral outrage in connection with this process of the conquest of the Matabele, it was the missionaries who provided the much-needed propaganda or ideological justification for the conquest of the indigenous, to neutralise any criticism especially those that came from the “Aborigines Protection Society.”⁴⁰² It does not come as a surprise to us if the foregoing attitudes advanced in connection with Knight-Bruce could be taken seriously as points of reference. What makes it significant is that there was a constituency in England that was ready to question what was happening in Mashonaland. Unfortunately, they were always misled by a network of missionaries and settlers who had mastered the art of lying and therefore protecting those who were abusing the indigenous people in Mashonaland.

3.9.0. The moral status of the Matabele war

Knight-Bruce himself, when recollecting the Matabele War and his involvement in it, is at pains to detail the relevance of his involvement from a moral point of view. Firstly, he maintains that,

The Matabele war came as an episode in the life of our mission, and, as such only, could I say anything about it. Into the rights or the wrongs of the case I cannot enter. It is a very difficult question, and one that must come up constantly in the progress of the white man; but as it has been virtually decided in this case by the responsible powers in England, this is hardly the place to discuss it.⁴⁰³

We notice that here was a moral issue, one concerning the conquest of people whose space had been invaded. Why the Bishop could not make a definitive moral statement about it could come as a surprise to us given the fact that here

³⁹⁹. Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.131

⁴⁰⁰. Ibid, p.179

⁴⁰¹. Classified Digest, op.cit.p.363 (footnotes)

⁴⁰². Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.179

⁴⁰³. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit.p.220

was one taking his cues from the gospel imperatives. The Bishop goes on to note in his memoirs:

I notice, however, that in one book it is said that my 'presence as one of the columns forms a very emphatic contradiction ... to the ridiculous allegations that the war was one of conquest, and not of self-protection.' My presence formed a contradiction to nothing, and proved nothing, that I am aware of.⁴⁰⁴

It should be noted that the Bishop was responding to critics who were following the developments. His position is therefore of a person out to defend himself from adversaries. This becomes clear as Knight-Bruce goes to observe that:

I am much obliged to the writer for the kind things he says, but this does not alter the fact that, had he known more about the case, he could never have made it necessary for me to say that I went as the Bishop of the country in which the war took place, and not as chaplain to any force. Both the combatants, the Matabele and the British South Africa Company's troops, were my people, and the fighting was all in my diocese.⁴⁰⁵

Again, we have an extremely serious contradiction here. Why the pioneers were now deciding on such important matters in Mashonaland and Matabeleland could be an important question here. Why the missionaries could not intervene and perhaps bring the stakeholders to some form of consensus that did not involve maxim guns in the first place, is another issue that remains problematic. It is clear that Knight-Bruce's position could not be defended successfully. There was no moral protest from his camp and therefore the pioneer forces were assured of the blessings they so much needed during the fighting.

3.9.1. The absence of chaplains among the Matabele army

There is a major problem with the Knight-Bruce's position above. Why there had not been efforts to introduce missionaries among the Matabele forces beforehand remains a puzzle. The Bishop makes his position clear on this point when he goes on to state that,

Wherever a large mass of Europeans were collected, it was obviously the duty of our church to send a clergyman, more especially as some of the men would probably be killed, and it seems rather to be the duty of the Bishop than of anyone else to go first in such cases; and so, though others would probably have done the work better, I went myself.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. p.221

⁴⁰⁵. Ibid

⁴⁰⁶. Ibid.

Why no chaplain was despatched to the Matabele forces that were mobilising on the other side is reason enough for concern. Why no Anglican missionaries made efforts to contact Lobengula before the war to negotiate a peaceful settlement remains elusive in this context. The theology of empire as a theme becomes pertinent in this connection when taking sides with the powerful becomes the norm and the criterion of adequacy, while at the same time downplaying its significance and claiming neutrality.

3.9.2. Discriminatory missionaries

In all the developments outlined above, it is clear that Chanaiwa does not see any God-related work and, therefore, excludes missionaries from being people with any humanitarian, let alone Christian ministry in this context. We are also raising concerns because the arguments given by the Bishop do not seem to make sense from the point of view of the indigenous people who were not being given the same attention that to which the British forces were privy. It seems to be extremely difficult to defend the stance that the Bishop's approach was not biased in any way. A balanced narrative in this connection would have to do more than just state what appears to have been a *prima facie* case.

We need to pay attention to what other authorities have to say in line with the above. According to Arnold, the Right Reverend George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce had a passion for the evangelisation of natives.⁴⁰⁷ In 1886, he received permission from Lobengula to visit Mashonaland. His journey was supported by, "State officials, traders and others" inclusive of "the great hunter and traveller, F.C. Selous."⁴⁰⁸ This report is emphatic on the issue that it was missionary work that was the main objective. State officials are mentioned as mere benefactors. Anyone who is not privy to the other narratives that we have already included may not guess that the state officials, as Chanaiwa argues, were enticing the missionaries who seemed to have had vested interests and so could not be recorded as individuals that were just being charitable. Such an emphasis is needed here to balance our narratives, which would be poorer without such

⁴⁰⁷. Arnold, op.cit.p.8

⁴⁰⁸. Ibid.

critical facts. Accordingly, the conspiracy could be traced back to the time when everyone else was curious about Mashonaland before its eventual occupation.

3.10. A Mashonaland historian's theology of empire

In Matabeleland, Knight-Bruce was hosted by the L.M.S. missionaries and stayed with the Rev. C.D. Helm at Hope Fountain and with Rev. Bowen Rees at Inyati.⁴⁰⁹ We have already seen how drastic Chanaiwa treats these missionaries, especially by implicating them as conspirators in the colonisation of Mashonaland and Matabeleland.⁴¹⁰ Arnold seems to advance a different viewpoint altogether. We have already pointed out that our concern in this investigation is to ask how such historians differ from Eusebius of Caesarea.

Arnold informs us that the presence of Knight-Bruce during this time in Matabeleland and that coincided with the presence of Sir Sydney Shippard (administrator of Bechuanaland), Major Goold-Adams (Bechuanaland Protectorate Police), and C.D. Rudd (Rhodes' emissary), who were going to discuss the Rudd Concession, was not planned at all.⁴¹¹ In this connection, Arnold writes defensively, "Knight-Bruce himself was no agent of imperial expansionism."⁴¹² Yet, in this politically-charged and tricky context, Knight-Bruce was bold enough to recommend, "Mr Rhodes, Mr Rudd and Mr Maguire" to Lobengula as his friends and the only ones who could be safely allowed into Mashonaland.⁴¹³ By implication, Knight-Bruce must have been aware of the other contenders whom he wanted to discredit by recommending his fellow British. Why Arnold remains silent on such critical historical matters is somewhat baffling. Anyone writing this kind of history, and who is faithful to the facts of which we are now aware, should be mindful of the sensitivities regarding this context. This could be especially true for the indigenous of future generations who may prefer a critical reading of what transpired. The sympathy in Arnold's narration for what then transpired, feeds well into our argument for the theology of empire by justifying a missionary stance that is otherwise questionable in the face of politico-economic tensions and Christian

⁴⁰⁹. Arnold, op.cit. p.9

⁴¹⁰. Chanaiwa, op.cit.p.131

⁴¹¹. Arnold, op.cit. p.11

⁴¹². Ibid.

⁴¹³. Ibid.

compromise. There is, therefore, a high degree of selectivity of facts in Arnold's narratives. Why he chooses to include only the information that is not controversial could be interpreted as one way of ensuring that the Anglican Church does not end up being questioned at national level especially by the indigenous.

3.10.0. The distinction between missionary and coloniser

After being told by Arnold that there must be a distinction between a missionary and a coloniser in this context, the next thing we know is that Knight-Bruce was ready to provide chaplains for Rhodes' Pioneer Column that invaded the country in 1890 as we have already seen.⁴¹⁴ Why there was that readiness at all is not sufficiently accounted for. However, from the support that we heard about above, the presence of missionaries among the pioneers may not come to us as a surprise. After all, we noted similar developments when we referred to the North American scenario. We have also noted that the S.P.G. that bankrolled most of the British missionaries often made sure that wherever new colonies were established, they sent personnel to cater for the spiritual needs of the people there.

3.10.1. Knight-Bruce's status within the colonial matrix

A critical reading of Arnold in the foregoing connection will demonstrate that he does not give us any convincing proof regarding why Knight-Bruce should be absolved from being seen as an accomplice in the invasion of the country. Arnold's preferred narrative seems to put the Anglican Church in Mashonaland in an extremely precarious missionary position given a context that does not respect the British Crown many years later and after independence. Arnold's position could be seen as a cover-up of issues that could be viewed as sensitive when the history of Mashonaland is written from another angle critical to the British occupation. How Arnold's approach to the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland differs from the Eusebian one that was silent about the Constantinean atrocities within the fourth century will be a question that will continue to be raised in this work.

⁴¹⁴. Arnold, op.cit.p.12

Pamela Welch, who also writes about Knight-Bruce in her work, seems to be very much on the apologetic side as well. When she compares Knight-Bruce with Cecil John Rhodes, her clear intentions are to demonstrate that there is a need to maintain an emphatic distinction between an imperialist and a missionary in this Mashonaland context. Why there is this urgency to absolve the Anglican Church is something we are trying to unravel. However, Welch does go on to point out that the creation of the Diocese of Mashonaland was based more on political expediency rather than on “ecclesiastical” necessity.⁴¹⁵ To this end, the invasion of Mashonaland was an indirect way of disproving Lobengula’s claims to that part of the country.⁴¹⁶ While the political will to take over Mashonaland became extremely strong in 1890, Welch reminds us of the earlier attempts in this regard in 1874 and also of the fact that Knight-Bruce had scouted the land in 1888.⁴¹⁷ Of major significance in this context, is the fact that according to Welch, Knight-Bruce was never in favour of colonialism in Mashonaland.⁴¹⁸ There are two major reasons she advances for her viewpoint that we could sum up critically as follows:

Firstly, it is argued that mission work in Mashonaland did not need “the BSA Company and its settlers, or even imperial protection.”⁴¹⁹ This happens to be a claim that should be viewed against accounts of earlier missionary frustrations to evangelise the area that came to be known as Matabeleland, while powerful rulers with the likes of Lobengula were still in charge.⁴²⁰ We wonder whether this view could be taken as based on a conviction or something meant for public relations purposes.

Secondly, there are observations to the effect that the white settlers had moral weaknesses that disqualified them from being able to bring civilisation to the natives.⁴²¹ Again, we have seen that even Knight-Bruce himself did not take kindly to the backwardness of the Mashona he encountered during his first incursions. From what has been said above about morals, it is clear that when it comes to

⁴¹⁵. Welch, *op.cit.* p.6

⁴¹⁶. *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷. *Ibid.* p.7

⁴¹⁸. *Ibid.* p.9

⁴¹⁹. *Ibid.* p.10

⁴²⁰. Cf. Chanaiwa, *op.cit.* p.3

⁴²¹. Welch, *op.cit.* p.10

comparison, the whites were better off while the indigenous people had to be treated like children in need of protection.

It is also clear that a moral perspective is a strong position to take for anyone claiming to do their work in God's name within the context of Mashonaland as described for us. In this connection, white settlers were more of a liability when missionary work was the major focus.⁴²² Welch bases her argument on certain documented sources. One of them is actually Knight-Bruce himself who observed that:

... it is quite possible to establish a mission in the country practically without the aid of any system of colonization on the part of England as is shown by the establishment of the American mission in the south-east of Mashonaland, not far from what is now called Melsetter.⁴²³

However, Welch does not mention that the Bishop was only reflecting after and not before the events. Again, the links of Mashonaland to Lobengula's kingship seem to be overlooked since missionaries in Matabeleland could testify how difficult evangelism was within this context as already pointed out. Nevertheless, given what transpired later on in Mashonaland, it seems that the issue of accuracy cannot be decided in any definitive manner by the available sources, be they primary or secondary. Again, the issue of selectivity of historical facts plays havoc in this connection, and this point must be made against the background of Chanaiwa, Arnold and Welch above.

3.10.2. A call for balanced narratives about Mashonaland

T.O. Ranger, in one of his writings, helps us to appreciate that the colonisation of the country that came to be called Rhodesia, was an event that was rejected by both the Shona and Ndebele people although the Europeans never thought of it as a matter of any critical significance for the indigenous people.⁴²⁴ In the above paragraphs, we saw that missionaries took advantage of the colonial incursions that led to the destruction of both the Ndebele and Shona politico-economic as well as religious structures. The first three chapters of Ranger's comprehensive book outline the blunders, lies and vices that white colonial administrators

⁴²². Welch, *op.cit.* p.10

⁴²³. Knight-Bruce, 1895, *op.cit.* pp. 81/82

⁴²⁴. Ranger, T.O., 1967: *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7*, Heinemann Educational Books., Ltd, London, UK. p.1ff

subscribed to, that made them extremely unpopular among the natives. Ranger detailed the causes of the 1896-7 uprising that caught both settlers and missionaries by surprise. His observations that contradict the narratives preferred by the powerful Europeans in this context are set out next:

Firstly, the Europeans, both settlers and missionaries, lied to themselves about the Shona and Ndebele. This is clear from the fact that the Shona were seen as people with no values, whatsoever, to insist on, let alone for which to die.⁴²⁵ In the same prejudicial fashion, the Ndebele were seen as people who would appreciate British rule after the defeat of Lobengula, their despot.⁴²⁶ Whether the Ndebeles looked at their King as a despot does not seem to be in line with their cultural dispositions, beliefs, traditions and thought patterns. Clearly, these observations were being made by those who saw themselves as lords over the indigenous people. They thought they knew better how to read other people's minds.

It is curious, in line with Ranger's findings, that the Shona and Ndebele people were not speaking for themselves about what was good in their context. This dominating attitude and the mental convictions exhibited could have been driven by narratives and views such as those of Knight-Bruce that the indigenous were like children. They did not know what was good for themselves and for their posterity.

Secondly, both missionaries and settlers, therefore, did not take the Shona people seriously. They mistakenly believed that the Shona were not united and had no past to which they could anchor their cultural values.⁴²⁷ Again, gospel imperatives were out of the question here as the humanity of the people involved counted little. We concur with Ranger here because the reaction of the Shona, later on, does not support the views that had been advanced about them. Some Europeans were misinterpreting the lives of the indigenous without having observed them more carefully and in-depth.

⁴²⁵. Ranger, 1967, op.cit.p.1ff

⁴²⁶. Ibid. p.2

⁴²⁷. Ibid. pp.3ff

Thirdly, missionaries mistakenly believed that the Shona had no religion at all⁴²⁸ and therefore, there was an urgent need to evangelise them. This observation by Ranger requires us to recall that missionaries seemed to have made casual observations that they then generalised. A good example is that of Canon Francis Balfour who observed that the Shona had a notion of God “Molimo” similar to the Bachuana; they venerated the spirits of their dead, but still concluded that they were not religious.⁴²⁹ However, what Balfour did note is that the Shona engaged in witchcraft and polygamy.⁴³⁰ Why missionaries were quick to see the negative and not the positive attributes of the indigenous in Mashonaland is problematic. Again, it was almost like bringing the eighteenth-century North American debate about the humanity of the indigenous people there to Mashonaland

Fourthly, there was also a general belief that the Shona were on the verge of extinction due to the Matabele raids and their brutality.⁴³¹ Some concrete evidence in this connection suggests a gradual coexistence between the Shona and Ndebele based on the tributary rules of engagements that saw the conquered chiefs making regular contributions to Lobengula.⁴³² Other Shona chiefs were either able to fortify their villages successfully or were simply not affected by the Ndebele raids.⁴³³ Again, it is clear that the new-comers were drawing their own conclusions that were not supported by any thorough interrogation of the Shona and Ndebele interaction in the pre-colonial era. Missionaries and colonisers, if we were to go by the facts being appealed to in this chapter, created their own Mashonaland that was anachronistic when contrasted with the reality on the ground.

The argument that seems to confront us in line with the above is that Anglican missionaries were accomplices by virtue of maintaining the *status quo* and by failing to adopt radical approaches that could challenge their fellow British colonialists. This lack of a prophetic voice could also be seen as liable to compromise the integrity of those who would like to be seen as champions of the

⁴²⁸ Ranger, 1967, op.cit.p.17

⁴²⁹ Classified Digest, op.cit.p.365

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ranger, 1967, op.cit. pp.26ff

⁴³² Ibid. p.28

⁴³³ Ibid. p.30ff

good news as could be said of the Anglicans of interest to us in this context. Observations by certain Europeans during this period of brutal occupation indicate that the odds were against the indigenous people and the majority of missionaries never expressed any real moral outrage against their kith and kin. Once again, it must be noted that the issue of gospel imperatives is compromised here.

3.11. Church ideals and colonial values in Mashonaland

Maclean's work,⁴³⁴ although not interested in outlining the importance of spreading Christianity in Mashonaland during this early period by Anglican missionaries, could help us appreciate the fact that the Church ideals were subservient to those of the colonisers. The fact that the question of how this could not have been a decisive factor in terms of missionaries' self-understanding and expression, still remains difficult to comprehend in terms of their disposition. There is no need here to impose any mental categories on the missionaries, but concern must be expressed about the fact that certain Church leaders that regarded Christianity as their critical term of reference, could have veered off course in this fashion.

The first chapter of Maclean's work sub-headed "Genesis," starts off by subscribing to the popular but unfortunate propagandist rhetoric that portrayed the Ndebele disposition as brute savagery, in no uncertain terms, and consequently, invoked the moral outrage of a civilised audience. Knight-Bruce championed this prejudiced approach. We have already encountered Ranger providing us with the proper perspective of the distortions at play. England listened empathetically but was misled, and felt justified to condemn the barbarism obtaining in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland then, as long as we bear in mind that such a distinction is only academic. It should be one of our important observations in this context that for people such as Lobengula, Mashonaland was just a question of geographical preference, rather than a question of autonomy and integrity. Otherwise, Lobengula would have found it difficult to think of Mashonaland as his own if it was understood to have an independent status.

⁴³⁴. Maclean, op.cit.p.7

The following account is just a sample of the savagery the British observers are said to have encountered obtaining between the Mashona and the Ndebeles and, hence, could help us understand the extent of the exaggerations popular then:

Then, with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, the silence was splintered into bloodcurdling howls as an impi of Matabele warriors sprang out of the surrounding thorn bushes and, furs and feathers flying, descended upon the sleeping Mashona kraal. Their assegais, glinting in the first rays of the sun, plunged into old people and small children, some of whom were still lying paralysed with fear while others were vainly trying to escape. Then the smell of death and blood mingled with the odour of fire as the Matabele kindled the kraal. At last, the young boys and women were herded together and, disregarding the walls of the half-dead lying around them; the conquerors set off to present to Lobengula his latest booty.⁴³⁵

Knight-Bruce, as already cited, must have come across the same scenario and the prevalence of such brutal events leave us wondering as to whether there was any chance for the Mashona to survive at all. Many years later, precisely in the 1980s, it would appear as if the Mashona were ready to settle the scores when the so-called “Gukurahundi massacres” became a reality.⁴³⁶ Again, the facts on the ground count for nothing while, the ideas of the most influential and powerful dictate the pace. One of the questions that we are raising in the background is whether the indigenous people of Africa will ever be able to break out of the norms imposed by Europeans. Political independence does not seem to be enough for Africa. Even if we could get all the land back that was stolen from Africa by Europe, the question still remains whether we have the correct blueprint as a unique human species that could teach the global village how to live in harmony! It is clear that misleading history accounts must still be challenged in our context. A good understanding of the impact of the theology of empire in Mashonaland seems to be very urgent here.

In line with Maclean’s exposition above, a Mashona boy survived the documented savagery and brutal attack and was taken hostage to Matabeleland where he was later allowed to herd cattle and goats by Lobengula.⁴³⁷ According to the account,

⁴³⁵. MacLean, op.cit.p.7

⁴³⁶ . GUKURAHUNDI Part 1, on YOUTUBE. Available online at: Url: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gs14fLy0MD8>. Accessed on 30 October 2017. This video from YouTube is cited as a good example of what others can impose in contexts that are already victims of distortions. In the 1890s, were the Ndebeles simply out to annihilate the Mashona people? In the 1980s, were the Mashonas simply aiming at annihilating the Ndebeles? Africa seems to be a good candidate for those who would like to analyse the discourse of the theology of empire, even today.

⁴³⁷. Maclean, op.cit.p.8

all hell broke loose when he was falsely accused, by rivals, of stealing the king's beer and Lobengula took it upon himself to administer his barbarous justice in its crude form, cutting various parts of the boy's body before handing him to the blood-thirsty warriors who clubbed him to death.⁴³⁸ While, this Mashona boy died such a painful death, a contrasting story of a white boy is given in the same context.

The white boy was forced to drink beer by King Lobengula. He refused despite the king's insistence. His temper stretched to the limits; the white boy slapped Lobengula. To everyone's surprise, the king praised the white boy for his courage.⁴³⁹ He was a white boy, after all, and could not be seen to emerge second best when forced to confront a barbaric black king! We note that this is an account that comes from a European historian and his intentions are obvious. He has to tell his story from a supremacist perspective, and he does it extremely well.

It seems to be the case that, in the above connection, the history of Mashonaland is used to appeal to the emotions of those far-removed from the scene but with philanthropic dispositions. Whatever remedial actions could be taken by Europeans on the grounds described above such as conquering the Ndebeles and pacifying the Shona, could be justified, therefore. Given this background information, how Anglican missionary work proceeded along conciliatory lines in Mashonaland could be viewed as problematic. The terrain was so rough, was riddled with moral compromise, prejudices and, was therefore, ripe for Christian moral outrage. How Anglican missionaries could, in the name of God, afford to walk with their heads high in Mashonaland is problematic. They missed the opportunity to demonstrate that reconciliation of the human race does not need to be imposed by guns, but by the love made possible by God. It is also clear that those who undertook to record what was happening did so with verifiable and biased intent.

The foregoing observations are mentioned in this section just to enhance the fact that talking about Anglicanism in the Diocese of Mashonaland in the context of the

⁴³⁸. Maclean, op.cit.p.8

⁴³⁹. *ibid.*p.9

theology of empire is quite a controversial undertaking. The narrative of empire building using the Anglican Church as one of the critical blocks in Mashonaland is the bone of contention here. That such a history could be narrated in eulogistic tones as though it only displayed the glory of God, raises more questions than answers. The major concern in the narratives here is that there is no clear admission of how compromised the situation was and how Knight-Bruce as Bishop of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could not be moved to condemn most of the things Europeans did in his context.

3.12. Some critical observations in this chapter

This chapter is forward looking in terms of the thrust of this narrative on the theme of the theology of empire in the Diocese of Mashonaland. It attempts to do the following:

Firstly, it prepares us to proceed with our analysis of the link between the theology of empire and Anglicanism in the Diocese of Mashonaland by highlighting how history could easily be turned into narratives that are favourable to the powerful while downplaying the weak. It is clear that the Anglican history in the Diocese of Mashonaland can be written from preferred viewpoints that can boast radically of divergences as the scholars we cited in this chapter prove to us. The major concern raised has to do with the lack of documents that originate from the Anglican Church and that demonstrate clearly a self-critical awareness of how Christians could order themselves in compromised contexts.

Secondly, we are able to raise this critical question: Is the Church there to submit panegyrics on behalf of the rich and powerful politicians and their supporters, at the expense of those whose ordinariness appears to count for nothing, or must it exercise its authority to evangelise without compromising gospel imperatives? When it comes to writing history, would we be able to account for a Church that presented the Christian God in ways that are not compromised by worldly values?

Thirdly, we have encountered historians who are selective in their accounts of how the Anglican Church established its foundation in Mashonaland. Even where military conquest was the most preferred norm, some documentation of events in

this connection seems to favour certain perspectives, especially those of the victors who happen to be the British colonialists. The people of Mashonaland who were subjected to inhuman treatment are not really accounted for as people who mattered at all. Perhaps this explains why not many have been interested in reviewing this whole development from a purely informative historical perspective within Church circles⁴⁴⁰ using our preferred approach informed by the theology of empire. Chanaiwa's attempts in this regard, have been shown to be a response to such historical inadequacies but from a nationalistic perspective.

Fourthly, a simple initial review of the literature that deals with the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland demonstrates that we must still resolve certain issues. Nationalist sentiments favour the view that missionaries and colonisers had similar objectives. They wanted to take over people's wealth and subjugate them in the ways and means available to them. Yet, some history scholars such as Welch and Arnold would like to gloss over sensitive information in this regard while providing certain apologetic views about how the Anglican missionaries should be understood independently. The memoirs of Knight-Bruce compiled around 1895 give us some valuable information about how the work of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was ordered. This compilation, however, could be seen as a response to events that had already transpired and may have been edited just to promote a preferred position.

The theology of empire to which we are referring in this investigation, challenges us to review some of the narratives, such as those included in this chapter and to ask questions. In this connection, our questions are basically those that seek to identify the authors, their biases and how such narratives boost the image of the powerful and influential. In our case, the missionaries and settlers in Mashonaland seem to be the major players. Unfortunately, no indigenous people of Knight-Bruce's time bequeathed any writings to us that could give us the other side that European narratives suppress.

⁴⁴⁰. Keppel-Jones, op.cit. In the preface, this authority acknowledges the difficulty of comparing and contrasting information that captures the engagements of preliterate and literate people within the same context. In our case, whites were able to diarise their engagements but not so for the majority of the indigenous people

3.13. Conclusion

We have attempted to create a narrative that is informed by several views about the general thrust of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and how conflicting views have come to surface. Given the fact that it is a history of the weak being impacted upon by the strong, we have maintained that a theology of empire seems to inform some of the narratives that gloss over the critical points in this regard. There is a blatant denial of the fact that Anglican Church work in Mashonaland was beyond reproach, from the beginning, given the fact that it relied too much on the support rendered by the BSAC and its accomplices. The next chapter will deal with narratives that can reveal the concretisation of imperial structures in the guise of Anglican Church progress in Mashonaland during and after Knight-Bruce's leadership. Again, our appreciation of the theology of empire will continue to be the guiding principle.

CHAPTER 4

CONCRETISATION OF THE THEOLOGY OF EMPIRE WITHIN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN MASHONALAND UNDER KNIGHT-BRUCE

4.0. Introduction

Our main objective in this chapter is to deal with the following critical issues:

Firstly, we shall attempt to construct historical narratives about the final shape of Knight-Bruce's initiatives in Mashonaland and related consequences. This is meant to demonstrate how the progress of the Anglican Church in this context has been advanced by narratives that are at pains to absolve it from the problems caused by colonial domination.

Secondly, we shall try to demonstrate the imperial consistence between Knight-Bruce's missionary work and the colonial project masterminded by Cecil John Rhodes and his followers ever since the occupation of Mashonaland, from 1890 onwards. Here the absence of Church history narratives that are critical to the intricate links between missionary and coloniser in this context is seen as ample proof that the theology of empire is prevalent and problematic.

Thirdly, we shall also try to put together narratives that show how the colonialists continued to exploit missionary efforts and therefore became critical partners in the work of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

Fourthly, we shall try to boost the narrative of how the Anglican church-state partnership in Mashonaland constitutes an opportunity for us to capture the spirit of the theology of empire that we are pursuing. This could be achieved by way of documenting a history that highlights how church business could be hijacked by the rich and powerful and supported by historians sympathetic to the colonial cause.

The methods of investigation emphasised in line with the above involve a critical look at some documented evidence, from the point of view of Church History that could augment the whole talk about the theology of empire within a given Anglican context of Mashonaland. These documents are sought from mainly the UNISA

library, Zimbabwe and Witwatersrand archives and internet articles. A direct appeal to oral traditions that are likely to help us argue our case in this chapter is ruled out on the basis of the lengthy period between the 1890s and 1979. The lapse of time between 1979 and the 1890s makes it cumbersome to construct a historical narrative that depends too much on oral tradition. The literature consulted in working out this chapter were chosen because they base some of their narratives on oral traditions that could be cumbersome to verify and so they are accepted as part of the secondary sources that need to be critiqued in their own right.

4.1. Affirming Anglicanism in Mashonaland

Earlier on, we observed that Knight-Bruce is said to have been reluctant to associate Anglican missionary work with the BSAC enterprise in Mashonaland.⁴⁴¹ To what extent could his denial be sustained? The facts we included indicate to us that there are some serious inconsistencies in this regard. For example, there were significant amounts of funds that Rhodes gave to the Anglican Church as gifts. We know that Constantine did just that and historians such as Eusebius of Caesarea were upbeat about this gesture. One source maintains that Rhodes pledged £500 (See Table D for the equivalent today) annually, over seven years to support Anglican missionary work.⁴⁴² From Knight-Bruce himself we hear the following acknowledgement of surrendering Church business to the colonialists:

It would be impossible to enumerate all who have helped in the work by gifts of money. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts of course comes first. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been most generous. Mr. Rhodes and the British South Africa Company gave £500 at the very beginning, and now, under Bishop Gaul, another £500 has just come from them for the bishopric endowment, besides £100 from Dr Jameson, and friends in Africa are giving to it in large sums; and so with all its failings--and they have been neither few nor small--the scheme, though no longer possible on the lines originally intended of a purely native mission, seems well on the road to success in every direction, and the old idea of the Mashonaland mission, that was suggested over nine years ago, was not so visionary after all.⁴⁴³

The fact that Rhodes was interested in the missions while his main aim was boosting his capitalist interests makes the whole development very attractive from

⁴⁴¹. Welch, op.cit.p.9

⁴⁴² Knight-Bruce, G. W. H., 1892, p.13/14

⁴⁴³. Knight-Bruce, Memories of Mashonaland, op.cit.p.219.

the point of view of the theology of empire. There is an admission in the preceding quotation from Knight-Bruce that somewhere along the way, a mission intended purely for the indigenous had been overtaken by events. The rich and powerful seem to have influenced the pace and direction of missionary work in Mashonaland. We can hear it spelt out clearly that a pure native mission in Mashonaland was based on a lack of vision. So how could we be made to understand that Knight-Bruce was against the colonisers as emphasised by Welch cited in the previous chapter? Therefore, to understand the structures and operations of the Church from this perspective that sees even people such as Rhodes being so generous needs more than just reading documents that do not give us a full picture of the underlying intentions manifested in this context.

To disregard the above facts could lead to some distortions of the historical realities that obtain in this connection in terms of the relationship between the Anglican Church and the founders of Rhodesia as documented by some authorities we will look at in this work. How then could the bishop claim that Anglican missionary work could not be linked in one way or another to the grand colonial project gaining momentum in his context when part of Church's funding was directly coming from the Company that had planned the colonisation of Mashonaland? Historical questions need to be raised in this connection to move towards establishing a plausible state of affairs prevailing then. There is need to appeal to facts that could shed more light on what were the relations at play between the Anglican Church and State in the then Southern Rhodesia in the 1890s.

Table 4.1: The value of money today, given to the Anglican Church in 1892 by Cecil J. Rhodes⁴⁴⁴

In 2011 the approximate value of the yearly contribution by the BSAC from 1892 was
£44,600.00 using the retail price index
£55,100.00 using the GDP deflator
£202,000.00 using the average earnings
£327,000.00 using the per capita GDP
£537,000.00 using the share of GDP

⁴⁴⁴. Conversion of currency, op.cit.

4.2. The problem of missionary independency

The question we raise in this section happens to be problematic when asked from a radical indigenous perspective that takes seriously the late nineteenth-century atmosphere in Mashonaland and the humanity of the indigenous people. It is a question that we have already seen being responded to by those authors such as Arnold, Welch and Chanaiwa. We saw attempts to absolve missionaries in one camp while another one aims at providing contrary views.⁴⁴⁵ Such polemics on historical developments, and the narratives preferred to them, indicate to us that there is need to do more than just outline the prima facie narratives in a given period in so far as the Anglican Church in Mashonaland is concerned. It also helps us to highlight the prevalence of the theology of empire in this Mashonaland context as even convictions about God are imposed to justify other worldly concerns. The problem we encounter here requires us to adjust our corrective lenses so that what is not so obvious could begin to make sense as missionary work is hijacked and given a new mandate.

4.2.0. Misleading observations in Mashonaland

It is important for us to note that many years later, when the seventh bishop of Mashonaland, Paul Burrough, introduced the work of Langham Carter that focuses on Knight Bruce, he made the following observation:

As Knight Bruce rode, or more often, strode across Rhodesia ahead of all who followed him, one's first impression is not merely of his courage and endurance but of his unique understanding of the dignity and needs of African people. It is popular today to decry the lives and works of early pioneers in Rhodesia as selfish imperialists and opportunists. In contrast, Bishop Knight-Bruce viewed the African with an understanding and freedom from any prejudice which is rare even today.⁴⁴⁶

The above observation should be read in conjunction with what shall continue to be noted in our exposition. Even Burrough himself would find it difficult to fit into the scheme of things here. An attempt to refute such an understanding of Knight-Bruce shall be made. Of course, Carter admits that there is a distinction between Knight-Bruce's understanding of Africans and that which came to obtain after him.

⁴⁴⁵. This is true when we compare Chanaiwa and Welch cited in this work.

⁴⁴⁶. Carter Langham, R.R.: 1975: Knight Bruce: First Bishop and Founder of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia, Christ Church Borrowdale, Mercury Press, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Again, we are challenged to interrogate the impetus propelling such work and contrasting it with the reality that came to obtain within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Bishop Burrough cited above, was in office during troubled times and led politicians such as the former and late ZANU (PF) veteran, Edgar Tekere, to lambast his leadership on the occasion of Zimbabwe's independence.⁴⁴⁷ Tekere is quoted saying "... I dislike the Anglican Church. My father suffered persecution by the Church because of my activities."⁴⁴⁸ Tekere's father was an Anglican priest. This could give us some clue on how the indigenous clergy was often humiliated in Rhodesia. – a boost for the theme of the theology of empire.

The work that Burrough is commending in the above connection is the result of the pen of a researcher with vested interests, and hence any claims to balanced facts severely compromised. The fact that Carter is British could be overlooked but that he happens to have some significant close family affinities with Knight-Bruce⁴⁴⁹ is something that could sway his abstemiousness in exposing the church history that is urgent in his context. There seems to be a special reason why the selectivity of facts becomes urgent here. A reading of Carter's work, therefore, could provide enough fodder for our argumentation that we would like to continue pursuing. Even if we were to agree with him that Knight-Bruce had the dignity of Africans at heart, what we have already pointed out in chapter 3 of our research happens to be miles apart with this observation. Also, the Anglican Church that existed after Knight-Bruce will be shown as an institution that failed dismally to uphold those principles and hence leaving missionaries such as Cripps very much isolated.

In our case, it is difficult to label Knight-Bruce an anti-imperialist at all. There was no official vocalisation that originated from Knight-Bruce's regnum premised on Christian principles over and against the settlers' occupation of land and the

⁴⁴⁷ Edgar Tekere, 2011: The Telegraph, UK. available online at: Url: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/8689761/Edgar-Tekere.html>. Accessed on 26 March 2012. NB. This article makes reference to the hierarchy of the Anglican Church hated by Edgar Tekere in 1980. See also: Obituary: Edgar Zivanai Tekere, Zimbabwean liberation war icon, 2011: in The Scotsman, Scotland, UK. Available online at: Url: <https://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/obituary-edgar-zivanai-tekere-zimbabwean-liberation-war-icon-1-1691852> . Accessed on 26 March 2012.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Carter, op.cit. A brief at the back of the front cover of the above work advances Carter's mother as "a first cousin of Knight-Bruce".

unethical behaviour that followed. This work is presented mindful of the fact that Church business done from the point of view of a universal God, could not be reduced to a mere ideology.

4.2.1. Partisan historical narratives

Our project in the above connection places Cripps and Carter within a framework that commands a significant degree of polarisation. Carter is worried about the descriptions, or rather, the historical narratives of how Knight-Bruce laid the foundations of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. He does so with urgent brevity but overlooks the fact that the context rightly understood has ever since been in need of details that could help future generations of Anglicans to come to a reconciliatory position in terms of how to celebrate racial diversity in a Christian manner. The Mashonaland context has come to prove that it needed missionaries who would simply heal wounds rather than those who found pleasure in inflicting and attempting to heal in a freelance fashion.

We shall be able, later on, to appreciate Cripps's moral outrage in the above connection. By the time he wrote his work in the 1920s, it should become clear to any candid mind's reflections that what had been sown in the 1890s was beginning to bear the unwelcome fruits. On a number of occasions, we encounter the narratives of Carter commanding an urgent motif to clear Knight-Bruce of any insinuations within the Mashonaland context hence complicating the understanding of what was at stake. The foundations of a major church were being laid, and so we are looking at a far-reaching undertaking. Carter does not always succeed in playing the advocate in the above connection. We need to appreciate the qualities of our protagonist from the very onset, and so Carter helps us in ways that cast the historical moral lantern on the bishop. For example, the following sentiments in some sections of Carter's narratives could bear us up on this point.

Firstly, the adjectives that are preferred on Knight-Bruce from various perspectives include: "inability to compromise"; "ruthlessness"; "slave-driver"; "shrewd and hard-

headed.”⁴⁵⁰ These are no neutral descriptions. However, the whole idea of one who could not compromise standards is in turn compromised by the fact that when recruiting missionaries in England, he was at liberty to misrepresent facts.⁴⁵¹ Would future missionaries not take a cue from such immoral stances? Pragmatism is not the same as Christian values. While pragmatism could be dictated to by the context and how best to take advantage of it, Christian values must always do the opposite. They are meant to challenge and redeem the dark side of humanity and not to promote it.

Secondly, Knight-Bruce was eager to keep natives away from intoxicating substances and tribal wars.⁴⁵² This, indeed, was a noble stance that however did not really pay dividends to the natives and the future Anglican Church. Again, paternalism is not the same as Christian concern. Africans were not to be understood as properties of the Anglican Church leadership of this time.

Thirdly, Knight- Bruce described himself as the “moral power”⁴⁵³ within his context. However, that “moral power” seemed to have been an imposition on the indigenous alone and not the pioneers. Carter affirms this in connection with the fact that when it came to paying for the labour that the natives provided, Knight-Bruce treated his servants better than the other pioneers.⁴⁵⁴ Why the moral power was not exercised to challenge the pioneers in this connection is our concern here.

The settlers also needed to learn something about God. To ignore this and concentrate on the indigenous who were being exploited could not be seen as a balanced missionary undertaking. Again, that moral power commanded by Knight-Bruce, could not be used successfully against Rhodes and his pioneers, to challenge them from abusing the natives, is a case that could reflect on the Anglican Church’s failure to calculate missionary work properly. We have, once more, an opportunity to conclude that when historical developments are

⁴⁵⁰. Carter, op.cit. p.13.

⁴⁵¹. Ibid.p.13

⁴⁵². Ibid. p.14.

⁴⁵³. Ibid.p.21

⁴⁵⁴. Ibid,p.22

scrutinised, it is not a given fact that they could inform us about the future in a direct manner.

At this stage of our critical historical narrative, the settlers seem to be in control and would direct the course of events into the future of Mashonaland. An independent Zimbabwe, nearly a century later could be understood as the historical anti-thesis of a colonial foundation laid down in the 1890s. This could also be true of the Anglican Church that came to take shape within the same context.

4.3. Accounting for Knight-Bruce's prophetic leadership

We have already cited Ranger's work that details how the BSAC blundered in Mashonaland in which the Anglican Church was a major player and predominantly white. Reading works such as that of Carter in a context that reveals to us many atrocities make us curious when we discover that such a sensitive subject is not given much attention. Ranger seems to give us an alternative that is inclusive when it comes to missionary outrage.⁴⁵⁵ We are attracted by the voice that could maintain the uncontested fact that in the name of God, any form of evil could not go unchallenged. The absence of such voices in Ranger's expositions could surely not be a deliberate error of omission or selectivity. Therefore, we need to relook at some of the sources in this connection. We are simply highlighting the fact that Ranger could not be as selective as to leave out the voices of protest, if at all they were present, that came from the Anglican Church in Mashonaland especially during the occupation and the evils associated with it.

Carol Summers, who has some interest in narrating this church history in Mashonaland informs us that "only Douglas Pelly", a missionary and newly arrived from England, was able to raise objections to the war against the Ndebele in 1893.⁴⁵⁶ We are also informed that such a radical objection was mistakenly dismissed by Selous as based on ignorance of the details on the ground.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵ Ranger, T.O. 1967: op.cit. Ranger does not show us that he is aware of any significant voices of protest coming especially from Anglican missionary circles or from Knight-Bruce himself.

⁴⁵⁶ Summers, C.1994: From civilisation to segregation: Social ideals and social control in Southern Rhodesia, Athens, Ohio, USA: Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, USA. p.29

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.p.29

Summers further notes that Knight-Bruce, faced with the question of the Ndebele state and its impact on the settlers and missionary efforts, could only offer a neutral statement to the effect that war was the fastest option though it could not guarantee the desired results.⁴⁵⁸

In other words, the Anglican Bishop was not discouraging the settlers from going to war against the Ndebele in any resolute terms. His could not count as a voice of protest but just a neutral opinion which however was unfortunate if we are to make observations that take gospel imperatives seriously. Instead of sermons that could be cited as constituting a strong moral voice on the evils of war, the bishop surrendered his gospel imperatives to those with political and economic convictions. The theology of salvation was now at the mercy of conquerors in Mashonaland.

However, we need to be reminded that, Knight-Bruce understood himself as the bishop of all people in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Why the bishop was not able to discourage the occupying forces from attacking Lobengula and to explore other peaceful options leaves us with more curiosity. It seems to be the case that he was just worried about the results which could see the downfall of Lobengula. Accordingly, after Pelly, we do not seem to hear any more voices from the Anglican circles that condemned the evil that Europeans were doing in Mashonaland and Matabeleland right from the time of occupation in 1890. The silence in this connection could only be explained by a latent support of the colonisers since they had already proved to be the benefactors of missionary work in Mashonaland. The contradiction however is worrisome given that missionary work was premised on God and colonialism was more of human greedy than anything else.

4.3.0. The indigenous people and colonial settlers

There is need to emphasise one point here: a leadership that remains quiet when it must speak out or reprimand those who master the art and habits of abusing others could not be taken seriously as prophetic. The Mashonaland context we

⁴⁵⁸. Summers, op.cit.p.32

are focusing on is one such example where violence was done to the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous people while preachers of the Anglican Church under Knight-Bruce continued to do their business as though the lives being maimed by the colonial systems did not count for much. It was a challenge to choose between right and wrong and not to be neutral, and those who know the evils in Mashonaland under colonial rule should be honest enough to accept this point. One source captures this point about racial imbalances that were allowed to prevail in Mashonaland when it notes that,

This recognition, even in racially homogenous society present difficulties. But these difficulties are compounded when the invaders differ in colour and culture from the subjected. The problems are further bedevilled when the invaders bring with them emotional and unscientific convictions that their superiority springs primarily from the pigmentation of their skin (exemplified for instance by the persistent, if vain, white attempt to deny that the remarkable Zimbabwe ruins could have been built by blacks). Such attitudes are hard to combat. Worse still they cannot but provoke racial animosity as well as widen the gap between the two races: the fruits of such myths are conceit on the part of the invader and hatred on the part of the subjected.⁴⁵⁹

This quote is brought to bear on our narrative because it proves to us that in a context where the Anglican Church was busy doing its work, a culture of racial polarisation was being allowed space to take root and so never discouraged from the point of view of gospel imperatives. The powerful are allowed free-reign in the name of God, and this causes problems.

It is clear that, in our context, Rhodesia is a world that happened to be upside down. The Anglican Church in Mashonaland had its origin deeply rooted in the above-stated anomalies. In this connection, we are simply insisting that one could not witness a crime and afford to be neutral without the risk of being an accomplice. Hence, there is an urgent need to appeal to the idea of being prophetic in such contexts. A word about prophecy could be fitting at this point to help us demonstrate what was absent in Knight-Bruce' ministry in Mashonaland and what we see as the problem linked to it that some authors may gloss over.

4.3.1. Prophetic stance in Knight-Bruce's context

⁴⁵⁹. Grant, G. C., *et al*, The Africans predicament in Rhodesia, (Minority Rights Group, Great Britain), No. 8, 1973, p.3

Yoilah Yilpert in her article “Introduction to the Prophets” observes that, in the scriptures, prophets “were men and women” “drawn from every walk of life” who “were chosen by God, and did not presume to be prophets on their own initiative.”⁴⁶⁰

The above understanding of prophecy is significant to us in that those chosen by God and understand themselves as such have nothing to fear if they engage the people in the world using the uncompromised principles consistent with the divinity of Jesus Christ. They commit themselves to God’s cause without weighing their own interests. In other words, the prophets that could be found in the Bible did not proclaim the word of God in order to get paid a salary, stipend, or for their personal prestige. They did not speak in order to gain favours from the rich and powerful of their time. They were not partisan individuals and neither did they subscribe to any of the human ideologies known to them. Simply stated, the prophecy in question was not from human beings but for humanity. Political affiliation was not of paramount significance to their cause that was ultimately God’s.⁴⁶¹

In addition, it could be concluded that it was the Holy Spirit moving the prophets and therefore not their own ingenuities or such mundane shrewdness or theological qualifications that was critical. To this end, according to Yilpert, “To disbelieve their words was to disbelieve God; to disobey them was to disobey God.”⁴⁶² Once God inspires humanity in this fashion, the matter becomes something that weighs heavily on the consciences of people. No power outside God could be seen as having the ultimate appeal to silence this kind of voice. This article by Yilpert, we are citing, also clarifies for us something that we need to take serious note of in our presentation that is inspired by the theology of empire. In this connection we are informed that:

We tend to think of the prophets as foretellers, predicting events that would occur in the future. But they were also ‘forthtellers’, who called the people to repentance and obedience to God’s word. Time and again, they cried out against what was happening in their own times: idolatry, greed, injustice, oppression of the

⁴⁶⁰. Yilpert, Y. Introduction to the Prophets in Adeyemo Tokunboh (ed.), op.cit. p. 805

⁴⁶¹. We still make references to political affiliation bearing in mind that though some Church leaders may not be card holders, their general disposition, remarks and practices give them away.

⁴⁶². Ibid.

poor by the rich, corruption in the courts and growing immorality. They stressed that God would punish sin. Yet in summoning the people to repentance, they also spoke God's undying love for his people, his compassion and his forgiving spirit (see Isa. 54:7).⁴⁶³

When compared to other sources we consulted, the foregoing observation seems to divert from David Pytches' work that initially advances biblical prophecy with a bias towards limiting it to a gift given to a select few.⁴⁶⁴ Meanwhile there is some truth in what Pytches says in this connection; we would like to talk of prophecy in our context not just as something that is limited to a select few but a gift that is available to all Anglicans in Mashonaland, though they may not exercise it in the same measure. Pytches comes around to admit this point after the first chapter of his work. There he identifies what he terms categories of prophecy and lists up to eight of them.⁴⁶⁵ We could sum them up as follows: "preaching the Gospel"; "opening and interpreting the Word of God"; "being a critic of the times"; "Speaking into social conditions"; Studying "the end times"; Praising God; "Supernatural revelations" and spontaneously inspired oracles.⁴⁶⁶ It is clear that in this context, the categories we seem to appreciate and would like to link to moral courage are those that advance prophecy in terms of critiquing the times and addressing social conditions such as those that obtained in Mashonaland during Knight-Bruce's episcopate. It is to insist on the radicalisation of the Good News in ever new ways and in ever new contexts. That is what defines the dynamism consistent with the Word of God in action! We are putting forward the view that Mashonaland in the early 1890s was a context ripe for genuine prophecy of which Knight-Bruce did not avail himself.

4.3.2. More the theology of empire in Knight-Bruce's context

Some more examples of the prophetic disposition we would like to continue contrasting with Anglican missionary Christianity in Mashonaland could be relevant here and so we cite them for this purpose.

⁴⁶³. Yilpert, op.cit.p.805

⁴⁶⁴. Pytches, D., 1993: *Prophecy in the Local Church: Practical Handbook and Historical Overview*, Hodder And Stoughton, London, UK, pp.7-9

⁴⁶⁵. Pytches. op.cit. pp.10ff.

⁴⁶⁶. *ibid*, pp.10-11.

In Old Testament times, the true prophets did not treat people at face value. We make this statement in view of the laxity among missionaries to condemn colonial excesses in Mashonaland during Knight-Bruce's leadership. The bible does not give us orthodox prophets who were either lukewarm or cowards. The following observations could be urgent:

Isaiah, in his context, could boldly tell the people of his day in the name of God,

...evil people are doomed; what they have done to others will now be done to them. The money-lenders oppress my people, and their creditors cheat them. My people, your leaders are misleading you, so that you do not know which way to turn (Isa. 3: 11-12).

Jeremiah in his own context was able to direct God's message even on those holding the highest office of the land. He thus lamented: "Doomed is the man who builds his house by injustice and enlarges it by dishonesty; who makes his countrymen work for nothing and does not pay their wages" (Jer. 22: 13). We should not fail to see how these prophetic injunctions have a special appeal to the whole issue of empire building, colonialism and its demerits and such endeavours, especially within the Mashonaland setting. We saw, in the foregoing chapters, that the Anglican Church known to us in the Diocese of Mashonaland did not make such bold pronouncements from the beginning of the colonial era.

To those who invaded Mashonaland in 1890, the message should have been proclaimed to the effect that such greed could be doomed. But there was silence, - deafening silence for that matter. Those who now claim to be prophetic by championing human rights only do so not because of moral purity but because they have their own hidden motives, be they political or economic. One could not be said to be commanding moral courage while, at the same time, part of the problem. The Anglican leadership during the UDI many years after Knight-Bruce did not demonstrate that moral courage we are emphasising and so allowed evil too much space in this context. The question then is: how could this theological silence be accounted for; given that the work carried out by the Anglican Church was supposed to be done in the name of the Lord and, therefore, prophetic? This was the work that was meant to propel the Anglican Church in Mashonaland into the future with the boldness one could envisage for a Christian institution.

We contend that, while God is Love, He also chastises the recalcitrant. God does this kind of work through his Church today. In the past, so the Old Testament informs us, God sent prophets to the people of Israel to do the same work.⁴⁶⁷ It was always the fact that God wanted to communicate with his people and so messengers were sent out.

Prophets conveyed God's message even though the odds were often against them (see Isa. 28: 9-10; Jer. 11: 18-19). To Ezekiel, God gave this encouragement: "But you, mortal man must not be afraid of them or of anything they say. They will defy and despise you; it will be like living among scorpions. Still do not be afraid of those rebels or of anything they say" (Ezek. 2: 6). True prophets, to this end, are supposed to be courageous for it is God behind their mission. Scorpions do sting and this is not only a cause of discomfort to the victim but could be lethal. Such is the characterisation of the context in which a prophet such as Ezekiel was placed. A context where human greed, wanton abuse of force and the systematic exploitation of black people, such as what happened in the Mashonaland of the 1890-1980, could be understood as reminiscence of a scorpion-ridden, socio-cultural as well as economic environment in which genuine prophets had to do God's business and should have continued to operate to this day. Our concern is simply that there was no official Anglican position that assumed the prophetic role we are defining here in the early 1890s. If there are voices in this connection, they never were allowed to convey a message of discontent so as to define the official Anglican position in this regard. By giving our narrative this prophetic dimension, the emphatic argument here is that missionary work in Mashonaland needed something more radical than what it got through from the Anglican pioneers.

The Gospel writers inform us that Jesus Christ taught with authority, hence, radicalising the message of God that had been compromised by lukewarm religious kingpins of the day in His context. He did so without any fear or favour –

⁴⁶⁷. All the prophetic books of the Bible seem to give us that impression as the sample above and below have helped us to appreciate.

something his followers have been challenged ever since to take seriously. He could be compared to experts of his time and could be seen to be presenting the message of hope to God's people in such a way as to challenge people to commit themselves in new ways. It is the nature of God to be creative and, therefore, to always be involved in advancing new ways of understanding reality as was true in Jesus Christ's case. Here was the ushering in of a new dispensation that raised the model of traditional prophetic pronouncements to new heights.

Therefore, and in the light of the gospels, it is clear that the new commitment required by Jesus' teachings transcended the common appreciation that the old guard had defined. It took the human person seriously as a major point of God's continued presence in the world. Jesus Christ identified with the cause of Lazarus; he was the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the prisoner, and the naked⁴⁶⁸ and, indeed, the very human person plunged into the trials and tribulations of this world. Jesus Christ demonstrated that he was not comfortable with the *status quo*. He was not ready to let things remain the way they were for the sake of peace that should have been understood as compromised. We are simply trying to advance the point that to be at peace within the Roman Empire of the fourth century and to maintain silence in Rhodesia, many centuries, in the name of Christ could be seen as constituting a significant departure from the tradition initiated by the Son of God. He could not buy into a peace deal that happened to be so cheap.

In addition, our argument is simply that those chosen to occupy higher offices within the Church have no option except to exercise such prophetic roles on behalf of all and for the benefit of all. Whether this was achieved in the Diocese of Mashonaland, and at what cost to the indigenous people, is our quest in this context. Hence, we shall prefer to use the adjective "prophetic" with special reference to either; actions, words or such significant pronouncements made by those conscious of God's latent and manifest engagements with the world peculiar to Mashonaland. This preference is deliberate and inspired by the fact that other activities that could qualify as prophetic lack the ability to radicalise God's cause in any practical expressions that could challenge people to reconsider their

⁴⁶⁸. This is a paraphrasing of Matthew 25: 31-45 where Jesus indicates that on judgement day, whatever people did not do for the weak, desperate and underprivileged, they by that very token failed to do it for God.

relationships with God. We know that our world is full of those who claim to preach the word of God and even receive private “revelations” but are very much lacking in challenging the socio-economic as well as political structures of the world that continue to do violence to God’s people.

4.3.3. Confusion among the Shona and Ndebele

It seems imperative for us to appreciate the fact that the Shona and Ndebele were challenged in terms of distinguishing between missionaries and colonisers. The latter two groups made their presence felt in the country almost at the same time towards the end of 1890 in a decisive manner. The moral silence that we encounter in the above connection could be viewed as supporting the missionary-coloniser conspiracy we suspect to be at play here. That Knight-Bruce accompanied the pioneer forces in 1893 into Matabeleland, confirms our argument to the effect that private convictions could not be seen as strong in a context where public activities could carry the day. We are compelled to stress the fact that the Church in Mashonaland found itself unable to do its work outside the imperial courts of the day. We are also highlighting the fertile ground that is available for historians to advance critiques that do not favour the powerful but expose the abuses that obtained then.

4.4. The Land controversy

The problem we focus on in this section is not one that has been dealt with in detail by any available documents on the subject of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Here we try to put together available facts from various sources to make the problem of missionary and land appropriation urgent. It is a sensitive question as it involved displacing and dispossessing the indigenous people of Mashonaland of their God-given land and no prophetic voice was present to bail them out.

4.4.0. Missionaries and Colonisers on the Land issue

There seems to be a very strong position based on the available facts to the effect that it is not easy to separate the Anglican missionaries’ agenda from that of the colonisers when it comes to land grabbing. One such perspective derives from the large tracts of land the missionaries got from Rhodes as donations from his loot. A

case to substantiate this latter has a historical basis: one of the documents we encounter, in this connection, is titled “Church Farms, 1892.”⁴⁶⁹ The Anglican missionary who was taking up this issue then was Douglas Pelly.⁴⁷⁰ This is still under Knight-Bruce’s episcopate. It is clear that the Church in this context is busy acquiring land just as the BSAC was doing. It looks like the Anglican Church in this context was not able to ask itself whether sharing stolen property with the colonisers was the right thing to do.

A letter dated July 16th, 1892, refers to five farms that were meant for the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.⁴⁷¹ Another letter dated 22 November from the BSAC to the Anglican Church in Mashonaland indicates that the Company was very much prepared to grant more land to the Church of England.⁴⁷² Keppel-Jones notes that up to “twenty-five” farms were identified but Knight-Bruce justified their acquisition because they could be given back to the dispossessed Mashona.⁴⁷³ The urgent question that could advance itself against these developments is why missionaries could allow such to happen in the first place. It was like the Anglican Church was encouraging the Pioneers to sin now and be pardoned later. Knight-Bruce’s solution could make sense only if it were the last resort, after all; protests had been exhausted. We hear none of the protests against land-grabbing, but we see the readiness to share the spoils with the colonisers.

4.4.1. Missionary justification for acquiring Land

On this most critical issue of land distribution, the Church did not get concessions from the indigenous leaders but from the pioneers.⁴⁷⁴ In other words, here was a church sharing in the spoils of looting and plundering and making the whole issue look like the work of God. Welch takes note of the motives prevailing then and observes, in connection with Knight-Bruce, the following points we sum up here:

⁴⁶⁹ ANG 1/1/1, National Archives, Harare, Zimbabwe

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ ANG 1/1/1, op.cit.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Keppel-Jones, op.cit.p.416f

⁴⁷⁴ Welch, op.cit.p.24

Firstly, he was aware of the South African situation that left indigenous people disinherited in terms of their aspirations to land.⁴⁷⁵ Anglican farms could then be used as sanctuaries for natives should the need arise.⁴⁷⁶ (What is known is that for the next century, Africans were deprived of fertile land and there was no Anglican farm to bail them out). Why missionaries had to take this land grab, as a natural development they could respond to by taking precautions that involved sharing the spoils with colonisers becomes an urgent question here. The reasons given in the foregoing connection seem to make much sense, but facts to bail us out on the fact that such farms ever came to be shared among the dispossessed are a rare commodity in the Mashonaland we are scrutinising.

Secondly, Knight-Bruce was aware of the thuggery the Company was involved in because that land did not belong to it.⁴⁷⁷ Again, such awareness does not seem to be supported by an active reaction against the open evil of taking away the resource that was critical to the well-being of the people. Here the question is whether the foundation of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was not being compromised by colonial preferences.

We may not be aiming at passing judgment in the above connection, but the problem we have is that the bishop was aware of the precarious situation in which the indigenous were in the context of settler occupation. Here is what the bishop had in mind as noted in his memoirs:

When the question to whom the land in Mashonaland belonged was unsettled, I thought it well, before choosing any piece of ground for a future mission-farm, to have the consent of the native chief of the place to our eventually settling there-- that is if any chief was sufficiently near. Besides this, the British South Africa Company gave their consent to the Church of England having a piece of ground of about three thousand acres wherever we established a mission. I think in all about twenty-five of the tracts were selected. Canon Balfour, Mr Douglas Pelly, and the late Dr Rundle were my chief assistants in selecting sites for missions and choosing land.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁵. Welch, *op.cit.*p.26

⁴⁷⁶. *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷. *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸. Knight-Bruce, 1895, *op.cit.* pp. 97/98

Again, it is problematic if people who know the problem, do not show any resolute interest in resolving it. The Bishop does not indicate to us that he understood the problem he was faced with as a prophet of God.

4.4.2. Ownership of Land in Mashonaland

There is an indication in our context that double standards were being entertained. It is not clear as to who the Anglican Church was to negotiate with on the issue of land: The BSAC or the traditional Shona chiefs? Between the two, the bishop knew very well who the imposter was. To give both the traditional leaders and the BSAC the same legitimacy when it came to the issue of land in Mashonaland could simply affirm the magnitude of how compromised the Church was in this context. Again, the bishop admits the complexity of the problem when he observes that,

The whole question of land is a difficult one. I consider that the land which the natives of this country inhabit belongs to them. This was my bone of contention with Lobengula. How they came into possession we do not know; we found them in possession. We have no more right to take any land which they inhabit, and own by the unknown length of tenure than we should have to dispossess white men holding property in England on the same tenure. However, the Mashona only occupy a very small part of the country, and land which they have never occupied may with justice be said not to belong to them. Though each chief would claim territory to some boundary, even when consecutive miles of it are not inhabited, yet I think that he would usually see no objection to other people settling there, so long as his ground was not interfered with.⁴⁷⁹

The above information could reveal to us a bishop who was extremely alert to the developments within his context. However, there was always a point beyond which he could not go regarding contradicting Rhodes for the BSAC was a major benefactor of the Anglican missions in Mashonaland.

With such insights, and within the bishop's understanding of the land question in the Mashonaland of the 1890s, we wonder why such propositions were not presented to the BSAC as a matter of principle to guide future distribution among missionaries. That some land in Mashonaland was not occupied and so open to newcomers could be an assumption that did not take the indigenous people's ideas of ownership seriously. Given the fact that the Shona often believed in

⁴⁷⁹. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. pp. 97/98

village life and kraals, to expect them to occupy every square inch of the land to demonstrate ownership is just out of context. We could sense the views of people who were quick to exploit every weakness in others to their advantage.

For example, the bishop goes on to maintain that the Anglicans had no primary interests in getting land.⁴⁸⁰ He notes that,

With the exception of one or two cases, it was not intended that these tracts of land should be appropriated as farms for our mission. There was no other way under the land system of the British South Africa Company by which any rights could be obtained than by formally applying for rights to map out so many 'farms'; but we intended them practically as native reserves, so that if the natives were ever crowded out of their lands they might have some place near at hand where they could grow their crops and keep their few cattle. So nearly every one of our 'mission-farms' is touching, or almost touching, the chief's village, except when there was an especial reason why it should be some distance away.⁴⁸¹

The foregoing quote makes it clear that Bishop Knight-Bruce is in a hurry to please the BSAC policies on the colonised land rather than to question the morale of it. We are faced with a situation that needed much more than assumptions for if it was not declared, who could guess what the settlers might do even with land once offered to the missions?

4.4.3 Indigenous people's resettlement by the Anglican Church

In this section we state two problems that could be cited in line with Knight-Bruce's contentions above: Firstly, the inconsistency on the issue of morality. Earlier we saw that the bishop's view of the indigenous people on the same subject was that they did not know how to distinguish right from wrong and needed Christianity to help them. Secondly, that Anglican missionaries set land aside to resettle the indigenous people as an official stance of the Church, over and against colonial occupation, does not seem to be supported by any later developments in Mashonaland. Those in Zimbabwe today must find this very curious because it is precisely the problem that must still be solved. The absence of any protracted campaign similar to what we shall see in Cripps' views indicates to us that the Church was ready to sacrifice its principles for the sake of economic gains. The settlers would play a very critical role in making sure that the Church's position as

⁴⁸⁰. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. pp. 97/98

⁴⁸¹. Ibid.

a conscientious objector was neutralised. It is clear that, once the Anglican Church had been granted land rights in a compromised situation, their moral and prophetic stance could cease to be challenging. The missionaries had become accomplices instead of conscientious objectors. Therefore, from that time onwards, whatever were misgivings from the Church, in the face of Company extremities, in dealing with the indigenous people, did not count for anything significant. It is difficult for one to take the splinter out of the eye of another when they both have the same problem!

4.5. The Constantinean God in Mashonaland

In this section we recall the fourth century developments in which the emperor Constantine is the main player in terms of plundering others weaker nations. The conquest of Matabeleland (within the Diocese of Mashonaland) is a very good example that we could link to the Constantinean developments of the fourth century:

Firstly, most of the military officers taking part in the invasion of Matabeleland were committee members within the Anglican Church, and there was no negotiation with Lobengula leading to the loss of all his “cattle and ...land on a vast scale.”⁴⁸² We are worried about an Anglican moral conscience here if there is any at all in this context. Welch observes that Bishop Knight-Bruce’s recorded “real loss” in this context were the men under Allan Wilson’s command that were killed by Lobengula.⁴⁸³ Anglican Christians delighted in this crime against the indigenous people showing clearly that they worshipped a God of wars, of looting and plunder. This was the same God that Constantine delighted in worshipping and this was what Eusebius of Caesarea admired. It looks like we have a replica of the Constantinean establishment in Mashonaland given the way the Anglican Church was responding to the BSAC’s exploitation of the people and their resources.

We are able to point out that Knight-Bruce had neither the moral courage nor stamina to challenge the colonisation of the country- a plan that was fraudulently

⁴⁸² Welch, *op.cit.*, p.35

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.36

hatched and executed before him and with his significant involvement. Once again, we recall the fact that here we are considering the relationship between the theology of empire and the politico-religious tension within an Anglican Mashonaland context. A healthy state of affairs in our context could not have allowed the Anglican Church to mix-up its missionary programme with the politics of war, plunder, looting and to be critical and prophetic at the same time. Failure to stand up and to be different from the colonialists meant that the Church could risk being a servant of the state. This acquiescence by the Anglican Church could be seen as being the same as the singing of uncritical eulogies on behalf of the empire.

Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed cite the fact that Knight-Bruce's conscience was not at ease as Rhodes' parcelling out of stolen land was in progress.⁴⁸⁴ The question of whether one could be pardoned for receiving stolen property on the grounds of harbouring a guilty conscience becomes urgent in this connection. The urgent question here is whether a mature Christian could find it easier to compromise than to express shock and perplexity given the fact that stealing was now being advanced as a noble virtue. We are simply worried by the reality that the evils of the State were being baptised by the Church that was Anglican and within a Mashonaland context. The distinction between thuggery and being prophetic becomes blurred here.

4.5.0. Knight-Bruce's engagements with Rhodes

In this section we look at the question of whether Bishop Knight-Bruce was outwitted by Rhodes so as to end up compromising his missionary position. The inconsistencies we are dealing with here in connection with the Anglican Church's moral stance in Mashonaland are challenging. Welch sheds more light on the foregoing issue in connection with the Anglican bishop's involvement in the whole colonial saga.

The setting again is in Matabeleland. Going back a little before the 1890 takeover of Mashonaland, we learn that Knight-Bruce was unwittingly "drawn into the web,

⁴⁸⁴. Sundkler, B. & Steed, C., 2000: A history of the Church in Africa. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, p.450

visiting the king with Shippard and so lending his credibility to Rhodes' negotiations."⁴⁸⁵ That the rumour, about the possible invasion of the country, was already gathering momentum and causing curiosity among the Europeans on the southern side of the Limpopo, could not have reached Knight-Bruce by this time, could be difficult to accept. The coincidence of events in this context is suspect. The evidence being utilised here happens to be problematic to any cogent mind. We are informed that both Knight-Bruce and Shippard told Lobengula that they actually had nothing to do with the BSAC but still influenced the fraudulent acquisition of the Rudd Concession.⁴⁸⁶ The submissions to Lobengula were therefore being made by people too eager to falsify the facts. Their keenness to deny the insinuations that made them privy to the plot could be seen as blowing their cover. These curious observations make it difficult to take the bishop seriously on what he said about the land. A lot of suspicious developments advance themselves in this context. It seems very unsafe, from the point of view of history to have a concrete understanding of the Church's position when we are faced with one lie after another; one inconsistency after another and one excuse after another.⁴⁸⁷

In the light of what has been highlighted about Matabeleland (which was also just part of Mashonaland), a bishop of the Church and political administrator are seen agreeing to lie in order to protect colonial interests without an explicit admission of it by the author. Ethical considerations, about the rules of engagement, seem not to be urgent in this context. Is it not of urgent concern then, from the point of view of historiography, to be seen actively highlighting the intricacies of this kind of double-standard behaviour than to gloss over it? This question becomes urgent when narrating the developments in Mashonaland where the Anglican Church's stakes happened to be very high. This point is supported by the fact that when we take into consideration that on both the negotiations and the sharing of land, the bishop's position seems to be one characterised by reservations, but the point that is of concern to us is that there is no meaningful objection on his part that we

⁴⁸⁵. Welch, *op.cit.*p.10

⁴⁸⁶. *Ibid.* p.11

⁴⁸⁷. *Ibid.* Welch observes that the Bishop was reluctant to admit his political involvement in Matabeleland.

could cite. The colonial officials' position carries the day, and the Anglican Church is there to baptise these developments.

More facts are needed in the foregoing connection, but for now, we must rely on conjectures. It is because we are talking about a Church leader who should have known what moral position to take in a compromised context. No historian in the mould of Welch or Arnold is able to highlight for us that this is a big gamble for the Church motivated by gospel imperatives and given the fact that morality is one of the subjects high up on the Christian agenda. Here is one complex and urgent case of morals being compromised by those who were supposed to be civilised.

The above does not seem to be a very appealing subject for historians to dwell upon. Some of these authors seem to use history narratives to absolve transactions that could be viewed from another appealing angle of power and conquest. This could be the same as Eusebius undertaking the project of absolving Constantine's obsession with power and turning it into something sanctioned by God. The challenge is for more research to expose for us the moral complexities the Mashonaland context poses for the Anglican Church. We are trying to question the whole project as to how it could successfully be premised on gospel imperatives since there are so many compromises involved from the Church's side.

4.5.1. Knight-Bruce's ambassadorial role in Britain

In the scenario, we are confronted with, and in line with the above, we are informed by Welch that our bishop was negative about the BSAC, and therefore Rhodes.⁴⁸⁸ Yet the only significant objection by Knight-Bruce recorded in this regard seems minor: first qualified, and then withdrawn completely.⁴⁸⁹ We are persuaded to agree with the view that effectively, the bishop became an urgent of Rhodes and therefore a major exponent of imperialism because he goes on to promote the BSAC both in Africa and abroad after the minor objection.⁴⁹⁰ What

⁴⁸⁸. Welch, op.cit.p.12

⁴⁸⁹. Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰. Ibid

then is the pressure he is said to have been under?⁴⁹¹ How could one champion a cause with so much zeal abroad without a passion for it? We could now appreciate the reason why Rhodes, in turn, has to be generous when it comes to the distribution of stolen land and funding of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Langham Carter notes the following:

In fact, as the bishop frequently acknowledges, he could have done nothing at all without the Company's ready help, and he was grateful to Rhodes and Jameson and other leading men who made personal contributions to the mission funds, the Company itself donating £600.⁴⁹²

Rhodes has been already featuring a lot in connection with the Mashonaland Anglican venture. Welch has already told us that Knight-Bruce was an opponent of Rhodes. From Carter's observation is Rhodes not simply sharing his profits with those who are ready to stand on his side when it comes to perfecting his colonial designs? Welch does not seem to have a convincing interpretation of facts when she tries to argue for a clear distinction between Rhodes and Bishop Knight-Bruce.

4.5.2. Differences between Bishop Knight-Bruce and Rhodes

The historical problem that we encounter in the above connection could thus be stated: If the colonialists are going to occupy land that does not belong to them in the first place, is it not the case then that the clergy, representatives of the Anglican Church and others⁴⁹³, are being used to bless an illegitimate land appropriation? In this connection, Langham includes the fact that Rhodes never forgave Knight-Bruce for influencing the loss of land in Mozambique, especially Chimoio and Beira⁴⁹⁴ – a point that confirms the fact that the Anglican Church is expected to support the BSAC's land-grab programme.

As long as that support is guaranteed by the Anglican Church then Rhodes is comfortable with the clergy. Nevertheless, Jameson is said to have continued to make generous grants to Knight-Bruce without reference to the differences noted

⁴⁹¹. Welch, op.cit.p.12

⁴⁹². Carter, op.cit. p.41

⁴⁹³. This point follows from what Carter is interpreted as saying in this context.

⁴⁹⁴. Carter, op.cit.p.47

above in connection with the loss of Chimoio and Beira.⁴⁹⁵ It looks like the defenders of the gospel imperatives were actively engaged in a sacrilegious enterprise hence plunging into disrepute their own moral and missionary values within the 1890s colonial context of Mashonaland. The Shona and Ndebele were not happy with the new developments, which they saw as degenerating into an outright alienating land programme and yet expected to see the work of God in the process and become good Christians for that matter.

It seems compelling to argue that the Anglican Church from what we have so far noted, has been enticed into seeing and appreciating the logic of imperial conquest without reference to evangelisation. This could constitute a process of turning the Christian God into a robber who is actively drawn into a process that commands a capitalist orientation in Mashonaland. Ultimately, we see Anglican missionaries being deliberately turned into mercenaries who would defend a materialistic cause throughout the colonial period in Rhodesia. These observations seem to plunge the Anglican Church into a more compromised position in terms of propagating and defending principles that could not be said to be authentically Christian in Mashonaland.

4.6. Missionary-coloniser partnership in Southern Africa

The preceding observations about the Mashonaland context challenge us to think of what was happening throughout Southern Africa regarding how the colonisers often courted the Church's blessings for their mundane schemes. James Cochrane in his analysis of the South African colonial context could help us come to terms with the concerns we have raised above. He notes that,

Missionary enterprise, remaining always beyond radical self-criticism, could normally do no other than transmit the values and structures embodied in British imperial colonialist expansion. Ability was missing to distinguish firmly between what was intrinsically worthwhile and what would lead to long-term destructive consequences for precisely those people whom many believed themselves to be championing.⁴⁹⁶

We must bear in mind that Cochrane is writing from outside the Mashonaland context and his views are relevant to a context in which a critique of the theology

⁴⁹⁵. Carter, op.cit.p.51

⁴⁹⁶. Cochrane, op.cit.p.26

of empire could be urgent. We concur with Cochrane that there is a serious contradiction when missionaries fail to advance a Christianity that is not captured by the colonisers and imperialists.⁴⁹⁷ We have insisted on the fact that Eusebius did the same thing when he supported emperor Constantine in a wholesale and therefore uncritical fashion.

In addition to the above, what seems to complicate our appreciation of missionaries further is that the context in question is already compromised and, therefore, secular values are being mixed with Christian values leading us to the conclusion that some church people are indeed spies for the colonialists.⁴⁹⁸ We need to take the preceding observations seriously by appealing to more observations by Cochrane in his South African context. As a boost to our narratives and focusing on missionaries in this context, he further comments that:

it remains generally the case that their ambiguous role within chiefdoms, the effect of their connections, to the colony, their tendency to split converts away from their fellows, and their reliance upon colonial force or power in crisis or conflicts, all contributed to undermining chiefdoms in the long run, or at least to making it much easier for settlers and colonials to exploit existing divisions and tensions.⁴⁹⁹

The verdict here seems to indicate that far from gospel imperatives being insisted upon, the general thrust of missionary work has the negative result of exposing the indigenous people to those who are out to exploit them. This scenario does not support the idea that the missionaries are doing a service to the indigenous people unconditionally. It seems to be the case that the result is to make indigenous people so docile as to accept the Eurocentric-imposed-*status-quo* that continued to condemn them to second-class citizens in their motherland. Such a programme could not be defended as emanating from God's initiative to evangelise the indigenous people. The idea of good news in such a compromised context is elusive.

⁴⁹⁷. The whole idea of recalling this theme of the theology of empire is inspired by the fact that issues that could have been settled a century ago still bedevil the Church today. This may need a separate treatment but people who know something about Zimbabwe will agree that land and the Anglican Church's stance seems to be something that continues to be controversial. This includes even matters of Church State relations and such critical issues. Articles included in Appendices 9-18 give us an insight into this state of affairs.

⁴⁹⁸. Cochrane, op.cit.p.28

⁴⁹⁹. Ibid.p.29

4.6.0. Handling the missionary-coloniser narratives

We refer to Cochrane's work in the foregoing connection to be able to insist on the fact that the way the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland is preferred by authors such as Welch and others referenced in this work, becomes problematic if we look at it from the point of view of the theology of empire. The impact of missionary compromise seems to be downplayed in these narratives that are quick to absolve the Anglican Church from any wrongdoing. What happened among the indigenous people is disconnected from the grand narrative that is required in our context. Above, we raised several questions about the Anglican attitudes within the Rhodesian saga and Cochrane's findings in South Africa, seem to help us make sense of our problem. There is always that thin line between missionary Christianity and the British culture through which it was transmitted.

Of course, we raise questions within the Mashonaland context against the background of some of Knight-Bruce's recorded convictions about the indigenous people. In addition to what has been cited earlier on about the childish nature of the indigenous people, we could also include one of the bishop's similar claims to the effect that,

...the untouched native seemed to be a poor child intended to be taught and helped, and possibly, in so far as a child should be, punished, but still treated as a child. Sometimes he was more or less a well-behaved child, sometimes more or less a badly-behaved child; sometimes he was clean, sometimes dirty; sometimes brave, sometimes cowardly; but always a child. He should have temptations kept out of his way, and be kept under the strictest rule, and taught and strengthened, so that in the future he may fight the battle of life for himself.⁵⁰⁰

It is clear that the above convictions cannot help boost the indigenous people's aspirations in the Mashonaland context. The indigenous remain children for as long as the White people are in charge. This is quite disheartening especially as a conviction coming from a pioneer bishop. How his successors could reverse these convictions remains to be something we will later analyse in the chapters to follow. However, the convictions entertained by Knight-Bruce do not seem to indicate to us the timeframes needed for the indigenous people to mature out of their childhood as he understands it. Remember the domineering attitude we used in

⁵⁰⁰. Knight-Bruce, 1895, pp.157/158

our illustration of the theology of empire scenario was meant to prepare us to make sense of such attitudes. Once we have labelled even mature adults as “children” from the point of view of cultural superiority, it becomes difficult to put systems in place that could guarantee equality. Therefore, from Knight-Bruce’s time, we could see the idea of cultural superiority gaining momentum in Mashonaland. This could be contrasted with the talk about the indigenisation of the Anglican Church from this time.

Perhaps the fact that the indigenous people are considered as children could justify all the moral compromises that are entertained by the British but to what end? Could not it be argued that the bishop is supporting the colonial excesses that are normally associated with developments in Rhodesia?⁵⁰¹ Here Carlos Whitlock Porter captures for us the convictions among many Europeans even as late as the 1970s when he writes that,

An African will go to the hospital, but even an educated one will visit the witch doctor first. It is impossible to overestimate the power of psychosomatic suggestion on an African. If he is told that he will wake up next week with a paralyzed arm, he will wake up next with a paralyzed arm. If he is told that he will die next week, he will lie down next week and die, if he is sufficiently frightened. A policeman told me that his grandfather had succeeded in murdering a troublesome African on his farm simply by convincing the man that he would die as predicted by a vision. The man obligingly proceeded to do just that. I am not sure I believe this, but I believe it is possible.⁵⁰²

It is clear that to most Europeans in this context, the adult indigenous people in Mashonaland remained in a state of permanent childhood. Such attitudes seem to have been a recipe for disaster than of harmony and goodwill in Mashonaland. We are raising the critical question of how such opportunities to reconcile humanity could be missed out in the name of Anglican missions in our context.

4.6.1. Handling the indigenous people

The views expressed by Carol Summers that could help us come to terms with the preceding missionary compromises need some acknowledgement at this point. Here we are informed that Rhodes’ pioneers had no clear-cut strategy to improve

⁵⁰¹. Porter, C.W. 2015: Requiem For Rhodesia. (unpaged). Available online at: Url: <http://cwporter.com/rhodesia.html>. Accessed on 26 May 2015

⁵⁰². Ibid.

the lives of the indigenous people and so relied, from the beginning, “on blunt, undisguised force,”⁵⁰³ Our concern from the point of view of history is that the Anglican Church is involved from the beginning and never challenges such immoral measures at the level of policy. Documents that affirm a categorical distinction between the Anglican Church and Rhodes’ colonial project seem to be scarce. We shall refer in greater detail to Summers’ work later when we look at how she sees missionaries in this context. We need to submit an urgent narrative at this point that could help us in our argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire in the way some aspects of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland have been advanced over the years.

4.6.2. Knight-Bruce’s context and imperial attitudes

We continue to be guided by literature that contains significant references to the founder of the Diocese of Mashonaland to understand his underlying attitudes over and against the very people, the indigenous, on which his mission is based in this part of the world. The theology of empire seems to get a boost when we put the settler-missionary attitudes in Mashonaland between 1890 and 1896 under the spotlight as we are doing. We are also highlighting the fact that history narratives about the Mashonaland Anglican context have been deprived of this dimension by many authors.

That there is conspiracy among missionaries and settlers against the indigenous people in Mashonaland is a position that seems to be supported by more evidence than could possibly be exhausted. To understand the prevalent attitudes among missionaries, during Knight-Bruce’s time and beyond, that could be seen as the major reason why they did not respect the indigenous peoples, we appeal to Marion O’Callaghan⁵⁰⁴ for a sample in this regard. O’Callaghan does not focus on Anglican missionaries alone but the entire major European religious and secular players towards the end of the nineteenth century in the then Southern Rhodesia. The justification of appealing to this evidence here is twofold: firstly, to demonstrate some consistency of the relationship between colonialism and

⁵⁰³. Summers, *op.cit.*p.14

⁵⁰⁴. O’Callaghan, M.,1977: Southern Rhodesia: The effects of a conquest society on education, culture and information (UNESCO, Paris and UK)

evangelism as advanced by Europeans in Southern Rhodesia during this time so as to appreciate Knight-Bruce's context that impacted on him. Secondly there is also an urgent need to justify the appeal to the usage of the theology of empire, as a theme within a Mashonaland setting and from an Anglican perspective.

4.7. Cue from the LMS within the theology of empire matrix

Although our main focus is the Anglican Church a word about other denominations in Mashonaland could help us boost our narratives in this context. The London Missionary Society is cited as speaking in eulogistic terms about its members who are engaged in work among the Ndebele.⁵⁰⁵ We observed in chapter three above that Knight-Bruce was hosted by the LMS while in Matabeleland. These white missionaries' heroism derived from the fact that, to their kith and kin back in Europe, they are almost like brave fighters engaged in a religious campaign to neutralise barbarism, heathenism, "ignorance, cruelty, despotism and superstition" in the name of the Christian God and in Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁰⁶ The militancy and urgency of the context seem to be taken for granted. Hence the approach by missionaries seems to have been already compromised by views that did not take the indigenous people seriously as those created by the same God who was being proclaimed to them. For Anglican missionaries therefore, gospel imperatives have a very different meaning since they do not see things from the point of view of God as our narrative is trying to highlight.

4.7.0. Knight-Bruce's views about the Mashona

Knight-Bruce himself does not show any restraint in characterising the indigenous people in the negative. We need to retreat back a little to 1888 just to boost our point here. During his tour of Mashonaland, that has already been introduced in our narratives in the preceding chapters, a commentary to his journal notes that the chiefs he meets with there are "all fairly gracious, but very childish, dirty, and savage."⁵⁰⁷ We sense that a prejudicial approach is already in place. The popular opinion among Europeans in this context lacks sympathy hence the harsh

⁵⁰⁵. O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.136

⁵⁰⁶. Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷. Knight-Bruce, 1892, p. 5/6.

judgement preferred. The idea of adult indigenous people being permanently children seems to be a consistent attitude.

A sympathetic appreciation of the indigenous is critical to mention here because it could have helped Europeans to adopt a sensitive suspension of judgement, meanwhile advocating a sober analysis of the indigenous religious expressions and living conditions encountered in this period. Without such a positive approach to the indigenous people, Europeans found themselves imposing their preconceived interpretations within a socio-cultural setting that was very different from theirs. A narrative that does not highlight such inadequacies tends to downplay one racial grouping while highlighting the greatness of another. In line with our focus on the theology of empire, we seem to get some boosting in our argument. The Anglican missionaries who are in Mashonaland in the name of God allow other preferences to influence their views given the fact that we do not encounter any policies that are designed to protect the indigenous people or those that could demonstrate to us that they are respected as human beings with equal dignity to the whites.

4.7.1. A broader missionary connection to the theology of empire narrative

The Methodist Church, in the above connection, uses similar derogatory terminology when making references to the Mashona whom they see, in this context, as difficult to convert because they are an “ignorant and degraded” people entangled in the barbarism of their past.⁵⁰⁸ Who determined it to be correct to maintain that the indigenous Africans during the late nineteenth century are ignorant and barbaric in their own socio-cultural context without qualification, is another challenging question. Prudent to maintain that they could not be expected to guess what European culture had advanced over the years, seems to be lacking. This historico-theological calibration in the negative based on the supposed ignorance of religion and the inability to convert by the indigenous does not portray missionaries of this genre in favourable terms. Instead of being emphatic on the good news, judgements against the indigenous people are often preferred. It seems imperative then to take the missionaries to task when narrating

⁵⁰⁸, O’Callaghan, op.cit.p.136

the history of Mashonaland from the Anglican Church's point of view instead of simply highlighting their successes.

Therefore Knight-Bruce could be rightly cited to help us understand how European missionaries viewed the indigenous people. His comments about the indigenous with whom he engages are quite revealing. At one point, during his first venture into Mashonaland, in 1888 he writes unconditionally that,

The native carriers are very irritating to deal with, and it is almost impossible to believe that these poor, stupid, noisy, smelling creatures come from almost the same part of Africa as did my five Christian natives, and that Christianity and education have apparently changed them into a different creation. Certainly, if a man can keep his temper with these native carriers he can keep it with nearly anyone.⁵⁰⁹

The language utilised by the Bishop in the above quote happens to be morally charged. There is need here to recall that we made reference to the North American context where British missionaries had exactly the same convictions. The indigenous people needed to be Christianised and to be educated in order to be more human. It could be concluded that the bishop's language, in the foregoing connection, has obvious inclinations towards glorifying a Euro-Christo-centric culture.

At the same time as Knight-Bruce was making observations about indigenous people cited above, he makes sure that he plays the role of a peace broker between the Portuguese and the BSAC's police force that are confronting each other to settle border issues that eventually separated Rhodesia and Mozambique.⁵¹⁰ Why he does not become a peace-broker between Lobengula and Rhodes remains elusive in this context. Later on, we hear Knight-Bruce betting on the presence at chief Makoni, of a BSAC trooper, as a good starting point for the Anglican Church. The Bishop notes in his journal that,

There is a great chief, Maconi, living about six miles away, where I shall try to put a Mission, and have sent him a message by the trooper, Trevor, who is stationed there. This man takes a great interest in missionary work, and as the chief can understand what he says, this may be a good beginning.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹. Knight-Bruce, 1892 op.cit. p.22/23

⁵¹⁰. Ibid. pp.23/24, 24.25.

⁵¹¹. Ibid. p.26/27

Besides the catechists, Knight-Bruce could count on the armed personnel of Rhodes to represent him in some contexts.

4.7.2. Knight-Bruce's attitude towards the use of force

Our quest in the above connection emphasises highlighting such limitations as a way of challenging scholars to move towards the direction of proposing corrective historical discourses that seem to be scarce in this African context of Mashonaland. The humanity of the indigenous people was not being taken seriously given such misconceptions by one who represented the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Keppel-Jones, in this context, observes that in general, the missionaries do not differ from the other colonialists when it comes to viewing the indigenous people whom they consider to be characterised by idleness, which simply means that they do not work for the white people.⁵¹² Knight-Bruce comes nearer to admitting the efficacy of the use of force among the indigenous people in his context, by Europeans, when he notes in his diary that: "It is painful how the Mashona character plays into the hands of all advocates of violence, for being slaves at heart and cowards, they will so often do through fear what they will do from no other motive."⁵¹³ Slavery and cowardice are seen as core to the nature of the indigenous people in Mashonaland and could perhaps be cited as constituting one reason that makes it impossible for even missionaries to respect them. Knight-Bruce continues his observations in this line and notes that:

One of the gentlest men in the country was lately so derided by his carriers, who would do nothing, that at last, when one huge native threatened him and drove him to desperation, he knocked him down, and beat him with a thick stick. Immediately every load was readily carried, and perfect peace and order reigned.⁵¹⁴

The last words in the foregoing quote: "perfect peace and order," seem unfortunate and confusing when their source is a man of God. How perfection within a morally charged context could be achieved through brute force is a challenging development here. We could then assume that the same force might be instrumental in converting people to Christianity in the same context. We also note that the white man in the preceding context is described as "gentlest" and

⁵¹², Keppel-Jones, op.cit.p.535

⁵¹³, Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit.p.44/45

⁵¹⁴, Ibid.

only appeals to force as a reaction to the insolence of the indigenous carriers. Knight-Bruce also goes on to note that,

I am afraid the quickest way to gain a point is so obviously by the policy of force that at times one can hardly wonder at a certain class, of white men resorting to it; of course, in the end, it only demoralises the poor creatures more and more, and puts off their moral, not to speak of their spiritual education farther than ever. In their present state the only power, they seem really to respect is brute force; therefore, probably, the rougher the white man they are dealing with is, the greater 'lord' they imagine him to be, though they may prefer working for the gentler master.⁵¹⁵

What is absent in this quote is the moral outrage of a missionary who could not justify the use of force unconditionally. It looks like it is something left to the fancies and whims of individual settlers. They could act as they see fit when dealing with the indigenous people. An appeal to brute force in the foregoing connection does not seem to be considered negative since the indigenous people are said not to respect those who are gentle. What gospel imperatives are in the preceding connection is illusive. Again, we are left wondering.

We could safely point out, in line with the foregoing, that the colonisation of the country that comes to be called Southern Rhodesia is a very good example of barbarism being unleashed by those who boast of being civilised. Unfortunately, they preferred to understand themselves as masters of civilisation. From the point of view of the theology of empire, we highlight this as strange and a good example of how dominating others plays itself in Mashonaland. Knight-Bruce acknowledges the use of force as a common tool employed in imposing lordship over the indigenous people. We have already seen that indigenous people are considered idle if they do not work for the whites. They are even referred to as “poor creatures” and not human beings.⁵¹⁶

Not many pro-western historians could be said to have admitted these atrocities by Europeans in a more direct fashion in the Mashonaland context and in connection with Anglican missionary work we are looking at. In this connection, the courage of T.O. Ranger⁵¹⁷ in exposing some of these excesses that could

⁵¹⁵. Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit.p.44/45

⁵¹⁶. Ibid.

⁵¹⁷. Ranger's 1967, op.cit.

have triggered the first Ndebele-Shona wars of resistance later in 1896-7 must be commended. We shall attend to this exposition in more detail below. To Ranger must be added Keppel-Jones whom we have already cited several times because his narratives do not seem to be a cover-up of the brutality obtaining in the way the country was colonised. For us to appreciate that there was peace under these circumstances is to accept the theory that the indigenous were children and therefore, had to be treated as such. The “mature” Europeans could handle the indigenous the way they saw fit in this context.

By deliberately undertaking to colonise another human race as happened in Mashonaland, Europeans in the process were assimilating the very barbarism they set out to condemn. The Europeans seem to contradict the very philanthropic logic that they claim to have propelled their missionary ambitions in this part of the world. So it is simply a case of switching roles: what was attributed to the indigenous people becomes a monopoly of those who prefer colour and race to common humanity, albeit without openly admitting it.

Accordingly, in line with the above, to judge indigenous Africans using European standards during the period in question, is a clear indication that some of these missionaries are harsh and not qualified to speak in the name of God. In Mashonaland, their mandate does not transcend the normal diplomacy of those bent on advancing western colonialism and eventually imperialism. The above-documented attitudes do not augur well when looked at from an African perspective within a post-colonial matrix. Missionary credibility stands or falls on the basis of what they are perceived to be doing to the African people in this context. Events pertaining to the subsequent conquest of the Ndebele and Shona in Southern Rhodesia in the late nineteenth century do not demonstrate that missionaries are going out of their way to insist that in the name of the Christian God they are supposed to be preaching, what is happening is wrong and barbaric.⁵¹⁸ It is theft;⁵¹⁹ it is greedy, and Christianity rightly understood should never be allowed to stand aloof amidst such vices. There were other missionaries

⁵¹⁸.Keppel-Jones, *op.cit.* p.521. Here we have, in mind, the dynamiting of caves by white troops where even women and children were hiding

⁵¹⁹. Ranger, *op.cit.*p.101ff. Land that once belonged to the Ndebele people was suddenly the monopoly of the BSAC and individual Europeans at the expense of the indigenous

outside this context that could be cited as good examples of what a principled stance could be like from a Christian point of view. Below we shall proceed to sample such missionary examples to demonstrate that the theology of empire could not be accepted as the only possible Christian interpretation of history.

4.8. Differences between Van der Kemp and Knight-Bruce

In this section we look out of the Mashonaland context to get materials for comparison. In one article authored by Adrian Hastings, a London Missionary Society member, Dr Johannes Van der Kemp, is a good example of a religious leader who understands his role as having politico-economic overtones as well. His stance is appealing to our narrative. This selection does not aim at ignoring the other contrary views made by critical observers who think of his position as one meant to assist colonisers in other ways.⁵²⁰ However, from the point of view of our narrative underpinned by an appreciation of the nature of the theology of empire, there are points critical to take note of. We could accept that we are dealing with gospel imperatives in this context. Here we just want to introduce a brief contrast to Knight-Bruce's position that we are busy outlining but now making a logical jump outside Mashonaland. We are informed that Van der Kemp focused on the plight of the Hottentots in South Africa who

...were reduced by the advance of the colonists to a most miserable condition: either landless wanderers or slaves (or near slaves) on a Boer farm. Van der Kemp saw his work, not only as the Christian conversion of the Hottentots but as a struggle for their political and economic rights.⁵²¹

This quote that highlights Van der Kemp's ministry is appealing to the Mashonaland context. It supports the view that it was possible to do missionary work in a prophetic mode. This approach would clearly affirm the distinction between missionaries and colonisers. The narratives we have so far encountered do not take us anywhere near this noble Christian position within the Mashonaland context of the 1890s. The farms we heard of being given to Anglican missionaries never came to be safe locations for the indigenous people. So there seems to be

⁵²⁰. Cochrane, op.cit.p.22. The information in question emphasise the fact that Van der Kemp was actually a collaborator with colonisers as his station, Bethelsdorp Mission, could serve as a labour reservoir and facilitate in the collection of taxes.

⁵²¹. Hastings, A. 2008: Mission, Church and State in Southern Africa. UNISA, RSA. p.22. Available online at: <http://0-docserver.ingentaconnect.com.oasis.unisa.ac.za/deliver/connect/brill/01689789/v2n1/s8.pdf>? Accessed on 19 July 2013

a vacuum regarding how the indigenous people were to benefit from the Anglican Church in Mashonaland before the end of the nineteenth century.

That the developments in this context could be glossed over in favour of positive achievements only is a curious state of affairs. That Christianity and education were going to improve the indigenous people's livelihood is a subject that could be looked at from other perspectives by people in Mashonaland. In the box below, there is an appeal to a Shona folklore whose founder is anonymous but told to me by Mr Dharu Gangandaza of Mhondoro-Ngezi.⁵²²

The Fox and the Crow: The fox was hungry and had an appetite for the crow that used to perch itself on a tree nearby. Being challenged in many ways when it comes to climbing trees, the fox hatched a plan. From mere observation, the fox knew that the crow used to frequent the open veld for worms. That was the point of entry for the fox's plan. Instead of approaching the crow directly, the first thing the fox did was to go to look for the worms and fill a basket. Then it approached the crow. After the normal preliminaries of greetings and well wishes (of course from a Shona point of view where you ask about your well-being; your family's, how other aspects of life have been affecting you and so forth...), the crow asked about the worms. Were they for sale or something? The fox was excited. His plan was after all a good one. The worms were not for sale. However, since the crow was always flying to the veld to look for them and the jackal needed something from the crow, a deal could be struck. The fox wanted crow feathers to keep his den warm since winter was approaching. Could the crow consider donating some of her feathers to provide for the fox's warmth in winter in exchange for worms? To the crow, there were two advantages: Firstly, the feathers lost could always be naturally replaced. Secondly, the crow would not have the trouble to fly to the veld to hunt for worms since the fox could do that. The fox, being so deceptive knew very well what his plan was. For every worm, the crow was supposed to drop one feather! For the crow, this was nothing compared to the worms that she could get without having to fly. After all, the feathers were of no use if worms could be provided by the fox. So a deal was

⁵²². Interview with Mr Dharu Gangandaza...

struck, one “useless feather” for a “valuable worm”! So it came to pass that every day the fox would bring a basket full of worms and each one of the worms, the crow would have to part with a feather. Then the fox made the last proposal. It indicated to the crow that since they had developed a mutual understanding, the fox had another urgent commitment. The basket full of worms would be delivered as usual, but the crow would have to struggle to fly down to come and continue with the deal in the absence of the fox. By now the crow had gained much weight and had few feathers to fly. Anywhere, oblivious to what the fox was up to, the crow struggled to get down the tree and went straight to the basket where it continued to pluck out a feather for every worm she ate according to the deal. The fox was “nowhere” in the vicinity. When the crow had finished this last basket of worms, it felt very heavy and could not even attempt to fly. That is when the fox appeared from his hiding. Things had changed now. The fox indicated that all along, it had been feeding the crow for this wonderful opportunity to enjoy a fat meal! The crow could not fly away even though it realised its mistake. It had been cheated by being deprived of its natural ability to defend itself by flying away in the face of danger. This was a point of no return!

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There is only one point the above story is emphatic about in the context of the theology of empire context: To deprive people of their natural abilities to interrogate their belief systems is the same as robbing them of the capacity to defend themselves from religious manipulation and to run away from danger. This story was told to me by Mr Gangandaza who challenged me to find both the missionary and coloniser symbolised by the fox!

4.8.0. Missionary radicalism and colonial abuses

In Van der Kemp, introduced above, we have the kind of radical approach to Christian leadership obtaining at the very beginning of the nineteenth century in Southern Africa, but that never impacted on the pioneer Anglican leadership that came to the country they called Southern Rhodesia later. In Van der Kemp,

⁵²³. The story cited has a practical interpretation in our theology of empire discourse. The fox, if we are not aware of its obvious intention might appear to be doing something noble: Entering into a deal where the trade/exchange rules seem to be above board. One worm for a feather! But a feather is more important than a worm. One could always look for a worm and fly to distant places to fetch it. But the crow needs a feather that takes time to grow.

therefore, we are faced with a leadership that does not sing eulogies on behalf of the State: on behalf those with guns and dynamites to destroy the indigenous people and the structures critical to their survival. Indeed, the context in question sees a prophetic Christian leadership in the persons of Dr Johannes Van der Kemp and then John Phillip deliberately undertaking to address a colonial situation that is already a runaway case in terms of the denigration of the dignity and authenticity of the Hottentots by Europeans.⁵²⁴ At Bethelsdorp, Van der Kemp was able to convince the colonists that oppressing the Hottentots was a serious moral compromise. In this connection, Hastings writes:

Let us recall too the special service he held at Bethelsdorp in 1807 of public thanksgiving for Parliament's prohibition of the slave trade, in which all the people, old and young, were assembled and, mindful of 'the horrid usage of the poor slaves still in bondage in this colony' agreed to be urgent in prayer that 'this great evil' be wholly done away with. Here liturgy and political liberation were, from the start of our history, fused into one.⁵²⁵

Hastings informs us that Van der Kemp demonstrated the fact that there is an essential link between worship (liturgy) and socio-economic as well as political freedom (liberation)⁵²⁶ His convictions derived from the very fact that he was a Christian, to begin with. Therefore, Van der Kemp was able to confront the colonial rulers with a message that challenged them to see the reality of evil even in their dealings with the indigenous whose rights had been curtailed due to political and economic domination.⁵²⁷ Here was oppression being challenged as a matter of principle in the name of the Christian faith. That the missionaries who came to Mashonaland towards the turn of the century could not act or preach in this fashion happens to challenge us here.

In addition to the above, theology was being applied to challenge historical developments of a politico-economic nature. We are brought face to face with the idea of political liberation as championed by priests on behalf of the poor and oppressed. The people in Mashonaland and Matabeleland are not so lucky in the 1890s and beyond. They do not get such daring missionaries to champion their cause before 1902. Van der Kemp was succeeded by John Philip, who also took

⁵²⁴. Hastings, op.cit. pp. 22-23.

⁵²⁵. Ibid.p.23

⁵²⁶. Ibid.

⁵²⁷. Ibid.

up the same cause of the emancipation of the indigenous people in the face of oppressive European colonialists.⁵²⁸ It is clear that we are being given an example of missionaries who really could be said to have been motivated by gospel imperatives. Writing about their work could be seen as one way of demonstrating that missionary activities needed not be dependent on colonial officials and settlers.

In light of the above, Hastings further notes that,

Faced, as they saw it, with oppressing colonists and oppressed natives, Van der Kemp and Philip did not believe that they could somehow maintain a role of neutrality, in order ultimately to reconcile the two. Rather they took sides and coupled this with the voice of prophecy, calling in straight Old Testament terms for the liberation of the oppressed. 'I could not forbear to warn him' Van der Kemp wrote, after a conversation with Governor Janssens, of 'the displeasure of God who most certainly would hear the cries of the oppressed.'⁵²⁹

It is important to note that neutrality on the face of colonial evils could not be entertained by the two missionaries identified. Neutrality was not an option in a context where evil could be isolated and condemned. In Mashonaland, it looks like the Anglican missionaries did not know where evil dwelt when they knew very well that all Europeans were newcomers and domineering. This becomes a problem that our theme of imperial theology could be seen as being able to address. At least the challenge is to expose that fact that the concerns we are raising here have not yet been addressed by historians who see the urgency to highlight missionary deficiencies in a compromised context.

Liturgy and liberation in the preceding context could be a theme worth investigating in terms of how Christian work was executed by Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland. This attempt to use a Christian discourse in order to champion the cause of the oppressed is not the kind of development we could find during Eusebius' time. Hence our interest in the further recurrence of the theology of empire in a context that comes many centuries after the fourth. When we look at narratives about the Diocese of Mashonaland from the point of view of our

⁵²⁸. Hastings, op.cit.p.23

⁵²⁹. Ibid.

problem in this context underpinned by the theology of empire, we realise that we are at a loss.

Nevertheless, the successes we encounter are those that are similar to the story of Mzeki we will discuss below to highlight the victory of the theology of empire in Mashonaland. We shall see how the ideas and convictions of those in power are able to hijack matters Christian for their own ends. They do not tell us about profound engagements of Christianity and the lives of people that were transformed in ways that could be tied to the total liberation of people. It seems to be the case that the Mashonaland context in which Knight-Bruce was the bishop did not consider the liberation of the indigenous as an urgent matter because the only concern was to ensure that, as we have seen above, some land to compensate their traditional losses could be made available.

However, in line with the foregoing, we questioned this arrangement because it was never attempted or even pursued as a matter of Anglican Church policy or social responsibility in Mashonaland. We are also highlighting the fact that the writings that we have been consulting in this connection do not seem to be aware of the partisan stance they adopt. When the Church becomes partisan, then Christianity must be understood as a faith that is too eager to contradict itself. That attitude seems to blend well with the position of white Anglicans who simply went on with the business of making Mashonaland their paradise without reference to the plight of the indigenous people whom they were short-changing socially, politically and economically.

In addition, if things were good for the Europeans, who occupied Mashonaland the only criterion of adequacy we have is how they treated their indigenous counterparts. Mashonaland of the 1890s and beyond, seems to be an opportunity for the Europeans to demonstrate that they are really masters of Christianity and civilisation. Had they played their cards well and in the spirit of a loving God, the Europeans could still be respected in many ways in Mashonaland for being gracious people. Like a stranger who comes into a context and teaches people survival skills, even today, they could still command that great respect.

Unfortunately, they imposed their goodness when in practice they did not demonstrate that they represented higher values.

4.8.1. Another Constantinean connection to the Mashonaland scenario

The facts we have so far attended could vindicate us, if we were to scrutinise the Constantinean political establishment that promoted a quiescence Church in the face of evil. It was a Church that seemed to have moved away from ensuring that the people of God were free in the true sense. For example, at the Council of Nicaea, Constantine was able to substitute theological values with political ones skilfully.⁵³⁰ Drake observes that the “unity” of the Empire took precedence over the “purity” of the Church.⁵³¹

In addition, if God could be a unity of various distinct persons, a united empire could not be seen as impossible. Our position seems to favour the fact that in Mashonaland, the Anglican Church’s approach to Rhodes’ colonial project was not confrontational but supportive. The colonial project was more important than the indigenous people. During the fourth century, Constantine was able to call the Church to order not so much as a devoted Christian establishment but because of other socio-economic as well as political and military concerns. In connection with the Council of Nicaea we introduced above, Tyler Yung Laughlin writes,

Another factor of the Council of Nicaea was not just its religious ramifications, but also its uniformity throughout the empire. Because the church received instructions on uniform doctrines and standardized beliefs, the divisions and sects ceased to exist. In turn, unifying a religion that was beginning to permeate the entire empire was to bring unification in it as well. Constantine’s involvement was genius in the fact that it served a two-fold purpose for control in both aspects of the empire.⁵³²

It appears that the Church and State could work together but in an extremely compromised relationship if we are to insist on gospel imperatives that we understand here as being the driving force behind missionary work. The Church

⁵³⁰. Drake, H.A., 2007: The Impact of Constantine on Christianity, Cambridge Collections Online, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK. pp.111-136 Available online at: http://0cco.cambridge.org.oasis.unisa.ac.za/uid=2729/pdf_handler?id=ccol0521818389_CCOL0521818389A008&pdf_hh=1. Accessed on 13 June 2015

⁵³¹. Ibid.

⁵³². Laughlin, T.Y., 2007: The Controversy of Constantine’s Conversion to Christianity, Senior Seminar: HST 499, Western Oregon University, USA , p.19f.

could now move away from being prophetic, to being an accomplice. In future, the Church would find it difficult to be critical to political abuses in the name of unity, which was no unity at all. The radical prophetic ministry could have been more ideal in the Mashonaland context, but because there was that soft spot towards politicians, it was not possible. Eusebius proves this for us on his continued eulogistic assessment of the emperor Constantine.

We still must be reminded that to introduce the theme of imperial theology is to appreciate this departure from God's authority while directly or indirectly insisting on that of humanity. This is the reason why Emperor Constantine became so popular within Church circles in the fourth century. The human authority had succeeded in becoming the criterion of adequacy. Eusebius says of Constantine:

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. Moreover, God forthwith rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.⁵³³

That the Emperor may have demonstrated some amount of piety is not our concern here. However, that he was so dear to God is a claim that could be easily made by anyone. Humanity has got limitations, hence, the need to challenge it to consciously seek the will of God for religious, political, economic and social guidance. God's people must come to terms with this understanding that theirs is a privileged position for, through them; the divine intention for the world should be proclaimed in a collective fashion rather than individualistically. We get concerned when we hear from Eusebius that it was God who enabled, in a unique way, the emperor to subdue other nations. Earlier we referred to Isaiah and Jeremiah to demonstrate that prophetic voices never took rulers for granted. The main reason we appreciated in this connection is that God is above all humans and does not take sides in an arbitrary fashion.

⁵³³. Eusebius, the life of the blessed Emperor Constantine, 1.VI

We saw, in the preceding sections, that the Anglican Church known to us in the Diocese of Mashonaland did not make such bold pronouncements from the beginning of the colonial era. To those who invaded Mashonaland in 1890, the message should have been proclaimed to the effect that such greed and avarice could be doomed. However, there was silence while the will to work together with those on a colonial mission was adopted as the norm. Historians who would narrate these developments are seen as supporting the Eusebian stance.

4.8.2. Hastings' position on the 'political priest'

The way Van der Kemp is treated by Hastings reminds us that sometimes it is critical to call the world and its politicians to order in the name of God. Perhaps that is where religion and politics could engage meaningfully and to avoid the unnecessary and unhealthy dichotomy that we might be tempted to maintain between the two. In line with the above, Hastings observes that,

In southern Africa, the political priest is, then, as old as the mission. His self-understanding entailed the Church's commitment to defend the weak against the strong in all circumstances and by any lawful means available: appeals to government and public opinion, locally and in Europe; the publication of the misdeeds of the powerful, the use of Church resources to protect the oppressed, offer them employment and teach them not only such skills as will improve their economic position but also the political skills of self-defence.⁵³⁴

These seem to be mere ideals when the Diocese of Mashonaland context is brought under scrutiny. We have already seen that contrary to challenging the colonial rulers in Mashonaland, bishops such as Knight-Bruce opted to support them. From what we have noted above, Hastings seems to overgeneralise how missionaries responded to colonial obsessions. At least the position he envisages is absent in Knight-Bruce's approach to the colonialists of his time in Mashonaland who went on the rampage as Ranger reminded us earlier.⁵³⁵ We know that Knight-Bruce, in the early 1890s did not live to create the kind of indigenous religio-political leadership that could be referenced today in terms of the radical spirit envisaged by Hastings.

⁵³⁴. Hastings, op.cit.p.23

⁵³⁵. Ranger, op.cit.pp.101ff &108ff

Therefore, the Mashonaland defined by Knight-Bruce was that of adults who were children when it mattered most in terms of asserting themselves. If indigenous leadership only began to be given enough space nearly a century later, the question is whether any serious grooming was taking place at all from the beginning. Our appeal to the theology of empire categories and thought-patterns becomes urgent in this historical context of the Diocese of Mashonaland which does not give us the radical application of gospel principles given the colonial abuses prevalent in this context. What we have been made aware of are lies, betrayal, compromise and such gross violations of gospel imperatives. This calls into question all the writings that seem to give us the image of an Anglican Church that was keen to engage the people within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a purely evangelistic enterprise.

In addition our preferred opinion is that it should be considered one of the most celebrated lies of any epoch if Christians do not take sides with the poor and oppressed; the weak and underprivileged; those who have been denied justice and those whose humanity is forced into subservience in the name of Christianity and civilisation. That Christians should be activists against any form of injustice is a call that must be made without compromise. Nevertheless, the 'political priest' that Hastings sees obtaining in the nineteenth century was not, it seems, very popular, and therefore a rare breed. Hastings' findings could represent something that was rather an exception than the norm as references to Knight-Bruce have revealed to us.

Nevertheless, to augment the latter point above, Knight-Bruce's position was exploited, to the full by Rhodes⁵³⁶ (who seems to be a nineteenth-century version of the fourth century Constantine), hence, demonstrating to us that the indigenous were at the mercy of both missionary and coloniser when it came to issues of power, personal authenticity and well-being. Our narrative, in this connection, includes the argument that the indigenous people should have been trained, from the very beginning, to champion their cause rather than allowing it to be a monopoly of very few missionaries who betrayed them, ultimately. Remember our

⁵³⁶. Hastings, op.cit.p.26

illustration above of the fox and the crow. Artificial partnerships often find it difficult to strike a balance between betrayal and trust. Christianity and civilisation, when championed from a properly balanced approach to humanity must invoke feelings of trust rather than betrayal.

We have many questions in our context because, in Mashonaland, the Anglican Church was not taking on the challenge to champion God's cause in a manner that would build a permanent trust among the indigenous.⁵³⁷ In later chapters of this work, we shall attend to this subject to interrogate how the Diocese of Mashonaland continued to order itself.

4.8.3. The issue of a definitive prophetic moral stamina

That we are looking at a greedy and imperial enterprise, reminiscence of the fourth century Rome that needed a Christian response, in line with the above, was echoed already in 1892 when one British politician of reputable status in England pointed out that Europeans had no rights whatsoever over the African natives even if the popular talk at that time about the "sphere of influence" was to be pursued to its logical conclusions.⁵³⁸ We find it curious that some statesmen were ahead of the missionaries in terms of how they viewed the colonial developments of the late nineteenth century. Precisely, the British politician who is inspiring us here stated in no uncertain terms that,

A sphere of influence confers no right, no authority over the people; a sphere of influence confers no right or authority over the land of any kind...Every act of force you commit against a native within a sphere of influence is an unlawful assault; every acre of land you take is robbery; every native you kill is murder, because you have no right and authority against these men.⁵³⁹

The above are very critical words indeed. We shall say more below. For now, it should neither be seen as an exaggeration nor a sensational stance to maintain that Rhodes and the missionaries who supported him directly or indirectly could be

⁵³⁷. We have already pointed out that from the people's general understanding of such institutions as St Augustine of Penhalonga, the fact that it was one of Cecil John's strategic structures to assert the British presence in the area and so to keep the Portuguese away could be suppressed. Students who benefitted from this institution might even be oblivious to this fact. See questionnaire in Appendix 8. The question of betrayal is urgent here since the indigenous would not be allowed to see the other side of the missionaries' double-dealings in this connection.

⁵³⁸. Palley, C., 1966: *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965 With Special Reference to Imperial Control* Clarendon Press, Oxford, UK, pp.12f. The first chapter consulted gives us insights into the legal issues that were encountered by British colonialists as they tried to justify the politico-economic greedy that was prevalent then

⁵³⁹. *Ibid.* pp.12ff

accused of being robbers, aggressors, illegitimate masters and murderers if the spirit commanded in this quote could be followed to its logical conclusions.

4.9. Illustration of the theology of empire as propagandistic

The following graphic picture (we shall appeal to several of these to illustrate some points) demonstrates how far the Europeans in Rhodesia, later in the 1970s could go to affirm their domineering spirit. Africans who took arms to liberate themselves were treated as though they were doing something unthinkable and labelled simply as terrorists.⁵⁴⁰



Figure 4.1: “The inhuman display of Kid Marongorongo and Solomon Ngoni’s bodies”⁵⁴¹

In one source that tries to highlight the propaganda of the people who should have exercised some reasonable restraints in their dealings with the indigenous we read that,

Mavhunga vividly remembers the day when ‘Gindron’ (Land Rover) pulled up in their village parading the famous Kid Marongorongo and Solomon Ngoni’s bodies (in the photo insert). ‘Their lifeless bodies were kicked, the inhuman treatment was meant to dissuade people from joining the liberation struggle,’ said Mavhunga.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴⁰. Pfukwa, Professor, 2016: Clever Mabhonzo: Another great name of the post-Altena period in the Patriot, Harare, Zimbabwe. Available online at: Url:

https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/clever-mabhonzo-another-great-name-of-the-post-altena-period/. Accessed on 28 April 2016

⁵⁴¹. Moyo, Chiratidzo, 2016: Remembering the inhuman display of Kid Marongorongo’s body in the Patriot, Harare, Zimbabwe. Availbale online at: Url: https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/remembering-the-inhuman-display-of-kid-marongorongos-body/. Accessed on 27 April 2016

⁵⁴². Ibid.

The foregoing was done not by the barbaric and uncivilised Mashona or Ndebele people, but by the so-called masters of civilisation, and the reasons have been given to us. This is just an illustration of our point although it happened many years after the colonisation of Mashonaland, and hence in a post-Knight-Bruce era. From the point of view of the theology of empire, those who dare oppose the *status quo* are automatically, by that very token, the villains. The cover-up of atrocities by the powerful seems to be the norm, and we wonder how gospel imperatives could be said to fit into such obnoxious schemes.

4.9.0. Selective privileges

Our narrative could be seen as leading us to one unfortunate development: It seems to be the case that to be indigenous people, that is, Shona, Ndebele and patriotic, then, was a permanent condemnation. We wonder how Constantine or King Henry VIII would have reacted if all those who supported them had been treated the way the British descendants later treated those rebels in the territories they colonised. The inconsistent here is critical. Those responsible for narrating the histories of the European rulers never gave us that option to see them as belonging to the category of barbarians. It seems to be the case that the British who came to Mashonaland never recalled the fact that when it comes to personal authenticity, other people throughout the world have the same claims.

It is important to note that Eusebius' Constantine is presented always in bad light by Count Zosimus in his work.⁵⁴³ From the beginning, we are told, Constantine had ambitions of being emperor and therefore very passionate about it to the extent of ensuring that he placed himself strategically for such an opportunity.⁵⁴⁴ This could explain the urgency of his desire to be very near his father, Constantius, before he died.⁵⁴⁵ That God was initiating this ascendancy is not entertained here.

4.9.1. Prophetic voices outside missionary circles

⁵⁴³. Vossius, G.J., 1814: The History of Count Zosimus, sometime Advocate and Chancellor of the Roman Empire, (Translated from the original Greek), W. Green and T. Chaplin, London, UK. Available online at: <https://archive.org/details/TheHistoryOfCountZosimus>. Accessed on 14 August 2014

⁵⁴⁴. Ibid. p.40

⁵⁴⁵. Ibid.

In line with the preceding observations, it could be argued that colonialism brought into being the unfortunate development that could easily fit into the category of economic, social, political and religious thuggery within Mashonaland. Sir William Harcourt,⁵⁴⁶ quoted above, was speaking as a politician in Britain. Yet he utilises the prophetic language that could be said to be consistent with a missionary spirit we could envisage within the Mashonaland of the late nineteenth century under siege by colonialists. Unfortunately, though a cutting-edge statement in Europe then, such language is rare within the Mashonaland context under scrutiny and among the missionaries such as Knight-Bruce and colonisers of the 1890s. This could qualify to boost the spirit of the theology of empire in the sense that the word of God is made subservient to the British socio-economic and political aggressiveness in this period. Christian writers who set out to write such history in favourable terms could be seen as singing eulogies on behalf of the empire. Why we do not have critical literature about the missionary moral deficiencies in this context is a question awaiting attempts by daring historians.

4.9.2. The BSAC as “an instrument of God” in Mashonaland

This section actually raises the question of whether the BSAC was an instrument of God in Mashonaland. It has been widely publicised that the defeat of the indigenous people in Mashonaland was both brutal and vindictive.⁵⁴⁷ That a series of moral treaties in this context were never written should challenge those who expect to see Christian values being pursued to the logical conclusions. Hastings sums up the forceful takeover of the country that came to be called Southern Rhodesia by British agents in the 1890s when he observes that, “The British Army or the soldiers of Rhodes's British South African Company then became the providential nutcracker for the preaching of the gospel.”⁵⁴⁸ Simply stated, the force that the colonisers used among the indigenous people could have paved the way for the so-called successful evangelism by missionaries, among them, Anglicans. Missionaries on their own accord had failed to convince the indigenous people

⁵⁴⁶ Palley, *op.cit.* p12ff

⁵⁴⁷ Dodge, R.E., 1968: *The Church's Dilemma in Southern Africa in Africa Today: Christianity and Revolution in Southern Africa*, Indiana University Press, USA, 15(3), p.12. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4184910>. Accessed on 29 October 2011

⁵⁴⁸ Hastings, A., *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, UK. Available online at: URL: <http://0-www.oxfordscholarship.com.oasis.unisa.ac.za/view/10.1093/0198263996.001.0001/acprof-9780198263999-chapter-10>. Accessed on 1 April 2009

that they had anything new to offer in ways that were both attractive and sustainable. The problem then would be whether people converted to Christianity out of conviction or out of fear. Was it the gun or the bible that made people convert? This, again, is a critical question that has not been attempted directly in such a way that we could analyse it to get more enlightenment about the growth of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Below we shall see that Bernard Mizeki saw many people coming to his church in Mangwende at one time and at another time, he was killed by the same.

4.9.3. Reviewing the BSAC's occupation of Mashonaland

We need to question the missionary ethos that we have elected to interrogate at some length in this work. We have already accused some authors of giving us misleading facts just to protect an illegitimate process or to make it appear more human. This is to refresh and augment what has already been highlighted in connection with the fraudulent occupation of Mashonaland by Rhodes' people. There is a popular view from some circles that the occupation of Mashonaland itself was based on fraud. This is critical given the missionary involvement in the occupation of Mashonaland. In Fry's work, there is a critical admission to the effect that: Rhodes knew very well that he was dealing with a king who could not read.⁵⁴⁹ So what he said verbally was different from what the Rudd Concession stated in written form.⁵⁵⁰ Knowing very well that he had cheated, he prepared for any Ndebele attack and also avoided Bulawayo when entering the country from South Africa.⁵⁵¹ Why Knight-Bruce was not aware of this fraud is an urgent question here given some of the accounts that we cited earlier.

Nevertheless, one source that seems to be urgently informative glosses over the preceding fraud and maintains that:

The Prime Minister of the Cape, Mr Cecil Rhodes, had learnt from General Gordon to believe in the colonising office of 'God's Englishmen,' and Mashonaland seemed to him a fair country to add to England's landlordship. Very quickly he obtained the concession of mining rights over all the land from the Matabele chief;

⁵⁴⁹. Fry, W.E., 1982: Occupation of Mashonaland, (Books of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo). pp. xii-xiii.

⁵⁵⁰. Fry, op.cit.pp. xii-xiii

⁵⁵¹. Ibid.

formed the South African Chartered Company, and sent up their Pioneer force to take possession, which it did with peace and success.⁵⁵²

We should be mindful of the fact that this narrative is coming from an official Anglican source. It uses words that should be of interest to us in connection with the discourse of the theology of empire. The source goes on to state that,

Three clergy accompanied the men as chaplains. One of these, to the great regret of his troop, died from the effects of the climate near Fort Tuli; another returned; and Canon Balfour still remains in charge of the police and of Fort Salisbury, having shared all the hardships of the early settlement.⁵⁵³

However, what we have already noted makes it clear that such observations are misleading. They avoid the fact that the whole process was flawed and therefore fraudulent. Christian missionaries who included Knight-Bruce baptised this evil to the effect that we should be reading documents of detailed fraud in most of our history sources in this context. That such a theme is absent is a cause for concern because opportunities to question the available narratives are suppressed. Canon Balfour's bravery is highlighted here. That he happens to be a missionary with higher Christian values to defend is not urgent. His services to the occupying forces seem to be all that is important. In the spirit of the theology of empire, this interrogation is urgent.

The foregoing concerns could be justified in our argument for the theology of empire in Mashonaland. If it had been a peaceful occupation, the Pioneer Column could have proceeded straight to Bulawayo and then to Mashonaland with Lobengula's explicit blessing. Our worry in this context is that the Column was given Anglican chaplains to bless this illicit action.⁵⁵⁴ It looks like once evil has been blessed, it becomes a good in our Mashonaland context provided it is British. Perhaps that is where serious ethical questions could be raised on the basis of whether the end could be seen justifying the means as the history before us seems to support.

4.9.4. Rhodes' strategic use of missionaries

⁵⁵². Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit.

⁵⁵³. Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴. Fry, op.cit.pp. xii-xiii

One observer says that Rhodes “is best interpreted as a politician who devoted his private fortune to the expansion of the British Empire.”⁵⁵⁵ Therefore to this end, British imperialism was effectively used for personal fortunes.⁵⁵⁶ We could safely say that even his sponsorship of Church personnel and activities were part of this grand and self-seeking scheme. It was not a Christian undertaking. A self-styled politician, therefore, sought religious support to make his case cogent and so to allow it to appear as being above board. It was a case of greedy and calculated fraud. To make this something Christianity could rather partner with is to distort the whole rationale of this religion and the imperatives that propels it.

In Mashonaland and Matabeleland, Rhodes’ capitalist motives were obvious from the way he ordered himself and his company. Hence, we are informed that he allowed land, cattle and labour to be confiscated from the natives.⁵⁵⁷ Here was robbery perfected in the name of western civilisation. Barbarism carried the day disguised as an essential expression of civilisation. We, therefore, should view Rhodes as one who was more interested in promoting his investments, using whatever means were available, than any other cause his supporters may want to advance in this connection.⁵⁵⁸ “The British South Africa Company”, the presenter notes that,

The object which Cecil Rhodes had set before himself was threefold: To establish British ascendancy in South Central Africa, to develop the potential wealth of that part of the world, and to raise the lot of its native inhabitants. Subsequent history has shown the extent to which this purpose has been achieved. To-day the figures of population, Black and White, of mineral production, of road and railway mileage and of trade speak for themselves.⁵⁵⁹

Clearly, Rhodes was not promoting a Christian cause, at least, but his socio-economic, as well as political agenda, were clear. How Rhodes managed to entice the Christian missionaries such as Knight-Bruce to such an extent that they

⁵⁵⁵ . Phimister, I. R. 1974: Rhodes, Rhodesia and the Rand, *in the Journal of Southern African Studies* Taylor & Francis, Ltd., Oxfordshire, UK, 1 (1).p.74. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636596> Accessed at UNISA on 28/03/2011

⁵⁵⁶ . *ibid.*p.75

⁵⁵⁷ . *Ibid.* p.85

⁵⁵⁸ . BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY HISTORICAL CATALOGUE & SOUVENIR of RHODESIA EMPIRE EXHIBITION, JOHANNESBURG, 1936-37. Foreword by SIR HENRY BIRCHENOUGH, BART., G.C.M.G., Available online at: Url: <http://www.tokencoins.com/bbp.htm> . Accessed on 29 October 2011. It is clear from this article that Rhodes is a hero who contributed significantly to the welfare of the people of Mashonaland. This does not help us to understand why Africans had to rebel against him and those who came after him. History again is the victim of bias.

⁵⁵⁹ . *Ibid.*

suppressed their consciences and went as far as providing chaplains to the forces, involved in the occupation of Mashonaland, is a perennial question in this work.

In addition, Norman E. Thomas observes that:

Cecil Rhodes' dream of British rule from the Cape to Cairo collided in Zimbabwe with the Portuguese ambition for an east-west empire from Mozambique to Angola. With limited resources, Rhodes chose to consolidate the eastern border of the colony bearing his name with a line of missions instead of forts.⁵⁶⁰

It is clear that Christian missions were seen here as critical to the whole colonial agenda as conceived by Cecil John Rhodes. Mission stations could, therefore, be used as symbols of colonial assertiveness.

4.9.5. St Augustine Penhalonga as an imperial outpost

One of the missions mentioned in the above connection is St Augustine Penhalonga and of course Anglican.⁵⁶¹ We have already introduced this mission above. A few former students of this mission were asked to respond to a questionnaire that wanted to establish how much they had been made aware of Rhodes' scheme in line with the building of this institution.⁵⁶² It came to light that such was never something they were enlightened on. Our concern is further boosted by the fact that it could be the case that many indigenous people among the educated of the country were never given the opportunity to understand the history of this critical institution in our context.⁵⁶³ They simply remember the good work by missionaries there.⁵⁶⁴

When this researcher was growing up, St Augustine Penhalonga was just one of the most famous Anglican missions responsible for training catechists and teachers within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. That it could have been one of Rhodes' critical posts is information that is not readily available among many indigenous people. Rhodes, therefore, used church leaders so efficiently and so

⁵⁶⁰. Thomas, N.E., Church and State in Zimbabwe, in Journal Of Church and State, Oxford Press, UK. p.116, Available online at: Url: <http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/>. Accessed at Unisa on 29 October 2011

⁵⁶¹. Ibid. p.116

⁵⁶². See Appendix 8 for Questionnaire to the Chiganze family

⁵⁶³. Responses to questions in Appendix 8

⁵⁶⁴. Ibid.

effectively for something contrary to what they proclaimed in public. Meanwhile, St Augustine could be cited as a key centre for Anglican evangelism in Mashonaland, it was, in line with the above observation, also a strategic colonial instrument in the hands of the BSAC.

4.9.6. The attack on Matabeleland seen as a blessing

Another good example given in line with the above is an Anglican Archdeacon, James Hay Upcher, who condoned the attack, by the pioneers, on the Ndebele State in 1893.⁵⁶⁵ The position of Knight-Bruce is equally problematic in this connection. While, he appeared to be lamenting Lobengula's fall, Knight-Bruce blamed it equally on the Ndebele king's cruelty and lack of foresight to the end that the evil in bringing this fall about was justified.⁵⁶⁶ Yet in the same context, a Methodist missionary made it clear that what was happening, the destruction of a nation's power base, was an opportunity to praise God.⁵⁶⁷ Where one Christian leader preferred to call a spade by its proper name, another of the Anglican persuasion seemed to have been more ambiguous and hypocritical.

When one reads some documents in the preceding connection, it becomes clear that the Bishop, in 1889, had given Lobengula a horse, a gesture that could easily be viewed as bribery, while imploring the Matabele king to be friendly to the British.⁵⁶⁸ The fact that gifts become urgent in a context where complex matters are being discussed smacks of the dubious moral outlook we are concerned with in connection with the colonisation of Mashonaland and the involvement of Anglican missionaries. In 1893, Knight-Bruce tried to argue for neutrality on the basis that he was the bishop of both Mashonaland and Matabeleland but never delivered anything meaningful to protect the Ndebeles from Rhodes' ruthless forces.⁵⁶⁹ Political and economic ideals had been turned into a religious cause successfully and neutrality here was a scapegoat where there had been prophetic and moral laxity. The argument in our narrative here is that not many history expositions have been worked out to detail the moral challenges involved here

⁵⁶⁵. Thomas, *op.cit.* p.116. The attack was given a Christian justification: The Mashonas needed protection!

⁵⁶⁶. Zvobgo, *op.cit.* p.8f

⁵⁶⁷. *Ibid.* p.9

⁵⁶⁸. AB2259 (Fd4): Diocese of Bloemfontein, Records, 1848-2000, Historical research Papers, Wits..

⁵⁶⁹. Zvobgo, *op.cit.* p.9

given the fact that the Church must be seen to be planting seeds of harmony in the name of God and not violence and plunder.

4.10. Christian civilisation in Mashonaland as confusing

What could we say about those who identified with Rhodes' cause, while insisting on their Christian principles? Hilda Kuper helps us to respond to this question in a more cogent fashion. When writing about Southern Rhodesia from an anthropological perspective, Kuper refers to the nature of race relations that obtained during colonial times.⁵⁷⁰ This is a context in which missionary and settler were able to work side by side. Kuper observes that the state of affairs in terms of the monopoly of power favoured the white people. The reason for such white privileges in connection with power could be found in the fact that both the Shona and Ndebele had been conquered by Rhodes' forces during the 1893 and then 1896-7 confrontations.⁵⁷¹ Western civilisation was imposed, and it was also supposed to be understood as Christian civilisation.⁵⁷² One strange thing about this civilisation, which was western and Christian at the same time, is that it promoted a system of racial segregation on the basis of colour to the effect that natives were viewed as non-entities. Of major concern to us is the fact that the colour prejudice was allowed to dictate relations within the churches.⁵⁷³ We could assume that writings from such churches would find it difficult to be self-critical but to highlight all perceived successes. Such successes would dominate narratives and therefore give us the impression that there is not much that could be said in the negative.

4.10.0. White people and the Diocese of Mashonaland in the 1890s

White people, in the above connection therefore, had dictatorial powers both in Church and the secular world, over and against the natives.⁵⁷⁴ This perhaps should not come to us as a surprise because the Anglican Church was being influenced very much by secular authorities in this context. For example, the

⁵⁷⁰. Kuper, H.,1964. The colonial situation in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2(2), .p.149. Available online at: [Url: http://www.jstor.org/stable/158816](http://www.jstor.org/stable/158816). Accessed on 19 September 2010.

⁵⁷¹. Ibid.p.150.

⁵⁷². Ibid, p.152

⁵⁷³. Ibid, p.154

⁵⁷⁴. Ibid, p.154

following facts are quite revealing in terms of influence given the matrices at play: A meeting dated 7th of January 1895 attended by the Archdeacon Upcher and four others confirms that Colonel Rhodes was to be thanked for his donation of glass to the Anglican Church.⁵⁷⁵ Cecil John Rhodes was to be thanked for donating a house to the Church. In addition, Colonel Rhodes indicated that communication with Bishop Knight-Bruce, who was out of the country then, be done through the wire and “undertook the dispatch of the wires as company business.”⁵⁷⁶ Therefore, the BSAC’s business was, by virtue of the membership involved, also the Anglican Church’s business, which, in fact, meant the bishop’s business as well! If such was the case, how could we argue for the distinction between politics and Christianity within the Mashonaland context and among Anglicans from the very beginning of colonial times? When we talk about missionary successes in such a context, we also seem to be asserting the political domination of the indigenous people by the whites and all the lies and fraudulence that characterised the interracial encounters in this context. Writings from Anglican Church circles that detailed such compromise so that we could see a Church that was conscious of its prophetic role within an imperial setup are not readily available. We seem to be bombarded by Eusebian approaches within a Mashonaland context. These approaches, to the writing of the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland, make it difficult for simple readers to understand the ecclesia-political intricacies at play. The preceding facts give us an indication of how coloniser and missionary often shared the same policies without admitting what could have been public facts.

4.10.1. Moral outrages against an imperial Church

It is interesting to note that many years later and only when the country had been liberated; the Mashonaland situation causes Church leaders to be extremely vocal about the immorality of white domineering and malpractices.⁵⁷⁷ We are looking at a period of more than eighty years from the time white people occupied

⁵⁷⁵. ANG, 6/3/1/1, National Archives Harare, Zimbabwe

⁵⁷⁶. Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷. Halpern, J., 1971: Polarisation in Rhodesia: State, Church and Peoples in *The World Today*, 27(1), Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, UK. p.1. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40394415>. Accessed: 24 October 2011. One of the major opponents of the Rhodesian atrocities made reference to is a bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Matabeleland. The authorities from the Mashonaland Diocese (now Harare) are assumed to be quiet.

Mashonaland. Is this not ample proof that not many Church leaders were interested in addressing the racial imbalances and related problems imposed by pioneers from the beginning and within the Mashonaland colonial context? This becomes extremely urgent given the fact that whatever the churches opposed at this moment in time, it did not challenge the white electorate and therefore, their racist policies persisted.⁵⁷⁸ We are talking about white voters who claimed to be Christians. It might appear as if the reference to the church implies the hierarchy only and not its members because the latter were not moved by the moral outrage the former was expressing.

In the foregoing connection, another writer, Halpern, observing the developments before him in the early 1970s that could be traced back to the 1890s, concludes by noting that,

Certainly polarization is well on the way to dividing most white Christians from their church leaders, to achieving a permanent conflict between Church and State, and above all to dividing not only men but also peoples and races in fear and bitterness.⁵⁷⁹

If this becomes an urgent fear only after so many years of colonial dominance, we wonder what was happening at the very beginning, the 1890s, to be precise. Also, the kind of attitudes that had been allowed to go unchallenged from the time of Knight-Bruce seem to have become a challenge later on.

The issues being raised above are based on the fact that many whites did not see how their political allegiance could be said to be different from their Christian affiliation hence their support for racial discrimination from the beginning of colonisation in 1890. It is clear, therefore, that as long as religion could be harnessed to bless the settlers' cause, it could not be seen as being in conflict with politics. As long as the Anglican leadership in Mashonaland was ready to bless white monopoly, all was well within Southern Rhodesia. Accordingly, there was peace and prosperity based on the fact that missionary and settlers were in agreement on certain principles that did not take the indigenous people seriously. The indigenous in Mashonaland then could be treated in compromised ways

⁵⁷⁸. Halpern, op.cit. p.4

⁵⁷⁹. *ibid.* p.8

without calling for any meaningful moral outrages from the Anglican Church within this context.

4.10.2. Knight-Bruce and the Shona religious views

Nevertheless, from Knight-Bruce himself, we know that he had already made a verdict that seemed to dictate the pace from then forward, about the Mashona's religious orientation and values. He categorically maintained that the Shona did not have any religion at all.⁵⁸⁰ The following is what the bishop actually noted:

To go to something more important--what is the religion of the Mashona? It is very hard to say that they have any. I have talked to them about God, and His sending them their crops and food, and they will agree and say He lives in heaven, and then they will tell you soon afterwards that they had a god once, but the Matabele drove him away.⁵⁸¹

It is clear that for Knight-Bruce there was an urgent need to bring God to Mashonaland. Given his position as a newcomer in Mashonaland, how could he be justified to make such sweeping statements as though he was already an expert of the Shona language, religion and traditions?

In addition to the above, Bishop Knight-Bruce also pointed out that,

To look at the whole question from a deeper point of view, the sad side of heathenism is that they do wrong believing it to be right. As a Mashona once said to one of our missionaries, 'God told them to do all they did--steal, or kill a man.' And so long as African heathenism is untouched, it has no conscience on these points to awaken. They murder, and think they are right in murdering. Gentleness to them means little else but weakness; forgiveness little else but cowardice.⁵⁸²

However, whites did kill at will as we have already heard and will continue to encounter in our narrative. Why the bishop could not see similarities between white and black barbarism could only be attributed to his selective observations. Narrating such developments without taking the Bishop of Mashonaland to task would indicate to us that the rich and powerful could always get away with murder.

To add to the above, it is only after the post-colonial period in Zimbabwe that we begin to encounter some western viewpoints beginning to interrogate Bishop

⁵⁸⁰. Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit.p.43/44

⁵⁸¹. Ibid.

⁵⁸². Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. 72/73

Knight-Bruce's convictions about the Mashona religion.⁵⁸³ Titus Presler puts some of the Bishop's comments on the Shona religion on the spotlight and concludes that,

...it is clear that Knight-Bruce did not consider careful inquiry into the religion of the Shona to be *central* in his task as a missionary bishop. While affirming wholeheartedly his urgency for preaching the Gospel to the Shona, we note that the approach, the manner and the specific content of that preaching were for him matters of assumption, not matters for exploration.⁵⁸⁴

Presler therefore could be seen as challenging the preconceived views that missionaries had when they came face to face with what the indigenous people believed in. He is supporting the idea of engaging the religion of others before one could pass any judgement. Our context seems to be marred by the very shortcomings Presler is warning against.

The prejudices above, coming from Knight-Bruce, could explain why the colonialists were not challenged in our context. For example, a fitting response to Rhodes' intrusions into Mashonaland should have been a sustainable moral outrage from the Anglican missionaries, but none was possible. Only the indigenous people seemed to warrant a thorough scrutiny and condemnation. Even the socialisation of Ndebele children was seen as deeply anchored on cruelty and never on any graciousness.⁵⁸⁵ The Anglican missionaries in this context could not, therefore, be seen to be condoning this perceived evil among the indigenous. This obviously gave an upper hand to the white people in Mashonaland. It seems to be the case that in the 1890s, Africans did not qualify for any moral or Christian support from the Anglicans although many of the authors of this context do not highlight much about such developments. Only whites could kill and get away with it. To write about such contexts without sustainable remorse would be an indication that historians could afford to suspend their consciences because if it were simply a reservation of judgement, the facts at least could be allowed significant space to give us a balanced picture of the state of affairs in their narratives.

⁵⁸³. Presler, T., 1989: MISSIONARY ANGLICANISM MEETS AN AFRICAN RELIGION: A retrospect of the centenary of Bishop Knight-Bruce's entry into Zimbabwe, in *Missionalia*, Southern African Journal of Mission Studies, 17(3) 162 -175. Available online at: Url: <https://journals.co.za/content/mission/17/3>. Accessed on 12 March 2013.

⁵⁸⁴. Ibid, p.164

⁵⁸⁵. Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit.

4.10.3. More on the impact of an imperial missionary approach

C.P. Groves, looking at the later period between 1914 and 1954, in Rhodesia, gives a brief outline of how Europeans proceeded to boost their political and economic grip over and against Africans from this apparent deleterious perspective.⁵⁸⁶ This is something that could be said to have been influenced by the developments of the 1890s that allowed such polarisation to proceed unabated. The events we encounter in the 1900 and beyond in the Diocese of Mashonaland have their foundation as the Church that Knight-Bruce allowed to take shape. Here we come face to face with the mischief that dates back to the time of occupation of the country and the spirit behind it that claimed a Christian dimension yet not being faithful to its logical implications and gospel imperatives.

It appears to be the case that Europeans had to work out policies that were biased against the indigenous without being sensitive to the fact that they were dealing with other human beings who had the same claims to this world. The indigenous would then be excluded from taking up key positions in the politico-economic as well as religious activities of their motherland.⁵⁸⁷ What is of major interest to us is the statement Groves makes at the end of the historical narrative in the foregoing connection. He is extremely conscious of the compromised situation in which the work of God needed to be propagated while Europeans were busy insuring their political, religious, economic and many other privileges at the expense of Africans. To this end, Groves writes:

At bottom it was a moral problem, involving the right of every human being to enjoy justice and liberty consistently with his acceptance of normal social obligation. And herein lay the significance for the Christian mission which could scarcely proclaim its message, were the denial of justice and liberty to be condoned.⁵⁸⁸

However, we know that writers such as Langham and Arnold would not dwell on such negative developments as they are quick to only see the sacrifices made by missionaries. It is not clear within the Mashonaland context as to whether the indigenous people were the actual beneficiaries of the sacrifices missionaries

⁵⁸⁶. Groves, C.P., 1958: *The planting of Christianity in Africa, Volume Four: 1914-1954* (Lutterworth Press, London, GB) pp.164-6.

⁵⁸⁷. *Ibid.* p.165

⁵⁸⁸. *Ibid.* p.166

made. The word sacrifice here may not necessarily mean that this is how the people of Mashonaland understood the efforts of the missionaries.

4.11. Indictments on missionary methods

Here we appeal to some documented views that shed light on some missionary methods in Southern Africa in general. This is meant to support our argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire in our narratives.

4.11.0. Cochrane's views about imperial missionary methods

Cochrane's findings indicate to us that there was a general consensus on methods to keep the indigenous people underdeveloped even from the missionary opinion of the day. For example, he reminds us that civilisation for the indigenous was understood as being characterised by "controlled and cheaply available labour."⁵⁸⁹ This came against another worrisome appreciation of the fact that the indigenous were no more than baboons and hence needed Europeans to improve their livelihood.⁵⁹⁰ That improvement of livelihood involved teaching the indigenous youth skills meant to always look down upon themselves and to accept this as the normal rule of engagement.⁵⁹¹ Hence they would readily become obedient servants of the state.⁵⁹²

The above becomes another problem that we do not find attracting interest among Church history scholars in the Mashonaland context for such developments do not allow us to think in terms of positive missionary successes but conspiracy. That the Mashonaland Anglican missionary context was characterised by conspiratorial policies still needs further discourses. Here our urgent concern is to reveal that such narratives to highlight the moral deficiencies among missionaries during the period in question are scarce when it comes to accounting for Knight-Bruce's church.

The question that we have been consistently asking from a historical perspective is how it could be possible for missionaries such as Knight-Bruce to make strides

⁵⁸⁹. Cochrane, op.cit.p.151

⁵⁹⁰. Ibid.p.151

⁵⁹¹. Ibid.

⁵⁹². Ibid.p.152

in terms of preaching the gospel when it was clear that a section of the people involved was taking advantage of the other? Unfortunately, we hear of those who claimed to have been there simply to proclaim the Gospel and therefore to advance a case for God without supporting colonialism.⁵⁹³ Welch within this same context of her narratives appreciates Knight-Bruce's misgivings about settler incursions to the effect that,

Colonisation, moreover, was certain to have a direct effect on his missions, for the bad examples and influence of unregenerate white settlers were widely regarded in missionary circles as one of the chief obstacles to their success.⁵⁹⁴

In essence, if the facts are to be our guide in this connection, there really was no good news to talk about because those who were supposed to be civilised seemed to be protagonists of the evil and savagery of which the indigenous people were often accused. At least, the documented dispossession, plunder, looting, discrimination, racism, greedy, lies and such vices, do not constitute the Gospel-cum-civilising package unless we are entertaining a dubious theology and history.

Nevertheless, where we could start arguing for the correct understanding of missionary work in this context, as opposed to that which was colonial, becomes a challenge. We must continue to engage with this question and available facts seem to complicate our move towards a definitive answer. With all the support that we have highlighted above coming from the BSAC and its personnel, it could have been impossible for Knight-Bruce to go public with his moral convictions in Mashonaland. But again, where evil is rampant and where prophets play it safe, God's work really suffers.

4.11.2. Missionary sympathies for the indigenous people

In the Mashonaland of the 1890s onwards, it is not easy to argue for a clear-cut distinction between a colonial programme and one with a purely missionary intent given the documented evidence that could be appealed to. We have already come across some of the disturbing information and we continue to encounter even

⁵⁹³. Welch, *op.cit.*p.10. Note that according to this narrative, Knight-Bruce was "unwittingly" drawn into the whole colonial saga! It is clear that we are appealing to facts that tend to contradict Welch's point.

⁵⁹⁴. *Ibid.*

more. Some of the missionaries at large are considered to be overstating their sympathy for the indigenous people.

The above is clearly seen in the observation by a Jesuit identified as Father Law, who, as far back as 1879, years before Knight-Bruce's Anglican Church came into Mashonaland, indicated that African despots such as those among the Zulus and Ndebeles were to be reduced in order to protect the weaker tribes.⁵⁹⁵ This seems to constitute paternalism in a more exaggerated fashion. There is no evidence that these so-called weaker tribes had actively sought that kind of protection from the Europeans. The protection was an outright imposition. It is difficult to argue that these were tribes that had co-existed with their so-called predators from time immemorial and now forced to see their continued existence as owing to the Europeans' protection. We have already heard from Cochrane what civilisation of the indigenous in Southern Africa could amount to.

Ranger, in line with the above, makes important observations that could help us to raise more pertinent questions that should also implicate the Anglican Church missionaries' general stance within the 1890s context. The following points are urgent in this connection and are deeply anchored on what Ranger highlights:

Firstly, the European occupation of Mashonaland was more of a show of white force than something within the category of philanthropy as the natives' space was violated and their ways of life marginalised.⁵⁹⁶ It was not protection of the indigenous that was their main motive, but something more profitable for the Europeans. Other factors therefore dictated the pace and not just Christianity and civilisation.

Secondly, instead of liberation then, European paternalism or maternalism would be allowed to dictate the pace over and above the indigenous people, debilitating their aspirations and authenticity, hence condemning all the black people in this context to collective servitude. This was pure colonialism that required total subjugation of the indigenous using force so as to make a lasting point to the

⁵⁹⁵. O'Callaghan, *op.cit.*p.137

⁵⁹⁶. Ranger, 1967, *op.cit.*p.46f.

effect that the white man's power could not be contested.⁵⁹⁷ Had this not been the case, the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland could be narrated differently and to the point.

Thirdly, we could safely maintain that the whole colonial programme in this southern part of Africa was more about boosting European politico-economic ambitions than promoting a culture of Christian compassion and ethic. In fact, according to Ranger, the whole enterprise was a gamble that eventually backfired in 1896 when the indigenous people rebelled against the Europeans.⁵⁹⁸ There was at least a general understanding among the indigenous people that Europeans were not really there to help but to exploit given all that has been said above.

Fourthly, what could be seen as conspicuous for its absence in Ranger's presentation in the foregoing connection, is the missionaries, 'let alone Anglicans', position in terms of defending the so-called gospel imperatives. It looks as if there was an urgent need to convert the indigenous when the converted whites did not lead by example. Where two people are involved in a bitter dispute, silencing one could actually be the same as taking sides. Given the missionary sympathies towards the Europeans, it is difficult to see how the indigenous people could expect the same advantages. Again, our Fox and the Crow illustration makes sense here as the indigenous people, through conversion, would be left with nothing to defend themselves against white aggression in this context. Having been politically, theologically and economically weakened, the indigenous people became easy prey to the white colonisers.

O'Callaghan observes that missionary sympathy for the Shona people in Rhodesia was uncalled for and this was proved by the fact that during the 1896-7 uprisings, the Shona and Ndebeles were ready to coordinate their military efforts against both the colonialists and missionaries.⁵⁹⁹ This really questioned the self-imposed mandate by Europeans to care for the indigenous people and to civilise them. This is a clear indication that the indigenous people were very much conscious of their

⁵⁹⁷. Ranger, 1967, op.cit.p.46f.

⁵⁹⁸. Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹. O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.137

common identity, their deeply-rooted sense of Ubuntu (Shona =Hunhu); over and against the foreigners whose paternalism was not welcome and whose threat to their livelihood had become obvious. That God was part of the equation was obviously not an urgent concern as the issue of space and socio-political dominance took centre stage. It was the unwarranted presence of the Europeans in Mashonaland and Matabeleland that the indigenous people contested during the 1896 uprisings.⁶⁰⁰ Genuine protectors could not have compromised the well-being of those they had at heart.

In addition, that the missionaries had grossly miscalculated the situation before them is attested to by observations made in 1895. As O'Callaghan cites, the LMS reported that the defeat of Lobengula by Rhodes' forces during the 1893 war had brought freedom among the Ndebele people for the first time.⁶⁰¹

The following points need to be noted in the foregoing connection, for the contradictions involved in the convictions of the missionaries are urgent:

Firstly, a few years later, i.e. from 1893, the fact that Europeans had brought freedom to the indigenous was proved to be myopic given that the Ndebele and Shona people were ready to mobilise against the BSAC rule than against their traditional authorities who were alleged to be despotic and predatory. D.N. Beach captures this for us when he observes that,

...in the politically divided Shona countryside a preconceived and co-ordinated plan of resistance had been agreed upon by the people and kept secret for weeks or months until the signal came for a simultaneous assault upon the Europeans.⁶⁰²

The term "resistance" to describe how the indigenous reacted to colonial rule during the 1890s should conjure in our imaginations the spirit of total dissatisfaction of European presence among the indigenous people during this period. Any narrative that seems to downplay this reality should be viewed with suspicion. The indigenous saw great risks coming not from those of their fellow natives of Southern Africa but from Europeans.

⁶⁰⁰. Holder-Williams, *op.cit.*p.42

⁶⁰¹. O'Callaghan, *op.cit.* p.139

⁶⁰². Beach, D.N., 1979: 'CHIMURENGA': THE SHONA RISING OF 1896-97 in *The Journal of African History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 20(3), , p.395. Available online at: Url: www.jstor.org/stable/181122. Accessed on 17 August 2015

Secondly, the indigenous had come to see the so-called liberators as their prototype oppressors. To this end, any justification of colonisation could be seen as gross political naivety, missionary brinkmanship and a socio-economic miscalculation of developments in this connection, because it was resisted in various ways even before the 1896 risings as Beach observes.⁶⁰³ He is emphatic on this point when he notes that,

Shona resistance to colonial rule in the 1890s took a number of forms, including desertion from underpaid labour, abandonment of settlements in the face of tax and labour demands, theft, cattle-maiming and other responses...⁶⁰⁴

These negative expressions against colonialism certainly did take place before armed resistance became urgent. It seems to be the case that the missionary-colonial project in Mashonaland was always problematic from the onset.

Thirdly, it could be argued that colonialism in the above connection was an outright rejection of God's sovereignty when it comes to the condition of the people of Mashonaland, their profound status and indeed, their yearning for meaning and legitimacy in their own right. They existed because of God, after all. To see the missionary-coloniser partnership in Mashonaland as something that only deserves positive appreciation could be tantamount to a Eusebian approach that saw Constantine as the panacea of all evils within the Roman empire of the early fourth century. It is to give us a picture distorted by misrepresentation of facts.

Fourthly, it could also be pointed out that from a historical perspective, the whole colonial project in Mashonaland flew in the face of any meaningful and positive claims to Christian civilisation as we have already noted in connection with the uncouth manner in which the settlers behaved. Missionary tempo should have been underpinned by gospel imperatives without compromise.

However, our problem, in the above connection is that the justification of colonialism seems to originate from the wrong camp: that of missionaries such as

⁶⁰³, Beach, *op.cit.*p.403

⁶⁰⁴, *Ibid.*

Knight-Bruce, who, by virtue of their work, should not have been taking sides in this context, especially in favour of the side of the powerful, warped and belligerent Europeans who sincerely believed in the conquest of the indigenous people. This perversity constitutes a deeply-etched scar among the indigenous of Mashonaland when critical reflections about what transpired during the early 1890s are preferred.

Of course, and in line with the foregoing, Welch spends some time, in her narratives, trying to justify Knight-Bruce's convictions.⁶⁰⁵ It must be borne in mind that we are worried about how certain sources could be interpreted by historians within this context. However, the compromise is made clear when the bishop is understood as one who said one thing in public, while expressing other reservations in private.⁶⁰⁶ We are talking about a bishop who should have been able to consult what the gospel imperatives could dictate in such contexts. There should have been a prophetic approach to the context in which the Anglican bishop was a critical player. We hear of him trying, by all means, to protect Rhodes and his settlers so that the British public could not be outraged.⁶⁰⁷ Why could the bishop support the white people who were almost a threat to his missionary project if he did not share their values? The idea of classified lies could be relevant in line with the preceding and also in connection with what we shall continue to highlight below.

4.12. Challenges against pro-colonial lies in Mashonaland

Professor Terence Ranger, in one of his works,⁶⁰⁸ takes the trouble to expose the lies that were peddled to support colonialism and all its related consequences in the context we are focusing on. Here we are viewing the whole development from the point of view of the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland and the way some of these critical issues have not been given due attention by Anglican Church historians.

⁶⁰⁵. Welch, op.cit.p.11.

⁶⁰⁶ . Ibid

⁶⁰⁷. Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸. Ranger, T.O., 1967, op.cit

Firstly, the whole idea of viewing the Ndebele and the Shona of Zimbabwe as being desperately in need of external intervention in terms of their socio-religious and politico-economic aspirations could be viewed as endemically fallacious.⁶⁰⁹ It seems to be the case that to justify colonialism on such a premise should be castigated in the strongest terms possible. Missionaries in the service of God could not be seen to be sympathetic to a programme conceived along capitalist lines. Whether Christianity and Capitalism could be interpreted as the same thing is problematic here.

Secondly, to view the Shona and Ndebele, during the 1890s as mere savages without solid institutions to identify with or to cherish, is another abominable observation made by Europeans inclusive of Anglican missionaries such as Knight-Bruce.

In the above connection and in contrast to Knight-Bruce's position, Ranger notes that,

Among the mixed peoples who spoke dialects of Shona in the 1890s there were many who had been resident in much the same area for centuries and who had a well preserved and institutionalised memory of their history. The Shona linguistic area had been the scene of at least two remarkable attempts at political centralisation – the confederacies of the Mutapas and the Rozwi Mambos.⁶¹⁰

Clearly, we have reservations when it comes to accepting what the bishop was narrating about the Mashona people. Missionaries, who succumbed to the preceding lies to the effect that the indigenous in Mashonaland had no sense of direction, no religion, and no purpose of life and therefore lacked authenticity, could not be taken seriously as God's agents. Otherwise, the question, whether God is interested in contradicting history or perfecting it, becomes urgent in this connection. Who God is to the indigenous people of Mashonaland in the 1890s becomes an urgent question in this regard. It also challenges us to interrogate the nature of relations that could exist between theology and history within the same context.

⁶⁰⁹ Ranger, *op.cit.*pp.1-2. My summary of Ranger's findings, when he observes that Europeans were deceiving themselves, when they thought that their presence was a welcome development among people in Zimbabwe whom they went on to subjugate. The rebellions of 1896-7 indicated that Africans wanted to deal with their own problems. Help from without was not necessary. Europeans who supported the idea of assisting the Mashona lived to regret it.

⁶¹⁰. *Ibid.* p.4

There seems to be a third lie that could be cited in line with the preceding: was the idea of a supreme God really absent among the Shona when the missionaries arrived? The whites could not accept the fact that the Shona had worshipped their creator over the years giving rise to several elaborate cults⁶¹¹ that have continued to this day alongside Christianity. The views that we have cited in this chapter require us to maintain that missionaries simply did not pay attention to the religious phenomena among the Shona and Ndebele. They preferred the colonialist approach that was more interested in territorial gains and subjugation than the religious appreciation of the indigenous people.

The way Bernard Mizeki's story has been documented provides us with some interesting materials that challenge some of the religious views in this section. Below we shall attend to some of this Anglican catechist's views and attitudes that still engender more questions than answers. Mizeki could be rightly viewed as one of Knight-Bruce's concrete legacies in Mashonaland.

4.13. Bernard Mizeki and the theology of empire in Mashonaland

In this section, we try to sample the narrative of one Anglican catechist who worked under the missionaries in Mashonaland. His background and related matters will be highlighted as we narrate the details relevant to this section. The idea is to highlight how the views of those in power could always carry the day at the expense of those of their subjects.

4.13.0. Selectivity as a key function of the theology of empire

We shall proceed to highlight the selectivity of narratives that some authorities, who will be identified, prefer and to indicate how that selection could be seen as problematic. Our major concern in this connection is aggravated by the fact that when narratives are presented by authors with sufficient passion to a cause, they seem to command some influence that might not be easy to dispel in the face of conflicting claims. Here we are interested in the narratives that seem to tell the story of the Anglican Church from one preferred angle that seems to ignore the

⁶¹¹. Ranger, op.cit.pp.21-23.

indigenous people and their fate in the face of colonial affirmations. We shall hear more claims about the indigenous people's perceived weaknesses that challenge us to raise more questions about the whole missionary enterprise.

4.13.1. Authorship of the story of Mzeki

The story of Bernard Mzeki, who could be said to be the first among Anglican catechists in Mashonaland between 1890 and 1896, seems to give us more opportunities to dialogue with the impact of the theology of empire as a discourse championed by or on behalf of the most powerful. We shall search in vain for indigenous authors who could have submitted critical narratives about him. It suffices at the moment to point out that the interest in Bernard's life seems to come from the white constituency of the Anglican Church who seem to have acknowledged only one African among many. Later, we will attend to how they handle the facts in this context.

Our basis, as already maintained, for the question we are raising in this section, is the way Eusebius of Caesarea presented his own narratives within an imperial context dominated by Constantine. Here the story of the Anglican Church proceeds along lines that do not indicate to us that colonialism or settler occupation of Mashonaland was a problem that could not be downplayed. It is in this connection that we submit the case of Mashonaland, where missionary values could no longer be separated from popular colonial ideology. The facts we could encounter in this context highlight some problematic attitudes that we cannot afford to take lightly in terms of the presentation of the historical realities that define our landscape that we allow our understanding of the theology of empire to dialogue with.

4.13.2. The impact of a colonial project on Mizeki

In the above connection, we are interested in one sample that could augment what is at stake within the Anglican Church-coloniser relations in the Mashonaland/Rhodesian context in terms of the urgent need to distinguish missionary work from a colonial enterprise. There is not much urgency to insist on exposing the complexities we encounter in Mashonaland among those who wrote Mizeki's story. What could be said about the attitudes of the authors whom we

must rely on in terms of understanding the history we are interrogating, is going to be our major focus in this here.

It is difficult, after reading the story of Bernard Mizeki, not to suspect the manipulation of facts. The latter seems to fit into the schemes of those who were in power within the colonial framework and therefore able to expose the facts in ways that could be fitting to their needs in a colonial setting. Why that attitude could prevail unabated and why they have not been of any significant interest among historians in this context remains a question to be answered one day.

The complexities at play in line with the foregoing section could be detected in Hodder-Williams' accounts of events in the now Marondera area (then Marandellas) in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) where Bernard Mizeki, the Anglican catechist, was during the onset of the 1896 uprising. The story of Bernard has been told by many from similar or relatively varying points of view. As we look at some of these stories, it is curious to note that there are inevitable questions of consistency and therefore the motives at play in the narratives involved.

Bernard had been brought into the country by Knight-Bruce as one of the pioneer Anglican catechists. Most of the issues raised in the preceding sections about the missionary-coloniser partnership could be said to have a bearing on Bernard's work that was done in a context that could not be said to have been predominantly Christian. The latter is by virtue of the fact that Bernard in the whole saga was representing the Anglican Church that we have already seen as morally compromised and yet he had to be understood purely as a missionary with no colonial connections at all.

In addition, Hodder-Williams makes important observations that are critical to the issues we are raising in this context. About the animosity that developed against the Anglican catechist at Mangwende in 1896 he writes:

For what had incensed Mchemwa and the nganga was Bernard's attachment to the white man's church and his traditions and beliefs so much so that they

believed he was really a white man in disguise, hiding himself under a black skin.⁶¹²

We do not find any written attestations to the effect that the suspicions among the Shona people in this connection could have been very informed and therefore profound.

What could have led the people to harbour the above suspicions? If we were to consult the observations by some Europeans in this context, we would note that the Mashona people were viewed as very superstitious.⁶¹³ We have already cited the fact that they were considered to be childish. Could this be understood as one of the reasons why Bernard eventually became a target of the Mashona, that is, that the Shona were acting childishly or superstitiously? Again, we have already noted that it should have been easier for the indigenous people to see that colonisers and missionaries shared a common purpose and this could not be the result of superstition by childish observers. Here we find that the idea of downplaying the Shona people's concerns in this context seems to overshadow very critical issues connected to the sentiments of a people who could have felt vulnerable in the face of a colonial onslaught.

4.13.3. The Mashona and their awareness of the colonial imposition

The preceding becomes very interesting when we come to realise that some high level of awareness among the Shona could be noted in terms of what was going on among them ever since the arrival of the settlers. There is an observation to the effect that the Shona of Mangwende saw the ability of Bernard to interpret the Government's instructions for them and his eagerness to teach the young ones as ample proof that he was actually among them for some sinister motives on behalf of the Europeans.⁶¹⁴ The government instructions could have not been good instructions for how could they have an impact on the people to cause some negative attention at all? There is also this fact that "those not connected with the Mission," Europeans in this case, praised Bernard and thought of him as "the most

⁶¹². Hodder-Williams, R., 1967: Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion in Rhodesiana (Rhodesian African Society), Publication 16, . p.29

⁶¹³. AB247f: MIZEKI, Bernard, c.1861-1896 (Catechist and martyr) Papers,1893-1959. Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶¹⁴. Hodder-Williams, op.cit.p.29

reliable native.”⁶¹⁵ The question of reliability here is also interesting if linked to those who had no intentions to evangelise the Shona people. Why Europeans were so interested in Bernard’s work though not connected to the Mission is a curious phenomenon in this context in which colonialism was one of the predominant factors. If Bernard was reliable in the eyes of the Europeans, surely it should have been in other ways that went beyond his missionary work, such as facilitating communication between the colonial government and the people.

4.13.4. Mizeki and the Shona traditional values

In addition to the preceding, another view maintains that Bernard’s work was seen as breaking tribal traditions; administering first-aid to the sick who should have been attended to by traditional healers (here misconstrued as witch-doctors), and finally entering “the Sacred Grove to cut down trees for agricultural purposes.”⁶¹⁶ If these people were childish and superstitious, as Knight-Bruce was convinced, how could Bernard be expected to approach them with caution when he could easily outwit them? That the Shona of Mangwende were a people, who felt, collectively, that their cultural convictions were being insulted calls for an explanation that absolves them from being mere childish and superstitious.

Again, narratives to this effect in our context are scarce. Why Bernard was not able to engage the traditional structures first before doing his work seems to demonstrate the presence of the supremacist attitudes that had led the settlers to impose their own European structures without reference to the indigenous people. It seems to be imperative for us to see some congruence between the colonial and missionary approaches making it almost like a triviality to separate the missionaries and colonisers. It is even more difficult to look at the two as being merely in the same boat but with different agendas.

There is a need for our narrative here to say something about Bernard’s background that could be compiled from available narratives to shed more light on certain matters pertaining to his work in Mashonaland. The brief facts we include

⁶¹⁵. AB247: “BERNARD MITSEKI”: Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶¹⁶. AB247f: “+Bernard Mizeki, c.1861-1896+”, Historical Research Papers, op.cit

in this connection could help us boost our theme of the theology of empire within an Anglican context in the Mashonaland Diocese.

4.13.5. Mizeki and the colonial matrix

Originally, Bernard Mizeki came from Mozambique where he was born as “Mamiyeri Mitseka Gwambe” in 1861.⁶¹⁷ He migrated to South Africa, Cape Town after his cousin Ntinge, in search of work at the age of “fifteen.”⁶¹⁸ It was in Cape Town that he later “received a thorough education and Christian training” from European missionaries in South Africa.⁶¹⁹ He was recruited by Knight-Bruce in 1891 to work as an Anglican missionary agent among the Shona people.⁶²⁰

History still needs to enlighten us on whether European education could be the qualification for doing evangelism among the Shona people, who knew no European civilisation, during the 1890s. Education tends to either enlighten or brainwash individuals. Perhaps this is another reason why Mizeki was not sympathetic to the Shona traditional religious convictions prevailing in his context among chief Mangwende’s people.⁶²¹ However, his mandate was not to teach fellow Africans about his traditional background but the new religion that was practised by his bosses, the Europeans of the Anglican Church. They had to use an African to lure Africans into the Church! How far such a strategy could succeed in a colonial context that the indigenous were resenting becomes a critical question here. That his inclusion in the Mashonaland venture was part of a clearly worked out programme of indigenisation of the Anglican Church, is not easy to establish.

The facts are not always in agreement on the latter point for others maintain that:

⁶¹⁷. Graves, Dan 2010: BERNARD MIZEKI TOOK A BRAVE STAND in Christianity.com. Available online at: Url: <https://www.christianity.com/church/church-history/timeline/1801-1900/bernard-mizeki-took-a-brave-stand-11630648.html>. Accessed 22 October 2011

⁶¹⁸. AB247f: +Bernard Mizeki, c.1861-1896+ Historical research Papers, op.cit.

⁶¹⁹. Weller and Linden, op.cit.p.67. The missionaries who trained Bernard Mizeki are given as the Cowley Fathers or the Society of St John the Evangelist.

⁶²⁰. Bernard Mizeki Catechist + Martyr in Mashonaland 18 June 1896, *The Standing Commission on Liturgy and Music* of the Episcopal Church, USA. Available online at: Url: <http://www.almalink.org/dioceses/mezeki.htm>. Accessed on 22 October 2011

⁶²¹. Ibid.p.69. Mizeki is quoted as maintaining that the convictions, a prospective convert, Shoniwa Kapuya, had were nothing more than lies. Today, a phenomenological approach would have reservations on such drastic charges against other people’s religious views.

Bernard adapted Christianity to the Mashona culture as much as he could without watering down the gospel. This was possible in part because the Mashona already believed in just one god. In a short time, he won many converts.⁶²²

This view should come to us as a surprise given the fact included earlier on about Bernard's disregard for some traditional norms such as respecting the sacred groves. That Bernard could identify an elaborate religious awareness among the Shona whom the white missionaries regarded to have no religion at all should be a mystery to us.

Yet another view maintains that Bernard:

...longed to teach the faith to others, and so he was commissioned by the bishop to work as a lay catechist – and sent out alone to the village of Nhowe in Mashonaland. There, he built a mission complex, studied the local language, opened a school, and we read that he “prayed the Anglican hours faithfully every day.”⁶²³

In addition,

His deep faith and life of prayer, and his love for the people won their hearts, and over the next five years, many were baptised, and the church grew rapidly.⁶²⁴

These accounts could be some romantic narratives. We shall hear, later on, that Bernard's first convert was baptised only after his death. Why we get such exaggerated narratives of historical developments in such a sensitive context, is a question that must still be answered. It looks as if the whole world must accept that the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia was extremely successful between 1890 and 1896. Narrating Bernard's story in this fashion seems to have been designed to affirm something that will become urgent in his life after death.

The Mashonaland Quarterly Paper of November 1896 paid tribute to Bernard by highlighting the following points: Firstly, he managed to influence the natives in their masses.⁶²⁵ Secondly, the whites, as we have already seen, spoke well of Bernard and chief Mangwende was extremely fond of him.⁶²⁶ Thirdly, in April 1895, Archdeacon Upcher's January 11, 1895 report from Salisbury (now Harare),

⁶²². Graves, Dan 2010: BERNARD MIZEKI TOOK A BRAVE STAND in Christianity.com, op.cit

⁶²³. Tristram, G., 2012: Bernard Mizeki. Available online at: Url: <http://ssje.org/ssje/2012/06/19/bernard-mizeki-br-geoffrey-tristram>. Accessed on 11 June 2014

⁶²⁴. Tristram, op.cit.

⁶²⁵. AB247f: Mizeki, Historical research papers, op.cit.

⁶²⁶. Ibid.

indicates that Bernard was overwhelmed by the positive response of the Mashona and is quoted as saying: “I get them from every direction. On Sunday the place is full of them especially Maguendi’s chief wife, she never neglects our Sunday.”⁶²⁷

Below, we shall continue to include narratives that seem to challenge the preceding views and that leave us with more questions than answers. That such a successful person could eventually die a lonely death when masses of the Shona people in his area of influence had been touched by his teachings is a problematic observation. Surely, we could expect anyone planning such an evil thing over the life of a good person to be really careful about how those influenced by his teachings could respond.

4.13.7. Handling claims of Bernard’s successes among the Shona

It is curious, in line with the foregoing, that what happened to Bernard later seems to be a direct contrast of the given accounts about far-reaching successes in line with the evangelisation of people. Not even a single one of all those who came to Bernard’s mission was able to put him into the picture of what the people were planning given the widespread impact of the revolution and how it was being protracted by radical indigenous people of Mashonaland. Surely someone within the Mangwende family was supposed to advise Bernard at a more confidential level, given his influence over the chief and his wife. Perhaps some explanations below will help us understand what was at stake in this context.

Tristram highlights the fact that due to the colonisation of Mashonaland that had effectively begun in 1890, nationalist sentiments propelled the view that missionaries and their sympathisers were part of the problem and, so, Mizeki met with his fate.⁶²⁸ He could have been isolated on the understanding that he was actually a spy among the Shona. Tristram goes on to note that Bernard’s “life and death has been a huge source of inspiration to millions, and he is revered throughout Central Africa as a witness to the gospel of Christ.”⁶²⁹ What is inspiring about Bernard’s life precisely? We are not so sure of whether it is his bravery, his

⁶²⁷. Tristram, op.cit.

⁶²⁸. Ibid..

⁶²⁹. Ibid.

Christian ideals or his ability to work among the Mashona during the 1890s. Furthermore, to be faithful to the context, we are not so sure of whether it was his close association with the white people. Answers to these baffling questions are still urgent.

The foregoing views give us the impression that Bernard was able to engage in a corrective cultural dialogue in religious matters with the Shona, whom we have seen being labelled childish, irreligious and superstitious. Nevertheless, we have already seen that Bernard's missionary tastes could easily be misconstrued as purely European and the Shona who were critical to these new developments could not see one who was part of their traditional religious aspirations, heritage as well as social affinity as Hodder-Williams indicated to us above. There seems to be, therefore, a parallel discourse that never made it to the publication houses that could have exposed to us what actually were the views of the Shona about Bernard who was among them as a messenger of God.

Another source, in line with the above, actually maintains that Mizeki was not sympathetic to the Shona traditional religious convictions prevailing in his context at all.⁶³⁰ The whole discourse about his fate in Mashonaland perhaps could make sense if we accept that the lack of sympathy in his approach could have earned him more enemies than friends. That there were masses responding to his work again becomes a problematic claim. It is not clear whether people flocked to his mission out of conviction or out of curiosity. If they knew that one day he could be the target of Mashona anger against colonial domination, could they not come, out of curiosity to see how vigilant he was to the developments around him?

4.13.8. Possible contributor to Mizeki's death

It is therefore difficult, in the above connection to imagine that any reasonable Shona could have seen a Christian witness in Mizeki under the colonial circumstances in which Anglican missionary work was being done and failed to protect him or to alert him. We, therefore, hear of a Bernard Mzeki who was eager

⁶³⁰. Weller and Linden, *op.cit.*.p.69. Mizeki is quoted as maintaining that the convictions, a prospective convert, Shoniwa Kapuya, had were nothing more than lies. Today, a phenomenological approach would have reservations on such drastic charges against other people's religious views.

to demonstrate his obedience to Bishop Gaul to the point of death rather than use common sense in response to God's call. According to Peter Hinchliff:

Mizeki might have saved his life. When the rebellion first broke out, he was told by his superiors to leave the village and go to a safer place. However, he would not leave his mission and his people without a direct order from the bishop, and died before such order came.⁶³¹

The people he thought were his own were the very people plotting his death! Like all the whites in the context who underestimated the Shona, Bernard met with his fate.

Unfortunately, although we have a great catechist in Bernard, two things need to be stressed here. Firstly, he had come to have so much faith in and loyalty towards his bishop, and we can assume that there was no critical self-awareness in his European training that was said to have been thorough as we stated above. We cited Cochrane earlier in connection with how the education system for Africans in South Africa was designed in such a way to keep them docile in relation to the Europeans. Secondly, there are no writings he bequeathed to us which could give us a different picture of one who had been trained to be independent from European thought patterns and practices in order to survive independently as an African. This causes concern about this kind of training given the fact that it appears to have been one-sided: coming from the advantaged in order to control the disadvantaged. To assume that he was sympathetic to the traditional Shona religion could be viewed as an unwarranted exaggeration because there are no indications that he had mastered it at all. We have also been alerted to the fact that it could be possible that he underestimated these so-called childish and superstitious natives.

The bone of contention here is simply that it could not always be argued successfully that God does sacrifice people willy-nilly as could be said of Bernard. Why the death of Bernard became something legendary and not so much his life, is also of interest to us from the point of view of the theology of empire. We contend that Bernard Mizeki's impact could have been greater had he lived to teach people more about God rather than about blind obedience to white

⁶³¹. Hinchliff, *op.cit.* p.174

missionaries and settlers. We could have benefitted a great deal had he lived long and had committed to writing about his work among the Mangwende people in the 1890s. Perhaps this is why white people were quick to declare him a martyr⁶³² in their own fashion to cover-up the missionary deficiencies in this context. He was their faithful servant to the end, but written evidence from his own pen is not available. Obviously, the radicalism that comes to us through martyrdom is not what we encounter obtaining in this context of Bernard's death.

4.13. 9. Secrecy about the Mashona militancy

It seems to be the case that the Shona in 1896, for fear of European vengeance, never openly demonstrated their bitterness towards colonialists until the situation was ripe for a military confrontation. They simply concealed their hostility from the intruders hoping for an opportune time to strike at them. Sadly, these suspicions were not privy to Bernard Mizeki. He was among the Shona, but their real disquiet remained hidden from him. Therefore, the question of his impact on the Shona during this time should be approached with caution. If, among the masses, there were not even a few reliable allies to explain the gravity of the situation to him, our understanding of his impact must then be reviewed. We must remind ourselves that the argument we are raising is inspired by the theology of empire which allows the views of the most powerful to sail through without being questioned.

Musodza, in line with the preceding, captures this point well when he observes that the whole village, prior to Mizeki's assassination, was awash with the news of the plot but Bernard never got wind of the gravity of the matter.⁶³³ For many years now and within the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, Bernard's death is a cause for much confusion because the reasons advanced for his fate seem to contradict one another.⁶³⁴ However, we know that the official position of the Anglican Church is that Mizeki is a martyr and nothing more.

4.13.10. Facts about the causes of the uprising

⁶³² Keppel-Jones, op.cit.p.483

⁶³³ Musodza, op.cit. p.93

⁶³⁴ We still must get convincing accounts to prove that he was killed for his faith in Jesus Christ due to the colonial context that was the real cause for the resistance and not Christianity. Again the success of his ministry should be called into question given the nature of his death. A lot of the Mangwende people should have come to his help instead of abandoning him when he needed them most.

Mizeki's identity could easily be mistaken given the fact that he would also be seen to be in constant communication with the European settlers who were already under a great deal of suspicion as events in the 1890s came to prove.⁶³⁵ We are looking at one who has been celebrated as a martyr ever since his death. Another observer within this context helps us to appreciate the confusion we are worried about when he notes that,

A persecution of Christians arose in 1896 – African missionaries were targeted for being agents of the colonial government. Bernard was warned to leave, but he stated he was the servant of Christ alone. The persecution became more organised, but still, Bernard remained at his station. On the night of 18 June 1896, he was taken from his hut and killed, probably at the instruction of a local witch doctor. This date is now kept in the calendars of several Anglican provinces as the feast day of the Bernard Mizeki, the proto-martyr of southern Africa and the place of his ministry and death is a great centre of pilgrimage. Soon after Bernard's martyrdom the first Shona people, inspired by his example, were baptised.⁶³⁶

Again, in line with the above quote, the African mental capabilities are put to the test and, at the same time, cheated into accepting a theological aberration. The latter is disguised as history when the facts inform us that the Shona uprising was not a crusade against Christianity. In fact, it was due to the theology of the conquerors being imposed on the victims. Martyrdom seems to have been made to assume new dimensions within the Anglican context in Southern Rhodesia in this regard. Could this not be interpreted as more propaganda than religious facts being allowed to explain the state of affairs in this Mashonaland context? It appears that the 1896 uprising or revolution was not instigated by the presence of Christian missionaries but by colonialists who had perfected the art of land-grabbing, as has already been maintained. To see it as an uprising against missionaries would be to give us an incomplete picture of what was obtaining in 1896.

4.13.11. Other urgent causes of the uprisings

In line with the preceding narratives, Ranger captures the nature of the uprising for us when he describes its occurrence in June 1896 as something commanding the

⁶³⁵. Hodder-Williams, *Rhodesiana*, op.cit. p.29.

⁶³⁶. Bernard Mizeki Grants ,2014: The Fellowship of St John Trust Association, UK. Available online at: <http://www.fsje.org.uk/bernard.php> . Accessed on 14 October 2014

spirit of “total unexpectedness.”⁶³⁷ Bernard was not being targeted for his Christianity, but the uprising was against all the settlers who had taken the Shona people for granted without showing regard for their value systems, their space or their traditions.⁶³⁸ We stand reminded that because of the profound secrecy prevailing about the uprising and the way the attacks were planned; it was not Bernard alone who was taken by surprise as the reference to Ranger has indicated to us. That there was considerable reluctance to accept the fact that the Shona had grievances to express is attested to by several examples.

Keppel-Jones has some additional information that could help us understand the complacency of Bernard to seek refuge in safer places. A certain James White and Captain Brenner were warned on 19 June 1896, after Bernard’s death, about the attacks but ignored the message on the grounds that they did not sense any danger in their neighbourhood at all and the following day, they were found dead.⁶³⁹ Another storekeeper, Harry Graham, was given the same warning but resolved to stay and find ways of defending himself. He was also killed.⁶⁴⁰ A native commissioner in Hartley (now Chegutu in Zimbabwe), D.E. Moony, was given a warning a few weeks before the uprising but indicated that he had no intention of taking the rumours of the attacks seriously, this also resulted in his death.⁶⁴¹ How could he take the rumour circulated by superstitious and childish people seriously? This conviction that the Shona could not rise against anyone seems to have been exaggerated. That those who died in the context of such unpreparedness could be celebrated as Christian martyrs becomes problematic in this context.

We can see that, in line with the foregoing, the Europeans in the given circumstances did not take the Shona seriously as people who could resort to armed confrontations to make their grievances known. The secrecy that had been maintained on this critical matter demonstrates to us the highest level of social coordination that outsiders were not able to detect among the Shona. The codes of communicating a revolutionary uprising of its kind in Mashonaland remained

⁶³⁷. Ranger, *op.cit.*p.191

⁶³⁸. *Ibid.*

⁶³⁹. Keppel-Jones, *op.cit.*p.483f

⁶⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, p.484

⁶⁴¹. *Ibid.*

intact and were, therefore, impregnable to the outsiders. This seems to explain Bernard's reluctance to flee, and his death should not, therefore, be understood in isolation. That he suddenly emerges as a martyr seems to obscure the facts surrounding the death of someone who did not take the warnings in his context seriously. Instead, it appears that there seems to be an urgent agenda at stake here, as some facts are usually suppressed. Again, this claim of martyrdom does not come from the Shona but from the Europeans. At least, we do not hear of any significant confrontations that Bernard was engaged in on account of his faith before this fateful event on 18 June 1896. The uprising was the first of its kind in Mashonaland since the arrival of the Europeans and the scepticism obtaining among many whites and their followers could be understood: they had come to see the Shona as a people of no major significance in terms of asserting their authenticity: they were only childish and superstitious people and expected to be thoroughly docile.⁶⁴²

4.14. An attempt at affirming the true understanding of martyrdom

The argument for the theology of empire we are pursuing here seems to find even more vindication because the historical facts in this context are interpreted by those who want to discredit the risings and favour the European position. The narratives are clearly one-sided and are, therefore, not really balanced at all. If the powerful define matters of faith and go on to offer historical narratives in the same manner, it seems no questions should be allowed from the subjects, no matter how corrective, cogent or valid they may be. Perhaps, we need to be reminded that one becomes a martyr only when it is one's faith or convictions that are contested to the extent of paying with one's blood to make a point. Christian martyrdom is about Christian witness or confession⁶⁴³ and not about political standoffs, uprisings against oppression and suspicions. We have already taken the trouble to highlight the problems that were wreaking havoc in the Mashonaland of the 1890s. The indigenous are at no point understood as people who deliberately wanted to undermine Christianity. We saw that most of the

⁶⁴² Ranger, *op.cit.*p.191

⁶⁴³ Hassett, M. (1910). Martyr. In *The Catholic Encyclopaedia.*, New Advent, Robert Appleton Company, New York, USA, Available online at: Url: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09736b.htm> Accessed on 15 September 2014

available information points to the presence of colonisers as the major cause of unrest in this context.

One authoritative source informs us that martyrdom results when there is an imposed “death on account of adherence to a cause and especially to one's religious faith.”⁶⁴⁴ When it is a case of mistaken identity and reluctance to take precautions as in Bernard's case⁶⁴⁵, it would rather be correct to maintain that he was unfortunately conceived as a conspirer than what he claimed to be.⁶⁴⁶ The rising was therefore not directed against Christianity. Christians who celebrate this death as martyrdom were never taught to appreciate what that term logically implies. Again we have a much compromised way of missionary approach to Anglicanism in Mashonaland. The whole of Southern Africa has been susceptible to this lie that allows people to celebrate colonialism as synonymous to Christian witness! Many Shona Anglicans have a hymn they sing, composed in honour of Bernard to the effect that he died for his faith: “Tino mutenda iye Bernard, akafira chitendero” i.e., “We thank him Bernard, who died for the faith”.⁶⁴⁷ The causes of the rising are not even referred to in this hymn. Such a distortion is a cause for concern to those engaged in critical analysis of historical facts.

In this connection, his murderers did not aim to discredit the gospel imperatives that motivated his work but thought they were dealing a blow to the settlers. Perhaps the fact that Bernard could be understood as a colonial martyr could make sense and so questions the convictions of many Anglicans in this context who see him only from the Christian point of view. This question of what kind of martyr Bernard is must still be answered by more research into this matter. Here we are interested in showing that the facts available are twisted and mainly from written narratives that are also problematic in that they do not seem to tell us one consistent story. They seem to favour the side of the powerful or simply affirm the *status quo*.

⁶⁴⁴. Definition of martyrdom, Merriam-Webster. Available online at: Url: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/martyrdom>; Accessed on 15 September 2014

⁶⁴⁵. Welch, op.cit. p.43. She puts it more accurately that Bernard Mzeki was killed during an uprising “against colonial rule in 1896”,

⁶⁴⁶. See Hodder-Williams, op.cit.p.29

⁶⁴⁷. A popular Anglican Shona hymn composed during the Rhodesian days.

The advocates of Bernard's martyrdom inform us that,

Martyrdom does not mean merely suffering but a special form of suffering. A man is a Christian martyr when his faithfulness to his Christian beliefs is stronger than his desire for life; when he prefers death to renunciation –and particularly when he is offered a way to escape, and he refuses it.⁶⁴⁸

There should be an admission here that this point does not really apply to those who underestimate dangerous situations in the Mashonaland of the 1890s and at the onset of an uprising. The settlers' close association with the Anglican Church must be blamed here and not the Christian convictions that Bernard commanded. When Bernard agreed to accompany Bishop Knight-Bruce into Mashonaland, there are no indications that he had been prepared to understand the magnitude and logical consequences of colonial conquest of a people who would not take the whole process lying down.

We have noted above that many Europeans, and their collaborators did not think it conceivable that the Shona could just wake up one day and kill those whom they saw as a threat among them. They simply took it for granted that they had a country to occupy and the indigenous were going to accept it without any critical interrogation of the process. The Shona were not also calling Christians to renounce their faith or face death. Bernard's reluctance to leave the Mangwende post, therefore, could also be based on this denial of facts because no one had confronted him and ordered him to stop preaching the Christian faith or risk being killed. He also seems to have been following the European convictions and, accordingly, compromised his life in the process. We wonder what choice he could have made had he been offered this opportunity in the true light in which it was conceived. We do not hear that he was asked to renounce Christianity or face death. This challenge is not highlighted. The rationale that goes with martyrdom is not accounted for here. Therefore, proclaiming Bernard as a Christian martyr is problematic in this context.

MacCulloch has some enlightening observations from the early Church on this whole issue of martyrdom. He writes:

⁶⁴⁸. AB247f: What makes a martyr?, Historical research papers, op.cit.

The Christian sense of certainty in belief was especially concentrated in their celebration of constancy in suffering, even to death. From time to time, they faced mob harassment and official persecution, which in the worst cases ended in public executions preceded by prolonged torture and ritual humiliation, the victims stripped naked in front of a gleeful crowd in sporting arenas.⁶⁴⁹

Furthermore, we learn in the above connection that, “The attractive feature of a martyr’s death was that it was open to anyone, regardless of social status or talent.”⁶⁵⁰ Finally, MacCulloch submits that “The necessary ability was to die bravely and with dignity, turning the agony and humiliation into shame and instruction for the spectators.”⁶⁵¹ Perhaps this could add something to our understanding of martyrdom, while we do not dispute the fact that Bernard was innocent or that he was a good catechist. However, the problem is how could the natives, victims of colonial invasion, be expected to sympathise with someone who showed that the values he stood for were alien? Accordingly, those who killed him did not do so to stop him from preaching the Gospel but to stop him from being used by white men for their colonial ends among the natives.⁶⁵²

The above logic, in connection with Bernard’s death, seems to have been twisted to appease those who falsely claimed to be God’s messengers, while being sympathetic at the same time, to those who had mastered the art of war, plunder, international diplomatic *coup de tat* and wanton looting of resources sufficiently in Mashonaland under the guardianship of the BSAC. Bernard was not arrested, tried or humiliated publicly or just paraded as an insolent Christian who was misleading people with his teaching. In the box below we include a sample to augment what martyrdom entails.

Example of martyrdom during the second century AD:

Ignatius of Antioch: Ignatius was probably martyred within the period between AD 108 and 115⁶⁵³. This Christian figure could be applauded for his courage in the face of danger. We refer to him because we would like to insist that it is courage

⁶⁴⁹. MacCulloch, 2010: op.cit.p.161f

⁶⁵⁰. Ibid, p.161

⁶⁵¹. Ibid.

⁶⁵². <http://ssje.org/ssje/2012/06/19/bernard-mizeki-br-geoffrey-tristram>. Op.cit. NB. Emphasis is on resistance against colonialism!

⁶⁵³. Bettenson,op.cit. p.4

that propelled the Church to the greatest of heights at a time when the world was against it. There are indications that a deal with the civil authorities of the day could have been struck to get Ignatius released, but this bishop could not have any of it. Imperial worship was out of the question. He directs his pleas to the Roman Christian community asking them not to intervene on his behalf.⁶⁵⁴ In this connection, he insisted,

For if you are silent and leave me to my doom, then am I a word of God; but if you set your hearts on my physical existence, I shall again be a mere cry. This is the only favour I ask; that I may be poured as a libation while an altar is still ready; so that you may form a choir and sing to the Father, in Jesus Christ, because God has deigned to allow the bishop from Syria to appear in the West, having summoned him from the East.⁶⁵⁵

Clearly, we have a leadership that valued Christianity more than any civil persuasion. In Ignatius, we have a prophetic stance of courage and his tone is pregnant with anti-corruption sentiments –something the Church in our context could learn from. God is given his prominence and civil authorities their obscurity when it comes to eschatological matters and therefore the ultimate destiny of humanity. Eusebius of Caesarea would certainly not have taken Ignatius' route but easily chooses, in his writings, a situation whereby civil authorities could be bribed by Christians. In Mashonaland we have seen that the involvement of civil authorities from the beginning of the Anglican Church complicated matters because these people did not have the bigger picture of Christianity at heart. Theirs were concerns that took commerce as the major point of departure. Articulating commercial values was more urgent than Jesus Christ's message of salvation. The story of Bernard seems to challenge us to recall that the Church needs to maintain its prophetic role always and this was missing in Mashonaland. Such a context could hardly produce martyrs for it was compromised and people mistook Christians for collaborators.

We have seen that Mizeki was executed privately and, therefore, the motives really elusive except for their connections with the general uprising. We are raising these concerns against the idea that the theology of empire is often characterised by this urgency to twist facts in order to support the position of those in power.

⁶⁵⁴. Bettenson, op.cit. p.61

⁶⁵⁵ .ibid.

Nobody knows exactly what Bernard's position on the uprising was and to sideline this in favour of declaring him a martyr is a serious theological risk.

The point that Anglicanism was understood as sympathetic to colonialism becomes clear when it is realised that the latter should never have been accorded any missionary recognition in the first place. Short-sightedness seems to have prevailed then. It seems plausible to maintain that had a sustainable Christian position been adopted from the very onset of missionary work in terms of insisting on values that could unite people in the name of God; the argument for the theology of empire could not be conceivable in this context. Here it looks like the death of Bernard was used to hide the missionary blunders that had already been allowed too much space, especially in terms of failing to keep out of the commercial and political invasions that left the indigenous people angry. Therefore, we are looking at a story that has had a considerable impact on Southern Africa, while, at the same time, demonstrating to us how facts could be twisted. Further facts below continue to enlighten us on this point.

On giving a brief account of Mizeki's death in 1896, Weller and Linden give us the impression that it was simply the influence of a jealous traditional religious practitioner that carried the day.⁶⁵⁶ The magnitude of the indigenous people's anger is not highlighted at all. Moreover, the Shona people's concerns in this context are trivialised. However, even if there was animosity between Bernard and the Shona traditionalists, the circumstances make it difficult to blame the latter for murdering the Anglican catechist. Surely the success of Bernard highlighted earlier on could have been sufficient to invoke the wrath of his supporters and, therefore, to challenge the jealous traditionalists.

Ranger's work we have been citing helps us to show that it was within the context of the Shona uprising that many people were killed and to introduce the issue of martyrdom here is to exaggerate historical truths and perhaps even opportunistic and, therefore, desperate for an audience. However, the real problem in this connection is that many Africans, due to lack of enlightenment, have been

⁶⁵⁶. Weller and Linden, op.cit. p.69

convinced that we have a Bernard who was murdered for his faith. Not many people in this context would bother to interrogate the background against which the death of the catechist occurred. We must know that after the defeat of the Shona, it would be inconceivable for people to be seen expressing contrary views to those held by the victors who happened to be the colonisers. One wonders how Bernard's death could have been understood had the indigenous people won by managing to destroy or drive the settlers out of the country. This is why we are raising the point that here we have one case that celebrates the victory of the colonisers more than that of Christianity in its own right.

That some Anglican Church historians such as Weller and Linden have managed to narrate the Shona history of the 1896 uprisings, isolating the traditional religious leaders as people responsible for the murder of a catechist smacks of the superiority complex that colonialism promoted within Mashonaland. However, that superiority complex left behind a legacy of mistrust, racial and economic disharmony and, wanton religious superiority complexities as well as socio-cultural intolerance.⁶⁵⁷ Within this context, it could be possible to think of many other social evils associated with the BSAC because of colonial dominance and its negative impact on the indigenous people that the Anglican Church in Rhodesia is not ready to be associated with.⁶⁵⁸

Again, we wonder when such observations, that reduce African religious views to the pernicious jealousy of traditional religious practitioners prevalent in the 1890s, come from those who claim to be exposing the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland without any bias. We should envisage a history of people overwhelmed by the wave of pro-colonial Christian missionary work against the background of their own traditional religious roots, socio-politico-economic values and profound convictions.⁶⁵⁹ Also a history of people being forced to renounce their own humanity in order to be relevant to Christian standards of civilisation

⁶⁵⁷. Keppel-Jones, *op.cit.* p.534. Here a European man, Hans Sauer is quoted denigrating indigenous people simply to make a point about the superiority of white people in Zimbabwe.

⁶⁵⁸. The bone of contention here is that, in Africa, people lost all their values in order to assume western ones which did not make much sense to them. Africans therefore were alienated from their own and hence began to live in ways contrary to their own cultural norms and belief systems.

⁶⁵⁹. Summers, *op.cit.*p.32. The author maintains that in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the indigenous were viewed by missionaries as "clay" to be moulded into Christians. A "bit of pressure" could be allowed in the process.

could be relevant here.⁶⁶⁰ The victory of the settlers in the preceding connection is also taken for granted as the victory of the Anglican Church. If we take this point to its logical conclusion, any Anglican who got killed even during cross-fire, in this context, could qualify as a martyr.

In addition, an interpretation here could not be overemphasised. We are talking about indigenous people who knew well that their space had been invaded and their authenticity as humans compromised. These are people who knew that in the name of God, their concerns were of paramount significance, yet they were being side-lined by those who took pride in the technology that had seen them subjugating the natives. Even if God should be conceived as taking sides, it should always be the side of the believer who has no other ulterior motives besides being at the service of humanity. The Shona people had firm faith in Mwari, their creator; one whose abode is the heavens, hence Nyadenga, that is, one who owns the heavens and the earth. Such a divine being should not be simplified and forced to mean what the Shona never intended.⁶⁶¹ Belief in such a Creator is neither childish nor superstitious.

Weller and Linden do not seem to be interested in telling us that the racial tensions they refer to that were already prevailing in the country between blacks and whites,⁶⁶² had some direct links to Mizeki's death. His religious convictions were not the primary target. Why Weller and Linden want to downplay this point seems to add to our argument for the theology of empire in this context. In fact, the Shona would have been the first to accord Bernard the recognition he deserved and, hence, the protection needed for a religious person of his stature only if they had not been confused by the Europeans.⁶⁶³ The latter had clearly

⁶⁶⁰. Summers, op.cit p.33. The Boers are said to have been complicating missionary work for they considered the indigenous African to be like oxen that needed to work under the lash.

⁶⁶¹. Knight-Bruce, G. W. H., 1895: *Memories of Mashonaland*, Project Canterbury London and New York: Edward Arnold, p.44. Available online at: http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/knight-bruce_mashonaland1895/03.html. Accessed on 21 October 2016. Knight-Bruce denies the Shona any significant religious convictions reducing them to mere instinctive behaviour devoid of any logical expression.

⁶⁶². Weller and Linden, op.cit.p.68

⁶⁶³. The Shona people, in general, have a soft spot for religious personalities. In Mhondoro-Ngezi where this researcher grew up, there are numerous occasions where even self-styled prophets and traditional healers are always given benefit of doubt. So we had Gaurani in the 1970s and also in the mid-1990s; then Tsikamutanda; all claiming to be traditional healers and given space to prove themselves. People are eager to pay attention to the element of novelty on religious

demonstrated that their hearts and minds were set on the wealth and space of Mashonaland and not on the religious aspirations of the Shona. Weller and Linden seem to ignore the fact that in the situation that had been prevailing from 1890 to 1896, missionaries had failed to distance themselves from the evils of the colonisers, no matter how much pro-missionary rhetoric may be preferred in this connection.⁶⁶⁴ Bernard could be seen as one who was using the Bible as the opium of the people whose space was being violated by settlers. Why he had not been trained to be objective in his missionary approach and, therefore, to alert the indigenous people of Mashonaland regarding their fate is a point that needs further determination.

4.14.0. Conflicting views that highlight Bernard's death

In the following sections, a critical look at some of the narratives submitted as accounts of Bernard's death is going to be included. The idea is to expose how difficult a historian's task in such contexts becomes when facts do not seem to connect to each other or when they divert instead of converge.

4.14.1. Serious contradictions in narratives about Bernard's death

We need to add more to the discourse of the theology of empire within the context of Bernard's death. We have already seen that most of the reports come from European authorities in this connection. We introduced the story of Bernard above and indicated that it entails the victory of an ideology that was worked out to support the settlers' position in Mashonaland. The curious fact is that many contradictory variations are allowed in the narratives making it problematic to believe any one of them. Accounts of Bernard's death and the declaration of martyrdom could be seen as an imposition of the ideas of the powerful on the indigenous people of Mashonaland.

Narratives of the events surrounding Bernard's death seem to prey on the supposed superstition and childish mentality of the indigenous people, but all the same, not really consistent. The fact that inconsistent narratives are allowed to

matters. There is no reason to doubt that many Shona people have the same favourable disposition that is not influenced by any western convictions.

⁶⁶⁴. Hodder-Williams, *op.cit.* p.31ff. The author insists on the suspicion against white colonialists that was rampant in 1896 among the Shona.

shape the convictions of the indigenous people seems to be another form of dominance that prevails within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The indigenous must just believe without questioning that Bernard was martyred.

The following facts could bail us out on this point in line with the foregoing observations as we list the various versions of what is said to have transpired during Bernard's death:

Narrative one: A poem by Arthur Stanley Owen on 15 March 1902, from Rusape in Mashonaland, pays tribute to Bernard Mizeki by highlighting the fact that he was killed by "those he wished to teach" and he was "indeed a martyr like Stephen of old."⁶⁶⁵ In addition, the poem claims that the natives saw "a blaze of light" in "human shape" to hide Bernard so that he could not be found.⁶⁶⁶ According to Owen, that blaze of light was "Jesus Christ."⁶⁶⁷ He concludes by noting that "This is no fairy tale; but seen by all Mangwendi's men, and Mutkwa, Bernard's wife..."⁶⁶⁸

This narrative could be seen as raising more problems for us. The context in which the death occurs seems to be downplayed, and the idea of Christianity being directly challenged is emphasised. The reference to Stephen in the Bible is unfortunate for this deacon of the Church was murdered for advancing a variant teaching that challenged the Greek-speaking Jewish authorities⁶⁶⁹ of the day's convictions. Stephen was given a chance to expose his convictions to an audience (some who had already been bribed to bring false allegations against his teaching) and showed his courage by sticking to the teaching of Christ in the face of those who were opposed to it.⁶⁷⁰ To say this is what happened in the case of Bernard could be a lie. We should bear the fact in mind that on other matters, the Mashona were believed to be extremely superstitious and childish! How then could their testimony be seen as valuable in this context? Again, the issue of selectivity plays havoc with the narrative here. Why would God allow Bernard to

⁶⁶⁵ AB247f: MIZEKI, Historical research papers, op.cit

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Acts 6:9

⁶⁷⁰ Acts 6:11ff.

be stabbed first and then make an attempt to hide him after being wounded? Why would his death be more important than his life?⁶⁷¹

Narrative two: A report from Salisbury, dated 25 November 1896, and published in February 1897 comes from Bishop Gaul. There it is observed that Bernard was nursed and fed by his wife for several nights after he was fatally wounded before his attackers came back to finish him off.⁶⁷² There is no mention of lights blazing to hide Bernard. There is no mystery attested to by this narrative, and we wonder why such an important dimension of this event could be ignored just like that by the bishop of the Diocese. We assume that the bishop, by virtue of his office, should have been the first one to highlight such a mysterious event. If the first narrative we have cited only came several years later than this narrative (given within five months of Bernard's death), how could we take it as reliable when the one closer to the event does not support the supernatural claims?

Again, more questions arise. What really happened to Bernard's remains is not easy to determine. We could speculate that they were taken to heaven but this could not qualify as a historical account. If he was finished off, then his attackers must have known what happened to his remains. If God was so interested in protecting Bernard, why he waited for him to be killed becomes a mystery then. Now, this report is closer to the time of the event, it could be taken as the most reliable of all those that were given, but this is not so.

Narrative three: Douglas Pelly heard something a little bit different being told by Mutkwa the eye-witness. Bernard was nursed for about five nights after which he was found dead.⁶⁷³ We notice that, again, in this version, there is no mention of being finished off and no mention of the blazing light in human form! Below, we shall include another of Pelly's versions.

⁶⁷¹. We notice that Owen's claims, when pursued to their logical implications, put Bernard above Jesus whose death on the cross was a public spectacle. God did not even hide his own son! Why there is urgency to bring a spectacular happening in this context makes us curious about the motives.

⁶⁷². AB247f: MIZEKI, op.cit.

⁶⁷³. Ibid

It should be noted that this version talks of a Bernard who was found dead. It contrasts drastically with the first narrative we have included above, which says that there was a light to hide him from his attackers. If he was found dead, then those who found him would naturally bury him or cause him to be buried at least. This report again does not enlighten us about what happened to Bernard's remains.

Narrative four: Fr. Puller, writing to Archdeacon Upcher on 20 December 1928, points out that,

...in 1896, I heard of his martyrdom and sometime in the following year, I heard a rumour of a supernatural occurrence, or at any rate of a very strange occurrence which happened shortly before his death.⁶⁷⁴

That a strange occurrence takes a year to be rumoured among superstitious and childish people, baffles the mind as well. How such a rumour becomes something to be taken seriously, given its incredible source, raises more questions than answers. Why the Europeans were now ready to listen to people whose mental maturity was always suspicious, becomes an urgent question here. Again, why such information had been left out, when Fr Puller heard the story a year before, creates more problems than answers. How reliable the sources being cited in this context are, is another curious question that could be raised.

Narrative five: An extract from "Two hundred years of the S.P.G." simply states that Bernard was probably finished off after the 5th night during Mutkwa's absence.⁶⁷⁵ It is also curious that the report does not mention mysterious appearances. It is silent about how it could be established that Bernard died on the spot. This source should be expected to highlight the details given their worldwide connections. Its interest would be to tell many other Anglicans about what God was doing in Mashonaland and, therefore, to boost their faith. That it is silent on the mystery could not be explained satisfactorily in terms of oversight.

⁶⁷⁴. AB247f: MIZEKI, op.cit.

⁶⁷⁵. Ibid.

Narrative six: Pelly again comes with another version that is dated 28 January 1909. Writing from the Buckley Vicarage, Chester in the United Kingdom, he pointed out that,

The men then returned to find Bernard's body gone. As a matter of fact, they had only badly wounded him, and his wife, whom they had not touched, as she was a girl from their own village, had helped him to drag himself to some large rocks near at hand where he was found hiding. Realising that Bernard could be dead, his would be murderers began to search for him. Then appeared on a hill the figure of a man brightly shining, which dazzled the men so that they could see nothing of Bernard, and soon made them so much frightened that they ran away to their homes.⁶⁷⁶

Our earlier concerns about why Bernard's body becomes more important when wounded or dead are boosted.

That the same people, extremely superstitious for that matter, could continue with the resistance to colonial rule soon after witnessing such a strange occurrence leaves us with more questions than answers. Why it took nearly fifteen years for Pelly to recollect his memories again raises more concerns about historical accuracy.

Narrative seven: Some manuscripts in the collection we are citing have their own version of how the death of Bernard could be narrated. This one is interesting in that it claims to be the result of Mutkwa's testimony as well. When Bernard had been stabbed on his side, and as he lay "writhing" in the yard, he spoke his last words to Mutkwa.⁶⁷⁷ In those words, he predicted the coming of more priests after his death and instructed Mutkwa to go and find Archdeacon Upcher and convey his words.⁶⁷⁸ Of major significance in this account is that when Mutkwa went to seek help, on her return:

...they were blinded by a great white light and heard a noise like many wings of great birds: at the centre of the light, where Bernard lay, was a strange red glow. When the light had gone, Bernard's body had vanished. This phenomenon was attested to by many who were present in the settlement and has become the centre of the legend which surrounds Saint Bernard Mizeki, catechist and martyr, among African Christians in Mashonaland.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁶. AB247f: MIZEKI, Historical research papers, op.cit.

⁶⁷⁷. AB247f: "+St. Bernard Mizeki, c.1861-1896+", Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸. Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹. Ibid.

Again, we are baffled because the same “eye-witness” is being cited. The indications are that the eye-witness is not consistent at all. Therefore, what really happened is very difficult to determine. It is also very difficult to choose the version closer to the truth. What complicates matters further is the fact that Mutkwa is being cited as the originator of all the information.

Narrative eight: This one comes from Arnold. Here the information utilised points to the fact that Mutkwa “fought back fiercely” before fleeing into the bush.⁶⁸⁰ Then she “heard a rushing sound and saw a swirling, darting flame leap down from the sky to the place where Bernard lay dead. The fleeing catechumens also saw the phenomenon.”⁶⁸¹ Then Bernard dragged himself to a nearby spring where he washed his wounds and then hid under a rock where Mutkwa found him and continued nursing him.⁶⁸² On seeing that he was about to die, Bernard advised Mutkwa to go back to her people, but she refused following the example of Ruth in the Bible.⁶⁸³ This account informs us that Mutkwa had Bernard “in her arms” when he passed on, “whispering the name of the Saviour.”⁶⁸⁴ Mutkwa seems to have changed the details of her story again. That the body vanished becomes a mystery of sorts if all accounts that refer to it are put together.

Many curious issues become obvious when the above facts are considered: Given all these versions, it is difficult to determine the most authentic of them all. Mutkwa, who is often cited as the “eye-witness,” but provides fluctuating and contradictory details about the circumstances surrounding Bernard’s death does not appear to be balanced in her recollections. Whether Bernard’s body was carried to heaven by angels or people did not simply find it, in which case, we could even suspect that wild animals ate his remains, is a guess not easy to dismiss. Alternatively, his attackers could have secretly buried him. If the attack on Bernard was traumatic to Mutkwa and all those close to Bernard, hallucinations could not be ruled out given all these contradictions. How Europeans concluded

⁶⁸⁰. Arnold, op.cit.p.28

⁶⁸¹. Ibid.p.28f

⁶⁸². Ibid.p.29

⁶⁸³. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴.Ibid.

that Bernard was actually a martyr and a saint seems more of an arbitrary proclamation than a process of determining his status.

Jean Cecil Farrant acknowledges the existence of many contradictory facts, in line with the preceding, about Bernard Mizeki's death.⁶⁸⁵ He observes that these stories "have all been discarded."⁶⁸⁶ What is fascinating in Farrant's position is that while he is ready to dismiss all the other details of the story or to leave it to individuals "to accept or reject" the account of "the supernatural light", the latter seems to convince him.⁶⁸⁷ He allows the fact "that something happened that night which to the Africans was beyond explanation, which frightened them very much, and made a deep impression."⁶⁸⁸

Of course, Farrant is quick to highlight the prevalent superstition among the Africans on matters such as death and attributes some of it to the reason why Bernard's burial place was never identified by the Mangwende people.⁶⁸⁹ That Bernard was finished off and his remains disposed of by his murderers⁶⁹⁰ does not seem to be a strong argument against those who were made to believe that Bernard was taken to heaven even with his body.

Certainly, there seems to be a protracted attempt at distorting facts in this context. We may not be able to understand the motive, but one story cannot be told in many versions, at times contradictory and yet claiming to originate from the same eye-witness, unless we allow many farfetched explanations. Writing the history of the death of Bernard is, therefore, made extremely complex. A strange phenomenon of this magnitude should have been accounted for by many eye-witnesses and not Mutkwa alone and with a little bit of consistency. This evidence seems to have been "cooked" and then fed into Mutkwa's mouth to appear authentic, for all the versions could not be authentic at all, given the fact that they seem to contradict one another. In fact, they leave us wondering whether we are

⁶⁸⁵. Farrant, J.C. 1966. *Mashonaland martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the pioneer Church*, Cape Town: Oxford Press, Salisbury, p.221.

⁶⁸⁶. Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷. Ibid.p.222

⁶⁸⁸. Ibid, p.222f.

⁶⁸⁹. Ibid, p.223ff.

⁶⁹⁰. Ibid, p.224

also not being treated as superstitious and childish people. How such a terrifying apparition could not cause Bernard's enemies to repent and confess, remains a challenge to all those with inquisitive minds.

The theology of empire seems to be victorious in this context given the fact that the narratives that carried the day are those given official recognition within the Anglican missionary circles with close links to the developments in Mashonaland during 1896.

4.15. Some critical remarks about this chapter

We have tried to include in our narratives the fact that the way Anglican Church history in Mashonaland has been presented gives us an incomplete picture if the theology of empire understanding is our guide in this context. Why should we make such a drastic charge against some of the writings we have identified by authors such as Pamela Welch, Bill Arnold, Langham Carter and other observers? Are we not guilty of imposing the discourse of the theology of empire?

Clearly, our starting point was to consult facts that could support our main argument. Our observations boil down to one urgent fact: it is extremely difficult to treat the Anglican Church in Mashonaland as though it were an independent institution in the context of the colonisation of the country. Financial, material and human resources were made available by the BSAC and its supporters to the Anglican Church. The Church's prophetic and moral voice is absent. The indigenous were short-changed and driven to resort to desperate measures where they had to fight back in an attempt to resist prevalent white domination. The comments from Knight-Bruce about the indigenous in Mashonaland indicate to us that he was not sympathetic to these people who constituted the rationale of his presence in the country as a missionary. Clearly, it is very difficult not to suspect the Bishop of neglecting his vocation in this Mashonaland context. This is because the real issues such as the dispossession and discrimination of the indigenous people do not seem to impact negatively on his image in writings we have cited. The official verdict seems to protect him and so favourable narratives are not scarce.

Our concern is that to narrate such developments as though they were the norm of a Christian missionary enterprise could be the same as supporting the *status quo*. We know that Eusebius of Caesarea is one of the historians who inspire us to talk about the theology of empire sustainably. In this connection, the Church is reduced to an institution more in the service of political and economic exigencies than it is aimed at the salvation of souls. Those who downplay this fact provide us with more opportunities to investigate issues that feed into the discourse of the theology of empire. Certainly, we fail to see the logic of how Christianity could be said to be part of the civilisation that involved colonising other humans using plunder, looting and lies and maintaining that it was work done in the name of God. That the literature to question such developments is scarce happens to be a challenge rather than an acute problem that has no immediate answers. The question remains whether we did justice to the sources we brought under scrutiny.

We introduced the life and death of Bernard Mizeki as an example of a narrative that demonstrates to us how the ideas of the powerful could be imposed in order to prove a point. The fact that there are inconsistencies in the source often cited shows us that the story that prevailed could have been imposed rather than based on accurate facts. People thrown into a state of panic violently may not always be our best witnesses regarding the things that happened when they had fled the scene. We raised more questions about the story of Bernard and hope more enlightenment will be made possible in the future. Our urgent concern was to highlight that stories such as that of Bernard have been advanced to this day from the point of view of the white conquerors of Mashonaland. In this connection, the victims of colonialism would be forced to apologise for killing an innocent man. The white missionaries could therefore be able to boast about bringing in civilisation among the indigenous who in turn rejected it by killing even their own catechists.

4.16. Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to put together facts that help us to see the Anglican Church in Mashonaland under Knight-Bruce failing to distance itself from Rhodes' colonising agenda. A firm foundation of the Anglican Church support for a colonial culture in Mashonaland has been established. The following are some of the

major points raised in our narrative to support the idea that a firm foundation that allows us to introduce the argument for a theology of empire within the Anglican Church of the early 1890s in Mashonaland:

Firstly, the fact that colonisers and Anglican missionaries entered the country they named Rhodesia almost at the same time gives rise to suspicions of a conspiracy between the two in terms of dispossessing the indigenous. The latter were attacked relentlessly from socio-political, economic as well as religious perspectives. Our concern is that instead of the good news, the indigenous were actually betrayed. The worrisome state of affairs in line with scholarship in this context is that not many authorities have so far taken the trouble to develop themes of dominance to support the views underpinning the theology of empire using this Mashonaland context as a major point of reference.

Secondly, missionaries such as Knight-Bruce failed to preach a message of hope and liberation among the Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia, while receiving gifts in the form of money and land from Rhodes, the imperialist and coloniser. Rhodes had managed to “capture the Church” therefore. Again, we do not hear much about the church in captivity within the Mashonaland context, giving rise to the view that there was no critical awareness of what missionary work was supposed to be, given the colonial obsessions that could have been documented.

Thirdly, socio-cultural superiority was imposed in the name of Christian civilisation, but we have noted that this is problematic especially from the point of view of gospel imperatives. Helping people to move forward in life and condemning them are not one and the same thing. We get worried about positions among missionaries that allowed exploitation of the people of Mashonaland while the urgent concern was to preach the good news. That God could sanction the wanton abuses of the indigenous people is a fact that has not really been exposed in ways that are challenging, and that could allow questions for genuine Christianity to be explored.

Fourthly, our argument in favour of the theology of empire is boosted by the fact that since the colonisers and missionaries emerged as victors in Rhodesia during the 1890s; history seems to be written by some notable authorities in favourable terms. Examples are Weller, Linden, Welch, Arnold and others who seem to highlight the positive side of missionaries. Even the death of Bernard Mzeki has been advanced as that of a person who died for his Christian ideals that were seen as a threat by Shona traditionalists. By preferring to write the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland in this fashion, a kind of biased neutrality is allowed, and the picture of aggression and conquest is blurred.

In the next chapter, we shall look at narratives that could give us a picture of how the Anglican Church in Mashonaland proceeded to order itself after Knight-Bruce until 1925. Again, we allow the appreciation of the theology of empire to guide us in our investigation.

CHAPTER 5

FROM GAUL TO BEAVEN AND THE LEGACY OF THE THEOLOGY OF EMPIRE IN MASHONALAND (1895-1925)

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter, we shall consult documents that help us put a critical narrative together on the developments that are 'seasoned' with the flavour of the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland from the episcopate of Gaul up to that of Beaven. This was after Knight-Bruce's exit some time in 1894. Our objectives and methods in this connection are as follows:

Firstly, there is need to boost the argument for the theology of empire within this context. This could be achieved by way of analysing documents that help us to expose the prevalent domineering attitudes towards the indigenous people that prevailed and how the Anglican Church and State continued to relate to each other. Such an undertaking seeks to challenge narratives that have tended to be exclusive in terms of exposing the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland using the categories and thought patterns consistent with the theology of empire.

Secondly, to make critical references to available documents that highlight how the indigenous disempowerment was blended within the Diocese of Mashonaland and state structures under the guise of civilisation and Christianity. Again, it is clear that there is a need to question claims about a successful Church in the context of contradicting developments that militate against gospel imperatives.

Thirdly, to appeal to more aspects of Eusebius of Caesarea's treatment of Constantine in order to demonstrate how the theology of empire could be said to have some bearings on the Anglican context in Mashonaland. The question must be asked how a Church propelled by gospel imperatives could afford to compromise the very principles on which it claims to be anchored on. Why many narratives could be seen to be avoiding this critical question is also an urgent matter in our investigation.

5.1. William Thomas Gaul, the second Bishop of Mashonaland

In this section, we look at the bishop who succeeded Knight-Bruce in Mashonaland.

5.1.0. Short biography

One source informs us that Gaul was born in London in 1844 and went on to acquire his education at Trinity College in Dublin.⁶⁹¹ Coming to South Africa in 1874, almost at the time Rev Greenstock was preoccupied with his journey to Mashonaland, he joined the Diocese of Bloemfontein.⁶⁹² Some of his pastoral engagements are extremely important to note in this connection: He was vicar and precentor of the Cathedral in Bloemfontein between 1875 and 1880.⁶⁹³

In addition, around 1880 and 1884, his next pastoral charge was in Kimberley (Diamond Fields), Beaconsfield in the Parish of All Saints, Dutoitspan.⁶⁹⁴ Gaul was later appointed by the Vicar General of the Diocese of Bloemfontein, (Archdeacon D.G. Croghan) Rector of St Cyprian, Kimberley, in 1884.⁶⁹⁵ This was almost a ground-breaking initiative of the Anglican Church for the Parish because it came to be the most celebrated among many others within the city for both natives and Europeans.⁶⁹⁶

Since this is a leader who originated out of Africa, we do not hear much about the qualities that could boost his engagement with the indigenous people of Mashonaland. Would European standards suffice in this context and could this not be a one-sided initiative in the name of the Anglican Church in this part of the world? We need to investigate certain traces of domineering inclinations in the work of Bishop Gaul to support our argument regarding the theology of empire in his episcopate.

⁶⁹¹. Bishops of the day: a biographical dictionary of the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, and of all churches in communion therewith throughout the world. Available online at: Url: <https://archive.org/details/bishopsdayabiog01lowngoog/page/n172>. Accessed on 24 July 2011

⁶⁹². Ibid.

⁶⁹³. Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴. Ibid.

⁶⁹⁵. Ibid

⁶⁹⁶. Baynes, op.cit.

Clearly, and in line with the preceding, in the 1890s it seems to have been the case that if one was white, that was the best qualification for work in Mashonaland. Of course for chaplaincy work among the whites, this was not a problem. Nevertheless, could the indigenous people's concerns be catered for impartially by the same whites? This is one of the very critical questions with which we are wrestling in this investigation and under the auspices of the theology of empire discourse in Mashonaland. We emphasise this on the basis that we are faced with an initiative that was supposed to be understood as missionary in terms of its focus and ideals, summed up as gospel imperatives. We know that, in general, gospel imperatives must be understood against the backdrop of the positive developments that must be encouraged among people in the name of God. To talk about gospel imperatives is to challenge people to relate to one another in the name of love and mutual respect. Otherwise, there is no way we could connect this to the God who loved humanity through Jesus Christ's work.

The year 1895 saw Gaul taking over as Bishop from Knight-Bruce in Mashonaland.⁶⁹⁷ Here we learn that "He has consecrated Bishop at Bloemfontein Cathedral on the Feast of St Mark 1895",⁶⁹⁸ that is on 25 April.⁶⁹⁹ It looks like his work in Kimberley made it easier for his transition to Mashonaland since, according to Baynes, he was already familiar with Rhodes.⁷⁰⁰

5.1.1. Gaul's Mashonaland venture

Regarding our theme so far, Anglicanism in Mashonaland that was now called Southern Rhodesia is understood as proceeding alongside the colonial and domineering agenda of the British. Here we are faced with information that leads us to conclude that Anglicanism in this context subscribed to the same lies of cultural supremacy identified in chapter four of this research. From what has already been narrated, it seems difficult to separate the Anglican Church in Mashonaland from the colonialism obtaining in the country then because of more facts that will be highlighted later on in this chapter. The Anglican hierarchy's

⁶⁹⁷. Bishops of the day..., op.cit

⁶⁹⁸. Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹. Arnold, op.cit.p.25

⁷⁰⁰. Baynes, op.cit

readiness to provide chaplaincy to the colonialists is something that we have already referred to beginning in 1890. As we proceed with our narratives, more information seems to be available to support further examples of missionary compromise in the preceding connections.

5.1.2. Anglican support for brutal confrontations

Firstly, one authority, O'Callaghan, notes that besides Knight-Bruce's involvement during the 1893 revolt on the BSAC forces' side,⁷⁰¹ William Gaul was "also Chaplain-General of the Rhodesian forces" from 1895 to 1907.⁷⁰² Douglas Pelly, in 1896, made sure that the spiritual needs of the Rhodesia Horse, a force dispatched to fight the Matabele, were met as he rode with them as their chaplain.⁷⁰³ During the Boer War of 1899-1902, three other Anglican priests: J.W. Leary, N.W. Fogarty and Upcher served as chaplains on the British side.⁷⁰⁴ We note here that the colonial forces had to be blessed and Anglican Church leaders, in the mould of William Thomas Gaul and those under him were readily available for this task.

In addition to the observations made above, a tradition of ministering to the colonial forces seems to have been firmly established in the context in which the Mashonaland discourse is unravelled. Those forces were not friendly to the cause of the indigenous people. We have already seen that theirs was to neutralise indigenous dissent and yet Anglicanism in Mashonaland was fully behind them. We should note that influential Shona religio-political leaders such as the most celebrated Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi were hanged by the settlers in 1898⁷⁰⁵ during Gaul's episcopate. We hear no Anglican missionary protest to the barbarism at play in this context except attempts by a Roman Catholic priest to pressure these traditional indigenous leaders into conversion.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰¹. Musodza, op.cit. p.100. Emphasis is on the fact that that the neutrality of Knight-Bruce in this war remains a matter of controversy since he was flanked by the occupying forces that were slaughtering the Ndebeles.

⁷⁰². O'Callaghan, op.cit. p.140

⁷⁰³. Arnold, op.cit. p.29

⁷⁰⁴. Ibid. p.34

⁷⁰⁵. Beach, D.N. 2011/1998: An innocent woman, unjustly accused? Charwe, medium of the Nehanda Mhondoro spirit, and the 1896-97 Central Shona rising in Zimbabwe. in *History in Africa* (African Studies Association), 25, p.45. Available online at: Url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3172179> .Accessed on 24 July 2011.

⁷⁰⁶. Nehanda Hanging True Account, 2014: The Herald, Harare, Zimbabwe. Available online at: Url: <https://www.herald.co.zw/nehanda-hanging-true-account/>. Accessed on 14 August 2014

These terrible events, noted above, were happening in a Diocese that was headed by a bishop who originated from the world of civilisation and not barbarism. Surprisingly, there was never a deliberate ethical argument to the effect that the Shona rebellion could be justified if Europeans wanted to insist on that civilisation. What kind of civilisation could support land-grabs and the related thuggery and still claim to be Christian? After all, the indigenous people's motherland was at stake and for these traditional leaders to be treated as mere thugs happens to be problematic when looked at from the point of view of the indigenous' aspirations to liberate themselves. We have already used the illustration of how certain popular freedom fighters' corpses were treated by Europeans in the 1970s, many years later. It is clear that to be black in Mashonaland also meant to be devoid of any serious needs. It also meant to be a lesser human and so we could not expect much sympathy from the masters of Christianity and civilisation. We are being emphatic on this point because in this context, there seems to be no one who was really sympathetic to the indigenous' cause in a more resolute fashion. This question should be justified on the basis of the fact that Christian missionaries were busy at work in this context including our Anglicans. The kind of gospel principles being appealed to, in Mashonaland, in this connection is very difficult to establish.

5.1.3. Moral inadequacies in Mashonaland narratives

Up to now, the writings about the Anglican Church history in Mashonaland do not seem to have paid much attention to details of the Europeans' inadequacies in the foregoing connection. The common narratives seem to give us a normal state of affairs of missionaries and European civil authorities trying to do their best for the good of Mashonaland with a few challenges here and there. This could justify the theme of the theology of empire in terms of how history is written in this context. The writing tends to focus on one side, namely, that of the conquerors of Mashonaland.

In both Welch and Arnold's writings cited in our work, the absence of detailed narratives on Mbuya Nehanda, Kaguvi and other Shona leaders makes it appear as if these were insignificant individuals and, therefore, their cause was futile. Welch puts it so aptly for our purpose as she describes Gaul's position. Firstly, we

are told that Gaul did not want to make public statements about which side he was taking.⁷⁰⁷ Secondly, he wanted to be understood as a bishop interested in seeing justice done concerning the natives after the war.⁷⁰⁸ However, there are problems that could be cited in this regard. We should be mindful of the fact that the bishop was not involved in the Rhodesian saga in his capacity only, but as a representative of a major branch of the Church of God.

In line with the preceding, Gaul could afford to be neutral, and his longing for justice has no documented support in this context. We could assume that the execution of the Shona freedom fighters was the justice he wanted to see done. Below, we shall attempt to expose how compromised Bishop Gaul was regarding his attitude towards the Shona and Ndebele war of resistance in 1896-7.

5.1.4. Gaul also an ambassador when visiting England

One archival source helps us to emphasise the foregoing point about problems that could be identified in line with the church involvement in compromised situations. In early 1896, Bishop Gaul was in England.⁷⁰⁹ What we get is the impression that although he went there in his capacity as the Bishop of Mashonaland, he could not hide the fact that he was also an ambassador of the BSAC. He does not seem to support his claims, neither the earlier claims of Knight-Bruce that they both understood themselves as above partisan confrontations. There is a strong intimation of this latter point. Those who have decided to leave it out in their narratives seem to help us in our discourse of the theology of empire within the Mashonaland context. During an interview given by Bishop Gaul during that time in England, the following facts surfaced:

Firstly, he went all out to defend Cecil John Rhodes and Dr Jameson as he declared, “I know Rhodes to be a just and conscientious ruler and Jameson to be an upright, unselfish administrator.”⁷¹⁰ Welch has already informed us that Gaul

⁷⁰⁷. Welch, op.cit.p.54

⁷⁰⁸. Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹. AB636: GAUL, William Thomas, 1844-1928 (Bp.of Mashonaland 1895-1907) Scrap-book, 1874-1931. Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa. The article in question is included in The Daily Chronicle of 1896 but full date excluded from the cutting.

⁷¹⁰. AB636.op.cit.

was not interested in making public statements. We have also been told that he wanted his neutrality to be emphatic and to see justice being done to the indigenous. In Chapter four we referred to lies being peddled in the Mashonaland that were posing challenges to all those with the right motivation and with moral fortitude. We are not so sure whether the moral stamina attributed to Rhodes and Jameson was able to accommodate the aspirations of the indigenous people who were already rebelling against the settlers. The Bishop's willingness to support a colonial cause is evident. The only concern we have about that support is that at the very core of the colonial cause, evil resides. For the Anglican Church under Gaul to support such a cause and still maintain a Christian position, is seen in our context as extremely problematic.

That Gaul, in connection with the above, could submit such eulogistic support for Rhodes and Jameson at this level, is a clear demonstration that he could no longer afford to be neutral when it mattered to him most. What could have happened if, in England, he had condemned the action of the BSAC? It is clear that he was protecting the individuals whom he saw as crucial for the success of his Church. We have already noted that Knight-Bruce did exactly the same on behalf of Rhodes while in England as well. We could note a tradition of supporting the BSAC by the Anglican Church, and we have already come across some of the reasons in this regard.

Secondly, the uprising back in Matabeleland and later, Mashonaland, was said to be the result of the influence of witchdoctors.⁷¹¹ Now, this whole idea of attributing concerns to the influence of witchdoctors meant that superstition was always seen as the major culprit and not real concerns coming from mature people whose country was under siege. We saw this claim being made in connection with Bernard Mizeki.

As a result of the prevalent attitudes that obtained from the beginning of the Mashonaland mission, we could see the consistency among Anglican leaders about the Shona people being superstitious: The rebellion by Shona and Ndebele

⁷¹¹. AB636, op.cit.

was because of witchdoctors! Accordingly, Bernard Mizeki died because of the influence of witchdoctors! We have no space to deal with the “influence of witchdoctors” among the people of Mashonaland during the 1890s, but it is clear that every radical belief the indigenous people had was attributed to the witchdoctors. Why it was difficult for missionaries to credit the indigenous people for being people who could engage critically with their collective fate defined by the settlers and Church leaders is an urgent question here.

Thirdly, Bishop Gaul praised the military capabilities of people such as Selous, Dawson and Spreckly and indicated that they were sufficient proof that the natives could be crushed and, therefore, the uprising would come to nothing.⁷¹² This was an indication that the bishop of Mashonaland did not take the concerns of the indigenous people seriously. This was also a position that baptised the colonial excesses that could obtain in this context. Why the Bishop was not interested in finding out why his indigenous flock: lost or found, was restless, seems to confirm his prejudice in this context. Whether he was able to see the bigger picture of God, who has no interest in colour or race, is not easy to establish here. Why historians treat such bishops with soft gloves as though we could advance them as exemplary in compromised situations is a curious question here. The preceding reference to Bishop Gaul’s interview in England shows us clearly that the indigenous people were expendable in his own personal understanding. Where God could be said to be part of what was happening is mind-boggling.

5.1.5. Gaul’s theology of empire

The theology of empire seems to make sense in the foregoing connection because Bishop Gaul does not see the distinction between the work of God and the defeat of weaker races from a military point of view. It seems to be the case that whatever the sentiments were that were motivating the indigenous people to resist, they were of no major significance. The indigenous people simply needed to be silenced, if we are to go by Bishop Gaul’s position above.

⁷¹². AB636, op.cit.

We have already noted that the general understanding of the indigenous people by the Europeans made it easier for the latter to downplay the former's status as humans on an equal footing with their white counterparts. This, we could conclude from the way Gaul understood the settlers. According to Welch, Gaul saw settlers as people generally determined to expand the Empire throughout Africa and often did that sacrificially.⁷¹³ Whether this sacrifice was meant to benefit all races or it was just one-sided, is the question we are grappling with here. The idea of sacrifice becomes urgent if the Church was supporting inequalities and racism. In our case, we admit that Anglican missionaries were ready to sacrifice for their kith and kin but not so for the indigenous as we have seen obtaining above. To downplay this fact seems to be one of the major concerns being highlighted in our exposition. It is interesting to note that there is a clear distinction between secular historians and those from the Church's perspective when it comes to dealing with the Mashonaland context.

5.1.6. Secular and religious approaches to history

In addition to the foregoing section, it seems to be the case that we are faced with religious history narratives that do not really want to respect the fact that secular observations also constitute an essential part of this whole picture of the developments in Mashonaland. Among the several Church historians we are scrutinising in this work, the brutality of the settlers seems to be downplayed while their efforts are seen as noble undertakings.⁷¹⁴ One good example of European brutality in this period, that has not been given much attention by Church historians of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, happens to be the documented military campaigns between 1896 and 1897 in the now Marondera area (named Marandellas by the British).⁷¹⁵ Meanwhile, they may appear to be mere historical accounts of what transpired then; the weight they command from the point of view of civilisation and Christianity could not be underestimated. Hodder-Williams' article again refers to the following distressing developments that any balanced history of the Church could not afford to ignore:

⁷¹³. Welch, *op.cit.*p.46

⁷¹⁴. Welch's position on p.46 gives us Bishop Gaul as a missionary sacrificing a lot for the people of Mashonaland. The information emphasised by Hodder-Williams is that the Mashona people are being massacred by the British forces. This complicates matters when it comes to reconciling secular and Church histories which are supposed to have a common denominator.

⁷¹⁵. Hodder-Williams,*op.cit.* pp.27-55

Firstly, some of the European forces that engaged the Shona fighters were ill-disciplined, irresponsible and looted at will.⁷¹⁶ No Anglican missionary protested against this, but military chaplaincy was provided, and we have seen that Gaul, while in England, had praised and justified these campaigns. The bishop could be seen as condoning the barbaric acts of the settler forces as they dealt with the Shona and Ndebele resistance. There seems to be no other way of explaining the moral laxity that obtained in this connection. How our Church historians could have handled these developments had the indigenous people been on the winning side, is a question we will never be able to answer.

Secondly, the forces were determined to teach the Shona people never to defy the whites again.⁷¹⁷ Thus, this was not merely a war to defend themselves but one designed with high-handed brutality. It was vengeance and to find it being supported by the Christians becomes a disturbing state of affairs. Emphatically, no Anglican voice could be heard, and we could assume that brutality was sanctioned by the church as a general rule when it came to silencing the indigenous protests. This was not the justice the bishop was expecting. To think that the new administrator of Mashonaland, “the Fourth Earl Grey,” who was “a member of the Mashonaland Mission Association” was a personal friend of Gaul⁷¹⁸ and in charge of the military operations in the country does not allow us to see both of them in a positive light. Again, to be reminded of Eusebius of Caesarea in the person of Gaul could not be said to be farfetched. Here was an Anglican bishop ready to see all the goodness in the civil authorities without reference to their shortcomings.

Thirdly, humane approaches to the conflict, such as negotiating with the Shona chiefs were viewed as a failure.⁷¹⁹ The absence of Anglican missionaries to facilitate negotiations seems to show that the defeat of the Shona was of more paramount importance to them than reconciliation. We could assume that this was the justice the bishop expected. Again, we do not seem to have compelling evidence to absolve the Anglican Church in this context of Mashonaland. The

⁷¹⁶. Hodder-Williams, *op.cit.* p.41.

⁷¹⁷. *Ibid.* p.42

⁷¹⁸. Welch, *op.cit.*54

⁷¹⁹. Hodder-Williams, *op.cit.* p.42

Christian civilisation to talk about becomes illusive when what is preferred is violence and vindictiveness.

Fourthly, the European troops lacked a sense of justice for they were angry, frustrated, vindictive, afraid and liars.⁷²⁰ Douglas Pelly who was the Anglican Chaplain to the British forces in Mashonaland supports the preceding claims in no uncertain terms.⁷²¹ In his diary entry of Monday, June 29th, 1896, Pelly expresses the following view:

I fear that vindictive feelings among a lot of men are having a full sway now: what a hateful thing is war. I do my best to keep level-headed and to persuade others to do the same, and I'm glad to say most of the officers do not give way to the savage sentiments that a good many men indulge in now. A lot of fellows seriously are wishing to kill everything with a black skin, friends and enemies alike. How little mercy and love there is in the world when men are put to the test.⁷²²

The passage reveals to us the kind of anger that developed among Europeans when they were being resisted by the indigenous people through military confrontation. We shall encounter another similar admission of vindictiveness when we refer to Selous' reflections about the uprising in Matabeleland below. However, we shall contrast the two's observations because they seem to have been informed by different convictions.

We are here faced with the products of the much celebrated Christian civilisation. In fact, Pelly enlightens us by referring to the savagery among the British as quoted above. How could the Anglican Church then maintain its silence when it was there under the auspices of gospel imperatives? It is clear that we have a big problem that has been avoided by many Church historians in this context. To simply write about the Church's great achievements begs the question when necessity requires us to analyse success from a Christian perspective and in contexts that were compromised considerably.

There is a fifth point in the above connection: Cecil John Rhodes, himself, encouraged the troops to be ruthless with the Shona, a view supported by F.C.

⁷²⁰. Hodder-Williams, op.cit. p.42

⁷²¹. AB1413, Pelly (unpublished manuscripts, letters and diaries during the 1896 Uprisings), Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷²². Ibid.p,240f

Selous.⁷²³ Yet, Rhodes remained a friend of the Anglican Church as we have already cited above. One day, in April 1902, Gaul would have the honour to officiate at Rhodes' funeral in the Matopos.⁷²⁴ Clearly, the Anglican Church in Mashonaland would show its faithfulness and sincerity to a hardcore colonialist until his death. That statements meant to distance the Anglican Church from what was happening in Mashonaland in the 1890s are missing seems to be something designed rather than a mere error of omission by some Anglican Church historians to whom we have referred previously. To the disappointment of all who would like to see missionaries being representatives of God, hence impartial and loving, the Mashonaland context described above requires a different narrative.

There is also a sixth point: Heavy dynamite was used to blast caves where the Shona families were hiding, and innocent women and children were either killed or maimed.⁷²⁵ No Anglican moral outrage was expressed. We note that Arnold gives statistics for the whites who were killed during the resistance, while the number of the indigenous that died is said to be very difficult to estimate.⁷²⁶ Again, we are concerned that the history being narrated by Arnold and Welch does not emphasise the preceding brutalities. The narratives do not seem to help us understand that human lives are all the same. In the preceding narrative, the urgency to account for European lives lost could not be hidden while accounting for the indigenous lives could be downplayed.

The reason why our attention must be drawn to the foregoing moral issues that happen to be intertwined with the Anglican history in Mashonaland in the mid-to-late 1890s, is deeply anchored within the context in which Anglican missionary work had to be carried out under the episcopate of Gaul. The absence of the unique Anglican missionary voice amidst such evils, is significant. Where the bishop of the Diocese was in all these disturbing developments, is equally puzzling. Why not much has been exposed by Church historians in terms of the Christian support given to those who were engaged in brutal activities against the

⁷²³. Hodder-Williams, op.cit. p.43

⁷²⁴. Funeral of Cecil John Rhodes, April, 1902, 2002: Janus Library, Cambridge, UK. Available online at: <http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk/db/node.xsp?id=EAD%2FGBR%2F0115%2FY3052M%2F10;sib0=-6>. Accessed on 16 July 2011

⁷²⁵. Hodder-Williams, op.cit. p.47

⁷²⁶. Arnold, op.cit.p.28

indigenous people, sounds like a public relations caution. Where women and children are brutally murdered against the backdrop of church leadership that sanctioned the actions, we do not see a Christian and civilised state of affairs.

5.2. White atheists in Mashonaland and their status

It is Pelly, again, who is informative, in line with the preceding, regarding our concerns in a diary entry of 7 July 1896.⁷²⁷ He observes that among the many settlers who were in Mashonaland, there was quite a significant population that had nothing to do with religion or God, although they were assumed to be Christians by virtue of having come from England –something he described as “frightful.”⁷²⁸ This observation was affirmed to Pelly in a conversation by another settler to the effect that,

The natives will never be converted till the folk at home have first provided for the conversion of the whites and also sent out converted settlers. The utterly bad example of the whites is an insuperable difficulty.⁷²⁹

This quote is an eye-opener when it comes to understanding of the claims made to the effect that Mashonaland was heathen. Pelly gives us another admission that should concern us. Why the conversion of the indigenous could be seen as urgent when those who had been exposed to Christianity had not much to show for it in Mashonaland, is an urgent concern here. The one-sidedness of the approach and narratives in this connection seems to support our theme of the theology of empire.

5.2.0. William Gaul and the BSAC leadership

In line with the above, Arnold’s narratives help us to understand what was at stake here when he makes two references that are critical to our observations in terms of Gaul’s socio-political connections and the theology of empire we are using as our lens:

Firstly, Gaul endeared himself to Rhodes and Jameson,⁷³⁰ also Rhodes’ collaborator, Alfred Beit donated generously (a thousand pounds!) to the Anglican

⁷²⁷. AB1413. Op.cit.p.244.

⁷²⁸. Ibid.p.245

⁷²⁹. AB1413, op.cit.p.245

⁷³⁰. Arnold, op.cit. p.25

Church under Gaul.⁷³¹ Secondly, Welch also concurs when she observes that it was through Rhodes' encouragement and influence that Gaul became the second bishop of Mashonaland.⁷³² Accordingly, we are looking at a bishop who had all the correct political connections in this context but who never really used them to boost the gospel imperatives we could envisage. Was this not another good example of a Church that had been captured by the BSAC? Why are such factors not taken into consideration when it comes to evaluating how the Anglican Church performed in Mashonaland in the last half of the nineteenth century?

5.2.1. Bishop William Gaul and British patriotism

We saw earlier that Bishop William Gaul succeeded Knight-Bruce in 1895 and is advanced to us as one who viewed the BSA Company in the most favourable terms possible.⁷³³ Cecil John Rhodes is also believed to have been behind the appointment of this Bishop.⁷³⁴ In the bishop, we hear of a man who was sympathetic to the cause of the settlers and who saw in them the bulwark of British imperial expansionism in Southern Africa.⁷³⁵ Gaul viewed settlers generally as good.⁷³⁶ It is important, here, to note that Welch cites sources that make it clear that Gaul was unconditionally at home with the settlers. This is contrasted to Knight-Bruce's anti-settler attitudes. In our findings we see not much difference between the two bishops for they overallly sanctioned the settler takeover of the country without much reference to the impact this was going to have on the indigenous. Of course, they were mostly British, and from a patriotic point of view, there is a point beyond which certain principles could not be applied no matter how firm they could be. It is clear that we see in Mashonaland, an Anglican Bishop who was more worried about his Englishness, though he was actually Irish⁷³⁷, almost to the point of giving it precedence over Christianity. In this connection, he is quoted as saying, and in connection with the white settlers:

⁷³¹. Welch, op.cit p. 42

⁷³². Ibid. p.45

⁷³³. Ibid. p.45

⁷³⁴. Ibid.

⁷³⁵. Ibid, p.46

⁷³⁶. Ibid.

⁷³⁷. An Irishman's Diary 2001: in the Irish Times. Ireland. Available online at: Url: <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/an-irishman-s-diary-1.271226>. Accessed 15 July 2011. The article mentions "William Gaul from Derry who became Bishop of Mashonaland"

Our aim with regard to the white population is to reproduce among them that English home life of which we are justly proud and the basis which is the Christian religion.⁷³⁸

We are not so sure how the indigenous people would fit into this bishop's missionary schemes that gave the English people first preference. How could the indigenous people be expected to feel at home in such a context that did not take their hopes and aspirations seriously? The Bishop's neutrality here is very difficult to determine. His statements above do not give us a Church leader who was neutral at all.

In Gaul, therefore, we have major concerns. We do not anticipate a bishop who was able to deal decisively with critical politico-religious issues obtaining in his context from an impartial position. The indigenous people could have expected a shepherd who was able to sympathise with them. It appears to be the case that Gaul was pro-English and everything had to be viewed from this angle if we go by the foregoing quote from Welch. This leaves the indigenous people very much exposed and, therefore, at the mercy of those who wanted to translate them into an English version, while remaining outwardly African.

We have already noted that one of the epoch-making revolutions (the Ndebele and Shona uprisings of 1896-7) within the Diocese of Mashonaland context took place during Gaul's episcopate (1895-1907). This uprising is crucial for it inspired the struggle for liberation that culminated in the independence of the country when it assumed the name Zimbabwe in 1980, nearly a century later. That some of the traditional and religious leaders were captured and executed by British forces during Gaul's time is something that will continue to be retold from an indigenous perspective in this context. Those who are critical of the Church's role during this period do not see how Christian leaders could have been said to be neutral given the spirit already referred to above. After all, being neutral when one side is the offender does no good to the victim, and, therefore, neutrality becomes evil by that very token.

⁷³⁸. Welch, *op.cit.* p.50

5.2.2. Gaul's definitive position on colonisation

Gaul, according to Welch, believed that colonisation of the African was a positive development.⁷³⁹ The reasons he gave included the prevalent conviction among many settlers that the natives were generally lazy.⁷⁴⁰ We have already noted that claims about laziness or idleness among natives were just ways of indicating that they did not want to work for the whites. It is clear that Gaul could not use the gospel to protect the natives from being exploited by the settlers using the argument of laziness.

In addition, whether such sentiments, coming from ecclesiastical leaders, could conjure feelings of Christian authenticity and personhood, among the indigenous peoples' cultural imaginations, is not easy to determine. The very fact that Gaul saw Christianity to be playing a pivotal role in the whole enterprise, demonstrates the fact that for him, missionaries could do their work within a colonial framework without any quibbles of conscience even though the context was compromised.

Blessing the *status quo* would appear to be the noble thing to do, while the indigenous were groaning under the yoke of oppression. The question of how future generations would view this development does not seem to have been of any major significance during this time. It seems to be the case that the Anglican Church could be seen as accommodating short-sighted leadership in this context of Mashonaland. Such Church leadership left behind a legacy that compromised its ability to preach the Good News because of the prejudice caused by the European shortcomings in this regard. Nevertheless, and historically, generalisations in the preceding connections may not go unchallenged. It is within the same Anglican missionary matrix that one voice has always been singled out as prophetic and we shall look at Arthur Shearly Cripps' position later on.

How then could we expect the Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland to be prophetic and to challenge evil systems that were being promoted in his context when it could be argued that he was part of the system and, therefore, the problem? When Christian missionaries support the *status quo* in extremely compromised

⁷³⁹. Welch, op.cit.p.60

⁷⁴⁰. Ibid. p.61

and evil circumstances, this should remind us of a replica of Eusebius of Caesarea within a Mashonaland context. In line with the above, an attitude displaying double-standards could be said to have been prevalent in Bishop Gaul's character. For example, as Welch notes in her work, Gaul, later on, castigated the Anglo-Boer war but, nonetheless, served as a chaplain on the side of the British imperial forces⁷⁴¹ as we have already noted above. How one could participate in something that one was against, sounds like a puzzle here. We recall that even Knight-Bruce was seen by some as one who was against colonialism, but took part in sharing the spoils. Such contradictions in terms of values seem to define Anglicanism in Mashonaland at this earliest stage.

5.3. Frederick Courtney Selous' theology of empire

In the following few paragraphs, we include Frederick Courtney Selous' views that could be appealed to as the benchmark of British arrogance in Mashonaland (Inclusive of Matabeleland).⁷⁴² We appeal to such views because they were prevalent during Gaul's episcopate. His support for the BSAC could make him equally responsible for the convictions that prevailed among the settlers especially when armed conflict could no longer be avoided in the Mashonaland of the 1896-7.

In addition, Selous' preface to the book lays some of the major issues which we are focusing on in this work from the point of view of the theology of empire. He starts off by making a far-reaching remark to the effect that he is writing about "Africa" and adds that this is in connection with "the long-suffering British Public."⁷⁴³ He also declares himself a personal friend of Cecil John Rhodes and Dr L. Jameson, and he is in a hurry to defend the two as human and also fallible in his judgements, especially, in connection with the causes of the rebellion.⁷⁴⁴ Selous' arrogance is expressed in extremely confident terms. These terms

⁷⁴¹. Welch, *op.cit.* p.63

⁷⁴². Selous, F.C. 1896: *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, LONDON ROWLAND WARD & Co., limited 166 PICCADILLY, W. Available online at: Url: <http://www.archive.org/details/sunshineinr00selouoft>. Accessed on 20 December 2011.

We should acknowledge unconditionally that most of what Selous writes is about the British campaign against the people of Matabeleland in 1896. He also includes the campaign in Mashonaland (geographical, and not diocesan) towards the end of his book.

⁷⁴³. *Ibid.* p.vii

⁷⁴⁴. *Ibid.* p.viii

demonstrate the British' prejudices against the indigenous people in this context.

Clearly, he states that:

...for with the greater knowledge now possessed by the authorities of the native character, the outcome of which will be a complete reorganisation of the native administration, no farther insurrection ought to be possible. For the rest, it is very evident that the Matabele broke out in rebellion because they disliked their position as a conquered people, and imagined that they were strong enough to throw off the yoke of their conquerors.⁷⁴⁵

We note here that Selous takes the conquest of the indigenous for granted. This is the point at which we could expect the Anglican Church in Mashonaland to give guidance. Bishop Gaul is absent in such prejudicial narratives that compromised the indigenous people's aspirations.

5.3.0. Selous' distinction between the whites and the indigenous people

It is clear that Selous is also in a hurry to defend the settlers in terms of them not being bad rulers and slated the insolence of the Ndebele leaders.⁷⁴⁶ In other words, the conquest of the country and the subjugation of the indigenous is seen as acceptable. Hence, our reference to his arrogance that did not allow him to admit that the defeat in question was an illegal act as we heard in Chapter 4 above, coming from fellow British overseas. To prevent any condemnation in this connection, he argues that the BSAC administration had put structures in place meant to protect the indigenous from any wanton abuse and the presence of native commissioners in all the districts of the country meant that no grievances could be ignored.⁷⁴⁷ That Selous is insistent on the innocence of the BSAC is proved by his reference to the presence of missionaries in Matabeleland (though not Anglicans) who could be cited as witnesses.⁷⁴⁸ Therefore, he writes in this connection:

Now, if systematic cruelty, injustice, and oppression of the Matabele by the Government of the Chartered Company had been going on constantly for over two years, it must have been very well known to all these men, and it was their duty not only to have protested against such gross misgovernment to the Company's Administrator in Bulawayo, but also to have reported such abuses to their Directors in England. No such allegations, however, were ever made prior to the

⁷⁴⁵. Selous, op.cit.p.ix

⁷⁴⁶. Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷. Ibid.p.x

⁷⁴⁸. Ibid.p.xv

rebellion, and should any be now brought forward they ought to be received with the very gravest suspicion.⁷⁴⁹

In the above connection, it is clear that some of the settlers expected to be reminded that what they were doing was not in keeping with a Christian civilisation, and as Selous observes, their silence meant that even the very atrocities admitted in this context were not taken seriously by missionaries. This is where the Anglican Church under Gaul could be charged with gross negligence of the indigenous cause. We have seen earlier on that Douglas Pelly admitted indirectly that there was a problem that could not be ignored in Mashonaland. Two convictions of which we must remind ourselves when we contrast Pelly and Selous are urgent here: As we have noted, Pelly admits that there were savages among the British in Mashonaland. In addition, there was not much Christianity to talk about among the British. Above, Selous seems to give us a different picture where Christian values were safeguarded by missionaries who were operating among the indigenous savages. In fact, Selous does not give us the impression that the British were able to act savagely in Mashonaland. Every brutal act could be qualified and justified as we have noted.

5.3.1. Affirmation of white supremacy in Mashonaland

In line with the preceding, Selous does not understand that his argument is one-sided and continues to display the arrogance that seems to motivate his narrative. We must bear in mind that he has already preferred the position that the indigenous people in Matabeleland were supposed to accept defeat and live comfortably in that situation. This point is made extremely clear when he observes that, after the defeat of the Matabele in 1893, there were conditions given by the British for the indunas and their people to return to their homeland.⁷⁵⁰ There were many of these conditions; it seems, inclusive of:

...one of which was that the indunas should, through the medium of the native commissioners, supply miners and farmers with native labour—all the able-bodied young men in the country being required to work for a certain number of months per annum at a fixed rate of pay. This rate of pay was fixed at 10s a month with food; but as a matter of fact mining work was almost always paid much more highly, as much as 30s a month with food being often given for unskilled labour,

⁷⁴⁹. Selous, *op.cit.*p.xv

⁷⁵⁰. *Ibid.* p.x

whilst the managers of mines made it their business to see that the boys in their Company's employ were well treated, and cruel treatment by individuals was, I do not hesitate to say, the exception to the rule. Owing to the excessive indolence of the people, however, there can be no doubt that the labour regulations were most irksome to them.⁷⁵¹

Again, and in line with the above, the magnanimity of the British is highlighted against the “excessive indolence” of the indigenous people. Incidents of cruelty by the British farmers and miners are described as “exceptions” rather than the “rule.” It is clear that here we have another piece of history that is written in favour of the conquerors. Their mistakes are justified, while those of the victims are condemned in no uncertain terms. Police brutality is neutralised by way of explaining that the indunas often reneged on the conditions we met above.⁷⁵² Therefore, when police were sent out to enforce these conditions, they sometimes used excessive force.⁷⁵³ The latter force was negated by the fact that it was not sanctioned. However, whether sanctioned or not, brute force is brute force. The indigenous people, the victims of such brutality, could not mistake the source of their suffering given all the facts we are making reference to in this regard. They did not need to guess whether the abuses they endured under the native police, first of all, were sanctioned or not, when they knew very well that everything was being done under the direction and authority of the BSAC.

5.3.2. Witchdoctors blamed for the insurrection

That Selous uses the preceding strategy in his narratives to find culprits among the indigenous seems to be extremely consistent. For example, about the issue of cattle that the BSAC confiscated from the indigenous, he admits that,

It was never sagaciously handled, and its mismanagement probably caused more discontent against the Chartered Company's rule amongst the pure-blooded Matabele, or Abenzantsi, than anything else, whilst the irritation excited by the regulation exacting a certain amount of paid labour yearly from every able-bodied man produced a feeling of bitterness and discontent throughout the other classes of the community, which made them ripe for rebellion when they were called to arms by the leaders of the insurrection.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵¹. Selous, op.cit. p.x

⁷⁵². Ibid.p.xi

⁷⁵³. Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴. Ibid.p.xii

This admission would suffice for us to pass a verdict of no confidence against the BASC's conduct among the Ndebele people. We have already seen that Selous does not want to speak on behalf of the indigenous without qualifying his statements to accommodate the conquerors.

After admitting that the BSAC blundered in its handling of the indigenous people's concerns in Matabeleland, he is quick to absolve company rule by noting that,

However, although no impartial critic can deny that the confiscation of so large a number of their cattle, and more especially the manner in which that confiscation was carried out, was impolitic if not ungenerous ; whilst the manner in which the labour regulations were enforced was sometimes calculated to provoke serious discontent ; yet neither of these causes, nor both combined, would, in my opinion, have been sufficient to induce the mass of the population to break out in rebellion had there not been amongst them many men who, having once belonged to the ruling class in the country, were so dissatisfied at their loss of position and power under the white man's rule, that they had determined to regain their independence as a nation, or to attempt to do so, on the first favourable opportunity which offered. The rebellion was not the spontaneous act of the mass of the people goaded to desperation by an insupportable tyranny. It was a drama into which they were surprised, and in many cases dragged against their better judgment, by a few leading spirits, who planned and carried out the first murders and utilised the Makalaka Umlimo, as a prophet.⁷⁵⁵

Let us not forget that the setting of Selous' narratives is still within the Diocese of Mashonaland as Matabeleland was not a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction. There is a very critical reason here for the long quote. It is important to appeal to these words to support our narrative. Clearly, Selous would like his readers to agree that the indigenous people had no leaders and therefore not capable of organising themselves.

The quote above could be justified on the basis that it also demonstrates the extreme advocacy that Selous allows on behalf of the BSAC. It tries to explain away every grievance the Ndebele people had. It leads us to the culprits' perceived vices on which Selous would like us to focus, namely, the desire for power among the ruling class that had lost it to the British conquerors. He also introduces the role of the spirits such as the Umlimo so that they could be blamed for inciting people to start a rebellion as well. It is clear that if we were to eliminate

⁷⁵⁵, Selous, op.cit. p.xii

the role of the influential leaders among the Ndebele and the indigenous prophets, the 1896 rebellion could never have been realised. Again, Selous' way of narrating history leaves us perplexed.

However, and in the above connection, it is clear that Selous would like to neutralise a very important fact here. It is clear that with or without the ambitious leaders and the indigenous prophets, the BSAC rule was not welcome. In one way or another, the dissatisfaction among the indigenous would reach saturation point.

To admit that there were blunders made by the BSAC and still argue that they were not too grievous, is to underestimate the feelings of the indigenous people. In short, it is to reduce them to subjects who could not think at all. This, again, is problematic. It seems to be his conviction that as long as one was white, they could ill-treat the indigenous people and as long as there were no instigators, the whites could easily get away with murder. Such convictions seem to have been out of touch with the general feelings of the indigenous people.

5.3.3. Selous on the character of the indigenous people

Selous also touches on the contemporary conviction among many whites that the indigenous people were savages.⁷⁵⁶ It was this savagery disposition that led the Ndebeles to rebel against the civilised whites instead of learning the benefits of orderly government.⁷⁵⁷ Accordingly, savages could not be expected to remain calm even when treated in the best way possible because it is natural for them to become violent even without any provocation. That this is what the Ndebele and Shona people were like, is something about which we are worried in our narrative. The orderly government, members of the BSAC administration, of course, in spite of having done everything good, were murdered by the indigenous people who, since 1893, had appeared to be pleased with company rule.⁷⁵⁸ Could this attitude also explain why Anglican missionaries were generally not vocal against white brutality?

⁷⁵⁶. Selous, op.cit. p.xiv

⁷⁵⁷. Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸. Ibid.

Nevertheless, there is also an indirect admission that the indigenous people were hypocrites. So from ambitious indigenous leaders and their prophets through to a savage disposition and hypocrisy, the Ndebele rebellion could be explained away. In this connection, Selous emphasises his point by noting that the savage sees only violence and seems to resist peace. He seems to be leading us to only one question, that is, how do you deal with savages? Here is what Selous sees happening in the savage mind of the Ndebele people:

Practically, he says hang your Pax Britannica; give me the good old times of superstition and bloodshed ; then, even if I did not know the day nor the hour when I might be smelt out as a witch, and forthwith knocked on the head, at any rate I could have basked in the sun until my time came ; and then, too, when the impi went forth, what glorious times I had, and how I revelled in blood and loot !⁷⁵⁹

Clearly, given the above drastic charges, we have an indigenous people whose humanity was not convincing according to Selous. The indigenous were, therefore, seen as living in misery when left to themselves. Company rule in this context should have been welcome, but, again, would this not have been to expect too much from savages who preferred violence above peace? We continue to be emphatic in our concerns in this connection because Selous sees the indigenous people from the eyes of the conquerors that are quick to justify their actions.

Still, in line with the foregoing, Selous seems to be out to convince us that his convictions are justifiable. After all, we have seen his arrogance above, and he is still consistent. He again writes for us:

We Europeans make the mistake of thinking that, when we free a tribe of savages from what we consider a most oppressive and tyrannical form of government, substituting in its place an orderly rule, under which every man's life and property is protected, and witch-doctors are not recognised, we ought to earn their gratitude; but the fact is we invariably fail to do so, as the present insurrection, as well as all the many rebellions by the natives of the Cape Colony against the rule of the Imperial Government, has shown.⁷⁶⁰

Clearly for Selous, and as shown in a subsequent remark, the indigenous people, by virtue of being savages must not be treated with soft gloves.⁷⁶¹ They must learn

⁷⁵⁹. Selous, op.cit. p.xiv

⁷⁶⁰. Ibid. p.xvi

⁷⁶¹. Ibid.

to respect the whites and to follow their European ways instead of rebelling against them.⁷⁶² In effect, what we have been saying about the indigenous people and how missionaries understood them, seems to be consistent with how Selous also viewed them. The common position was that the indigenous people were endemically savage and so had to be treated as such.

In terms of the context in which we have cited most of our concerns, Selous has other issues that he wishes to justify. This is linked to how the British were forced to take action against the indigenous during the 1896-7 resistance, but we need to get one more sample from his book to introduce a subject that will connect us with some issues to be dealt with below.

5.3.4. Selous on the behaviour of white people

As Selous considers the native question, it is clear that the white people are his standard. We continue to encounter his views which seem to imply that whatever the white people did or could do to the indigenous people, nothing bad could be said about it unconditionally. Below, we shall look at how the Church under Gaul treated the same theme at their Synod. However, before his views about the native question are submitted, Selous is emphatic about the savagery of the indigenous that he exposes graphically in his book so as to show the difference between the whites' and indigenous people's behaviour. He observes that many whites came to view all the blacks with considerable disdain because of the brutality they had witnessed during the rebellion.⁷⁶³ In this connection he notes that,

...such acts, coupled with the indiscriminate murder of women and children, produce a conviction that beings who are capable of such deeds, who can lick your hand and fawn upon you for eighteen months and then one day turn and murder you, and afterwards perhaps mutilate your senseless corpse, are not men and brothers, but monsters in human shape, that ought to be shot down mercilessly like wild dogs or hyenas, until they are reduced to a state of abject submission to the white man's rule.⁷⁶⁴

Selous' arrogance is clear for he does not pretend to be a spokesperson for missionaries and, so able to submit his crude language without any problems of

⁷⁶². Selous, op.cit.p.xvi

⁷⁶³. Ibid.p.88

⁷⁶⁴. Ibid.

conscience. The indigenous people, in the above connection are given as people who are unpredictable, deceptive and therefore dangerous. This is at the point that he introduces the Native Question which Anglican missionaries were also supposed to consider in their work.

In line with the above, Selous notes that,

Henceforth it will, I trust, be recognised by the authorities that the native question in Rhodesia is one of the very first importance and that it is also one which demands the most careful handling in order to ensure the future peace and prosperity of the country.⁷⁶⁵

We need to take critical note of the phrase “future peace and prosperity” as it is one that shall continue to recur in terms of justifying the supremacist attitudes of the whites over and against the indigenous people. Perhaps we should worry about it, given the compromised context of Mashonaland on which we are focusing from the point of view of the theology of empire.

When the foregoing quote from Selous’ book stands alone, it appears to be an extremely positive statement. However, in our context and from what we have highlighted about Selous’ conviction, it does not capture his spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that he goes on to note the following:

When this rebellion is quelled, and the natives have once more submitted themselves to the white man's rule, they must know exactly the terms on which their submission has been accepted; and they must also understand precisely what will be required of them in the shape of hut-tax, labour, etc.⁷⁶⁶

From the above quote, how natural savages could be expected to understand all these requirements is not clear. What methods would be employed to domesticate savages, is another important question in this regard. The language here causes certain moral problems when it is applied to be a key factor in determining how two racial groups could interact. Obviously the group that boasts of being civilised will have the upper hand. However, we have already come across admissions that among those so-called civilised British in Mashonaland, savagery dispositions and actions were not uncommon.

⁷⁶⁵ Selous,op.cit.p.88.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

5.3.5. Whites and the governing of Rhodesia

In line with the above, Selous seems to be in a hurry to see the indigenous people being conquered and he does not make excuses about it. He just wants to see the white people in control of Rhodesia and the indigenous people submitting unconditionally. About the indigenous people's fate he concludes:

Then if they are treated kindly and justly, as well as firmly, they ought not to have any valid reason for again rebelling against the government of their white conquerors; but lest they should ever be inclined to make such an attempt without any valid reason, they must now be so thoroughly and completely disarmed as to render any such action futile.⁷⁶⁷

We could now understand the methods that Selous has in mind: The British rulers were to be "just" and "firm" and these were standards not agreed upon, but imposed by the conquerors. Does it come as a surprise that for many years to come, Rhodesia was a hotspot of racial tensions? Perhaps we could add that, in the spirit of the theology of empire, the disarmament Selous has in mind, is more than laying down guns, spears, arrows and such related weapons that had been used during the rebellion. We have other forms of disempowering people in mind to keep them permanently domesticated as it were. How is the Anglican Church connected to all this? The section below will help us come to terms with this question for again, we are curious about how Christianity could be used to respond to the problems that we have highlighted above from an Anglican perspective in Mashonaland.

5.4.0. An Anglican Synod and discriminatory practices

Around 1903, the Anglican Church of Mashonaland had a synodical meeting that also looked at the Native Question. In line with the preceding section, we ended up looking at what Selous was proposing in response to the native question. We saw that this question was pressing for him because of the 1896-7 disturbances that he was analysing, but from a Eurocentric perspective. He wanted to see the hearts and minds of the indigenous people being thoroughly subdued for the greater glory of the British empire. Therefore, the answers to the native question,

⁷⁶⁷. Selous,op.cit.p.88.

according to Selous' understanding above, had nothing to do with the dignity of the indigenous people. They had everything to do with the ultimate humiliation of the indigenous people who would be expected to be permanently happy under their British masters. In the following section, we shall try to highlight how the Anglican Synod responded to the same problem that Selous tried to solve.

5.4.0. The native question

The native question could be seen as one that the Europeans were asking in terms of how the indigenous people were to be accommodated in the new scheme of things in Southern Africa. We appeal this to help us substantiate the argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire in Mashonaland under Gaul. Under this bishop's leadership, the Anglican Church responded. The deliberations during the 1903 Synod are revealing in terms of where the Anglican Church stood on the debate about the native question that was gaining considerable publicity and was also extremely controversial in Southern Africa at that time. Some of its major tenets include critical questions of how the indigenous people were to be accommodated in the so-called European civilisation, which understood them as being thousands of years behind as far as their development was concerned.⁷⁶⁸

The introduction to the article we are citing here states the following:

The problem of the introduction of white civilisation into a country the majority of whose inhabitants is at a cultural stage two thousand years or more in arrears, and yet is feeling the first faint stirrings of civilisation's birth, is one fraught with great consequences for white and black alike. We cannot evade the issue. For good or ill, it must be faced.⁷⁶⁹

For Selous, it was the savagery among the indigenous that made him eager to see it being addressed. It is curious to find out whether the Anglican Church could be seen in a different light in this debate. How Europeans could help these backward indigenous people develop to the level where they could be taken seriously as human beings at the same level as the whites is also an urgent question here. Cultural practices that did not make sense to Europeans, such as the paying of lobola during the African traditional marriage preliminaries, the value

⁷⁶⁸ AD1769: The Native Question, Native Economic Commission, Lucas Papers Collection Number: March 1931, Historical research Papers, (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, RSA, The article makes explicit reference to the South African context.

⁷⁶⁹ AD1769, *ibid.*

of work as opposed to “idleness,” the acquisition of property and others, seem to have been matters of much debate.⁷⁷⁰ The Church, as a critical institution regarding its teaching mandate and the inculcation of values had to be seen to be doing justice to the native question, therefore. We must still analyse this whole debate from the point of view of the theology of empire.

We get a sense of a radical departure from the Christian norm when an Anglican Synod within a Mashonaland context during the early 20th century was bold enough to maintain the following problematic positions outlined below.

5.4.1. First resolution: Humans are not equal

The Synod, we are focusing on, passed a resolution to the end that it is false to claim universal equality for humanity. This is what it states:

Speaking for ourselves, we believe that the Christian faith, while accepting loyally the consequences of Christ’s identification of Himself with universal humanity, recognises the inequalities existing in individuals and races, arising from the fact that neither individuals nor races are born with equal faculties or opportunities.⁷⁷¹

We see that indigenous people could not count on the Anglican Church for support when it came to dealing with discriminatory practices and policies. The indigenous could be segregated, and this would not be seen as constituting serious breaches against gospel imperatives. The Bible that these English missionaries in Mashonaland were using as their source of inspiration seems like one that did not know anything about God and His son, Jesus Christ. Darwinism and its theory of natural selection was now dictating the pace.⁷⁷² We refer to these points mindful of the fact that such a blunder was never critiqued by some historians of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland who only seem to be interested in the successes that could be noted. Arnold does not see this as an acute problem for he is quick to point out that it is a development that should be

⁷⁷⁰ . AD1769, op.cit.

⁷⁷¹. Arnold, op.cit.p.37

⁷⁷². Darwin, C, 1859: ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES. OR THE PRESERVATION OF FAVOURED RACES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE. (PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK), Pdf Producer: calibre 3.14.0 [<https://calibre-ebook.com>]. Accessed on 14/05/2019. In chapter 4 of this book, the theory of natural selection that favours the survival of of the best species is explained. Within the Mashonaland context, the racist attitudes that prevailed could be seen as being based on this position.

understood in its own context and aimed at finding ways to help with the improvement of the indigenous people.⁷⁷³

We could sense some similarities between the Mashonaland Anglican Church's and Selous' positions that took for granted that the indigenous needed to be conquered. Selous never entertained the possibility of the whites being conquered one day. In other words, how a weaker race could conquer one that is superior to it, is not easy to determine. If we are to pursue this Anglican resolution in Mashonaland, the indigenous people were permanently inferior, and there was nothing that could be done about this state of affairs except to allow the natural selection to be perfected in time within this context.

5.4.2. Second resolution: On responsible citizenship

The issue of responsible citizenship and the rights pertaining to it was put under the spotlight as well.⁷⁷⁴ The resolution passed stated the following:

We believe that the final objective of all true statesmanship must be the development of responsible citizenship.⁷⁷⁵

This resolution could be seen as another deliberate ploy to exclude the indigenous people. The question of who was going to make the other a responsible citizen has already been answered for us by Selous above. The same will be reviewed again when we focus on the education of the indigenous in this thesis. Effectively, no indigenous people could qualify as responsible citizens since they still had to be educated sufficiently to satisfy the European criteria of adequacy in terms of cultural maturity and civilisation. We should bear in mind that Selous was preoccupied with the British arrogance to which we referred. Here the Church was doing no better than Selous. The British had invaded Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and now the Anglican Church was busy baptising the process by denying the indigenous people the right to citizenship until certain British conditions had been fulfilled. Again, the British cultural preferences could be seen as taking centre-stage and not God. The absence of any indigenous voices in this

⁷⁷³. Arnold, op.cit.p.36

⁷⁷⁴. Ibid.p.37

⁷⁷⁵. Arnold, op.cit.p.37

synod complicates matters for us in terms of determining how this responsible citizenship was to be understood by the indigenous people.

5.4.3. The third resolution: Education as the criterion for citizenship

The third resolution reads,

We believe that no uneducated or undisciplined person, of whatever colour or race, is really capable of exercising the rights of citizenship.⁷⁷⁶

The fact that education is called in as the criterion of adequacy in terms of determining citizenship could link us to what Selous was saying above about the indigenous people. If the events of the 1896-7 about the rebellion could be recalled and the status of the indigenous people is taken seriously in this connection, not much citizenship

5.4.4. Fourth resolution: On political and social Rights

This resolution reads,

We believe that this citizenship ideally involves equality of rights, equality of opportunity and with it equality of responsibility; but no one can claim political and social equality until he has shown himself possessed in some degree of personal and corporate responsibility.⁷⁷⁷

This resolution, like those already noted, seems to support the dominant spirit commanded by Selous' convictions. It is based on structures predetermined by European standards. How the indigenous people, who were still not yet advanced in this connection, could find themselves being granted these rights, could be an important question here. The thirteen years of colonial rule could not have prepared the indigenous people to master these new values that were now being worked out into policies.

5.4.5. Fifth resolution: about responsibility to self, neighbour and the State

This resolution states,

We believe that the only way to fit the natives of Africa to fill the place intended for them in the Commonwealth is by the disciplinary influences of the Christian Gospel; this Gospel, we believe, involves the training of the native in a sense of responsibility to himself, to his neighbour and to the State.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶. Arnold, op.cit.p.37.

⁷⁷⁷. Ibid

⁷⁷⁸. Ibid.

We know that the state in question was an imposition that dated back to the conquest of the indigenous people during the 1896-7 wars of resistance in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland. That state was simply a white institution. Here was the Anglican Church under Gaul, legitimising an illegitimate process through a Synodical decree. Our theme of the theology of empire must allow us to question why such blunders are treated as subservient to narratives that seem to glorify missionary successes in evil contexts.

From a missionary perspective, there seems to be a real challenge in terms of realising what constitute the good news for the people meant for God. Again, if we are to look at Selous' narratives cited above, we could safely conclude that responsibility to the state in Rhodesia meant forcing the young men to work for miners and farmers. We are also aware that for people like Selous, there was no problem with forced labour, since the workers were paid and fed. They were expected to be grateful. The fact that the indigenous people were supposed to be allowed space to decide on how to negotiate their labour is ignored. This is again extremely problematic when understood from a missionary point of view that claims to be inspired by values derived from gospel imperatives.

5.4.6. Sixth Resolution: Training the indigenous people to work

The continued paternalistic tone in this resolution could not be mistaken. It states:

We believe that moral training and the discipline of work are the immediate means of cultivating this sense of responsibility.⁷⁷⁹

It is difficult to believe that the indigenous people did not work at all before the Europeans came into the country because they would have become extinct if they were not able to fend for themselves. Again, even the moral training envisaged here calls a lot into question. This is really another direct admission by the Anglican Church under Gaul's episcopate that the commercialisation of indigenous labour was to be promoted but only to benefit Europeans. Any labour that was not meant for European exploitation was either insignificant or non-existent if we are to take the views of the synod to their logical conclusions. We

⁷⁷⁹. Arnold, op.cit.p.37.

saw that Selous even pointed out that the extreme indolence among the indigenous people caused them to rebel against the whites in Rhodesia. How idle people could plan an armed resistance and confront their enemy remains a challenging question against such convictions.

5.4.7. Seventh Resolution: On polygamy and the absence of wants

The seventh resolution reads:

We believe that two things which make the native unambitious in his work, both for himself and others, are (a) polygamy and (b) the absence of wants.⁷⁸⁰

Here is another indication that this Anglican Synod of 1903 was a direct attack on the social matrix and power base of the natives. How an idle and unambitious person could afford to marry many wives at all does not seem to make much sense. The understanding of Shona marriage in this context was not respected at all. How it could be defended that polygamous marriages⁷⁸¹ are unconditionally bad seems to be a position that does not respect other cultures.

5.4.8. Eighth Resolution: Training the indigenous people to sell their labour

The eighth resolution states that,

We believe that as the commonest, though not the highest, incentive to work is the desire to satisfy wants and to turn irresponsible nomads into citizens and kraals into homes, the Church and State should introduce as soon as possible a universal system of training and education.⁷⁸²

The call for this resolution is a call to the systematic control of the minds and efforts of the natives. These are people who would be forced to surrender their humanhood to the Church and the state in the name of civilisation. Self-actualisation could not be authentic when it is not owned by the subject. It is clear that this historical scenario advances the issue of total alienation to us in the name of progress and Christianity. It would make for an extremely interesting history if research contrary to what we have already received from scholars about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could be worked out with a critical eye on the issues that we are raising here. Perhaps this could shed more light on what has

⁷⁸⁰. Arnold, op.cit.p.37

⁷⁸¹. We still need some convincing arguments about polygamy as an evil practice since this could challenge us to throw away the Old Testament in which it is taken for granted.

⁷⁸². Arnold, op.cit.p.37.

come to us as successful missionary work. The Church and State would cooperate to domesticate the indigenous people.

5.4.9. Ninth Resolution: On discouraging polygamy

It could be pointed out that this ninth resolution is an extension of the seventh one above. It states, “We believe polygamy should be in every way discouraged.”⁷⁸³

What has already been said about the correct understanding and respect of other cultures could suffice for a comment here. We are simply faced with a Church that was out to target cultural values by way of insisting on their weaknesses given the lives of the indigenous people whom they had to preach to within the Diocese of Mashonaland.

5.4.10. Only one radical Christian voice criticised the resolutions

Interesting in the preceding narrative and in line with the above resolutions from the 1903 Anglican Synod in Mashonaland, Salisbury, is that only one missionary, Arthur Shearly Cripps, tried to contradict the evil position adopted by the Synod but to no avail.⁷⁸⁴ The majority were more important than the truth on moral grounds. More will be said about Cripps’s efforts below, but his missionary voice was subdued by the dominant views of the time. To this end, missionary work could not be distinguished from the views of the settlers at that time, giving a boost to our theme of the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland. The civil authorities of the day and their European constituency seemed to dictate the missionary spirit leading to the obvious allegations we could prefer in this connection about the capture of God in Mashonaland.

5.4.11. The Synod on issues of social justice and equality

It is clear that the Anglican Church at the onset of the 20th century could not present a front that showed its prophetic stance in favour of justice and equality among the indigenous and Europeans. It was an instrument of the state that had imposed itself on Mashonaland and therefore, had nothing to do with promoting the interests of the indigenous people in the name of Christianity. Earlier we saw

⁷⁸³. Arnold, op.cit.p.37

⁷⁸⁴. Ibid.

that education too had to be emphatic on industrial skills so that natives could feed the European labour markets readily. This had nothing to do with the advancement of the indigenous people.

Some sources make curious reading in line with the above and with special reference to Bishop Gaul. To demonstrate how dear Gaul was to the BSAC, even when he had retired, plans to bankroll him for his “civilising work” in Rhodesia were approved by Dr L.S. Jameson.⁷⁸⁵ He was on their side and the indigenous people could not expect to be treated equally and justly.

Therefore, the settlers could not afford to ignore the role the Anglican Church under Gaul had played in solidarity with their commercial and political interests in Mashonaland. It was almost like the BSAC was bound to provide a retirement package for this Anglican Bishop. Why the Church was not forthcoming with regard to providing for its retired bishop could be a critical question in this context.

The following additional points come from correspondence that supports the preceding developments in connection with the care that was rendered to Bishop Gaul when he found himself unable to make ends meet:

Firstly, a letter dated 2 April 1909, from Sister Henrietta in Kimberley to Dr Jameson highlighted the plight of the bishop.⁷⁸⁶ Secondly, on 5 April 1909, Jameson acknowledged receiving the letter as he wrote to B.F. Hawksley and plans were put in place to appeal for funding on behalf of the bishop.⁷⁸⁷ It was almost as if the BSAC had undertaken to reward the work that the bishop had done to compromise the indigenous people and to promote settler interests. This does not seem to be an innocent humanitarian gesture. Gaul belonged to the dominant group that consisted of Europeans, some of whom preferred to be identified with the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. That we must still hear

⁷⁸⁵. AB1408, “Bishop Gaul: Late Bishop of Mashonaland” (Bourchier F. Hawksley)” from London dated 26th April 1909. The Charter Trust and De Beers through Dr L.S. Jameson’s influence were to contribute £250 each towards a fund to sustain Bishop Gaul in his retirement. Historical research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, South Africa.

⁷⁸⁶. AB1408, Ibid “Bishop Gaul: Late Bishop of Mashonaland” (Sister Henrietta)

⁷⁸⁷. Ibid “Bishop Gaul: Late Bishop of Mashonaland” (DR. L.S. Jameson.)

discourses critical to this context from within Anglican Church circles is something that we have emphasised several times now.

In the next section we shall continue to ask whether Gaul's exit from the Diocese of Mashonaland brought in any radical changes from the familiar missionary approaches we are critical of here.

5.5. The short-lived episcopate of Edmund Nathaniel Powell

The contradictory approach to Anglican missionary work also seems to have been prevalent in Bishop Edmund Nathaniel Powell who worked in the Diocese of Mashonaland from 1908 to 1910, after Gaul.⁷⁸⁸ The persistent absence of decisive prophetic voices from the Anglican Church under Powell will be one of our main highlights in this context. We are concerned because leadership in the Church should be seen as being anchored in the justice and fairness of God and not on mere human preferences.

5.5.0. Background of Bishop Powell

Sources inform us that Powell came from the United Kingdom⁷⁸⁹ In addition to what Welch notes on the page cited, there is need to include the fact that he was an Oxford graduate an M.A. degree.⁷⁹⁰ After his ordination, he was appointed in various charges that included being a vicar of St Stephen, Upton Park.⁷⁹¹ It was during his time as Vicar of St Stephen, Upton Park that he was elected as the third Bishop of Mashonaland in 1908.⁷⁹² His consecration took place "on 24 February 1908" in Cape Town.⁷⁹³ It is puzzling that some of the bishops who had no direct links to Mashonaland, such as Powell, could be seconded for such a critical post in the Church of England. Would such bishops take the plight of the indigenous seriously at all? Has there been any critical history of such developments if we are to align ourselves to the spirit of the theology of empire?

⁷⁸⁸. Welch, *op.cit.* p.80

⁷⁸⁹. *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁰. Kelly's Handbook to the Titled, Landed and Official Classes, 2007

Third Bishop of Mashonaland., London, 1908, p.65, Available online at: [Url: https://archive.org/details/kellyshandbookto1908londonoft/page/1101](https://archive.org/details/kellyshandbookto1908londonoft/page/1101). Accessed 27 March 2012

⁷⁹¹. *Ibid.*

⁷⁹². *Ibid.*

⁷⁹³. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.49, See also Welch, *op.cit.*p.81

5.5.1. Bishop Powell's Work in Mashonaland

According to Welch, Powell's episcopacy was a true reflection of the British superiority complex to which we have already referred, for he saw Rhodesia as a country for the whites,⁷⁹⁴ and wanted to see them supporting the missions, but at the same time, being aware of their malpractices over and against the indigenous blacks.⁷⁹⁵ It appears that despotism, barbarism and such vices had a tendency of assuming the guise of nobility in this context provided they originated from the whites' camp. This is because there is no other way to explain the absence of outright criticism in Welch's presentation of the same work. The same applied to all the negativity when perceived among the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia. We have already seen that from the time of Knight-Bruce through to Gaul and now Powell, the indigenous people were not being looked at in a positive way. We have also heard from Selous that in general, the indigenous were being treated well while cruelty by whites was just an exception and not the rule.

It seems to be the case that by the time Powell, the third bishop of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, assumed office, a great deal of prejudice had *de facto* become official convictions among many white Anglicans in Mashonaland. Bishop Powell's half-hearted attempts to condemn the evils he perceived among white settlers, therefore, meant forfeiting their financial support to the Church.⁷⁹⁶ While Arnold is vague about why, during Powell's episcopate, Africans were eager for education, Welch seems to give us some hints. The evangelisation of natives was taking place against the background of continued land alienation, with many people being relocated to the reserves to give way to the government and settlers to take over prime land.⁷⁹⁷ The Anglican Church's position on this critical development is not stated. The silence is significant and yet this should have been an opportunity to condemn the evils of stealing the land. The land acquired during Knight-Bruce's time that was supposed to be used to resettle the dispossessed natives had vanished from the memories of the Church. From Welch's findings, it

⁷⁹⁴. Welch, op.cit.p.83

⁷⁹⁵. Ibid, p.89

⁷⁹⁶. Ibid.p.89.

⁷⁹⁷. Ibid. p.88. This should be contrasted with Arnold's version on p.50 where the reason for the indigenous cry for education and church is not stated.

is clear that the bishop's condemnation was general⁷⁹⁸ and the settlers could safely resist him as though he was in the wrong.

In line with the foregoing, Kinloch describes what the general outlook, in terms of how the whites related to the indigenous people, was like when he observes that,

Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, typifies the colonial type of society: The latter was founded as a British colony in the late 19th century by external, migrant elite with exploitive motives and accompanying military resources (Kinloch, 1978).⁷⁹⁹

The idea of exploitative motives requires us to exclude Christian values and civilisation in this context. Military resources are also of major significance in this Mashonaland context. To this end, the history with which we are faced could be a history of villains instead of nobles. Kinloch goes on to note that,

Intergroup contact was generally negative and conflict-ridden, as the invading colonists subordinated the indigenous population, expropriated their land, and pressured them into forced labour.⁸⁰⁰

These revelations emphasise that force and outright thuggery were used and indeed defined the rules of engagement. Why Christian values could be exempted from these qualifications is extremely difficult to defend. Kinloch continues to note that the settlers,

...proceeded to impose a system of institutionalized racism, legitimized by a broad range of cultural and racial stereotypes, subject to dynamic forms of competition, involving economic and political change in the form of changing labour requirements and eventually majority rule.⁸⁰¹

The foregoing observations from Kinloch seem to sum up the context for us in which missionary work could be lauded in Mashonaland. The problem is that such views are not supported when the Anglican Church history in Mashonaland is documented. Powell must have been aware of what was happening in his context and should have taken the necessary measures to correct what his predecessors had promoted. It appears to be the case that he also failed dismally. We have

⁷⁹⁸. Welch, *ibid.* p.89. The appeal was general in the sense that it talked about the need to be generous to the poor and to avoid racial discrimination. It was like appealing to criminals to be a little lenient to their victims and unfortunately the method did not produce the desired results.

⁷⁹⁹. Kinloch, G.C. 2003. Changing racial attitudes in Zimbabwe: Colonial/post-colonial dynamics. *Journal of Black Studies*, (Sage Publications, Inc.), 34(2) p. 251. Available online at: [Url:http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180906](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180906). Accessed: on 19 September 2010.

⁸⁰⁰. *Ibid.*

⁸⁰¹. *Ibid.*

already seen that by the time he came to the episcopate, racial prejudices and exploitation had become almost the official teaching of the Anglican Church as its white members in Mashonaland were ready to resist any teachings that deviated from what they had mastered over the years under bishops such as Knight-Bruce and Gaul. The superiority of the white people over and against the blacks was supposed to be protected and not to be challenged.

5.5.2. Powell's theology of empire in Mashonaland

The foregoing section gives us some hint on the nature of relations that obtained between Anglican missionaries and colonisers within Powell's context: As long as these missionaries did not condemn the colonisers' abuses; as long as they adopted the Eusebian appreciation of the emperor within the Roman Empire during the first half of the fourth century,⁸⁰² support was guaranteed. Provided that the Anglican clergy in Mashonaland abdicated their prophetic vocation by not challenging unjust structures,⁸⁰³ colonisers could fill their churches in solidarity, over and against the natives. Clearly, the issue of exploiting the indigenous people took centre-stage and the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could not be absolved. Yet Amiel Osmaston and Alison White remind us that mission is not just about theory, but about a critical reflection on the practical representation of Jesus Christ in actions and the ordering of people's lives.⁸⁰⁴

In line with the above, Arnold, citing Broderick, indicates to us that Powell neither adjusted his attitude to attract the Europeans in his diocese nor did he "acclimatise himself" to the conditions he came into from England."⁸⁰⁵ We could safely assume that the conditions which Powell did not familiarise himself with were those that required him to support the evil the Europeans were doing to the black people in Rhodesia. If the Church is paid to condone evil and readily accepts the bribe, we

⁸⁰². Schott, J.M., 2008. *Christianity, empire, and the making of religion in late antiquity*. University of Pennsylvania Press, USA, p.157. The author observes that in some of Eusebius' famous works, the empire and the church are seen as the same.

⁸⁰³. Osmaston, A. & White, A. *Sharing our faith in the world*. Bunting, ed.op.cit.,p.144. These two writers cite the understanding of mission as submitted by the Anglican Consultative Council which states that five pillars important here as the church reaches out to the world are "To proclaim the Good News of the kingdom; To teach, baptise and nurture new believers; To respond to human need by loving service; To seek to transform unjust structures of society; To strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the earth."

⁸⁰⁴. Ibid

⁸⁰⁵. Arnold, op.cit.p.51

do not know what else to call it if it does not constitute something of a replica of the Romanisation of Christianity. The only difference is chronological: between the fourth and early twentieth centuries' contexts and the genre of the theology of empire we have preferred for this work.

Unfortunately and in line with the preceding, we do not hear much about a Powell who was extremely vocal, in a prophetic fashion, against the evils that confronted him in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The piece of history in this connection is given in such a way to confirm that whatever evils were at stake in Rhodesia, the church work had to go on. What that church work involved if it did not challenge evil structures and attitude, is a question in this connection.

As we have heard above, from Arnold's inclusion of Broderick's views, it was Powell who needed conversion and not the settlers. However, our reference to Douglas Pelly's diary entries seems to support the view that there was something amiss in Mashonaland with which Powel was not comfortable. At the same time, it seems to be the case that not many missionaries were ready to confront the evils that were explicit in the lives of the settlers. That fear or complacency seems to prove to us that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was not really responding to the needs of the indigenous people who had been robbed, defeated, discriminated against and were enduring the discomforts of colonial rule. We note that the way this piece of history is narrated by both Arnold and Welch does not emphasise the Christian deficiencies that are highlighted here and could question the whole talk about missionary work.

Since Powell was trying to be radical by way of insisting on missionary work, he is seen to have missed the point of Anglicanism within the colonial context of Mashonaland.⁸⁰⁶ To this end, we could safely add the fact that the theology of empire within this context is the deliberate criminalisation of the Anglican Church by making it an uncritical function of the Rhodesian state within the Diocese of Mashonaland! This is confirmed by the fact that:

...in Powell's time, services at the pro-cathedral were thinly attended—one of his grounds for criticism of settler religion. Not very long after he left the diocese,

⁸⁰⁶. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.51

however, it was necessary to extend the building because it was not possible to seat everyone who came.⁸⁰⁷

The facts we will continue to encounter below will help us understand the challenges involved in this context of Anglican Church missionary work in Mashonaland at the beginning of the 20th century and beyond. It needed resolute leaders who were a rare breed at that time. Settlers were, therefore, supporting the clergy who preached to them what they wanted to hear and not what challenged them as followers of Christ. The settlers, according to Welch, were challenged by Powell to be humane in terms of their relationships with the indigenous, for example, by adopting fair labour practices and therefore to stop being abusive.⁸⁰⁸ Powell's episcopacy came to an abrupt end in 1910 due to ill health and he attributed this to God.⁸⁰⁹ He is described by Welch as a "principled" person who matched Knight-Bruce and Arthur Shearly Cripps.⁸¹⁰ Again we are at odds with Welch as our above position has already preferred.

We exit Powell's episcopacy with even more concerns about how the Anglican Church in Mashonaland had come to understand itself. Our historians seem to be looking on the other side without grappling with the question of whether the attitudes that carried the day qualified to be Christian at all.

5.6. Bishop Frederic Hick Beaven

Bishop Powell was succeeded by Frederic Hick Beaven, his dean, who became bishop from 1911-1925.⁸¹¹ Below, we shall encounter certain details, which make the theology of empire discourse even more urgent within the Diocese of Mashonaland during Beaven's time. We have already been prepared to appreciate the fact that the bishop he was replacing, Powell, exited the Diocese of Mashonaland as a very unpopular clergyman. This should obviously make us curious in terms of who this Beaven was and how he was going to handle the volatile situation in Mashonaland.

⁸⁰⁷. Welch, op.cit.p.89

⁸⁰⁸. Ibid.p.89

⁸⁰⁹. Ibid.p.91

⁸¹⁰. Ibid.

⁸¹¹. Ibid. p.92

5.6.0. Background of Bishop Beaven

Beaven was born at Caine in 1855 in the United Kingdom.⁸¹² He obtained his education at “Queen Elizabeth's School, Wimborne Minster and University College, Durham”⁸¹³ and was “ordained in 1879”⁸¹⁴ at the age of 24. After serving his curateship and also as an incumbent of several parishes in the United Kingdom between 1879 and 1901, he came to South Africa as an “Acting Chaplain to the Forces”⁸¹⁵ Perhaps this point could help us appreciate the fact that a chaplain attached to the imperial forces could not be expected to become a critic of imperialism within the same context.

Beaven went on to become the Archdeacon of Matabeleland from 1903 and then the Dean of Salisbury from 1908.⁸¹⁶ He was consecrated bishop on 1 January 1911 in Cape Town⁸¹⁷ and, thus, became the fourth Bishop of Mashonaland until 1925.⁸¹⁸ He died in January 1941.⁸¹⁹ Again, we see that his pastoral exposure was more of the English context than the one that we could envisage for the challenges in Mashonaland.

5.6.1. Beaven's theology of empire

Beaven was extremely popular among settlers because he defended their colonial excesses over and against those who were expressing their moral outrage such as Arthur Cripps and Edgar Lloyd.⁸²⁰ We will refer to many similar attitudes later on to boost our argument to the effect that Beaven is a good candidate for the discourse of the theology of empire within the Diocese of Mashonaland. This Anglican Bishop endorsed racial segregation, was seen to mix more with settler communities and, therefore, very much favoured by them, over and above the indigenous people.⁸²¹ We could safely conclude that Beaven was the Anglican Bishop that fulfilled the settlers' expectations as people bent on colonial greed and

⁸¹². Beggins, D: 2002: Rev. F. H. Beaven, Cape Colony. RSA, Available online at: Url: <https://www.angloboerwar.com/forum/singleclaspqsas/8724-cape-colony?start=42>. Accessed on 26 July 2016

⁸¹³. Ibid.

⁸¹⁴. Ibid.

⁸¹⁵. Ibid.

⁸¹⁶. Ibid.

⁸¹⁷. Arnold, op.cit.p. 57

⁸¹⁸. Ibid.

⁸¹⁹. Ibid.

⁸²⁰. Welch, op.cit, p.93

⁸²¹. Ibid, p.95

all that went with it in Mashonaland. This is quite interesting given the fact that Powell did not enjoy such popularity on the basis that he criticised some of the evils, albeit reservedly.

5.6.2. Beaven's prophetic laxity

We need to say a little more about certain important developments during Beaven's episcopate in connection with Cripps mentioned above. Terence O. Ranger wrote an article that could help us gain insight into the context that Anglican missionaries in the early colonial days with which they often found themselves confronted, but under a Beaven who cared little.⁸²² That the article to which we are referring, does not receive any mention by Arnold and Welch seems to promote the selectivity of facts further that has the obvious effect of not giving us the whole picture of what was happening during Beaven's term of office in Mashonaland. Such selectivity implies that we could suppress facts successfully in order to advance an agenda favourable to the conquerors of Mashonaland.

5.7. Forced labour and Anglican missionaries

The year that Ranger's article in question focuses on is 1911, just over 20 years from the time Mashonaland was invaded by British settlers under Cecil John Rhodes' BSAC. It was an extremely critical period, indeed, in terms of the relations between the indigenous people and the Europeans. That we are here faced with a sinister development is attested to by the fact that forced labour was gaining momentum and the concerned Anglican missionaries had to deal with this pastoral challenge. When these missionaries stood up to criticise what was happening, we hear of them being reprimanded by British authorities and accused of being uncharitable.⁸²³ It is clear that there is a distinction between Mashonaland diocesan policy and individual missionary initiatives in this context. That a principled missionary stance against colonial abuses could be labelled "uncharitable" by some European authorities could be another indication that the indigenous people did not really count for much. If criticising the abuses by the settlers was described as uncharitable, it follows, logically that condoning the

⁸²². Ranger, T.O., 1982. Literature and political economy: Arthur Shearly Cripps and the Makoni labour crisis of 1911", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Oct, 9(1): 33-53, Taylor & Francis. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636731> (Accessed on 19 September 2010).

⁸²³. Arnold, op.cit., p.36

cruelty or the barbarism of the settlers would qualify to be a charitable stance. This is extremely misleading.

The point critical for us in the preceding connection is that Anglican missionaries were not expected to be prophetic especially if that meant confronting the injustices being inflicted on the indigenous by their white masters. The Diocesan Bishop, Beaven, is nowhere near the scene in question because he was not taking the lead at all on matters that had to do with the welfare of the indigenous people and yet he was their bishop. We are talking about a period of systematic land dispossession and the promotion of collective dehumanisation of the indigenous people as we have seen happening during Powell's time and that before him. If pastoral oversight of the bishop was oblivious to what the indigenous people in the country were going through, what then did it involve?

5.7.0. The unambiguous and brave prophetic stance

Cripps, in the above connection, took it upon himself to write against such developments of wanton abuse by settlers and, hence, stands out among those Anglican missionaries of the colonial era who wanted justice for the indigenous people.⁸²⁴ At least we are faced with someone who was unambiguous when applying the gospel imperatives within his missionary context. However, the developments were not so straightforward. Here the indigenous people in the Makoni area of Rusape⁸²⁵ seem to have been at the mercy of European manipulation even when it meant protecting their rights.⁸²⁶ Here we are looking at the courageous attempt by Cripps and not so much his success since he is said to have failed to convince the authorities of the day to take protective measures against colonial abuses in Mashonaland.⁸²⁷

5.7.1. Another courageous indigenous Anglican catechist

Hastings cites the example of an Anglican catechist at St Faith by the name of Matthew who was ready to report the abuses of the Native Commissioner in the

⁸²⁴ Ranger, 1982, op.cit. pp.33-34.

⁸²⁵ It should be borne in mind that the Makoni in Rusape area is now under present day Manyicaland, but then it was just part of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Important to note this even when we also talk of Matabeleland

⁸²⁶ Ibid, p.34.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

Chiduku area of Rusape around 1911⁸²⁸ in Rhodesia. There could be some element of radicalism in this instance. An indigenous Christian leader had the courage to expose those who wielded the politico-economic powers of the day and were of European descent. Nevertheless, there was no support from Beaven that we could cite in this context. The absence of the Bishop's voice in such a volatile context is worrisome. However, the facts are not consistent when it comes to this narrative.

5.7.2. Ranger and the courageous catechists

In a different article that refers to the St Faith Mission, T.O. Ranger identifies "Archdeacon Upcher, Edgar Lloyd and Samuel Christelow" as the Anglican missionaries who get the limelight of championing the cause of the oppressed against the Native Commissioner's abuses.⁸²⁹ The catechist, Matthew, is then cited separately as a champion as well.⁸³⁰ We could safely assume that the contribution of the indigenous Anglican leader needed to be given a unique space in this case.

Again, we have an example in which the indigenous African has to be understood individually and, therefore, not really on the same level with his European counterparts and could, therefore, be side lined easily in certain narratives.⁸³¹

In the Makoni Labour crisis of 1911, Ranger admits that the courage of the indigenous teachers enabled Lloyd to win his case against the abusive Native Commissioner because they were unlike the others who developed cold feet when it came to giving testimony against the civil authorities. Precisely, Ranger notes that,

Yet it was the Anglican teachers of the Chiduku Reserve whose readiness to become unpopular with administrative authority allowed Lloyd his victory. It was they who fed him with information and them who stuck to their stories at the inquiry.⁸³²

⁸²⁸. Hastings, op.cit.p.29

⁸²⁹. Ranger, 1982, op.cit. p.34

⁸³⁰. Ibid.pp.51ff.

⁸³¹. Ibid.52. Ranger observes that the character of Matthew is not included in Cripps' novel, Bay tree country.

⁸³². Ibid. The bias of Ranger is clearly demonstrated by the fact that he could account for the contribution of the white missionaries by ensuring that their names are cited. The indigenous contributors remain at large except Matthew alone.

This seems to be in keeping with the theology of empire and such facts boost our argument. Why would the voice of indigenous leaders in this context come second best? Perhaps the fact that the indigenous were always subservient, explains why this was the state of affairs.

5.7.3. The cowardly indigenous witnesses

Other sources challenge us to be circumspect. The fact that Ranger goes on to note the developments connected to the missionaries' moral outrage in the face of what the civil authorities were doing to the natives, becomes an incentive to our argument. While, the St Faith missionaries had appealed to the natives to give evidence against settlers, during an inquiry into the abuses by civil authorities; the latter also did the same to protect themselves from being reprimanded by their BSAC superiors.⁸³³ Now colonisers and some missionaries, minus their Bishop Beaven, found themselves in direct confrontation with each other as they competed for the critical allegiance of the indigenous in this context.

Therefore, given the above facts, we could conclude that the grip of missionaries on the consciences of some indigenous people was put to the test in the face of daring oppressors, in the Makoni area, and was found wanting. We are told that some of the natives did indeed change their statements, which supported the missionaries' claims of abuse, in favour of those that constituted a categorical denial by the oppressive civil authorities.⁸³⁴ In this connection Ranger observes that,

Some of Lloyd's African informants did indeed back away from their previous testimony, denying that they had any complaints and especially denying that men from their villages had been hiding in the hills -headmen, after all, had to live with the Native Commissioner once the inquiry was over. But enough confirmation of the missionary charges came from teachers and others to leave the reluctant commissioners little alternative.⁸³⁵

The indigenous people could be said to be confused in this case because they now did not know what was good for them in such a compromised context. The Anglican missionaries were, therefore, dealt a major blow to the extent that "The

⁸³³. Ranger, 1982, op.cit.p.36

⁸³⁴. Ibid.

⁸³⁵. Ibid.

Board of the British South Africa Company in London” was able to lambast these clergymen for exaggerating their claims; for being uncharitable and therefore contradicting the very values of their religion they were supposed to protect.⁸³⁶ Again, it is clear that to champion the cause of the oppressed when they do not understand that they have any rights to claim could be a challenge in the context of missionaries who were interested in justice. Also, it appears to be the case that ignorance carried the day and the settlers wanted it to remain that way, hence, their animosity towards clergymen such as Powell, Cripps, Lloyd and their favourable responses to Beaven. But it should be noted that Powell, as bishop, had not been as daring as Cripps and Lloyd.

5.8. Beaven and the oppressors

According to the preceding narrative, therefore, the plight of the indigenous people was not supposed to be championed at all, and our concern is that Beaven as the new bishop was not interested in assisting them. When people are compromised and yet find it easy to support their tormentors over and against their liberators, manipulation could be safely cited as the culprit. Again, it is an upside-down state of affairs brought into existence by those with sinister motives while at the same time wielding socio-economic as well as political power. Meanwhile, we could sense the urgency of gospel imperatives in this connection, the leadership of the Diocese of Mashonaland was not able to rise to the occasion.

Two important examples could augment the preceding observations. Firstly, during Beaven’s episcopate, the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) was extremely busy scrutinising the abuses of the BSAC in Mashonaland and trying hard to discredit it to the British public back in the United Kingdom as a bad example of government in Mashonaland.⁸³⁷ We have already cited contrasting views on this subject when we looked at Pelly and Selous, and we should be in a position to appreciate the problem. It is said that when the APS secretary general, John Harris came to Rhodesia to investigate abuses first hand:

⁸³⁶ Ranger, 1982, op.cit.p.36

⁸³⁷ Whitehead R., 1973: “THE ABORIGINES’ PROTECTION SOCIETY AND WHITE SETTLERS IN RHODESIA, 1889-1930”, Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 16 . pp. 96-109. Available online at: Url: http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/3665/1/Rachael_Whithead_-_The_aborignies%27_protection_society_and_white_settlers_in_Rhodesia%2C_1889_-_1930.pdf. Accessed on 26 April 2013

He found the influence of the Company everywhere. 'The Company either commercially or administratively has an interest direct or indirect in every enterprise whether it be the land, bank or the gold mine, the railway system or missionary enterprise, the cathedral or the bacon factory, tobacco cultivation or ranching; its influence is all-pervading and holds men in a thralldom they resent but from which they see no immediate chance of escape.'⁸³⁸

Our interest, of course, is in the fact that the BSAC influenced religious institutions such as missions and cathedrals. Such was the power that the BSAC had, even over the Church. No wonder that in 1920, Beaven was able to demonstrate his support for the BSAC by castigating John Harris.⁸³⁹ Why the bishop should have been in a hurry to do this if he was not captured by the BSAC could be a very curious observation in this context. Again, we should recall that this has been one of our major concerns throughout this narrative. Anglican bishops in Mashonaland have consistently been shown to be, in the main, supporters of the BSAC.

Secondly, we are reminded that it was Cripps and his friend John White who saw and supported the APS's advocacy of indigenous socio-economic as well as political rights.⁸⁴⁰ However, even in this solidarity, Cripps and White remained true to their prophetic vocation by maintaining some kind of methodical scepticism on what the APS took for granted especially in connection with the question of whether responsible government to the settlers could be better than the BSAC administration of Mashonaland.⁸⁴¹ We are still being reminded that the clergy is supposed to be prophetic and critical to their context and not just to sing eulogies on behalf of those in power. However, bishops such as Beaven had no problems with supporting the *status quo* in their context.

5.8.0. Beaven's preferred name for the Diocese

Arnold, who in this work, is taken to task for downplaying critical issues does not discuss Beaven's racial bias. Instead, we could pick out certain points that he finds difficult to suppress. For example, he includes the fact that during the First World War (1914-1918), Beaven was extremely passionate to provide army chaplains to the British forces that nothing, even the urgent pastoral work within the Diocese,

⁸³⁸. Whitehead, op.cit.p.99

⁸³⁹. Ibid.p.101

⁸⁴⁰. Ibid. p.101

⁸⁴¹. Ibid. p.105

seemed to matter more than this to him.⁸⁴² People even went without services because of his support for the war efforts.⁸⁴³ Earlier in 1912, he had demonstrated his appreciation of the colonial establishment by proposing that the name “Mashonaland” annexed to the Anglican Diocese should be substituted by “Southern Rhodesia.”⁸⁴⁴ We could safely assume that the indigenous identification of the Anglican Diocese was not appealing to him and so the one that reflected the new colonial dispensation in the country was more appropriate. It is curious that Welch does not expand this point⁸⁴⁵ as though the renaming was not of any major consequences on the self-understanding of the Anglican Church in the country and its relationship to the indigenous. Here was the bishop of the Anglican church in Mashonaland consciously undertaking to wipe the identity of a people off the face of the earth who were supposed to be beneficiaries of the good news.

5.9. Prospects for indigenous people under Beaven

If Mashonaland was no more a preferred name in favour of the colonial Southern Rhodesia, we would naturally want to find out how the Anglican Church could handle the aspirations of the indigenous people. The question of whether those responsible for grooming indigenous people to be their own leaders, from a Christian point of view, could be as humble as John the Baptist who was ready to become less than the one for whom he paved the way for, is urgent here.⁸⁴⁶ Cochrane, in this connection, cites a source that boosts the point we seem to be in agreement with in our context, to the effect that missionaries in this context were not teaching people to stand up for themselves but to be always dependent.⁸⁴⁷ The virtue of “humility” here was emphasised! It is important to note that the indigenous people had humility imposed upon them such that it became humiliation instead of something positive.⁸⁴⁸ We have already pointed out that from 1890 to 1981; African leadership within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was subservient to the Europeans. When we look at the Anglican Church in Rhodesia from this perspective, we promote a critical awareness of the power

⁸⁴². Arnold, op.cit.p.64

⁸⁴³. Ibid.

⁸⁴⁴. Ibid.

⁸⁴⁵. Welch, op.cit.p.97

⁸⁴⁶. See John 3:30

⁸⁴⁷. Cochrane, op.cit.p.151

⁸⁴⁸. Ibid.

game in socio-economic, political and theological terms. Some examples need to be introduced at this point and within the period that coincided with Beaven's episcopate in Mashonaland (which he now named Southern Rhodesia).

5.9.0. Education in Southern Rhodesia

It is important to ask how, even in Beaven's episcopate, critical issues such as education were being handled. Some relevant documents are discussed in this connection. Reading parts of Grant's⁸⁴⁹ work, although not dedicated to any specific church, there are two issues that could be picked on regarding the general thrust of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. We allow these points to inspire the arguments for the theology of empire in this context.

Firstly, the title of Grant's work indicates to us that Africans in Rhodesia were condemned to a "predicament" that should have called for radical moral responses from all Christian corners, inclusive of the Anglican Church under the leadership of Beaven. If evangelism was to have any far-reaching and positive impact that could be free from controversy, prioritising the emancipation of the indigenous people was the key result area in such a compromised colonial context. This only makes sense if we assume that Anglicanism was supposed to be the conscience of its followers: both black and white.

Bishop Beaven does not feature in this context as one anxious to rectify the anomalies related to the colonial developments that obtained then. We saw earlier that Powell was not comfortable with what he saw obtaining in Mashonaland and his attempt to rectify the racial anomalies got him into trouble. The article to which we referred earlier on from Rachael Whitehead is extremely important for our argument. We are adding another document from Grant to boost our position that seeks to insist on the theology of empire in Southern Rhodesia. Grant informs us that in general, and among the indigenous Christian people, theological preparation was not really up to scratch.⁸⁵⁰ This is a worrisome statement. Why the indigenous people could be accorded substandard theological education in a context they were supposed to be key players, happens to be a curious

⁸⁴⁹. Grant, G.C. et.al., *The Africans, Predicament in Rhodesia*, (Minority Rights Group, London, UK), 1972

⁸⁵⁰. Grant, *op.cit.*p.11

observation here. We must bear in mind that theology begins at the earliest level when learning is focused on God and their dealings with humanity.

Church authorities in the above connection, who did not take advantage of this ripe context to improve this substandard education, when it was supposed to be one of their core-business, lead us to suspect foul play. Grant's position should concern us given the fact that we are talking about indigenous leadership under the mentorship of missionaries but being allowed substandard training without any quibbles of conscience. The question again is why, given the fact that Christianity is supposed to be liberating, would indigenous leaders not be accorded the kind of theological training that equipped them with the necessary skills to critique their engagements with the society they were supposed to lead? We had misgivings about the training of Mizeki earlier on.

5.9.1. Sampling some colonial educational policies

Here we consider some educational policies in Southern Rhodesia that also were in place during Beave's term of office. Chengetai Zvobgo, gives us some of the details that could help us support our investigation.

Firstly, Africans were not taken seriously from the beginning in matters of education hence, the predicament noted by Grant above. Zvobgo observes that:

The 1899 Education Ordinance had set up two separate systems of education, one for Whites and the other for Blacks. The Ordinance left African education entirely in the hands of Christian missionaries with the government giving small grants to mission schools, provided that these schools were kept open for a minimum of four hours a day, of which not less than two hours were to be devoted to industrial training. European schools received government grants to cover half the salaries of the principal and other teachers and half the cost of equipment; African schools received no such assistance.⁸⁵¹

The deliberate ploy to keep the level of indigenous education extremely low is therefore clear. How we could expect radicalism among people who had been exposed to inferior education is a critical question here.

⁸⁵¹. Zvobgo, C.J.M. 1979. African education in Zimbabwe: The colonial inheritance of the new state, 1899-1979. *A Journal of Opinion*, 11(3/4); The re-creation of Zimbabwe. 1981. *Prospects for Education and Rural Reconstruction*, African Studies Association, Cambridge University Press, UK, p.13. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1166589>. Accessed on 24 October 2011

In addition to the above, there was no equivalent government grant to help indigenous learners, and yet the same government dictated policies to which the missionaries were to abide. If missionaries did not see anything wrong then, we could argue that their role was to support what the colonialists were doing to and against the indigenous people in Southern Rhodesia.

5.9.2. Discriminatory and confusing policies

In addition to Zvobgo, Reginal Austin helps us to appreciate the preceding section when he observes that:

Education in Rhodesia typifies a combination of deliberate discrimination and subtle management, political ruthlessness and professional diligence, which confuses both the practitioners and the victims of minority government, and outside observers of the phenomenon.⁸⁵²

In short, there was something drastically wrong about the way education was handled in Southern Rhodesia. It was not balanced in any way and hence no indigenous people could really come out well in this regard especially when even the authorities themselves did not know how to handle the problems they were creating. Austin also goes on to point out that there was a deliberate policy of allowing more indigenous people to access primary education but not secondary education and this should be understood against the background of what European children were getting.⁸⁵³ Austin, again, states for us,

The educational system trains Africans to provide efficient service at lower levels while ensuring for Europeans a superiority designed to confirm racial mythology in which they are cast as a perpetual leadership élite who alone can ensure continued 'standards of civilization.'⁸⁵⁴

It is important to note that although Austin refers to specific dates, his article gives us a glimpse of what the Europeans had been doing to the indigenous ever since the invasion and conquest of the 1890s. The urgent question that continues to be asked is, why such oppressive policies could be supported by Anglican missionaries. We must remember Selous' vision of a peaceful and prosperous Rhodesia, which, for him, could be possible if there was total disarmament of the

⁸⁵². Austin, R., 1975: Racism and apartheid in Southern Africa: Rhodesia, UNESCO, p.43.

⁸⁵³. Ibid. p.43

⁸⁵⁴. Ibid.

indigenous people, coupled with just and firm control of their lives. Perhaps we could argue that education was now being employed to help in the realisation of this goal.

5.9.3. Educational designs and indigenous people's aspirations

Going back to Zvobgo's observations, it is clear that by accepting the above stated 1899 ordinance, the missionaries and civil authorities had put mechanisms in place to contradict the educational aspirations of the indigenous people in Southern Rhodesia. It is also important to note that such a compromised educational system, in the above connection, could not be expected to groom African intellectuals in any significant way. Radical indigenous Anglican leaders would take long to emerge. Even when there is evidence of missionaries taking the lead in educating Africans in Southern Rhodesia, it is clear that the colonial system in place set the parameters regarding how far that education would fare and so they could only operate within its limited provisions. We heard earlier that to his shock and dismay, a representative of the Aboriginal Protection Society who came to Mashonaland to investigate, first hand, the abuses by the settlers found that the BSAC was in control of virtually everything that mattered, inclusive of the education of the indigenous. Education in this connection would remain more of a propaganda tool or a brainwashing exercise and was, therefore, not meant to raise the general standards of African people to revolutionary or radical levels in this regard.

Secondly, according to Zvobgo,

The 1903 Education Ordinance required that industrial training is systematically taught in African schools; the 1907 Education Ordinance prescribed that such training should include farming, brick making, road making, building, carpentry, iron-work, and, for girls, domestic work. Most Europeans were opposed to any academic training in African schools; they feared the ultimate threat that it posed to their position as a ruling class.⁸⁵⁵

Above, we cited Austin's observation to the same effect. The position we are looking at requires us to make missionaries responsible for the propaganda in place that would ensure that the indigenous people would not become radical

⁸⁵⁵. Zvobgo, op.cit.p13

since, according to the foregoing quote, academic training was discouraged. Bishop Beaven is absent as a prophetic Anglican leader in this connection. His priorities, we could safely assume, lay elsewhere.⁸⁵⁶ Perhaps ensuring that the interests of the white people were being safeguarded as could be deduced from what we said about his attitudes earlier on. This observation needs justification. A church leader who does not speak when the situation demands it, could not be viewed as one who is really faithful to the gospel imperatives.

5.9.4. Government and Church educational partnership

A pamphlet, that is first in a series of eight, looks at the issue of education in Southern Rhodesia⁸⁵⁷ from a very different perspective when compared to Zvobgo's and Austin's observations cited above. The period may not be specific, but the generalisation could bail us out. The report in question starts by acknowledging the fact that education pioneered by missionaries remained an uphill struggle until the government of the settlers intervened.⁸⁵⁸ According to Welch, it was around 1908 that the settler administration started to give generous grants to mission schools and especially to Anglicans as they were considered friendly.⁸⁵⁹ We could only guess what that friendliness amounted to given a government that was busy working out strategies to take full control of the indigenous people's destiny under the colonial yoke.

In line with the above, government aid, therefore, was a critical factor in the advancement of African education, and this is supported by statistics cited by the source in question.⁸⁶⁰ The tone of the report in some sections must draw our attention to the preceding connection. Under the theme of partnership between the civil authorities and missionaries, the report gives us this detail:

The general and primary aim of the Government is that the African should, in his education, be exposed to those influences, which mould his character in the Christian pattern of life. That is fundamental in educating Africans at their present stage of development. It follows from this that education should offer scope for the

⁸⁵⁶. <http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/ahbaynes/handbooks1908/04.html> , op.cit. This source gives us a hint to the effect that Beaven was interested in the welfare of the white man.

⁸⁵⁷. The African in Southern Rhodesia: education (undated), (For the High Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia by Robert MacLehose & Co.Ltd. Glasgow Scotland)

⁸⁵⁸. Ibid, p.1

⁸⁵⁹. Welch, op.cit.p.85

⁸⁶⁰. Ibid.

fullest development of the spiritual, mental and physical capacities of the child. It is the Government's aim, to the utmost of its resources, to provide primary education for all, and post-primary and higher education for those who are capable of profiting by it and who could render efficient service to their people as well as the country as a whole.⁸⁶¹

We have already met with Austin whose findings refute such an observation. As a government policy, it could be seen as plausible, but its aims and objectives are very much suspect. Below, we raise some concerns that support our suspicions.

The report is quiet about separate education for Europeans, and how it was being dealt with by the same government and missionaries, hence, supporting the argument about distortions. If it is a document that claims to be balanced at all, at least it is silent about the three ordinances referred to by Zvobgo above. It is not supported by Austin's observations either. In fact, the report in question goes on to exaggerate its case, in connection with urban African schools, by expressing that:

There is little or nothing internally or externally to distinguish the schools built for Africans from those for Europeans. Africans from other territories have been surprised at the high standard of school buildings and found it hard to believe they were African schools.⁸⁶²

Austin makes it clear that African education from 1899 was designed to remain "qualitatively inferior" to that given to Europeans.⁸⁶³ To praise an education deemed to be generally inferior, smacks of the distortions about which we are worried here. It gives the Europeans a magnanimous status that is questionable when compared with other reports in the same context as shown in Zvobgo and Austin's works. The theology of empire discourse must be seen as relevant here.

5.9.5. Balanced information about Rhodesian education

The report on the Rhodesian education cited above has been shown to be contrary to other findings. The Rhodesia being described would make the argument of the theology of empire defunct by presenting us with the fact that the indigenous and the Europeans were equal partners from the beginning. It argues for Europeans who were extremely willing to promote the welfare of the

⁸⁶¹. The African in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit p.4

⁸⁶². Ibid.p.10

⁸⁶³. Austin, op.cit.p.45f.

indigenous people. It also shows us how history could easily be distorted in favour of the ruling class. Nevertheless, our preferred position is that the theology of empire discourse is extremely relevant in the Mashonaland context we are putting under the spotlight. We are supported by sources that are selective; that are blatantly biased and those that simply manifest the European dominance in Rhodesia where the Diocese of Mashonaland is our key focus.

5.9.6. Anglican educational initiatives for racial harmony

In line with the above, we need to emphasise, the fact that the indigenous education in question not only had a Christian dimension to it, but also a significant Anglican input by being championed by missionaries. The big problem is that even the Anglicans only resolved to introduce secondary education for Africans in 1939, at St Augustine Penhalonga,⁸⁶⁴ nearly half a century after the colonisation of the country. This period is far removed from Beaven's episcopate and therefore will be accounted for separately in this work. That education had to be for Africans, and there was no deliberate move to unite the indigenous people and the Europeans so that the two racial groups could be taught side-by-side. Given the many primary schools about which are talked, one secondary school could not absorb a significant number at all.

In the absence of a policy that aimed at uniting the two races in the area of education, Africans could not then be expected to compete at higher levels with Europeans who were being protected by the system by way of being given better educational opportunities.⁸⁶⁵ Our bone of contention is simply that even from a Christian point of view, challenging the *status quo* in Rhodesia during the colonial era, was not something that received any meaningful attention in the sense that indigenous people were not empowered to rise above the norms imposed on them by civil authorities and missionaries. The missionaries themselves were not even promoting any radical approaches among the indigenous people so that they could challenge their situation of systematic subjugation.

⁸⁶⁴. Zvobgo, op.cit.p.13

⁸⁶⁵. Ibid.

R.G. Gibbon and G.H. Pugh make the questions above even more cogent within the Diocese of Mashonaland, when we read an article they core-authored,⁸⁶⁶ which seems to indicate that the missionary enterprise in Rhodesia was above board and, therefore, in keeping with the demands of gospel imperatives. The fraudulent activities by the pioneers we referenced earlier in this work are not mentioned, and, yet, there is an urgency to outline the achievements of missionaries in the period in question. The two authors are even intrepid enough to bring their narrative to its conclusion by noting that,

African and European work is being drawn together; church doors are open to members of every race and most parish churches have Africans among their worshippers as well as holding services in the vernacular. The diocesan budgets are so arranged that contributions from European parishes, with some help from overseas, make up the deficit on African work.⁸⁶⁷

We could sense that education is no longer the main focus here but the overall outlook of church membership within the Mashonaland context. The urgency to make such generalisations, contradicts the spirit of the theology of empire we are allowing significant space here. However, we do not get any convincing facts about what was at stake. The problem of historical accounts that are biased continues to confront us here.

What Gibbon and Pugh fail to acknowledge, in the above connection, is the fact that the relationship between indigenous people and European Anglicans was not rosy at all. We have already pointed out that Roden's work does not suppress such facts. For example, the latter draws our attention to the fact that there was stiff resistance among Europeans when it came to the education of the Africans.⁸⁶⁸

When it comes to Church matters, we are informed that,

Many of the missionaries made attempts to bring together the different communities in worship. Sometimes this worked as a 'one off', and then they would be told by some of the Europeans that it ought not to happen again. In order to continue their work, and not 'rock the boat' too much, they acquiesced. It is difficult to know what else they could have done given the overall prevailing views of the time.⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁶ Gibbon, R.G. and Pugh, G.H., 1959: *The Anglican Church*. In: King, P.S. (ed.). *Missions in Southern Rhodesia*, The Inyati Centenary Trust. Cape Town, South Africa: The Citadel Press.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid. p.29

⁸⁶⁸ Roden, op.cit. p.226

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

The prevailing views of that time were racist, and the Church was not radical in terms of challenging this problem. Attempts to rectify a problem could just end up as “mere attempts” if they were not supported by a resolute church policy to deal with racial discrimination. It is important to note that Welch, although not emphatic about the problem of racism and apartheid in the Diocese of Mashonaland also observes that,

Beaven’s episcopate, therefore, presents something of a paradox: he presided over a considerable advance in missionary work and at least nominally in the status of indigenous Christians in the life of the diocese while at the same time endorsing settler withdrawal from contact with indigenous groups. Separation within the church was not complete, however, certainly not as complete as outside it. Synod was no longer an entirely white body from 1921, for instance, once Mhlanga was ordained. Such a racially-mixed gathering was so unusual at the time that once this was the case, Synod no longer sought the hospitality of the Bulawayo or Salisbury Clubs. The subsequent admission of indigenous lay representatives to Synod aroused considerable settler criticism.⁸⁷⁰

This lengthy quote could be justified for laying the facts bare that feed into our argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Here there is an admission to the effect that the missionaries simply found themselves in a situation they could not do their work without compromising gospel standards. Racial segregation had to be endorsed, although not openly. Our argument here is that by gospel imperatives, missionary work was not supposed to compromise its foundation unless that foundation was colonial and no more. Furthermore, narratives that seem to suppress this reality by rather choosing to expose other more neutral developments could be seen as not helping us to understand how the Anglican Church was operating within the parameters of Rhodesia. That the white people were bold enough to insist on racism even within the church is a clear indication of the latitude they enjoyed under bishops such as Beaven and, hence, the reason for their popularity as we have already noted in contrast with Powell.⁸⁷¹

5.10. Problems in narrating the History of the Diocese of Mashonaland

⁸⁷⁰. Welch, *op.cit.*p.95

⁸⁷¹. *Ibid.*

The sections we have looked at above, though more on the general thrust of how education was handled in Mashonaland highlight to us the problems that could easily be overlooked. It is clear, therefore, that a critical narrative of the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland in this early period should highlight the tensions that existed between the Africans and Europeans and how the former were pacified even by the Church authorities. The idea of having Africans' treatment being brought to parity with that of Europeans was just out of the question. Those who could afford to narrate this state of affairs as though it was an excellent example of mutual partnership between the indigenous people and the Europeans may be seen, in our context, as misleading if not mischievous, regarding handling historical facts. Racial segregation seems to be the challenge with which any missionary could deal and who did not subscribe to the prevalent bias.. This point is emphasised further when Roden goes on to note that,

Protests were, of course, made. One missionary wrote of taking Communion Services at private houses and finding some devout old Native, baptised and confirmed, kneeling outside in the passage, not allowed to come in. Clean enough to...handle and cook the food but not clean enough to receive the Bread of life with fellow Christians of another race or colour!⁸⁷²

The Church in this connection seems to have been subservient to European supremacy and popular prejudices in the Diocese of Mashonaland. In terms of the current terminology used in Southern Africa, the Anglican Church had been thoroughly captured because it was not able to point out or even to distance itself from the wrongs of racism within a Christian context. Business continued as usual, and other accounts could highlight the successes of bishops such as Beaven without alerting us to the serious compromise that was allowed to characterise the Anglican Church's work in Mashonaland.

In addition, we have a strong case against those who gloss over such critical matters in the life of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland when it comes to narrating them. The questions we raised earlier on should be treated as urgent regarding highlighting the historical developments within the context of the Rhodesia that we are focusing on under the theme of the theology of empire. Bearing in mind that we meet with such literature as that attributed to Gibbon and

⁸⁷². Roden, op.cit.p.226

Pugh above, the questions of indigenisation and missionary commitment to the African cause require us to proceed with caution. Unless we turn a blind eye to the highlighted examples of racial segregation, it would be difficult to formulate a convincing argument in favour of missionary and settler magnanimity towards the indigenous people.

5.10.0. Missionary education under Beaven

We have spent considerable time on viewing how racial segregation and ultimately colonial domination were worked into educational systems in Mashonaland. For us, this state of affairs is made more complex by history narratives that do not always agree on what was happening. Even more challenging for us is the idea of the Anglican Church under Beaven, not giving us any direction in terms of addressing racial imbalances that define the colonial context of his episcopate.

Bill Arnold's treatment of Beaven's episcopate leads us to appreciate a pastoral challenge characterised by the prevalence of witchcraft and polygamy among the indigenous people.⁸⁷³ This seems to emphasise the hardships missionaries often had to deal with as they worked among the indigenous people. It is curious to note that the theme of education comes in against this background as a missionary response but directed by a government policy that insisted upon industrial orientation for the indigenous people.⁸⁷⁴

We continue to read the challenging history of Mashonaland, in general, only to find more information to support the continued involvement of the Church in a system that contradicted the spirit of the gospel. Therefore, according to Franklin Parker, between 1910 and 1911, a commission on native education recommended religious education "to instil morals and industrial work to make better workmen."⁸⁷⁵ To this end, academic education was generally not promoted

⁸⁷³. Arnold, op.cit.pp.61-63. Here Arnold is highlighting the pastoral challenges faced by Rev Broderick and his wife at Bonda Mission.

⁸⁷⁴. Ibid.p.67

⁸⁷⁵. Parker, F. 1959: Education of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. *Comparative Education Review*, The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Comparative and International Education Society, USA, 3(2), p.29.Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1186881>. Accessed on 21 June 2015.

because educated natives were considered to be dangerous by the white people.⁸⁷⁶ Parker makes this point clear when he notes that,

Many whites, against educating the African at all, believed him more useful and less dangerous without schooling. But, the more advanced African wanted an academic education because he saw that whites placed the highest value on it.⁸⁷⁷

The preceding point has been stressed enough in this investigation. The education that was eventually allowed for indigenous people was just not up to scratch given the testimonies that we are citing in this context. Nevertheless, we continue to hear that,

Government grants, on a capitation basis, rewarded enrolment rather than educational quality and this led to an expansion in village schools under many untrained and supervised African teachers. When Southern Rhodesia became self-governing in 1923, there were 69,991 African children in 1,089 mission schools, most of them inefficient village day schools taught by untrained teachers.⁸⁷⁸

Thought control supported by poor quality education seems to have been the instruments employed to complete the total subjugation of the indigenous people and to set them on a path of perpetual servitude for many years to come. We could understand the move by settlers to complete the colonising process through substandard education. However, to see the same schools as part of the missionary success is a major cause for concern in this context.

From the preceding attitudes, it could be argued that indigenous people in Mashonaland were not trained to communicate their own thoughts, because industrial work, as well as agricultural activities, was all they could be expected to master.⁸⁷⁹ Others, Europeans to be precise, had the luxury of doing that for them because of the superior academic programmes at their disposal. Carol Summers observes the same phenomenon and notes that,

Schools for Africans, run exclusively by the missions until 1920, were chronically underfunded, crowded, staffed by poorly trained teachers and operating in shoddy buildings with few books or materials.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁶. Parker, op.cit.p.29

⁸⁷⁷. Ibid.p.29

⁸⁷⁸. Ibid.

⁸⁷⁹. Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰. Summers, C. 2015/1994. Educational controversies: African activism and educational strategies in Southern Rhodesia, 1920-1934. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Taylor & Francis, Oxfordshire, UK. 20 (1):4. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637117>. Accessed on 13 February 2014.

Summers is clearly giving us an educational undertaking by missionaries, supported by the colonial government, to give what amounts to imparting false hopes on the indigenous people in the area of education. We have already pointed out that this is problematic when done under the auspices of proclaiming the good news to the indigenous people.

The term “segregation” is used to refer to how this education was understood to the bewilderment of a European by the name H. Jowitt who had to leave Southern Rhodesia for Uganda as a protest against such a policy.⁸⁸¹ Jowitt was not a missionary but a white civil servant. He was interested in native development and his attitude should have challenged the general missionary conscience that saw no problems with what the settlers were doing in Mashonaland. The problem that we are faced with here is further elaborated by Summers when she goes on to point out that,

By the 1920s, however, Africans had developed specific educational expectations and wants. They evaluated mission and government schools according to the curriculum and conditions offered by each school. And, when students considered the curriculum or conditions at a school inadequate, they complained, left the schools, or even held school strikes, explicitly labelled as such.⁸⁸²

These are observations that do not seem to find favour with some historians we have looked at in this chapter. For the Africans who got a little bit more enlightened, substandard educational opportunities were beginning to be abhorrent to them. Summers is emphatic about the general discontent among the indigenous people when she adds that,

Even as the settler population of the 1920s and 1930s increasingly sought to use education to shape a specific and subordinate role for Africans within the increasingly segregated society of the region, Africans voiced concerns, demands and agendas in ways which proved more effective in education than in any other sector of the region's economy or society. Stay-aways, strikes, protests over curricula and attempts to acquire European allies outside the school were all strategies employed by Africans seeking changes in education.⁸⁸³

⁸⁸¹. Summers, op.cit.p.4

⁸⁸². Ibid.

⁸⁸³. Ibid.

In line with the above quote, the fact that there was some unhappiness in the way education had been implemented in Mashonaland is therefore not a farfetched claim. The idea mooted by Selous of justice and firmness in dealing with the indigenous people and the ultimate disempowerment were backfiring before long. The prejudice that required the indigenous people to be viewed as savages, and had been allowed to dictate the pace, proved to be unsustainable. Summers above is giving us a series of grievances that, in turn, could easily create another uprising of which the Europeans were afraid, hence, Selous' half-baked solution. Such concerns among the indigenous learners meant that what the Europeans were doing simply needed common sense to comprehend and that is something that a savage might not be able to demonstrate. Why missionary work could not be informed by such unhappiness in our context seems to prove that the ideas of the conquerors were considered sacrosanct and therefore not to be challenged.

Historical narratives that ignore the foregoing concerns, or worse still, treat them lightly, when there is sufficient evidence to raise them, do havoc to the discourse in question. Their historical narratives could be seen as promoting a dubious appreciation of facts. This is because success is measured in terms of quantity: so many schools and churches and so many baptisms and class attendances.⁸⁸⁴ Quality is ignored because no one raises the question of what actually happened during those learning and conversion processes. As we have been enlightened, it is a sad story of supervised, ill-trained and substandard teachers.⁸⁸⁵ It was also a case of emphasising inferior education meant to prepare indigenous people to be subservient to the whites in a wholesale fashion. It really called for courageous missionaries to challenge such a sinister system.

5.10.1. The Anglican Church in Mashonaland and East Africa

In this section we need to compare Mashonaland (Diocese of Southern Rhodesia) with the Anglican Church in East Africa briefly in order to appreciate, broadly, the idea of control using education as a sinister method. This sample could help us boost our argument for the prevalence of the theology of empire in this context. The ultimate objective of this deviation is to demonstrate the prevalence of

⁸⁸⁴. See Arnold, p.66f

⁸⁸⁵. Ibid.p.68

European domination within the Anglican Church in Africa from a broader historical perspective. The period in question happens to be the late nineteenth century when British missionaries were extending the Anglican Church in countries such as Tanzania, Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda. Colin Reed's research,⁸⁸⁶ in this connection, highlights the relationships that were at play between the indigenous clergy and their European missionary counter partners.

In a chapter where Reed discusses the initiation of the indigenous people into the Church's hierarchy through holy orders within the East African context, he observes the following developments:

Firstly, indigenous leaders in this context laboured successfully with regard to running local churches expecting to be ordained earlier, but some waited for up to twenty years just to be considered for the diaconate.⁸⁸⁷ They were Church leaders in their own right but did not have sufficient power to be recognised by westerners within their socio-religious context. However, even this ordination was only possible because of a certain radical Bishop, James Hannington, who is said to have had a progressive vision for Africans and their leadership roles in the Church.⁸⁸⁸ Missionaries who came to Africa then were not from the same mould. Some came with their prejudices that were, therefore, not relevant to the indigenous thought-patterns, aspirations and authenticity. The Africans themselves seemed to have exaggerated hopes and aspirations, and were thoroughly convinced that Europeans could appreciate them as equals. Unfortunately, the indigenous who were so misled by wishful thinking, learnt some hard lessons: Europeans were, on the main, promoting their own interests

Secondly, the indigenous candidates within the Kenyan context, in the preceding connection, had remained mere catechists before ordination, yet they did all the work of the clergy without some of the missionaries acknowledging this effort.⁸⁸⁹ Catechists are supposed to deal with the basic theological issues. When one does

⁸⁸⁶. Reed, C., 1997: *Pastors, partners and paternalists: African Church leaders and Western Missionaries in the Anglican Church in Kenya, 1850-1900*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill,

⁸⁸⁷. *Ibid.* p.95

⁸⁸⁸. *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁹. *Ibid.* p.96

another's work and gets no recognition that cannot be far from rampant exploitation. It is clear that they did extremely convincing work, but they were simply indigenous and not on par with European missionaries. It is like the sweat of a slave that the master enjoys at his/her luxury. We are talking about indigenous efforts that boosted the ego of the Europeans in Africa. Within missionary circles, we could have envisaged a situation whereby catechists commanded a special relationship with their superiors without being condemned to a subservient status.

Thirdly, the radical missionary, Bishop James Hannington who initiated the ordination mentioned above also believed in having fewer missionaries and more African clergy who were supposed to receive a high level of education.⁸⁹⁰ To take Africans and give them superficial education would not be consistent with God's work to save humanity. The liberation of the indigenous Africans could only be guaranteed if the education they received could equip them with the same capabilities as their European missionaries. We have already seen that in Mashonaland, industrial education was emphasised and in general, the skills imparted, were inferior as Reginald Austin, Zvobgo and also Parker reminded us.

While, the above radical, Bishop James Hannington wanted to see the development of indigenous clergy, the general attitude prevailing among missionaries was that it was not a priority.⁸⁹¹ Why people in the service of God could afford to champion such negativity baffles the mind. To be in the service of God and yet not able to delight in the very advancement of those who are the beneficiaries of that service is a clear contradiction of the gospel imperatives. It leads us to suspect that there could have been more sinister motives behind that missionary work. For how else could we explain missionaries who did God's work but delighted in half-baked products? Furthermore, when church history is written to expose developments in such compromised contexts without highlighting such deficiencies, then we get distortions of such far-reaching proportions.

⁸⁹⁰. Reed, *op.cit.*p.97

⁸⁹¹. *Ibid.*p.99

Fourthly and in line with the above narrative originating from East Africa, an African clergyman who accompanied the Bishop on one of the expeditions and did most of the administration as well as conducting negotiations with the hostile people they encountered, is not given due recognition by the Bishop's biographer, thereby, downplaying his role.⁸⁹² It is clear that we have an extremely serious case of abuse and exploitation of the indigenous clergyperson here. The indigenous labours and yet the European missionary gets all the accolades! We are faced with a peculiar state of affairs in the name of God and Africa. Why such domination is given too much space, raises more questions than answers. There is, therefore, an urgent need for Church history in Africa to be written with an eye on these issues that many historians within this context have tended to treat lightly or to ignore completely from the point of view of the theology of empire.⁸⁹³ If there is something to learn from history, then there is a need to ensure that people do not focus on distorted facts. The result is that we could be exposed to narratives that simply do not give us the full picture of how the Church and state colluded to deny the indigenous people of Africa their full humanhood. P.R. Randall makes this point clear when he observes that,

Many missionaries no doubt had high spiritual motives and often protested against the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination. This does not necessarily imply that they rejected the social structures within which racism operated, nor that they were not prone very often to think in colonialist and racist terms themselves.⁸⁹⁴

Randall seems to be ready to view the missionaries in his balanced way. In the information we are encountering in this research, the pro-colonial attitudes seem to be more pronounced than those that could have been beneficial to the indigenous people.

If the indigenous people themselves do not share a collective memory of what was done to them, one wonders how they could be in a position to lead the Church after the departure of the missionaries. We have a considerable problem in this

⁸⁹² Reed, op.cit pp. 102-103

⁸⁹³ Cochraine, op.cit. pp.3-7. The author highlights for us some deficiencies in a number of history books by various authors within the Southern African context who seem not to be interested in giving in-depth analyses of the negative impact of missionary Christianity as it aligned itself with colonialism.

⁸⁹⁴ Randall, P.R., 2013: The role of the History of Education in Teacher Education in South Africa, with particular reference to developments in Britain and the USA 1988, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, RSA. p.197. Available online at: <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/jspui/bitstream/10539/18116/5/Randall%20P%20R%201988-005.pdf>, Accessed on 20 May 2014.

connection. It looks like a call to cleanse the Church history narratives about the Diocese of Mashonaland could not be off the mark.

When the radical Bishop in East Africa, who wanted to see the advancement of Africans, died, the idea of advancing the indigenous leadership also came to an abrupt end.⁸⁹⁵ Our interest in this connection could be linked to the very fact that even in Mashonaland, Cripps' efforts never received official recognition to influence pro-indigenous policies that we could cite within the context of our theology of empire discourse. We do not hear about Cripps' work and attitudes being championed by other missionaries after him. The powerless are relegated to the margins, and those whose social status is imposed are given due recognition by historians. This context, in which God seems to take centre stage, becomes problematic in that the ideals proclaimed are severely compromised by the actions celebrated.

We have included the above observations by Reed just to emphasise one point: there seems to be something inherently similar among some Anglican missionaries' attitudes towards the indigenous that history is able to demonstrate for us during the colonial era. Earlier we saw how such attitudes impacted on the American Anglican Church.

Those attitudes that allowed Europeans to assume superior positions, although constantly challenged by some radicals, were not so easy to eradicate. According to Reed, even within the missionary press in England, the successes in Kenya that were a result of the indigenous catechists and clergy's resolute labouring were often wrongly attributed to the Europeans on the ground that they often assumed the role of arbitrary administrators and were quick to document this from a biased perspective.⁸⁹⁶ Again, there is something noteworthy here: it seems to be the case that only white missionaries could write about their activities and not so much the indigenous.

⁸⁹⁵. Reed, *op. cit.* p.106

⁸⁹⁶. *Ibid.* pp. 112-113

The answer has already been given above as to why Europeans could take the lead. They had been trained to deal with both theory and practice. The indigenous as we have seen from the education given to them in Mashonaland had to be content with a practice that was strictly informed by inferior theoretical grounding. In essence, Africans were never accorded their due recognition, and were very often side-lined, even when focussing on their successes.⁸⁹⁷ In other words, whatever the indigenous people did could only make sense if it was given a European face by way of documentation. We notice that the problem, simply stated is that Africans are not humans unless it is prescribed by Europeans. The result was often frustration among critical Africans⁸⁹⁸ because their unique successes were always attributed to European missionaries. Indigenous Africans were not comfortable with being rated second when it was clear that they were first. Any system that could deny them such due recognition could, therefore, be judged as compromising their well-being, their authenticity as humans and indeed their God-given aspirations. Europeans were contradicting the very principles they were advocating in the name of God, especially the claim that all humans are products of God.

The Diocese of Mashonaland's context, therefore, resembles developments in some ways that have already been documented in other African contexts, such as those in East Africa. This seems to make the theme of the theology of empire urgent in Rhodesia and beyond its borders during the time in question. There is consistency regarding alienating the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations. In the long run, what would become of the indigenous people whose horizons were controlled and therefore limited becomes an urgent question.

In addition to the above references, it seems to be the case that it was not an urgent matter for missionaries to groom radical leaders and, yet, something with which Africans would come to be preoccupied in later years, once they had awakened from their dogmatic slumbers. When the time was ripe, the Africans would react by way of using revolutionary expressions that were inspired by the will to account for socio-political emancipation. Before the time of action came,

⁸⁹⁷. Reed, *op.cit.* p.113

⁸⁹⁸. *Ibid.*

Anglican missionary products never received opportunities to rise above the given colonial norms that required them to be mere servants and not masters of their destiny. More will be reviewed later in this connection.

5.11. Arthur Shearly Cripps and the Mashonaland context⁸⁹⁹

In this section we focus more on Arthur Shearly Cripps who was a missionary of British origin within the Mashonaland context. Narratives about him could help us understand why the theology of empire is being proposed as an urgent theme in this context. We have already introduced some of his convictions and approaches above. Indeed, we could not accept the fact that the Rhodesian Anglican context was a unique Christianising and civilising effort. It had many issues in the area of compromising human aspirations. We need to highlight how Cripps stood out to contradict the general colonial norms from within and out of the Church in Mashonaland.

Around 1901, Cripps came to a Rhodesia that had already seen a decade of systematic colonisation and related abuses. The indigenous people had been defeated and their morale was extremely low. His Anglican bishops such as Knight-Bruce and Gaul had done nothing to boost the image of the Church regarding championing morals among the settlers and the cause of the poor and dispossessed indigenous people. The natives of the country that had been named Rhodesia after Cecil John Rhodes had been robbed, as well as tricked and they had been subjugated through military brutality as we heard in Selous' testimony. Cripps could not accept the fact that what was obtaining was the work of God. Indeed, daylight robbery and military force could not be justified in the name of God. Our historians should have treated this as a major source of discontent rather than just a voice that could be accorded some space, even to a limited extent.

5.11.0. The fame of a sympathetic missionary

⁸⁹⁹. Mhuriro, T., 2019: "The Poverty of Anglican Prophecy and the Legacy of Arthur Shearly Cripps in Colonial Zimbabwe" The extract from this thesis was submitted for publication and was accepted in the book, *Costly Communion: Sacramental Strife and Ecumenical initiatives within the Anglican Communion*, 2009, Brill, Netherlands, ed. Jeremy Bonner and Mark Chapman, Chapter 9.

We have already introduced the missionary work of Cripps in this investigation. It is important to appreciate that much has been written about Cripps' attitude towards the European occupation of Rhodesia and the way white people treated the indigenous people.⁹⁰⁰ Some of these reports seem to have been exaggerated as they gathered momentum over the years.

In this research, an interview in Chivhu, (formerly Enkeldoorn under Rhodesia), responded to by Mr Luke Mandizvidza who was not an Anglican, aimed at establishing some of the things he could recall about Fr Cripps.⁹⁰¹ The choice of a non-Anglican was critical here given the fact that many people from within continue to share stories about this missionary and, accordingly, a voice from outside could help us measure how much of a legend Cripps is to some indigenous people of Mashonaland even today. What the interview brought out was quite revealing regarding Cripps' missionary fame. As a boy, Mr Mandizvidza used to visit Fr Cripps at Marondamashanu (Shona for the five wounds of Jesus) where, together with other boys of his age, they were entertained by this missionary.⁹⁰² Fr Cripps' mission was the only place, those days, where African locals could be assured of free sugar.⁹⁰³ The mention of sugar, as an attraction for the young here, is significant and not the preaching *per se*.

Asked to recall some of the significant activities of Fr Cripps, Mr Mandizvidza indicated that this missionary was the only one who could rightly claim that he had been sent by God to Mashonaland.⁹⁰⁴ Others were fake and agents of the colonial establishment.⁹⁰⁵ Fr Cripps, according to Mr Mandizvidza, was the only man of God in this part of the world who could ask you to come and pray for the rains and be rest assured that on your way back home, you could expect to be soaked!⁹⁰⁶ No doubt, Cripps was the kind of person he claimed to be, that is, one sent by

⁹⁰⁰. Thomas, NE, op.cit. pp.119ff. Also, Steere, Douglas V. 1973. God's irregular: Arthur Shearly Cripps. London SPCK is a very informative source.

⁹⁰¹. Interview with Mr L. Mandizvidza at a plot near Chivhu on 21 August 2011 (Newly resettled indigenous farms/plots with title deeds not yet available). Mr Mandizvidza's estimated year of birth is 1928.

⁹⁰². Interview with Mr Mandizvidza, 21 August 2011

⁹⁰³. Interview with Mr Mandizvidza

⁹⁰⁴. Interview with Mr Mandizvidza

⁹⁰⁵. Interview with Mr Mandizvidza

⁹⁰⁶. Interview with Mr Mandizvidza.

God, and so such stories could be spread with a degree of exaggerated popularity.⁹⁰⁷

In Mhondoro-Ngezi, the same subject of Cripps' fame was responded to by Mr Dharu Gangandaza whose family moved to the area from Marondamashanu on account of Fr Cripps who wanted to ensure missionary work at St Oswald's mission sometime in the 1930s.⁹⁰⁸ Accordingly, the popularity of Fr Cripps cannot be overemphasised. He was faithful to his calling and made no apology for his disgust at what the settlers were doing.⁹⁰⁹ One of Mr Dharu's uncles within the Gangandaza family, together with others who had failed to pay taxes to the settler regime, was forced to carry heavy logs to the Range Office, a few kilometres to the east of Chivhu (then Enkeldoorn), from Mhondoro-Ngezi.⁹¹⁰ That is a distance of more than one hundred kilometres to be covered over several days on foot and with a heavy load! This is a story told in the family just to highlight how cruel the white administrators were during the heyday of colonialism.⁹¹¹ It was told to compare and contrast Cripps' approach with what the colonialists were doing to the indigenous people. It also relates how Cripps differed from other missionaries who were quiet in the face of the many evils that were characteristic of the settler approach to the indigenous in Mashonaland. It is important to note that both Mr Mandizvidza and Mr Gangandaza are in their late 70s and being able to recall the issues of colonial injustice testifies to the fact that the grievances were never wiped out of the indigenous people's minds.

Cripps comes into this preceding story of settlers' brutality in Rhodesia because he met with this group of men and immediately took up the cause with the Native Commissioner at the Range Office.⁹¹² Of course, they could not agree on the issue of exploitation and brutality, and, so, Cripps prayed to invoke the wrath of

⁹⁰⁷. Looks like Fr Cripps was also being associated with rain making powers.

⁹⁰⁸. Mr Gangandaza's account, during an interview on 23 August 2011 at Village 6, Manyoni Resettlement, in Mhondoro-Ngezi (also known as Kadoma East). Oral tradition seems to be a victim of nostalgia or romanticisation of facts. The exact date of the establishment of St Oswald's in Mhondoro-Ngezi could not be established due to mix up of files and the troubled state of the Anglican Church in Harare during 2011. Rev Cleophas Marandu who had been tasked to help in the gathering of relevant information in this regard could not get any leading material to this effect.

⁹⁰⁹. Interview with Mr Gangandaza

⁹¹⁰. Interview with Mr Gangandaza

⁹¹¹. Interview with Mr Gangandaza

⁹¹². Interview with Mr Gangandaza

God against the cruel Native Commissioner.⁹¹³ The story goes on to detail how this Native Commissioner was killed by a buck a few days later. The death was attributed to Cripps' pious intervention.⁹¹⁴ Unfortunately, there are no documented details of this event in the area of Mhondoro-Ngezi.⁹¹⁵ One point that comes out, however, is that European brutality in Mashonaland was the catalyst to Cripps' fame because he was seen as challenging the popular white opinion that compromised the indigenous people. This, however, has no corresponding response from the Anglican Church as we have already seen. We even heard earlier that Beaven was quick to refute some of the allegations made against the settlers by Cripps and Lloyd. Beaven, therefore, did not see the logic of standing up for the indigenous' cause where it involved challenging the white settlers' attitudes and practices.

In connection with the preceding, that some of these stories cannot be checked regarding their accuracy and authenticity is a major setback regarding highlighting genuine historical facts. However, a number of issues are raised, no doubt. Firstly, among the Africans of Cripps' days in Mashonaland, there was no question of mistaken identity. Cripps was there for the Africans, and he did not compromise his position. He was not there to condemn African religious ideals but to boost them. The talk about Cripps should always conjure in our minds the need for an Anglican Church that would delight in liberating the indigenous people instead of exploiting them within the Rhodesian context. His friend Edgar Lloyd is also described as one who contradicted the moves by settlers to take away fertile land from the peasants of Makoni between 1911 and 1915.⁹¹⁶

5.11.1. Other narratives about Cripps

Other sources are also worth appealing to about the life and works of Cripps. W.R. Peaden observes that "as early as 1902, the Revd A. S. Cripps saw that the

⁹¹³. Interview with Mr Gangandaza

⁹¹⁴. Interview with Mr Gangandaza

⁹¹⁵. My suspicion after reading Ranger's work on the Makoni Labour disputes of 1911 are the following: People could have taken the creative stories in Cripps' Bay Tree Country and exaggerated them for their own purposes. The other alternative is that as the legend of Cripps spread, such stories could find their way into the contemporary narratives without any reference to real events.

⁹¹⁶. Ranger, pp.49, 51.

Shona 'held firmly the belief that the spirits of the dead watch over the living.'⁹¹⁷ Here was a missionary who was sympathetic to the religious world-views of those for whom he had come to work. This observation comes very early in his encounter with the indigenous people, thereby clearly demonstrating that he had no pre-conceived ideas to impose. Accordingly, there is a need to compare Cripps with one of the bishops of Mashonaland before him. We know that Knight-Bruce noted that there was no religion to talk about among the Shonas of Rhodesia even though he had not spent any significant time with them.

We need to recall the position of Bishop to contrast it with that of Cripps. It is clear that we are looking at two missionaries of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland who did not share the same convictions about the Shona people. Unfortunately, Cripps was just one of the priests and his status in the hierarchy was of no significant consequence regarding enforcing policy in the above connection. The difference between a bishop and a priest may be urgent here when it comes to doing God's work and the implementation of Diocesan policy.

Secondly, and in line with the above, Cripps endeared himself to the indigenous people because he did not identify himself with those who compromised the Gospel ideals. Stephen Hayes, succinctly captures this whole point when he notes that Cripps,

...walked throughout the district, and refused lifts if offered, sharing his food and clothes with the poor. He fought with the British South Africa Company over its plans to deprive the black population of what little land was left to them, and lived an austere and simple life as one of the people. He raised money to buy his own farms where land-hungry Africans could settle, and continually urged the bishops and synods of the Diocese of Mashonaland and to take the concerns of their African flock more seriously.⁹¹⁸

What we appreciate from the preceding observations is that, as a missionary, Cripps did not choose to do his work from the imperial courts of Rhodesia. He chose the poor and oppressed and lived among them when it was not easy to do

⁹¹⁷. Peaden, W.R. Aspects of the church and its political involvement in Southern Rhodesia, 1959-1972, Archive of African Journal, Michigan State University, USA, p. 191. Available online at: <http://www.africabib.org/http.php?RID=191401323&DB=p>. Accessed on 21 September 2014

⁹¹⁸. Hayes, S. Cripps, Arthur Shearly 1869 to 1952 Anglican Zimbabwe. in Dictionary of African Christian Biography, Center for Global Christianity and Mission, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. Available online at: http://www.dacb.org/stories/zimbabwe/cripps_arthur.html. Accessed on 29 October 2011.

so. However, such a stance often met with isolation from both the Church and the state, and, therefore, Cripps' lone voice could not impact negatively on the policies in place. Again, the position of Eusebius of Caesarea won the day in Rhodesia, and the authentic Christian voice was silenced. He was not an esoteric character if we are to insist on gospel imperatives. It is surprising that many history narratives do not make use of Cripps' vision and practice to present critiques on missionary work in Mashonaland. More will be said about Cripps' position as the period in question falls under a different Anglican episcopal leadership after 1925.

It is therefore clear that when we look at the person of Cripps and Beaven, more questions arise in connection with the above. Such questions seek to establish whether this compromising attitude within Beaven's episcopate did not contradict the very rationale of missionary work the Anglican Church was doing in Rhodesia. Furthermore, God's way of doing business may be queried in this connection as to whether it failed to distinguish itself from that of Constantine within the Roman Empire, let alone the Europeans who colonised the country for the British Crown under Rhodes. The theme of the theology of empire requires us to be mindful of how human ambitions could be seen to be an attempt to override what God is capable of doing. Put simply; it is an attempt to create gods out of mere humans! The story of Cripps helps us to understand that there were some British missionaries who understood themselves radically and differently within Anglican Church circles in Mashonaland.

Of course, and in line with the preceding, scholars such as Dr Gift Makwasha see some reconciliatory developments between Cripps and Beaven.⁹¹⁹ In this connection, Makwasha observes that,

...one should note that several things were done to include natives in the affairs of the Anglican Church during the episcopacy of Bp. Beaven. For example, in 1914, he instituted a conference for missionaries and village teachers. In 1919, he ordained Samuel Mhlanga to the diaconate, the first native to serve in the diocese since Mtobi had left in 1901. From 1921, the Anglican synod was no longer an entirely white body. 'Such a racially-mixed gathering was so unusual at the time'

⁹¹⁹. Makwasha, G.M. 2010. The quest for God's irregulars: The legacy of Arthur Shearly Cripps and the role of the Anglican Church in nation building in Zimbabwe today. *Southern Africa Journal of Missiology*, November, 38(3). Available online at: <http://ir.gzu.ac.zw:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/47/1/Missionalia%20Special%20Issue%20%20Vol%2039%20-%203.pdf>. Accessed on 23 November 2012

such that the inclusion of natives 'aroused considerable settler-criticism'. Credit here goes to the relentless efforts of Shearly Cripps, who pushed for racial equality in the church.⁹²⁰

We see this as a slightly different interpretation of facts from what we met with earlier, on the same subject when we cited Pamela Welch. More observations will be made on the issue of Mhlanga later. Here there is need to acknowledge that there are some, such as Dr Makwasha who would like to remind us that Bishop Beaven could give in to the pressure of common prudence needed in the Mashonaland context in relation to the indigenous peoples' quest for ecclesiastical recognition. We accept this interpretation with many reservations because racial segregation continued unabated in Rhodesia and no resolute pastoral position against it from Beaven could be cited unless we interpret facts to suit our preferences. In fact, Musodza who has so much to say about the indigenisation of the Church and its clergy, does not seem to highlight the role played by Bishop Beaven in this regard.⁹²¹ We are just told that it was under this bishop's episcopate in Mashonaland that Mhlanga was ordained.⁹²²

However, the missionary-coloniser historical quandary in the above connection could be seen as having precedence within the fourth-century developments that had a lasting impact on the Church. The alignment of church policy to civil regulations in Rhodesia during Beaven's time cannot be underestimated. In terms of our argument, Roman imperialism had established itself in such a way as to have an impact on the church within its context and, hence, our reminiscence in line with the Rhodesian developments. Under Emperor Constantine, there was a paradigm shift from Jesus Christ's position to that of mere human beings with no significant divine mandate.⁹²³ More on Eusebius' appreciation of the Roman Empire will be included later in this chapter to boost our argument for the theology of empire.

We need to attend to some urgent comments in the Diocese of Mashonaland under Beaven. A colonial project tied to missionary work that resembles what we

⁹²⁰. Makwasha, *op.cit.* p.243

⁹²¹. Musodza, *op.cit.*p.154.

⁹²². *Ibid.*

⁹²³. Kee, A., 1982: *Constantine Versus Christ*, SCM Press, Ltd, UK, p.153

have seen developing in Rhodesia from 1890 onwards could not make any legitimate claims to God without creating major problems for itself. It seems to be the case that when we read the Bible, the Christian God is always understood as a provider rather than an exploiter.⁹²⁴ We are confronted by the God who defends rather than one who exposes humanity.⁹²⁵ The same God is one who reconciles rather than one who divides.⁹²⁶ He is also the one who is ready to assume the role of a slave rather than one who imposes lordship upon his people.⁹²⁷ These observations and many more that could be made in this regard are not mere rhetoric. They cut deeply into the core of a positive appreciation of Christian conduct and gospel imperatives within a given historical setting and under the auspices of a given trend of leadership. The scripture verses referenced above could be justified on the basis of being a sample of what could be envisaged as consistent with gospel imperatives. Whether bishops in the mould of Beaven could see themselves as contradicting the gospel imperatives is a question that must still be answered. It is, therefore, the contention here that the theology of empire requires us to engage with the radical departure from the Christian norm by baptising human ambitions that rarely qualify to be at the service of the kingdom of God. That kingdom could be seen as inclusive of the Rhodesian State that was being served by Anglican missionaries.

In Rhodesia and in line with the preceding reflections, our case is made very strong given the fact that those who did all the immoral things that we could cite, in line with colonialism, are appreciated in the name of God as though the supernatural beings were in the habit of contradicting creation.⁹²⁸ The people who robbed the indigenous of their land and, indeed, their means of livelihood found their names being inscribed on memorial plaques. Later on, after the independence of the country from colonial rule, these had to be forcibly removed

⁹²⁴. Luke 13:34. Jesus indicates the extent to which God wanted to prove that he cared for Jerusalem

⁹²⁵. Exodus 22: 21-24. The people of Israel were warned not to take advantage of the poor and underprivileged, i.e. widows, orphans and foreigners, since this would invoke God's wrath.

⁹²⁶. Ephesians 2: 13-22. It is critical to emphasise the fact that Jews and Gentiles are now united God and therefore fellow citizens. How then could we argue for discrimination in the name of God as was the case in Rhodesia?

⁹²⁷. Philippians 2:1-11. It is clear that from a Christian point of view, greatness comes through humility and not brutal force.

⁹²⁸. Cecil John Rhodes' colonial project, as we have so far noted, was appreciated by Anglican Bishops such as Knight-Bruce, Gaul and posthumously, by Beaven in a consistent manner. The bone of contention here is that the Church should have done better to keep clear of what was happening then.

from the Anglican Cathedral in Harare when some Christians felt they could no longer pretend to support matters that contradicted the gospel from the beginning.⁹²⁹ It is clear from some observers, in this regard, that this piece of history could be given a different interpretation as proved by the comment to the effect that “Church hierarchy ordered the removal of historic and religious plaques and memorabilia from the walls and chapels of St Mary's and All Saints' Cathedral.”⁹³⁰ People and animals associated with gross human rights violations in Rhodesia would find themselves being celebrated within the Cathedral as though they were Christian heroes.⁹³¹ To call such insulting plaques, “religious” seems to be a mockery of the indigenous people’s humanhood and authenticity. It is also to give a different meaning to the history of colonialism. We maintain the latter point given the fact that animals used in a colonial project could not be seen as religious. Animals are simply animals. Why no indigenous people of Mashonaland and South Africa whose labours were also exploited in various forms, are not given due recognition seems to indicate to us that the British settlers were ready to give precedence to animals over and against black people.

5.11.2. Some noteworthy views against the Church in Rhodesia

The position of Cripps must be appreciated against the background of some convictions which the Mashonaland abuses by white people could help enhance. An article by David M’Gabe⁹³² helps us capture the kind of understanding that could carry the day given the amount of Christian compromise in Mashonaland.

5.12. The nature of the Church in Mashonaland

⁹²⁹. Thornycroft, P., 2001:Mugabe's churchmen strip cathedral of colonial memorials, TELEGRAPH. UK. Available online at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1365330/Mugabes-churchmen-strip-cathedral-of-colonial-memorials.html> .Accessed on 21 August 2013

⁹³⁰. Ibid.

⁹³¹. Anglican Cathedral pulls down colonial era plaques, 2001: Daily News, Harare, Zimbabwe . Available online at: http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/old/dec17_2001.html.. Accessed on 21/August 2013. One bold statement from the then Dean of the Cathedral Godfrey Tawonezvi,(currently Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Masvingo) in the article makes the point very clear when it states that, "Dogs, donkeys and horses are given more value and respect than blacks as can be seen from these colonial relics."

⁹³². M'Gabe, D.1968. Is the Church a stumbling block to revolution?, Indiana University Press Africa Today,. July, 15(.3):15-17, Christianity and Revolution in Southern Africa. Available online at:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4184911>. Accessed: on 17 June 2015.

The title of M'Gabe's article is in the form of a profound question which, in turn, engenders a plethora of others regarding the role of the Church in Mashonaland and beyond. For example, M'Gabe asks,

Does the Church help the African of southern Africa to conceptualize his problems realistically or is it the smokescreen that prevents his assessment of his fate, the opiate that drugs him into insensitivity to his serfdom?⁹³³

Here are questions originating from outside the Anglican context on which we are focusing, but giving us an indication regarding what could have been envisaged by many who could be said to have Mashonaland at heart. Cripps certainly could be advanced as one who led the Anglican Church by example to respond to such a challenge. We have noted that Beaven, as a bishop of Mashonaland, could not do the same if our findings are anything to go by.

It seems to be M'Gabe's contention that unless Africans could take up the cause of Christianity from their own worldviews and value systems, the Church could run the risk of becoming irrelevant to the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations.⁹³⁴ He is therefore emphatic with regard to these values when he states that,

The main problem of the African in that part of the continent is to rediscover his humanity and reassert his freedom to live and determine his life and the lives of those around him. The quest of the African is for liberty, fraternity and equality. This is not to say that he is no longer hungry, disease-ridden and ignorant.⁹³⁵

He goes to make it clear that the indigenous are aware that missionaries did something in the area of social welfare and education but that is not all that the Africans needed and those working among them within the colonial context had to keep that in mind.⁹³⁶ Our challenge here is either to accept the Anglican Church's half-baked solutions to the problems of exploitation in Mashonaland or simply to reject them with a certain amount of qualification. In this narrative, we have indicated our preference for the radical approaches and applications of the Christian faith. Without these, how could we know whether people live their faith as a matter of convention or conviction?

⁹³³. M'Gabe, op.cit.p.15

⁹³⁴. Ibid.

⁹³⁵. Ibid.

⁹³⁶. Ibid.

In line with M’Gabe’s views, we must reiterate the fact that the colonial context in which other histories were written to glorify the achievements of the missionary-coloniser alliance is seen as problematic. This is clear from the fact that where the theology of empire is a celebration that glosses over essentials in the political, socio-economic and religious matrices that have oppressive inclinations, those opposed to this approach see things differently. Again, M’Gabe writes,

Without our freedom to plan for the education of our children, to plan for the best use of the land and resources; without freedom to elect the best among us to articulate our needs, the next step in developing this land is impossible. Producing one or two learned people without jobs, establishing a clinic and a hospital here and there and teaching us to produce ten bags of corn are all great achievements, but they are only crumbs at the table of the white settlers.⁹³⁷

Developments in Rhodesia, therefore, were not up to standard in so far as this observation is concerned. Again, we call the positions of Beaven and Cripps in Mashonaland to mind. We are talking about a context in which all agree that the indigenous were being short-changed but at a loss on how to help them out of this political, religious, economic and social quagmire. Being short-changed in the name of development means being underdeveloped, and this seems to be the fate of Mashonaland. This is the reason why we take historical narratives to task that do not highlight how far-reaching the Rhodesian colonial context was, regarding denying the indigenous people their God-given rights. In line with the preceding contention, M’Gabe states that,

Can the Church speak to that question? Take Rhodesia, as an example. For 50 years the African father has dug up his last gold coin to send his child to school, to a Christian church school to imbibe Christian values. Over 75 per cent of African education is in the hands of the missionaries. The first generation to reach maturity in this Christian culture is today's men between 30 and 50 years of age. Their sense of values was indeed Christian culture espoused a -a stable family, high posts, good money, a good home. A missionary publication once said 70 per cent of the African homes in Rhodesia has a Bible. If this is a measure of effectiveness, the Church has been very effective in the three hundred years it has operated there. What is happening to the ‘successful Christians’ between the ages of 30 and 50?⁹³⁸

The foregoing quotation from M’Gabe requires some critical comments which we shall now take up in the following section.

⁹³⁷, M’Gabe, op.cit.p.15.

⁹³⁸. Ibid.

5.12.0. More about Civilisation and Christianity in Mashonaland

It is clear that the preceding quotation questions the entire claim of Christian civilisation that did not bring the indigenous to the level of being equal with their white counterparts. So what was wrong about that espoused civilisation? The missionaries were very much involved in the educational programmes but only to produce commodities for the European markets, so it seems. But that European market, could not handle the fluctuation of those half-baked products when it came to satisfying their labour appetite. M’Gabe helps us to review every success story attributed to the missionary enterprise in Mashonaland using the theology of empire as our lens. We are raising the same issue by way of putting the activities and attitudes of the Anglican missionaries in the same context on the spotlight, and also by questioning the favourable narratives they seemed to have enjoyed over the years by historians sympathetic to their cause.

Of major significance to our narrative, and as supported by M’Gabe, is the idea that most Africans who went through the educational systems championed by missionaries in support of the colonial government efforts ended up frustrated and in situations where they could not break the codes to enter the comfort zones enjoyed by the whites. The password of civilisation and Christianity did not help them open the doors of opportunities promised to them. This is how M’Gabe could explain the zeal of so many Mashonaland and Matabeleland nationalists who felt betrayed by the system that groomed them.⁹³⁹

In line with the above, we have two issues in mind: firstly, commercial greed that came to be viewed as though it were equal to Christianity or essentially linked to it within the Rhodesian Anglican context; and, secondly, the dissatisfaction among the indigenous who thought equality with the whites was achievable. In both cases, we do not see how the gospel was being used to advance the indigenous peoples’ livelihoods. Christian civilisation in Rhodesia, therefore, was being initiated not so much from generalised developments but from the socio-economic as well as political and religious fancies and whims of the rich and powerful

⁹³⁹. M’Gabe, op.cit.pp.15-16

Europeans, some who also constituted a significant membership of the Anglican Church. Because these oppressive systems and structures had been allowed too much space for nearly ninety years, challenging them could be seen as out of order.

We could safely assume that future generations who would be keen to interrogate such epoch-making developments could be outraged by the idea of Europeans taking Africa over by force and arguing that God was sanctioning this vice. Furthermore, to call offensive material “Christian” or “religious” is to assume that the indigenous people’s sentiments on matters of God could not be taken seriously by the western world.

We observed Beaven not challenging the European vices, while Cripps exhausted his energies condemning such vices. European standards would be imposed as the criteria of adequacy among the indigenous people in Mashonaland, and Anglican Church business would proceed as though everything was in line with the work of God. To complicate our matters, right-wing historians in this context often delighted in outlining those achievements that could give missionaries a pass mark, while suppressing the abuses that we shall continue to highlight.

We are persuaded by the preceding scenario of colonial greed to question the fact that exploitation of humanity by its own could be something we could legitimately ascribe to God as could be detected in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea that favour the discourse of empire. We have also seen this happening in Rhodesia where there was not much condemnation of the evils of colonialism even during Beaven’s time.

5.12.1. Some Shona words of resistance

We need to say something that could have been oblivious to Anglican bishops such as Beaven. These are comments that any critical reflection within this context could make. There are linguistic expressions that became very popular among the indigenous people that need no specific reference regarding their source of origin except the Mashonaland colonial context that instigated them. Throughout the

colonial era, the Shona preferred, with reference to white settlers, such derogatory terms as “*Vapambevhu*,” which literally means “Land grabbers,” or “*Vadzvanyiriri*” meaning “oppressors” or worse still, “*Vasvetasimba*,” which literally means energy-suckers; and “*Vasaruraganda*”, racists who used colour as the measure of humanity!⁹⁴⁰ These loaded terms were all meant to refer to the white settlers and those who sympathised with them.

We saw earlier that agriculture and industrial work were the two major specialities imposed by Europeans as the benchmark of African education and, therefore, civilisation. Such terms are associated with the reactions to an oppressive, racist and exploitative system. These are terms that just found their way among the Shona and were meant to conscientise people about their fate under colonial rule in Rhodesia. They could be seen as contextual and indigenised expressions of resistance. Those interested in writing something balanced about the Rhodesian colonial history that provided Anglicanism with the space to grow should unpack these derogatory terms we have introduced above for they say something about how the indigenous people felt under the colonial systems. They could not be ignored if we were to understand the context in which the work of God was to be initiated and sustained. They are the result of a collective response to systems that came to be viewed as inhuman if we are to say something positive about them. A properly constituted and godly structured socio-cultural and politico-economic society would not be able to engender such a polarised atmosphere, given the claims made by the white people about their magnanimity.

5.12.2. The moral response needed in Mashonaland

One article reminds us that Arthur S. Cripps’ keen interest in Mashonaland was prompted by the will to atone for the atrocities his British kith and kin had committed in Rhodesia, especially during and after the wars of resistance in 1896-7.⁹⁴¹ It is therefore safe to draw the following conclusion: the very fact that settlers were not seen as brothers and sisters by natives makes a hollow show of their

⁹⁴⁰. During the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe such Shona political jargon was popularly used as propaganda language against the settler establishments.

⁹⁴¹. Finn, D.E.. 1962. ‘Kambandakoto’. A study of A.S. Cripps 1869-1952, in *Rhodesiana*. The Rhodesian African Society, Salisbury, Rhodesia. 7:35. Available online at: Url: <http://www.rhodesia.nl/rhodesiana/indexrhosoc.html>. Accessed on 25 November 2009

claims of being masters of western Christian civilisation and people who should be respected. We are forced to bear in mind that respect is earned and not imposed! Between 1910 and 1963, we are made to understand that the Europeans, in an attempt to keep the indigenous people under control, had to come up with all sorts of sinister legislation.⁹⁴²

Indeed, the reference is to the days when the indigenous man could be punished if, when he encountered a white Rhodesian government official, did not,

sit down, put away his sticks or other weapons, remove his hat, salute or address the Native Commissioner by his customary title, or in any other way be insolent or contemptuous in his behaviour towards a Native Commissioner.⁹⁴³

What was regarded as insolent or contemptuous behaviour in this connection was open to any arbitrary interpretation by the white authorities then. This means that the indigenous people were at the mercy of anyone who was white. Shutt notes that,

The nebulous nature of insolence and contemptuous behaviour meant that NCs and other officials might define as insolent or contemptuous any speech, gesture, act or manner that they regarded as meant to insult, defy, ridicule or mock.⁹⁴⁴

Those who were being protected from insolent behaviour were the white officials and their surrogates. Such arbitrary laws imposed on the indigenous people do not support the idea of Christianity and civilisation at all.

We are being given a situation whereby the domineering attitudes had actually gone out of hand. The indigenous people were now at the mercy of any European's arbitrary decision when it came to rules of engagement. On elaborating this point Shutt goes on to cite the fact that,

Far more typically, insolent Africans were men who, according to the offended official, spoke in a loud voice, used gestures, and appeared angry towards an authority figure, usually the NC or Assistant Native Commissioner (ANC), but often, too, towards African messengers and police.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴². Shutt, A.K. 2007. The natives are getting out of hand. Legislating manners, insolence and contemptuous behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1910-1963. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Taylor & Francis, 33(3): 653-672: Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25065231>. Accessed on 10 September 2015

⁹⁴³. Ibid.p.660

⁹⁴⁴. Ibid p.661

⁹⁴⁵. Ibid. p.663

In short, the indigenous people did not have any rights to protect. They were owned by the whites even in terms of how they had to use their gestures! We must bear in mind that the theme of the theology of empire takes such examples as major sources of inspiration.

5.13. Being white in Mashonaland

Earlier in this work, we made reference to Frederick Courtney Selous' convictions of white supremacy. In this section we add more information by appealing to Grant's observations. The Mashonaland context we have been focusing on is one such example where the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous people were dashed while the majority of preachers of the Anglican Church, such as Knight-Bruce, Gaul, and Beaven continued to go about their business as though the lives being destroyed by the colonial system did not count for much. It was a challenge to choose between right and wrong and not to be neutral, and those who know Rhodesia should be honest enough to accept this point. We are therefore in agreement with Grant when he captures this point about racial imbalances to the effect that,

...This recognition, even in racially homogenous society present difficulties. However, these difficulties are compounded when the invaders differ in colour and culture from the subjected. The problems are further bedevilled when the invaders bring with them emotional and unscientific convictions that their superiority springs primarily from the pigmentation of their skin (exemplified for instance by the persistent, if vain, white attempt to deny that the remarkable Zimbabwe ruins could have been built by blacks). Such attitudes are hard to combat. Worse still they cannot but provoke racial animosity as well as widen the gap between the two races: the fruits of such myths are conceit on the part of the invader and hatred on the part of the subjected.⁹⁴⁶

Historically speaking, therefore, and within the Rhodesian context, oppressors and land grabbers should not be confused with saints. "*Umbavha hausu hutsvene*", meaning that there is a clear distinction between hardcore thuggery (*Umbavha*) and holiness (*hutsvene*) if we are to look at what happened in the then Rhodesia. The unprovoked military force had to be appealed to in order to pacify the indigenous people, and we could not confuse such developments with a Christian civilisation to be celebrated.

⁹⁴⁶. Grant, op.cit. p.3

Above, we have just made reference to wayward and inhuman legislation that denied the indigenous people their freedom. Hence, we have deliberately appealed to the Shona linguistic protocol in this context to demonstrate that many Anglican missionaries were oblivious to the fact that rich theological reflection on the subject of vice was already in place before their arrival. At least the indigenous could tell when their values were being infringed upon and this hardly qualifies as a barbaric disposition on the part of these people. The unfortunate thing is that the Shona were taken to be ignorant of what virtue is all about as though it was a monopoly of the British, hence, the relevance of Shutt's article in this context.

The blunders that resulted from such ignorance of the Shona's theological capabilities could be traced within the Anglican Church, and under the auspices of the theology of empire, we are appealing to within this context. Had bishops such as Knight-Bruce laid a firm foundation for the liberation of the indigenous people, those after him could have found it difficult to build a superstructure that was not consistent with that foundation. In the box below, we include some reflections on the theory we are proposing to support the theology of empire discourse in this context using the roof and foundation model.

The foundation and roof model of narrating Church history- a proposal.

We shall proceed to attempt to look at Church history by appealing to the "foundation" and the "roof" concepts, basing our appreciation on the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Church, or at least the institution that tried to follow his example in a specific context as defined by our research theme. We are proposing a simple theory that obviously suffers from utilising familiar concepts and, therefore, might not make a significant impact envisaged in this context. We stand warned that familiarity should not always be associated with contempt. In other words, we cannot afford to generalise certain principles in this connection to the extent of making them redundant. We have already raised the issue of consistent and we assume that history, in general, could not be expected to be stereotyped when its very logic is anchored on capturing the past, and the change consistent with it.

One source informs us that,

In a general way the subject matter of history is everything that suffers change owing to its existence in time and space; more particularly, however, it is the genetically or natural development of facts, events, situations, that history contemplates.⁹⁴⁷

History, by narrating reality as informed by space and time, could not be loaded with the burden of proof since it simply focuses on what could have been the case as provided for by evidence. It helps us to account for what is today because of what happened yesterday and what might be there tomorrow because of natural sequences.

In our narrative in this research, the fourth century Church has been shown to have diverted from the 'servant-leader' concept promoted by Jesus Christ during the early first century; choosing power, prestige and wealth. The change was allowed to make illegitimate statements on the absolute. God could not be absolute and be subject to change without breaking the law of contradiction that logically allows us to state that a thing could not be and, at the same time be, under the same respect.

In line with the above contention, Claudia Rapp's article introduces a discussion revolving on how Eusebius treated Constantine as a bishop whose constituency consisted of all the domains outside the jurisdiction of the Church.⁹⁴⁸ Also, Constantine is likened to Moses in both vocation and attitude towards God.⁹⁴⁹ It is important to take note of this Eusebian characterisation of the emperor for our idea of the theology of empire gets some of its inspiration.

Two societies were therefore advanced in parallel in the Eusebian understanding of Constantine. An elitist approach to the simplicity and ordinariness that had enabled God to humble himself was advanced in such a way that divine servanthood could be turned into a vice within the Church. The anticipated

⁹⁴⁷ Ecclesiastical History, 2013: Catholic Online, USA. Available online at:

Url:<http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=5799>, Accessed on 9 May 2013

⁹⁴⁸ Rapp, C. 1998: Imperial Ideology in the making. Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as 'bishop', in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford University Press, UK. 49 (2): 685–695, p.685. Available online at: Url: <http://jts.oxfordjournals.org>. Accessed on 8 July 2010.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibidp.687

relationship between the foundation and roof would be explained in divergent terms that could make consistence in prediction impossible. Our argument in this connection could be premised on the choice between either a structure that has a stone foundation, a concrete-brick wall and a tiled roof or one that has a stone foundation, wooden wall and grass-thatched roof.⁹⁵⁰ We are faced here with the difference between consistency and its opposite when dealing with structures that boast of some significant historical importance that claim to derive from the same source (in our theory, the stone foundation). We must already begin to think seriously about two Christianities: one imperial and one that is directly linked to and rooted in Christ. The two could not be said to be using the same materials for their development although the foundation has the same specification.

John's gospel, that we have already cited, tends to give us a Jesus who did not expect humanity to get to God through other channels outside him. The "good shepherd" model of leadership is advanced in contradistinction to the "hired man". The good shepherd is given as one "who is willing to" sacrifice his life for the sheep.⁹⁵¹ The sacrifice is simply an indication that there is an essential connection between the sheep and the shepherd. Otherwise it would not make sense. The "hired" shepherd does not go that far because other interests command his duty.⁹⁵² There is no sociable link between the hired and the sheep. We are here faced with the ancient understanding between the mercenary (hired shepherd) and the patriot (good and dedicated shepherd). Later on, Jesus made it clear that there were no other alternatives to use in order to reach God. Categorically he stated: "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no one goes to the Father except by me".⁹⁵³ We are therefore faced with another problem deriving from the bishops ordered through Jesus Christ and those ordered in the fashion of Constantine. If the Emperor and Jesus are two distinct figures, not only in terms of their domains but also in terms of their principles, then they could not both represent one God in terms of giving direction to the destiny of humankind. Constantine would use his sword to achieve his mundane ends while Jesus' position appealed to the love of

⁹⁵⁰ This model is entirely mine and not meant to deplore some structures in Africa that could take any shape and built on any material that poverty-stricken people could lay their hands on. Such structures are not the norm any way.

⁹⁵¹ John 10:11

⁹⁵² John 10:13

⁹⁵³ John 14:6

God to humanity and how it could be shared successfully for its betterment and the greater glory of God. The empire built in the name of God by Jesus and his followers, therefore, differs radically from the one built in the name of humanity by Emperor Constantine and those who took the cue from him.

The proposal here is to affirm the fourth century Church as one that went beyond what a purely Christian approach could envisage hence engendering a foundation that had unique diversions of its own. The use of force replaced the appeal to love during the fourth century. That fourth century Church has also been advanced as one that has inspired our focus on the Anglican Church in Mashonaland many centuries later.

The criteria of adequacy preferred to both are still the same. We are querying consistent and faithfulness to the foundation; we are also trying to advance a historical model that seems to suggest that the roof may not always tell us much about its foundation. Is the Church founded by Jesus Christ still the same Church at the disposal of Constantine? Could it be the same Church that could be linked to Anglicanism in Mashonaland? Why then could we find much discord in Mashonaland if the Christian principles were still intact? Clearly, by accommodating a Christianity that could not see any problems with the use of arms, there was something wrong with the materials opted to establish the roof.

We have already encountered the fact that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland has got a beginning that happens to be linked in some significant ways to the British colonial enterprise in the country during the late nineteenth century. The idea of a colonial enterprise and evangelisation of the world being undertaken in the same breath could be tantamount to a contradiction if we are to insist on values that derive from God and if we insist on Jesus' approach during the first century. Colonialism has no direct claims to love but to power, its abuse and commercial greed. Land grabbing in foreign lands does not tell us about the love God has for humanity. Colonialism in this connection tells us of how human base instincts could propel individuals and nations to levels where criminality could become a normal function of international commerce. In the African context that

we are basing our arguments on, we notice that this criminalisation of international relations did damage to the claims that were made in the name of the Church, civilisation and Christianity. Perhaps, up to this day, those who end up getting mixed up in the processes of Christianity and politics are victims of the past dispensation that did not make a clear distinction between human greedy and God's love.

In the late nineteenth century, and in Mashonaland, we have Bishop Knight-Bruce undertaking to introduce a Church that has outlived him by more than a century. The political and economic implications that may not have been directly envisaged in his missionary plans have continued to be part of the challenging history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. In life, it is not always the case that the one who lays the foundation could be the one responsible for the superstructure and roof regarding advancing an enduring institution in the mould of a Church. However, we would envisage a situation whereby whoever undertakes to continue with the building whose foundation has already been specified, be able to read the architectural instructions carefully. Of course, it would depend very much on what is being built and how those involved undertake to do their work. The materials utilised in putting up the structure could also be critical in determining the durability of that which is being built. The Church as an institution whose lifespan cuts across centuries reminds us that we could not expect a static system in this connection. It is the intended argumentation in this chapter to look at what happened at the foundation of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland (which is not supposed to be different from the one laid down by Christ) and to try and find out how the roof of that Church could reflect or build on values that obtained then but having a significant bearing on the future. It is clear that we are insisting on the question of whether history and prophecy could interchange their roles and present to us a consistent pattern.

In our exposition and line with the preceding, let us allow the foundation to represent all that obtained in the past of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and the roof to represent current developments and those that could be condemned to the future. Let us allow the idea of black and white people responsible for growing the

Anglican Church in Mashonaland to be understood as the materials used in the building process. In the spirit of Christianity, we would have liked to see the focus on Jesus Christ as the criterion of adequacy and not the distinction between black and white nor any cultural determinants that bishops such as Beaven allowed too much space. Musodza's observations in this connection give us a picture of some critical structures that could be seen as having a bearing on the future of the Anglican Church in this context. For example, we learn of the disparities that had been constitutionalised within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Black and white clergy were given different stipends. Clergy of European origin got double compared to their black counterparts.⁹⁵⁴ This state of affairs seemed to derive from the fact that the civil authorities of the day had also blended racial discrimination into the constitution of the country then. In this connection, Maxey reminds us that from the beginning, it was the Rhodesian civil service's intention "to preserve settler interests against African interests."⁹⁵⁵ Our concern in this connection is simply that the Christian Church does not demonstrate in any radical fashion that there should be a distinction between Caesar's approach and that of Jesus to God's business. Hence our apprehension that the foundation may not always reflect the roof. If the two are seen as one, then history should be understood as distorted. The preceding political, religious as well as economic dispensations along the years and within the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe could be taken as our variables but not so much critical in mapping the progress consistent with the Christian faith that came to obtain. Even to this day, how could the indigenous Anglicans in Zimbabwe look with sympathy to this critical dispensation?

The rationale of adopting this model of understanding history regarding "roof" and "foundation" has got obvious advantages when situated in a context. In the above connection, there is something that could be linked to Jesus as the foundation, but it looks as if Caesar took the liberty to put the superstructure of his choice in place. Therefore, we have the basis of our theory of the "foundation and roof" regarding narrating history. It is clear that we are not in any way implicating scientific

⁹⁵⁴. Musodza, *op.cit.*p.205

⁹⁵⁵. Maxey, K., 1972: *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, Fabian Research Series 301, London, UK, p.2

principles here. In our case, the idea is to acknowledge the alleged link between Christian centuries and the way people came to understand their relationship with God through Christ, the only foundation in this connection.

We need to respond to the urgent question of the distinction between the Church and its membership. The rationale of such a distinction lies in the fact that sometimes it is not always clear what people mean by the Church over and against the state. White oppressors were also Christians, at least some of them. Within Beaven's episcopate, such a differentiation is urgent.

5.13.0. The Church and its membership

In this section we raise the question about the distinction that could be attempted between the Church and its membership. We are being challenged again on the level of defining terms that we could use in our narratives. Given what we have said about Bishop Beaven, it is clear that some of the colonialists were also Church members! The Church, by definition, is the totality of the people of God, living or departed.⁹⁵⁶ It is a united family, therefore. If this is an acceptable understanding, then it is not possible to talk about people who constitute the Church as though they were an independent entity from the structures they give rise to such as the State. The logic happens to be simple: if the people are Christian, the state to which they give rise, must be Christian right through to the bone marrow! If Rhodesians were Christian, then they should have given rise to a Christian state and civilisation with which we could find no fault. That we could even raise concerns about a racially divided Church is a sign that perhaps we are not talking about a Church, but some other human institution constituted by members who prefer to invoke God as and when it suits them. However, we are being vindicated to pursue the theme of the theology of empire by the facts with which we are confronted. We are raising concerns about how such facts could be interpreted in ways that tend to glorify even the villains by the power and wealth they command. Therefore, to speak in eulogistic terms about a compromised structure is problematic in our Mashonaland context.

⁹⁵⁶. Dulles, A. op.cit.pp.48ff.

5.13.1. The Role of colonial military Chaplains

Documented evidence shows that from the time the pioneers mobilised, it was clear that their spiritual needs had to be catered for, hence, the inclusion of the Anglican chaplains. There was something that was seen as Christian about the whole colonial enterprise. It was also clear that whatever Rhodes had planned, the missionaries who followed him would bless without critical questioning by the Christian connection claimed. No wonder why Bishop Beaven could not hesitate to include Cecil John Rhodes as one of his heroes.⁹⁵⁷ Welch observes that Beaven intended to have a chapel dedicated “to Rhodes alone” in the Cathedral in Salisbury (Harare), just to honour him for his contribution to the country.⁹⁵⁸

Our work is questioning the above position, by Bishop Beaven, on the basis of Christian legitimacy in the same way we could deal with what Eusebius of Caesarea narrated about the Roman Empire under Constantine. The transition from being a hardcore capitalist to being a Christian hero is fascinating in this context given all that we have already said about Rhodes, especially his attitude towards the indigenous people who wanted to resist his takeover of the country. This is what inspires our discourse on the subject of the theology of empire in this context. Perhaps the favourable attitudes of the Anglican episcopates in this context constitute the reason why British South Africa Company leaders were always generous, and gifts were made available to the missionaries whose work was seen as the key to the success of the colonisation of the country they came to call Rhodesia.⁹⁵⁹ It was cooperation between colonialism and missionary work that carried the day. White Anglicans were also a significant component of the colonial structures that impacted negatively on the lives of the indigenous people. To allow space for a discriminatory God by colour and ethnicity is something that could be understood more in terms of mundane values than otherwise.

5.13.2. Beaven’s attitude towards Rhodes

⁹⁵⁷. Welch, op.cit.p.94

⁹⁵⁸. Ibid.

⁹⁵⁹. ANG, 6/3/1/1, National Archives Harare, Zimbabwe. .

In the previous chapter, we saw how generous the BSAC was to the Anglican Church. Beaven had all these historical facts in mind.⁹⁶⁰ During his episcopate, he could not let down the state that Cecil John Rhodes had initiated. According to Welch,

So great was Beaven's admiration for Rhodes that, when he was Dean of Salisbury and raising funds for a cathedral, he proposed at one point that one of its chapels be dedicated as a memorial to Rhodes alone, as founder of the country.⁹⁶¹

Beaven's loyalty could then be understood against this long tradition of aligning Anglican Church work to colonialism in Mashonaland. How Jesus Christ could be seen as fitting into such a scheme is something that could only be imposed rather than accepted through personal conviction especially among the indigenous people who were on the receiving end.

We shall, later on, cite the very fact that Constantine had done the same in the fourth century by bribing Christian leaders for his purposes and made it impossible for them to separate the business of empire from the business of the Church. In so doing, he received accolades from a popular church historian, Eusebius, as acknowledged in this work. When a country is invaded, and the initiators of such a vice receive the Church's blessing, we have an up-side-down state of affairs from the point of view of gospel imperatives. We have in mind here the fact that Beaven saw colonialism as good⁹⁶² and given how the indigenous people were being short-changed this view is unfortunate.

5.13.3. God, Europeans and the indigenous people

In this section we look at the consequences of a missionary approach that relied too much on colonialism. One Native Commissioner by the name of Nielsen within the Mashonaland context is cited as pointing out that,

[the African] is unmoved by the consideration that being, as he generally is, lazy, shiftless, unreliable, untruthful, irresponsible, smacking of every sin that leads to hateful inefficiency, he becomes a standing temptation to blasphemy and violence in his employer, nor has he any sympathy whatever for the good

⁹⁶⁰. Welch, op.cit.p.94

⁹⁶¹. Ibid.

⁹⁶². Ibid. Colonialism and the vices it promoted in Rhodesia could not be said to be in line with God's will to save humanity.

missionaries and government officials who labour to make a man of him in their own image.⁹⁶³

The reference to government officials and missionaries trying to mould the indigenous people “in their image” and instead of that of God is an extremely interesting observation in our context. Again, we continue to be confronted by European arrogance in ways that are baffling. The picture we get is clearly of two distinct races that are almost irreconcilable since the white constituency includes, in an exclusive manner, people who could enumerate all the vices of the indigenous black people in Mashonaland. The commissioner’s language suggests that the Europeans were more on the side of God’s image.

5.13.4. Indigenous people as industrious

In this section we try to respond to the charge by Nielsen that the indigenous people were, among many other vices, lazy. When Ranger was writing about the Makoni labour crisis, he observed that the black peasant farmers were able to produce and sell maize in large quantities as far back as 1899.⁹⁶⁴ The white farmers could not match this level of production, and, therefore, attempts were made to ensure that the indigenous in Rusape were deprived of opportunities to work on their land and were, therefore, being forced to work for the whites.⁹⁶⁵ The words of the NC Nielsen above are therefore not true as we maintained in connection with similar remarks made by whites. If we go back even to the time of Knight-Bruce, the perception that the indigenous people were by design lazy seems to have been consistent among most of the whites in Mashonaland. It is curious that among the same lazy people, pioneers such as Knight-Bruce admit that they could barter for food with calico and beads.⁹⁶⁶ Where would lazy people get food to trade with and how could Lobengula raid the Mashona if they had nothing? How such distorted views could come from civilised and Christian people will continue to hound our minds.

5.13.5. The nature of God within a colonial matrix

⁹⁶³. Shutt, op.cit.p.671f.

⁹⁶⁴. Ranger, op.cit.p.46ff.

⁹⁶⁵. Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶. Knight-Bruce, 1892, op.cit. p.6/7.

To augment the preceding sections, if God is understood as condoning colonial excesses, then they could be reduced to a mere human potentate whose ambition to spread their influence by the sword precedes their reputation. We have already asked how such developments could be associated with the Church that has Jesus Christ as its foundation. If, however, we allow the Emperor Constantine to be the foundation, such attitudes and developments championed by white people in Mashonaland would make a great deal of sense. MacCulloch sums it up when he talks of “good intentions” in our case evangelism, clashing “with naked greedy and brutality.”⁹⁶⁷ The latter, in our case, happens to be colonialism. We are also highlighting the fact that under such circumstances, the Church’s work could only be absolved by historians who are quick to suppress the negative aspects that were being promoted on one hand. Meanwhile, on the other hand, historians may have this urge of highlighting the good they can single out among missionaries such as the opening of new centres of worship and learning as well as superficial indigenising programmes. Welch could be seen as doing this when she observes that,

...Beaven himself was an indefatigable traveller. He spent almost his entire episcopate itinerating, travelling thousands of miles around his diocese every year (16,000 miles in 1916), constantly crisscrossing the country, visiting mines and settlements, doing twice-yearly confirmations on the major missions, filling gaps for his clergy, opening up new areas.⁹⁶⁸

Such observations, as these ones coming from Welch, might overshadow the argument our narrative is advancing. Nevertheless, the evidence we are busy considering in our work simply challenges us to narrate beyond the obvious. We have insisted on scrutinising what gospel imperatives amount to in contexts where missionary work is done side by side with the dispossession of people’s dignity. That missionary work could come out well when it does not challenge colonial and oppressive structures is a critical stance in this investigation.

Therefore, in our context and line with the above, how could the Shona and Ndebele see in the missionaries and their white constituency, the providential God in a context where good intentions had been mixed up with colonial greedy?

⁹⁶⁷. MacCulloch, 2009, p.691.

⁹⁶⁸. Welch, op.cit.p.114.

Against this background and logically, the kingdom of God in the same breath would be no more than the equivalent of the British Empire with all its shortcomings, such as the invasion of weaker human groupings, or any other powerful nation with such imperial ambitions. Again, the theology of empire demonstrates its continued prevalence in Southern Africa from this period within the 1920s and the Anglican Church of Southern Rhodesia under Beaven. It is a discourse underpinned by the desire to appease those who wield the sceptre of power at the expense of the weak and underprivileged and in the name of God.

MacCulloch again helps us to appreciate this compromised situation when he observes the following about the first encounter of Africa with a militant Latin missionary Christianity that took serious notice of God's initiative in missions. That Christianity "spoke out strongly against enslaving native people who had converted to Christianity, and sometimes made a leap of imagination to oppose enslaving those who had not yet converted."⁹⁶⁹ It is clear that earlier encounters of Africa with Christianity were mindful of the gospel imperatives. The problem is whether we could generalise the dictates of such Christianity across Africa and especially that of the Anglicans in Mashonaland.

In addition, it could be argued that the Church that proclaims Jesus Christ who came to give people life in its abundance (John 10:10) could not be seen promoting ventures that could contradict this divine logic. Hence, our comparison of Cripps with bishop Beaven's approaches to missionary works in Mashonaland. This was almost a litmus test on how much the British missionaries were ready to surrender themselves to the indigenous cause in the name of God. The roof and foundation (missionary work and God) model we are imposing here to understand unity of purpose in the work of evangelism becomes urgent.

However, from MacCulloch, whose narratives we are also trying to get inspiration in our discourse, we hear that the 15th and 16th century Portuguese missionaries we have already encountered above went so far as to make passionate appeals to

⁹⁶⁹. Welch, op.cit.p.114

Rome to allow the indigenous to be considered for ordination,⁹⁷⁰ hence, showing how far they could go in condemning prejudices in the name of God. From the point of view of history and of theology, sometimes we look with perplexity, awe and wonder when God's space is respected. To this effect, we are informed that the encounter of Europe and Africa had to endure the discomforts of death due to the introduction of new diseases that wiped off a significant number of Africans and the deportation of radical indigenous people.⁹⁷¹ Sad as it is and before the colonisation of Mashonaland, some precedents worth noting could be cited. It is therefore not expecting the unusual to anticipate writings that are circumspective when presenting scenarios of missionaries operating within a colonial context but keeping their focus on the work of God and not mixing it with human greedy. We are talking about those who could understand the nature of the foundation on which they wanted to build.

5.14. Missionaries and the protection of indigenous people

The purpose of this section is to ask whether there was any fervent zeal among Anglican missionaries to protect the indigenous people. Critical comments in line with the above fit in here. The missionary zeal that protected the indigenous from wanton abuse in the Diocese of Mashonaland seems to be wanting as far as documents consulted here are concerned.⁹⁷² We have already seen that Rhodes himself was extremely generous to key players in his ventures that included Anglican missionaries in order to pacify them.⁹⁷³ The indigenous people could no longer be taken seriously. It is, therefore, not easy for many Christians connected to this legacy to reject the fact that this colonialist abused missionary for his own ends so that instead of God, the British colonialists could take centre-stage in Mashonaland.

The preceding is the kind of narrative of church history that must be preferred to help us appreciate a more convincing picture of what transpired over the years in Mashonaland and from the point of view of the Anglican Church. Based on the

⁹⁷⁰. MacCulloch, op.cit.p.691

⁹⁷¹. Ibid.

⁹⁷². See for example, Knight-Bruce, 1895, op.cit. pp. 97/98. We have already made comments on this document; AD1769: The Native Question, etc.

⁹⁷³. See, ANG 1/1/1, National Archives, Zimbabwe; Knight-Bruce, Memories of Mashonaland, op.cit.p.219, etc

available evidence, therefore, we are proposing a new way of accounting for the growth of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland taking into consideration the fact that those with guns commanded more respect than those with spears. God, in this case, was seen as siding with those who were able to defeat the other. Like the fourth century discourse we are referencing, we have a God of battles and not a God of peace; a God of oppression instead of liberation; indeed, a God who could not rightly be called “Father” by the indigenous people. This seems to be the God portrayed by Eusebius in his attempts to advance Constantine as the most favoured one of God.⁹⁷⁴

Even if the idea is to make history relevant by linking it to God, the whole project tends to reveal the bias that brings humanity face-to-face with its own weaknesses underpinned by a dominant and therefore socio-politico-economic power and the abuses that go with it. The Constantine that results from Eusebius’ pen is an Emperor of rare virtues. In the African context we shall continue to analyse, Christianity will be seen to have assumed an appeal not so much based on its salvific values but on what opportunities it is potentially able to unleash to the ordinary in terms of the exercise of power and, therefore, the control of wealth. The problem here is that there is a section of historians who would like to promote such a position in the spirit of Eusebius. An Empire led by an extremely pious emperor could only be but holy. Exploitation of people by those supposed to be God-fearing must also be assumed to be holy, and the Mashonaland Anglican context gets its indirect theoretical justification in this connection.

5.14.0. The Anglican Church and Empire in Mashonaland

This section attempts to link the whole discourse of Anglican missionary work in Mashonaland to the idea of empire building. We base our narrative on what transpired during the fourth century as documented by Eusebius of Caesarea in this context. To introduce the theme of the theology of empire is an attempt to present a critique on the departure from God’s authority while directly or indirectly replacing it with that of powerful human beings. Emperor Constantine became so popular within Church circles in the fourth century because he seems to have

⁹⁷⁴. See, for example, Eusebius, *The Life of the blessed Emperor Constantine*, Book II. XII, p.967

succeeded in taking over from what was normally attributed to God. The human authority had succeeded in becoming the criterion of adequacy. Eusebius says of Constantine,

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. Moreover, God forthwith rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.⁹⁷⁵

The quote makes far-reaching about the relationship that obtained between Constantine and God. That the Emperor may have demonstrated some piety is not what this thesis may want to contest. However, that he was so dear to God almost in an exclusive manner is a claim that could be easily made by anyone. Humanity has got limitations, hence, the need to challenge it to seek the will of God consciously for religious, political, economic and social guidance. God's people must come to terms with this understanding that theirs is a privileged position for, through them, the divine intention for the world should be proclaimed collectively rather than individualistically. That only the emperor has a privileged position in the presence of God seems to be something that discourages many instead of encouraging them.

5.14.1. Another broader Church-coloniser link

The confusion among Africans when it came to understanding the relations between the Church and its membership is a subject that another Kenyan writer attempts to demonstrate for us and is extremely relevant in this research. Earlier we appealed to Reed, and now we introduce Renison Muchiri Githige. We appeal to the preferred reflections to make our Mashonaland case more cogent and to argue that during Beaven's episcopate, no indigenous could also come out well. The argument here is that the people, who were Christian first in the Southern Rhodesian context, were Europeans who also were part of the civil service of the day.

⁹⁷⁵. Eusebius, The life of the blessed Emperor Constantine, Book I. VI

In line with the Kenyan context, we are required to consider “whether Africans were so ignorant of the different roles and life-styles of the settlers, officials and missionaries, as not to make a distinction between them.”⁹⁷⁶ This is critical in the sense that if colonisers and missionaries often shared the same space and policies and the indigenous were supposed to distinguish the two, then it would have been like shifting the goal posts and, therefore, making it impossible to know who was who.

Githige goes on to note that from a cultural point of view, it was not easy to see where the Church and its European membership parted ways, especially as settlers could easily become missionaries and the latter could easily switch over to become settlers.⁹⁷⁷ It was easy for the Europeans but not so for the indigenous who still had to make sense of the new dispensation that had been imposed on them. We notice here that the European culture takes precedence over God instead of the other way round. We could safely point out that we seem to be confronted in an extremely consistent manner by these attitudes of British dominance and arrogance both in Kenya and Mashonaland.

One other development in line with the above is the issue of racial segregation. Githige points out that the missionaries were often forced by the racial prejudices of settlers to minister to them separately from the Africans.⁹⁷⁸ We have already met with similar attitudes in Mashonaland. God was partisan and not impartial. Our concern in this context is why missionaries could be compelled to do things that they considered evil and, therefore, contrary to gospel imperatives. When historians present such states of affairs as though everything was above board, could they be seen as helping us to understand what was at stake? The argument of the theology of empire compels us to accept the fact that historians must always pay attention to human limitations and, therefore, to guard against the exaggeration of virtue. The very fact that missionaries were able to proceed with their ministry without protesting against these compromised circumstances

⁹⁷⁶. Githige, R. M. “The mission state relationship in colonial Kenya: a summary”. (Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya), in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XIII, 2, 1982, p.110

⁹⁷⁷. *Ibid.* p111

⁹⁷⁸. *Ibid.* p. 112

demonstrates some degree of sympathy for the settlers' cause that could hardly qualify to be Christian. The problem is: how could we argue that the Church was not racist then when a significant portion of its membership advocated for such policies? Who is the Church in the final analysis if not those who fill the pews on Sunday and those who sponsor such ecclesiastical commitments? If the same membership has got the audacity to segregate others on the basis of colour and ethnicity, how could we possibly see an impartial Church, let alone God, in all this? The case of the theology of empire in Mashonaland, therefore, becomes even more urgent given writings that are more of eulogies on behalf of British missionaries in Mashonaland.

5.14.2. Beaven and his European flock in Mashonaland

We have already referred to Bishop Beaven's episcopate that was biased towards settlers and against the indigenous people. With all that was happening during his tenure of office, especially the attitudes of settlers towards the indigenous people, in areas such as education and their general welfare, our case becomes extremely strong. Were missionaries able to touch the Europeans' conscience in Rhodesia? It appears that settlers who belonged to the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia were able to influence the ecclesiastical policy and the Bishop simply endorsed it but at the expense of gospel imperatives. This is clear from the fact that the segregation that continued to take shape from 1911 officially came to an end in 1980 when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. During that compromised period, the tradition of supporting settler policies that denied the indigenous people their humanhood continued unabated, and bishops such as Beaven set the pace by not expressing any moral outrage and by contradicting their few priests who dared to be prophetic in this regard. This transition, from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, within Church circles should, therefore, be seen as one that was not easy but a painful process mostly on the part of the indigenous people who were on the receiving end.

If a bishop in the Church could show resilience in terms of defending a crooked and evil policy such as that of racial segregation and colonialism, then we have a big problem. This could constitute a serious case of Christian misrepresentation and missionary compromise. According to Welch, Beaven thought that the settlers

in Rhodesia were demonstrating admirable heroism in their daily lives and needed more pastoral attention than “the heathens”⁹⁷⁹ (the indigenous people). It is clear that even the language utilised by a missionary bishop within this Southern Rhodesian context is extremely unfortunate.

Arnold does not pay attention to the preceding, opting to look at the developments such as buildings of new churches and some other related works during Beaven’s time.⁹⁸⁰ The issues of racial discrimination, labour exploitation of the indigenous people and land grabbing that Edgar Lloyd and Cripps were condemning were dismissed by Beaven when he told people in England that in general, the settlers were very good people and very kind to the natives.⁹⁸¹ When we read about such developments in history, words such as “kind” and “good,” as pertaining to the conduct of settlers towards the indigenous people in Mashonaland, become problematic to those who do not have English as their first language.

How could people who were imposing themselves be said to be kind and good? We saw this kind of conviction earlier on when we were looking at F.C. Selous’ work. Evil acts by settlers in Mashonaland always seem to be qualified. Clearly, in Beaven, the settlers had an extremely keen ambassador who made public apologies on their behalf while absolving their wanton abuses of the natives.⁹⁸² We could safely conclude that this was consistent with Gaul’s approach that we have already encountered.

During Knight-Bruce’s episcopate, the same advocacy was enjoyed by the BSAC as we noted earlier. In the face of the Europeans in question, Africans counted for nothing; that is the reason why some whites could not share the same building with blacks when it came to the worship of God.⁹⁸³ Certainly, this is an area where a bishop could be expected to put in place corrective pastoral measures. Why we have not encountered history narratives under themes such as “The evils that Anglican missionaries did in the Diocese of Mashonaland” up to this point in time

⁹⁷⁹. Welch, *op.cit.*p.93

⁹⁸⁰. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.58ff

⁹⁸¹. Welch, *op.cit.*p.93f

⁹⁸². *Ibid.*p.93

⁹⁸³. *Ibid.*p.97

or such related, critical reflections, is a curious question. This seems to indicate to us that what we have been presented with so far are one-sided accounts that tend to protect missionaries by way of highlighting only the positive things that they did for the indigenous people. What is even more problematic here is that the indigenous people would have to account for why they did not wholly appreciate what was being done for them by both missionaries and colonisers.

The questionnaire sent out to the clergy within the Diocese of Harare raised the foregoing issue. Being aware that we are dealing with the events of the past, our concern was to determine the level of awareness among those who are still in the tradition. Here we state the problematic question and the response it got from one priest. The question required a brief description of the way white and black laity in the Anglican Church related to each other during the Rhodesian days. Rev Isheanesu Gusha indicates that he was aware that the “relationship was not good” because there was racial discrimination between the two groups.⁹⁸⁴ He also observed that “The whites had their service in the morning while the blacks had theirs at 3 pm. This latter service was not taken seriously.”⁹⁸⁵

Oral tradition seems to be influential in the above view for it is a conviction that gathered momentum among many indigenous people over the colonial years. Observations among many Anglican parishes that had a majority of Europeans from the Rhodesian days could confirm that the 1500hrs Services were meant to separate the white masters from their indigenous servants.⁹⁸⁶ The Church might appear to have been doing a service to the indigenous servants, but a critical reflection of this state of affairs could reveal the fact that racial segregation was being implemented to perfection. To narrate such developments, and make them appear as part of the missionary success story, therefore, means that whatever was done to the indigenous people could always be given a positive spin no matter how sinister the motives were.

⁹⁸⁴. Response to questionnaire by Rev Gusha (Appendix3: Questionnaire to individual clergy)

⁹⁸⁵. Rev Gusha's response

⁹⁸⁶. Between 2001-2003, this researcher was leading an Anglican Parish where such an arrangement was still in place, many years after the independence of Zimbabwe.

The Church and its membership are one and could not be separated. If part of the membership is racist, we could not be justified to absolve the whole Church. Again, if there is no official ecclesiastical policy to confront racial or discriminatory tendencies, it would be difficult not to implicate the Church as an accomplice in such crimes against humanity. This happens to be the problem facing the Anglican Church during the time of Bishop Beaven who did nothing to challenge this evil. A more thorough investigation perhaps could help us expose those sinister motives among many missionaries so that a success story preferred in this connection could be qualified. Below we sample Canon Mhlanga's fate within the Diocese of Mashonaland in keeping with the commitment we made earlier on to review his case further.

5.15. Canon Samuel Mhlanga⁹⁸⁷ within the theology of empire discourse

During the same period when Beaven was bishop, we get the first indigenous Anglican priest, Samuel Mhlanga, ordained to the priesthood in 1923 (diaconate in 1919) but only because the white clergy were overstretched with regard to performing their responsibilities.⁹⁸⁸ So we could safely conclude that his ordination had nothing to do with indigenisation but was prompted by the urgent need for missionary auxiliaries who had to be predominantly from the indigenous fold. The same year, that is, 1923, other indigenous candidates were made deacons, and they included Leonard Sagonda, Gibson Nyabako and Peter Sekgoma.⁹⁸⁹ The narrative to the effect that these were being considered as a deliberate move towards the indigenisation of the Anglican Church is missing. They all have English names in a context where the argument for indigenising the Church seems to be extremely strong, especially when looked at from the point of view of the theology of empire discourse we are using as our lens here.

We referred above to the way education, for the indigenous people, was handled in Rhodesia. Here we need to pay attention to a specific example within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland (that was now the Diocese of Southern

⁹⁸⁷. AB 1412: MUHLANGA, Samuel c.1880- (Canon of the Diocese of Mashonaland), 'The life-story of Canon Samuel Muhlanga, as told by himself to G.E.P. Broderick', 1951. Microfilm. Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁸⁸. Welch, op.cit.p.94. Rev Mtobi had left the country in 1901 and had not been replaced as the first black priest.

⁹⁸⁹. Arnold, op.cit.p.70

Rhodesia because of Beaven's preference). The long period between the diaconate and priesthood in a situation already negatively impacted by a severe shortage of ministers could indicate the level of reluctance the British missionaries had on the issue of having African leaders in the Church. We saw this trend in East Africa as well where this reluctance to give the indigenous Anglicans some executive ministerial posts was prevalent.

Perhaps we need to agree with Arnold when he notes that the ordination of Mhlanga heralded the indigenisation process that took another six decades to reach its fullest realisation.⁹⁹⁰ Archford Musodza speaks highly about the rising of Mhlanga within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland as a definitive affirmation of the process of indigenisation that had already begun in 1890.⁹⁹¹

There is something critical here when the rules of indigenisation are to be respected. The same person seen as critical to the process of indigenisation had once been known as Zvidzeni, his traditional name, but now Christianised Samuel.⁹⁹² When a person is influenced to give up his/her traditional name in favour of the Christian name, how this process could be interpreted as a good case of indigenisation and a successful case of missionary work leaves us curious.

In the spirit of the indigenisation we envisage, that is, the one not exploited by missionaries for their ends, the name Zvidzeni should have been acceptable and should not have been discarded. If the Anglican Church was in Mashonaland and not for Mashonaland, how could indigenisation be seen as its urgent preoccupation? The influence of the theology of empire is again evident in the way history is recorded in this connection. The views of the powerful must always be affirmed instead of being challenged. The wrongs done by missionaries in this connection are glossed over by narratives that are not relevant for capturing what was at stake.

⁹⁹⁰. Arnold, op.cit.p.70

⁹⁹¹. Musodza, op.cit.p.152

⁹⁹². Ibid.

That we are faced with indigenous people who were being given a status to pacify them could be a possible interpretation of the facts critical to this development. Being auxiliaries in a British missionary affair within the Southern Rhodesian context is not the same as indigenisation given the fact that there was an urgent move to discard everything perceived as heathen, inclusive of traditional names. The urgency here, therefore, is to assert the dominance of British standards even in Christian matters, hence, making it impossible for the indigenous people to be critical players in this faith.

Clearly, and in line with the above, the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia was an institution that had problems in accommodating the very people who were supposed to be its major focus when it came to evangelism. The Christian motive here happens to be elusive. Could we then talk about indigenisation without liberation in an unconditional manner when the conviction of the people being ministered to are not taken seriously?⁹⁹³ The preceding question is meant to challenge the eulogies preferred on Mhlanga's ordination in 1923 and the conferment of the MBE (Member of the British Empire) later in 1952.⁹⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Mhlanga was highly honoured by the British missionaries and civil authorities; the following facts speak volumes regarding what was at stake and in the spirit of the theology of empire.

Firstly, there is a short autobiography attributed to Samuel Mhlanga, the first indigenous Anglican priest that could be found in the archives. It is clear that this piece of writing is based on what he told someone else and did not write it himself, we could safely state. This point should be appreciated on the basis that the document in question is entitled, "The life-story of Canon Samuel Mhlanga, as told by himself to G.E.P. Broderick."⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹³. Musodza, op.cit.p.157 and Arnold, p.70. Both agree on the indigenous significance of Mhlanga's ordination. Nevertheless, given what is said about the attitude of Bishop Beaven, it is doubtful that indigenisation was the aim here. Both disagree on the date of when Mhlanga was ordained. Musodza cites a source that says the ordination took place on 25 January 1923 while Arnold indicates that it was on 29 June 1923.

⁹⁹⁴. Musodza, op.cit.p.152

⁹⁹⁵. AB 1412: MHLANGA, op.cit.

Why Mhlanga could not write his own story, given his celebrated intellectual acumen as Musodza maintains,⁹⁹⁶ is the pressing question in the above connection. An African life-story could not be accessed directly but could only be told through European eyes and narratives. Whatever honour Europeans accorded him seems to fly in the face of common sense. How a celebrated intellectual could not commit to paper the things he felt critical to his own life regarding profession and only rely on someone else, is a curious development here. We are faced with is an indigenous pioneer priest who was not given an opportunity to express his experiences in his own words. He had to seek European assistance for his story to find a significant audience.

Secondly, we could conclude that it is the case that Broderick could have authored the document and then sent it to the prime minister, who, in turn, responded through his private secretary to the effect that he was “impressed by ...the life-story of Canon Mhlanga.”⁹⁹⁷ It seems to be the case that Mhlanga could not communicate with the prime minister directly and the question then is, why, given the Christian dimension this whole episode had and the significance it is given in Arnold’s narrative. We have seen that the context in which Beaven was a bishop is thoroughly racist and was, therefore, discriminatory.

The theology of empire continues to be relevant in this connection as one way of influencing the narration of the history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia. The early indigenous Anglican priests could be significant in other respects than of influencing the Church to take African traditional norms and thought patterns seriously. If priests such as Mhlanga had been able to influence the Church to take the African culture and traditions seriously, a case of indigenising the Anglican expressions in Southern Rhodesia could be seen as strong. However, we do not hear of any platform that allowed them to do that on their own. Everything had to be directed by the white masters even in Christian matters

⁹⁹⁶. Musodza, *op.cit.* p.152

⁹⁹⁷. AB1412: Historical research Papers, Wits, *op.cit*

Thirdly, in 1951, Canon Mhlanga had already spent 28 years in the ministry as a priest, and there are issues that the document in question raises that are relevant to our theme of the theology of empire. We need to jump to the last paragraph of the document to be able to appreciate that after serving for so long in the diocese, he only managed to rise to the position of priest-in-charge⁹⁹⁸ and, was therefore, never a rector in his long-term of ministry.⁹⁹⁹ He remained a junior in the ministry within the Anglican Church hierarchy in Mashonaland until he retired. He could not be a rector over his black juniors either, despite his brilliance! The issues we are dealing with here do not seem to demonstrate for us that, among missionaries, in the mould of Beaven, the indigenous dimension of the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia was significant at all in terms of being given latitude to develop in its own unique way. As we have maintained above, European missionaries had to direct the process to the end.

We are also informed that Mhlanga's training in Rosettenville, Johannesburg lasted two years. We do not know what the training entailed, and we know very little about his basic education. Surely not much of theology could be learnt in two years to enable someone to be competitive among those with college or university qualifications. Regarding the latter point, we know that he had been taught how to read and write English.¹⁰⁰⁰ Above we got a glimpse of the training, the European missionaries got before ordination.¹⁰⁰¹ We have met them all as university or college graduates from Knight-Bruce to Beaven. Why standards had to be drastically lowered for the indigenous priests seems to indicate that the missionaries had no qualms about prejudice in this regard.

We note the preceding concerns because early in 1903 as we have observed above, the issue to train and educate the indigenous people had received a synodical consent. Why that training was progressing slowly when it was supposed to be a matter of urgency, is a pressing question in our context of the theology of empire in Southern Rhodesia.

⁹⁹⁸. AB1412: Historical research Papers, Wits, op.cit

⁹⁹⁹. He needed to be supervised by European missionaries, right through to the end!

¹⁰⁰⁰. AB 1412, op.cit

¹⁰⁰¹. It is clear that the majority of European missionaries had substantial college exposure inclusive of university degrees!

It is clear that Mhlanga tells his story without indicating his awareness of the shortcomings of the system that made him a priest. His role was that of an assistant to European missionaries from the beginning to the end of his ministry as an Anglican priest. He had not been trained to take over from them. This is clear from the fact that he served for seven years under Canon Edgar Lloyd, at the St Faith Mission, Rusape; two years at Wreningham under another European priest by the name of Andrew.¹⁰⁰² This is despite the fact that he was the first African layperson to be a representative at the Diocesan Synod of 1918 and was made a canon in 1942.¹⁰⁰³ We are talking about senior positions in the Church but because Mhlanga was indigenous and his education inferior; he was never accorded that plausible recognition of leading a parish as an executive. He had to be mentored or monitored to the end by European missionaries! If this is what indigenisation is all about, then we have a big problem because implied in the preceding developments is the fact that local expressions of Church leadership always had to be understood as inferior and, therefore, in constant need of European mentorship and supervision for an indefinite period. To imagine that this is part of a success story of the Church in Mashonaland further complicates matters. Therefore, we could safely assume that Mhlanga's training, like that of many other black people, was meant to mould him into a subservient priest under the supervision of white bosses throughout his active ministry in Mashonaland. We could safely assume that this kind of training would be more brainwashing than liberating since it did not qualify him to make parochial decisions alone, even among his own indigenous people.

However, we are at a loss because writers such as Arnold, Welch and Musodza do not highlight this point that comes out clearly from the facts included above. Would this information not enrich the history of the Anglican Church in the ultimate analysis? Why such facts could not be seen as significant in a situation that was compromised from the 1890s onwards seems to boost our argument for the theology of empire. We are narrating a history that highlights how the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia was a white affair that made use of indigenous

¹⁰⁰². AB 1412. Historical research Papers, op.cit.

¹⁰⁰³. *ibid*

auxiliaries, even those who had received Holy Orders. The indigenous Anglican priests did not function above the level of catechists if we are to take the training of Mhlanga seriously into consideration.

In the next section, we will attempt to provide more details about the theology of empire as we try to link the Rhodesian Anglican Church historical narratives to those of Eusebius of Caesarea and his Roman Empire. At this point, we need to remind ourselves that we are looking at historical narratives that we suspect to have suppressed certain critical facts in favour of highlighting those that could, perhaps, allow a decent presentation of the Church. Accordingly, the position of the powerful is supported directly or indirectly, and history is reduced to mere propaganda. In our context, we have seen that there are authors who would like us to believe that the Mashonaland venture was above board as a missionary enterprise. The challenges faced by the indigenous priests are not highlighted, and, therefore, we do not get a balanced picture of what was at stake.

5.16. The Eusebian model in a Mashonaland Anglican mould

How then could we justify the link between all what we have observed so far about the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia and the Church History obtaining during the fourth century under the authorship of Eusebius? The rationale for this section is inspired by the following points:

Firstly, we have already tried to demonstrate that the relationship between the Rhodesian State and the Anglican Church made the latter sing eulogies on behalf of the former. Bishop Beaven and those before him have been cited as good examples for our argument given the fact that official pronouncement critical to the state coming from the bishops in the form of pastoral guidelines in the context of rampant oppression and European brutality are scarce. This gives us a distorted picture of the state of affairs when those interested in narrating this history do not pay significant attention to these anomalies. Researchers, who ignore this point purporting to be presenting the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland, could be viewed as extremely biased in their reporting. By not taking the abuses and atrocities committed by the British settlers seriously, Church historians in this context could be seen to be defending those who should be called to order.

Secondly, since missionary work was happening in Mashonaland, our problem is that as a general rule, the indigenous people were not treated as equals and yet this is not seen as something requiring a serious critique of missionaries in this context. Our argument for the theology of empire, hence, takes these developments as critical factors in connection with linking the fourth century Church of Eusebius to the Anglican Church in Rhodesia. An extremely compromised context is submitted through narratives that downplay the contradictions involved if we are to understand missionary work as God-inspired.

What is critical in the preceding connection is the idea of the fourth century Church compromising itself to the extent that the state began to dictate its own imperatives that had nothing to do with the good news. Alistair Kee captures the spirit in the preceding connection when he observes that within the Roman Empire, glorified by Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine silenced the prophetic voice of the Church by spoiling Christians with gifts.¹⁰⁰⁴ That is the Christian compromise with which we are concerned in this context so that the Church could no longer be seen as the conscience of society. More will be said later on this regard. As long as these gifts were guaranteed, there was no way the Church could dare bite the hand that was feeding it.¹⁰⁰⁵ However, there is one question of critical importance in the preceding connection: Was the Church ever meant to be an institution that is required to maintain the deafening silence in evil times? This kind of silence in evil times seems to constitute a dubious form of Christianity that led the British to condone unjust structures and advances such as the colonisation of Mashonaland.

We have so far observed that there was a great deal of complacency in Knight-Bruce's approach to missionary work in Mashonaland in so far as the rights of the indigenous people were concerned. His successors who include Gaul, Powell and Beaven simply followed suit. There was no radical representation of the Anglican episcopate with regard to the critical matters facing the country at that time, such as the exploitation and racial discrimination of the indigenous people. The history

¹⁰⁰⁴. Kee, A., op.cit.p.154

¹⁰⁰⁵. Ibid, p.156

narratives we have so far consulted about the preceding developments, such as those of Arnold, Welch and Musodza, significantly, do not highlight the compromises by missionaries with which we are concerned here. There are indications that we are talking about gross abuses that should never have been allowed space as though they were part of Christianity. Our narratives should not be seen to be soft where gross human abuses were celebrated.

Going back to the fourth century, we learn that the Church of Constantine's time began to present a Jesus who did God's business from imperial domains as the emperor himself could now deliver sermons from there.¹⁰⁰⁶ The imperial Jesus from this Constantinean model became one who could not side with the poor and oppressed and, therefore, one who had no time for proclaiming the Good News to the underprivileged of this world. The Anglican missionaries who came to Mashonaland from 1890 onwards seemed to have no problems with a militant Jesus. It should be noted that the problem we sense here was not with Constantine's dubious schemes, but with the Christian historian, Eusebius, who saw nothing wrong in the process as his documented position demonstrates.

In line with the above, we need to do justice to our drastic charges against Eusebius' imperial theology. For example when he writes about people opposed to Emperor Constantine such as Maxentius he goes to graphic extremes in his descriptions. Thus, we read the following about this opponent of Constantine:

All men, therefore, both people and magistrates, whether of high or low degree, trembled through fear of him whose daring wickedness was such as I have described, and were oppressed by his grievous tyranny. Nay, though they submitted quietly, and endured this bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's sanguinary cruelty. For at one time, on some trifling pretence, he exposed the populace to be slaughtered by his own body-guard; and countless multitudes of the Roman people were slain in the very midst of the city by the lances and weapons, not of Scythians or barbarians, but of their own fellow-citizens. Moreover, besides this, it is impossible to calculate the number of senators whose blood was shed with a view to the seizure of their respective estates, for at different times and on various fictitious charges, multitudes of them suffered death."¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁶. MacCulloch, op.cit.p.191

¹⁰⁰⁷. Eusebius, Life, Bk. I. XXXV

The above quote reminds us that from the time of Knight-Bruce, the accusation against the Ndebele was their cruelty. During the uprising of 1896 to 1897, the witchdoctors were brought to the forefront. Earlier, we included Selous' charges against the barbarism of the Ndebele and the kind of recommendation he made to neutralise such people. Indeed, the characterisation of the indigenous that we have met with in our narrative prepares us to accept the brutality unleashed on the indigenous by the British and their supporters. Eusebius does the same by putting us in a position similar to that of Mashonaland as seen through the eyes of those who could justify their actions on selfish intents disguised as Christianity and western civilisation. When people have been characterised as evil, it is then easy to take a bold stance against them.

After the preceding quotation, Eusebius is relentless in his attack on Maxentius. Therefore, he charges,

But the crowning point of the tyrant's wickedness was his having recourse to sorcery: sometimes for magic purposes ripping up women with child, at other times searching into the bowels of new-born infants. He slew lions also, and practised certain horrid arts for evoking demons, and averting the approaching war, hoping by these means to get the victory. In short, it is impossible to describe the manifold acts of oppression by which this tyrant of Rome enslaved his subjects: so that by this time they were reduced to the most extreme penury and want of necessary food, a scarcity such as our contemporaries do not remember ever before to have existed at Rome.¹⁰⁰⁸

Anyone who reads Eusebius in the preceding connection with the conscience of a human being will be left disgusted by such vile acts with which Maxentius is charged. There is no way we could sympathise with one who did such abominable deeds under the sun. This is Eusebius presenting us with an imperial theology that is designed to protect Emperor Constantine's violence and, therefore, to justify it. It seems to be a strategic way of preserving the reputation of one's hero. This becomes clear when we turn to what this historian says about Constantine's response to Maxentius.

Eusebius says, in line with the above, of the emperor he favours so much:

Constantine, however, filled with compassion on account of all these miseries, began to arm himself with all warlike preparation against the tyranny. Assuming

¹⁰⁰⁸. Eusebius, *Life*, op.cit. Bk.I. XXXVI

therefore the Supreme God as his patron, and invoking His Christ to be his preserver and aid, and setting the victorious trophy, the salutary symbol, in front of his soldiers and body-guard, he marched with his whole forces, trying to obtain again for the Romans the freedom they had inherited from their ancestors. And whereas, Maxentius, trusting more in his magic arts than in the affection of his subjects, dared not even advance outside the city gates, but had guarded every place and district and city subject to his tyranny, with large bodies of soldiers, the emperor, confiding in the help of God, advanced against the first and second and third divisions of the tyrant's forces, defeated them all with ease at the first assault, and made his way into the very interior of Italy.¹⁰⁰⁹

Constantine is a compassionate emperor, according to Eusebius. The emperor is moved by pity to act against the tyrant Maxentius who had deprived the Romans of their freedom. We hear that Constantine relies on God and Jesus Christ against Maxentius' madness and magic. The result is a resounding victory for Emperor Constantine against his godless foe. We have already maintained that the Mashonaland colonisation has often been portrayed as one that involved the British who relied on God and Jesus Christ over and against the indigenous people who were mere barbarians with no God to talk about in any serious fashion. We know that the accusation that the practice of magic and witchcraft was rampant in Mashonaland and was also linked to the death of Bernard Mizeki we met above.

Zosimus does not see Constantine as radically different in character from other leaders in his context. We are told that the reason why Constantine fought with Licinius was not because of the latter's fault but because of the former's unpredictable character to the extent that he could not even keep his promises.¹⁰¹⁰ Even when Licinius had surrendered and promised life, Constantine changed his mind and had him killed.¹⁰¹¹ So Eusebius is writing from the point of view of the conqueror.

We referred to Bishop Powell's indecisive attempts above to challenge his fellow Europeans to be a little bit more civil in their dealings with the indigenous people. At least we sense awareness of the prevalent evil emanating from the colonial takeover of Mashonaland by the British. The result of this awareness was that

¹⁰⁰⁹. Eusebius, Life, Bk.I. XXXVII, op.cit.

¹⁰¹⁰. Vossius, op.cit.p.44

¹⁰¹¹ . Ibid. p.50

Powell resigned in 1910 as an extremely unpopular bishop among his fellow whites because he dared challenge their capricious engagements. The settlers were not ready to be told the truth that what they were doing was not a true reflection of Christianity and civilisation. A good missionary cause was being frustrated from the beginning, hence, raising the moral bar to the loftiest of heights for those who would dare speak in the name of God. The white settlers could not stand a bishop who was courageous enough to remind them that what they were doing was wrong. The settlers were comfortable with a church that was ready to bless evil. Such a Church could only justify its existence on the basis of force rather than persuasion. We know that Jesus Christ, the author of missions, if the whole New Testament was to be our guide, never envisaged the use of force to make his point. He preferred death rather than human fame.

The following historical observations are imperative if we are to say something that links Powell's successor, Beaven to the theme of the theology of empire in Mashonaland:

To be a good missionary bishop in the eyes of the British colonisers in the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia during Beaven's episcopate meant being able to maintain a theological indifference in an evil context. Eusebius' narratives do not fare better in the fourth century within the Roman imperial context. There are critical issues that could be raised in our narrative at this point and we take them up in the following sections.

5.16.0. Another critical look at some of the writings of Eusebius

The preceding section raised the issue of religion and politics making a specific reference to the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia and its relationship to the State. The historiographical problem, which advances itself in that connection, needs to be stated. To demonstrate how historical narratives could be distorted in the preceding discussion, Eusebius is being advanced as the model in this method of writing. Eusebius of Caesarea is a renowned historian who is also described as "a fervent admirer of Constantine"¹⁰¹² by MacCulloch. Our interest

¹⁰¹². MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.190

here is on how the person of the emperor Constantine is portrayed by Eusebius and how we could possibly link it to the Mashonaland Anglican context. Constantine came to like Christians and even going as far as to spoil them with gifts.¹⁰¹³ That Church could be said to have lost its bearings at some point because for more than three hundred years; it had refused to bow to worldly pressures, be they economic, political, social, religious and so on. Now the generosity of Constantine towards the hierarchy seemed to create a new culture of dependency on the temporary when spiritual matters were at stake. It seems to have gone beyond the principle of giving to Caesar what belonged to him. Here we sense the radical distinction between a mere detail and principle. Giving to Caesar what belongs to him does not automatically translate into elevating Caesar into a demi-god. From a historiographical perspective, it seems that our argument was being contradicted by Eusebius of Caesarea. His appreciation of the emperor Constantine creates even more challenges for us.

In the preceding connection, we are informed, about Constantine:

The emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honour, showing them a favour in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance; yet not so in his estimation, since he thought he saw not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him.¹⁰¹⁴

It is clear that we seem to be dealing with a very Christian emperor in this context as given to us by Eusebius. Nevertheless, we are concerned that the meaning of Christianity in this connection must depart from the way Christians had lived their faith before Constantine. We get even more challenged when we read from Eusebius about the way the priests of the Church were accommodated in Constantine's programmes. That association continues to be a cause for curiosity even in the Mashonaland context where the leadership of the settlers was willing to sponsor the Anglican Church's programmes. Eusebius says the following about Constantine's treatment of the clergy:

He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He whose servants they were would thus help him. Besides this, he gave from his own private

¹⁰¹³. MacCulloch (2010), op.cit. p. 191

¹⁰¹⁴. Eusebius, Life. Bk1. XLII. p.952

resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with abundant offerings.¹⁰¹⁵

We could sense the rationale of chaplaincy work as presented in our context: God would march with the pioneers into Mashonaland! When the emperor treated Christians favourably, according to MacCulloch, the God he had in mind had nothing to do with “gentle Jesus meek and mild, commanding that enemies should be loved and forgiven seventy times seven; he was a God of Battles.”¹⁰¹⁶ That is where our problem lies. Within the Mashonaland context, under the auspices of the Anglican Church, we are concerned that a God who battles against everything indigenous was emphasised, but with no valid theological justification. How God could wage battles against the very people he created out of love and whose “heathenism” he wanted to get rid of, is problematic. Even if we grant that armies could sometimes be used by God, then it should be clear to all that such an intervention is necessary and those being defeated deserve such humiliation. What mortal sins had the people of Mashonaland committed in their primitivism? To be a God of vengeance and a Christian is a contradiction. However, at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine had seen a sign that assured him of victory over his enemies.¹⁰¹⁷ In this regard, it is also clear, according to Eusebius, that Constantine was not just looking for a God to help him in times of his politico-militant nervousness. Accordingly, and if we are to accept Eusebius’ position, Constantine was a thoroughly pious person; hence, a revelation was given to him during one of his meditating bouts. Eusebius records the following about Constantine’s pious meditation:

He said that about noon when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this. At this sight, he was struck with amazement and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, witnessed the miracle.¹⁰¹⁸

In line with the preceding, a miracle that happens in a dream could be viewed as extremely subjective and difficult to explain to others. If it happens in a context

¹⁰¹⁵. Eusebius, Life. Bk1. XLII. p.952

¹⁰¹⁶. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.191

¹⁰¹⁷. Ibid

¹⁰¹⁸. Eusebius, Life. op.cit, Bk. I. XXVIII.p.944

where more than one person could be called to testify, it could cease to be subjective. The sign that the emperor saw was given a Christian significance. Again, it is doubtful whether it is the Christian God involved in this connection or the one so much fond of wars. The instruction is to conquer without qualification. What that amounts to could be anyone's guess. Here we have another big problem: the emperor would only be answerable to himself.

Zosimus, again, could help us with some insights especially as he talks about Constantine's attraction to the Christian faith. Here we get some fascinating facts. We are told here that Constantine believed in soothsayers and was very proud and arrogant.¹⁰¹⁹ After murdering members of his own family, he had a guilty conscience that he needed to be resolved through magic probably because he consulted the priests for cleansing.¹⁰²⁰ The priests advised him that there was no healing for his crimes.¹⁰²¹ It was during these troubled times that a certain Spaniard, by the name Aegyptius, told him that Christianity was able to cleanse him.¹⁰²² As someone in a desperate need to get some relief in his conscience, he accepted Christianity and made it his favourite over and against other religions.¹⁰²³ This made him very unpopular in Rome and therefore left in order to build a new city.¹⁰²⁴ Eusebius seems to be quiet about these details.

In line with the above, namely, that we have an emperor who had a dubious theological grounding is, therefore, clear, but none of the ecclesiastical authorities spoiled by his gifts ever bothered to scrutinise the theology at play in order to safeguard themselves against compromise.¹⁰²⁵ This seems to be the problem with Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland. Rhodes and his followers were never brought to an ethico-theological tribunal so that those who would become his supporters from a Christian perspective would have no quibbles of conscience. We have seen that again and again, priests such as Arthur Cripps and his friend Edgar Lloyd were aware of the wanton abuses of the indigenous in Mashonaland

¹⁰¹⁹ .Vossius, op.cit.p.51

¹⁰²⁰ .Ibid.

¹⁰²¹ .Ibid.

¹⁰²² .Ibid.

¹⁰²³ .Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴ .Ibid. p.52

¹⁰²⁵ . MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.196

by settlers but never got the official support they needed to boost the prophetic message. Anglican Church leadership in Mashonaland had become part of the problem in the name of God and, therefore, could not make sense of the cries of liberation and emancipation championed by those who tried to be sincere to the word of God.

Of major significance in the above connection is the attitude that Eusebius came to have towards Emperor Constantine. MacCulloch observes that,

The historian Eusebius of Caesarea so identified Constantine's purposes with God's purposes that he saw the Roman Empire as the culmination of history, the final stage before the end of the world.¹⁰²⁶

The Christianity emerging from this Church-state alliance would be anchored on military prowess as the Milvian Bridge incident attests. The imperial Church's obvious subscribers would be people of status and, hence, extremely different from those originating from Jesus Christ's context, who were simply the pariah of society, that is, the poor, sinners and underprivileged (cf. Luke 4:16ff), We could view these people as those whose exclusion did not matter much to the elite of the Roman world.

According to Drake,

it is a mistake to think Constantine's aim was to make the empire Christian, at least in any doctrinaire meaning of that word. He conceived of a Christian *public* religion that set a fairly low threshold for membership, and he threw in his lot with Christians who he thought would help him achieve this goal.¹⁰²⁷

The argument is therefore that Constantine's generosity to the Church was not out because he had a profound faith in the God of Jesus, but had an agenda to build his empire. Similarly, but in Mashonaland, the indigenous, whom the missionaries came to evangelise in Rhodesia, would be condemned by the militant western civilisation, while the good news meant for them was manipulated by the powerful British.

5.16.1. Beaven's episcopacy and the Eusebian model

¹⁰²⁶. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.196

¹⁰²⁷. Drake, op.cit.p.112

How could Eusebius' understanding of Emperor Constantine differ from that of Anglican bishops, such as Beaven, in Mashonaland, who saw Rhodes and his BSAC as God's agents? In the fourth century, Eusebius chose to write the history of Emperor Constantine from a viewpoint that we have preferred to understand as problematic. One historiographical dimension that comes to mind in our context is the attribution of military successes to divine intervention when the results do not demonstrate that God was perfecting human society through such a method. According to what we read in Eusebius' work, it is logical that those who succeed through God's grace are by that very token pious. Again, the problem is that any successful venture, like the colonisation of Mashonaland by the British, without reference to the disposition of the initiator, could make pious claims in the same measure and there could be no way of disproving them. Beaven's attitude already referenced comes to mind here although he did not write any historical treatises as Eusebius did. The concern here is about those who wrote about this Bishop without highlighting the imperial motives at play in his work.

It seems imperative for us to conjure in our imaginations the Mashonaland scenario in the above connection and Eusebius' relevance to the context. His way of writing history enables us to link him to our Mashonaland context because of the similarities any critical reading could reveal. Precisely, we read from Eusebius in the above connection that,

The ancient oracles of the prophets, delivered to us in the Scripture, declare this; the lives of pious men, who shone in old time with every virtue, bear witness to posterity of the same; and our days prove it to be true, wherein Constantine, who alone of all that ever wielded the Roman power was the friend of God the Sovereign of all, has appeared to all mankind so clear an example of a godly life.¹⁰²⁸

It must be clarified that by "all mankind", we are not so sure of whether Eusebius had any knowledge of the people of Southern Africa at all. An affair within the Roman world of the day is given a global interpretation. Again the exaggeration is problematic. The piety of the emperor is also raised to the loftiest of heights making it appear that imperial power and godly life were, in Constantine, one and the same thing. Again, from this Eusebian understanding, the privileged position

¹⁰²⁸. Eusebius, Life, op.cit, Bk. 1. III, p.930

that Constantine enjoyed was by virtue of his pious disposition. Logically, any pious leader could expect to do anything, including going to war and colonising others and God would readily bless everything.

The observation above could be viewed as problematic in the sense that any successful military campaign could qualify to be directed by God without reference to its legitimacy. In our own times, we have seen a great deal of American intervention in the Middle East and North Africa. America has proved to be the powerhouse of today. Could we reasonably argue that it is the work of God?¹⁰²⁹ The problem we have is based on the fact that it becomes difficult to distinguish between the will of God and mere human ambition for prosperity and greedy for power. The colonisation of Mashonaland by the British could be said to be the work of God. We have noted above that this happened to be the conviction of those who shared the imperial attitudes we are interrogating in this research. We are worried because such views implicate God as a coloniser. This is twisting the whole idea of God within an African setting and hopes many scholars will be challenged to continue the tradition of interrogating similar developments that advance the wishes of the most powerful at the expense of the weak. We are worried that the God who has the habit of exploiting the weak could not challenge humanity to appeal to the rule of love.

5.16.2. The God of the Mashona and Ndebele

A critical consideration in the above connection might reveal to us that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ is the same God also known among the Shona as Mwari and among the Ndebele as Unkulunkulu by virtue of being the one who created everything.¹⁰³⁰ This becomes urgent when we allow ourselves space to take it into serious consideration what African scholars have been articulating over the years. Professor Gundani in an article that highlights some of the Shona beliefs that date back to centuries before the colonial era observes that,

¹⁰²⁹. Froese, Paul & Mencken, F. Carson,. 2009. A U.S. Holy war? the effects of religion on Iraq war policy attitudes. *Social Science Quarterly*, Wiley, UK, 90(1):.103. Available online at: Url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42940574>. Accessed on 22 September 2015. It is noted that "Since the introduction of the Bush Doctrine in 2002, President Bush has often proposed that U .S. morals are synonymous with God's larger plan, stating that 'as we struggle to defeat the forces of evil, the God of the universe struggles with us'"

¹⁰³⁰. See Genesis 1&2 and also John 1:1ff.

At the top of the spiritual hierarchy was the god Mwari. The Shona people had many names for Mwari. Most of these names were anthropomorphic, such as *Chidzachepo/Mutangakugara* (the pre-existent one), *Muwanikwa* (the pre-existent one), *Muumbapasi* (the creator of the earth). Other names for Mwari were associated with lightning, such as *Runji-rusisunge-nguwo* (the thread that stretches far and beyond the breadth and length of the earth), *Zame* (the unreachable horizon).¹⁰³¹

From the references made by Professor Gundani, it is clear that there was the Mwari cult in the area called Mashonaland.¹⁰³² Such a religious conviction could have been very instrumental in the fateful missionary attempt by the Portuguese Roman Catholic priest, Silveira Gonzalo da Silva.¹⁰³³

In line with the foregoing observations, popular opinion seems to favour the position that the Bantu (that is, inclusive of all the peoples associated with this designation in sub-Saharan and Southern Africa) never conceived of God who has a habit of being unpredictable and, therefore, ambiguous to the extent that, at one time, the British could be the most favoured over and against the indigenous of the Mashonaland under the spotlight in this context. To this end, and according to Rev. Emeka C. Ekeke of Nigeria,

Africans see the universe as created by the Supreme Being. This Being is the same as the Christian God and is known by various names in Africa. These names were adopted by Christians when translating the name of God into African languages. They do not agree with the chance perception of those whose worldview is materialistic nor do they agree with the big-bang-theory of the universe.¹⁰³⁴

In line with the above positions, other sources tell us that missionaries, instead of boosting that theological wisdom among the indigenous people of the country they came to call Rhodesia, they embarked on a systematic onslaught of traditional religious convictions,¹⁰³⁵ hence, favouring the religious thought forms and categories of the Europeans. Again, the efforts of people such as Cripps on this

¹⁰³¹. Gundani, P., Shifting contexts and identities: Encounters between religions and the Zimbabwean state (from the pre-colonial to the end of the colonial era), in *Missionalia*, op.cit.p.308

¹⁰³². *Ibid*.p.308

¹⁰³³. *Ibid*.

¹⁰³⁴. Ekeke, E.C. 2011: AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION: A CONCEPTUAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS in *LUMINA*, 22(2), University of Calabar Nigeria, p.3. Available online at: Url: [http://lumina.hnu.edu.ph/articles/\(5\)ekekeOct11.pdf](http://lumina.hnu.edu.ph/articles/(5)ekekeOct11.pdf). Accessed on 23 November 2011

¹⁰³⁵. Mwari African Deity in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, UK. Available online at: Url: <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Mwari>. Accessed on 15 August 2015

religious matter came to nothing. The powerful got it their way. The danger with which we are concerned here is that history accounts influenced by the selective way of narrating past events would continue to favour the direction and dictates of the powerful. The value systems of the indigenous would be undermined in the process, while the progress of Christianity and civilisation could be emphasised.

We contend in the foregoing connection that the God of the whole universe could not be in the business of self-contradiction, self-defeating or self-destruction through the use of human agents. We are thinking of the God known to the Mashona and Ndebeles who was more on the productive side, that is a fertility God¹⁰³⁶ and not the God of wars and, therefore, violence as advocated by Eusebius. A nihilistic God is one who promotes wars and plunder. Missionaries should have been wary of advancing such a God. Constantine's victories, Cecil John Rhodes', or those of any other powerful human beings, should not be viewed as God's since God is never at war with himself. It seems to be the case that one major theological fallacy in history among Christians has been this readiness to be angry, greedy, vindictive and blood-thirsty while insisting that it is the work of God. We are trying to argue to the effect that, nothing could be so far from the truth. Such imposition is not what we would envisage in the name of authentic indigenous Shona or Ndebele religious viewpoints. We are concerned that the western way of understanding the universe came to make the African value systems obsolete.

If the indigenous people of the country called Southern Rhodesia by the colonialists owed their existence to Mwari or Unkulunkulu, how could the same God expose them to newcomers who abandoned their own space to come and infringe upon others'? Common sense dictates that if God were in this kind of business, humanity would have no obligation to take them seriously for they would be mere capricious beings. Such a God could not be worshipped as they could cause fear and trembling instead of inspiring people to love and serve them. This is another dimension of the theology of empire: it always compels us to view God as partial, vindictive, ambiguous and, therefore, unpredictable, save the support

¹⁰³⁶. Missionalia, op.cit.p.308

for the powerful. This would be a God who could easily confuse power with authority. It is clear that Eusebius' God could qualify to be talked about in the preceding categories for Emperor Constantine is the only beneficiary of divine grace in his context that allows him to feature above everyone else and to do as he wishes.

5.16.3. Eusebius' aggressive and discriminatory God

Using the Anglican context in Mashonaland as our referral case in the preceding connection, we continue to be challenged by the way Eusebius presented his views on behalf of the empire. We are raising the urgent question of the kind of moral support the colonisers got from missionaries who included those from the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. In this section, we are going to highlight certain developments of major significance in line with the aggressive and discriminatory God that Eusebius aligns with the Emperor Constantine.

5.16.4. God in partnership with conquerors

In one of the works that should be read in conjunction with *Vita Constantini*, Eusebius writes,

Thus when Constantine, whom we have already mentioned as an emperor, born of an emperor, a pious son of a most pious and prudent father, and Licinius, second to him,—two God-beloved emperors, honoured alike for their intelligence and their piety,—being stirred up against the two most impious tyrants by God, the absolute Ruler and Saviour of all, engaged in formal war against them, with God as their ally, Maxentius was defeated at Rome by Constantine in a remarkable manner, and the tyrant of the East did not long survive him, but met a most shameful death at the hand of Licinius, who had not yet become insane.¹⁰³⁷

Clearly, a God who takes sides in human affairs is introduced in eulogistic terms. God supports aggressive emperors as long as he loves them. We have already seen that Eusebius favoured the defeat of Maxentius and saw it as God's doing.

In the above connection, the stakes are raised to the loftiest of heights. Such terms, as could be conjured in our imaginations the God-led campaigns, are utilised by Eusebius. Therefore, Emperor Constantine belongs to the category of the "most pious" as was his father. Whether this claim is true or false is another

¹⁰³⁷. Eusebius: Church History, Bk. IX, chap. IX.1 p.764

problem. Victory is always guaranteed for those who depend on God. Who then could stand in the way of the one whose authority derives from the Supreme Being? We could also note that in line with Eusebius' narratives, Licinius in the above connection is only sane because he is seen on the side of Constantine. Later on, he would be insane when he began to challenge Constantine.¹⁰³⁸

5.16.5. God and the colonisers of Mashonaland

We have already come across information to the effect that Anglican Bishops put under the spotlight in our work were, in the main, bad ambassadors of Christ by virtue of supporting colonial systems that we have categorised as constituting the denial of what God stands for. They often subscribed to the will of civil authorities that was usually confused with the will of God in most cases. Either they were afraid of, or sympathetic to, or in solidarity with colonisers or simply uncertain of how to deal with the political as well as socio-economic realities in their respective Mashonaland contexts. The Anglican Church to this end did not come with good news to the poor and oppressed of the indigenous people in Mashonaland but an accomplice in crimes against humanity, in the main. It supported the powerful white people who were bent on protecting their ill-gotten privileges.

We have seen that the whites used the gun against the spear to assert their human authority. When we look at Anglican leaders in this context, this is not what would normally be expected from the bishops of the Church. Like Eusebius of Caesarea, they went on to celebrate the empire while insisting that it was progressing along the lines of divine providence without reference to human weaknesses that were manifest in the rule of Constantine. However, the way the emperor is presented to us by Eusebius shows that he is of God and thoroughly Christian even from the beginning.

5.16.6. Emperor Constantine's Christian upbringing

The following narrative puts us into the picture of Constantine's upbringing. Eusebius of Caesarea would like us to appreciate the fact that God was always at

¹⁰³⁸. Eusebius: Church History, Bk. IX.IX.1, op.cit.p.764

the centre of the Empire he wrote about in eulogistic terms. In his continued appraisals of the father of Constantine, he observes that,

Accordingly, during the whole course of his quiet and peaceful reign, he dedicated his entire household, his children, his wife, and domestic attendants, to the One Supreme God: so that the company assembled within the walls of his palace differed in no respect from a church of God; wherein were also to be found his ministers, who offered continual supplications on behalf of their prince, and this at a time when, with most, it was not allowable to have any dealings with the worshipers of God, even so far as to exchange a word with them.¹⁰³⁹

We are here presented with a Christian hero who did something extremely radical in a compromised context. That Constantius I's palace resembled the "the church of God" leaves us with no other choice as to accept him as a ruler sent by God and therefore able to influence his family in a Christian manner.

The scenario with which we are presented here speaks volumes in terms of our theme of the theology of empire. According to Eusebius, we have the head of the civil service within the matrix of the Roman Empire who is dedicated to God; his entire household and his ministers. We are talking about the father of Emperor Constantine, Constantius I, and we have already used the above information to criticise Constantine's behaviour. It is a family of God in this regard and, therefore, easier to identify it with the Church. Was this the reality or something imposed by the pen of the historian Eusebius? We are also informed that theirs was an extremely courageous position given that worshippers of God were not popular at all. Hence, our conclusion is that Constantine's father was doing something radical in the name of God.

5.16.7. Eusebius on the emperor's Christian background

We are worried about what Eusebius claims in connection with the Christian upbringing of Emperor Constantine. Naturally, we interrogate other views to test such claims. It is in this line of thought that Mark Edwards makes the following observation,

Constantine owed his coronation in 306 to his father's troops; it was also, we are told, from the example of Constantius I that he imbibed his disposition to monotheism. Of course, a political autocrat will always find it expedient to suppose that heaven also is a monarchy; of course, his soldiers will be inclined to adopt the

¹⁰³⁹ Eusebius, *Life*: Bk. I.XVII., op.cit. p.938f

sun, the ubiquitous companion of their travels, as the ensign of that monarchy. Constantine's *Oration to the Saints* reveals that he, like all good Christians, saw the solar disc as nothing more than an icon of the Sun of Righteousness, but demotic piety may have been less austere.¹⁰⁴⁰

The idea of a purely Christian upbringing is elusive in this connection. Monotheism may not necessarily refer to Christianity exclusively.

Above is an outright rejection by Edwards to the claim that Constantine was brought up in a Christian family. Our reservations are boosted by the understanding that had Constantine been exposed to Christianity at this early stage of his life, there would have been no need to be concerned about his conversion later on. More so, we are worried about what that upbringing amounted to.

Noel Lenski helps us to appreciate further what is at stake in the preceding connection in line with the life of Constantine. We could highlight Lenski's position by summing it up as follows:

Firstly, in early 307, Constantine had

campaigns against the Frankish tribes along the lower Rhine, captured their chieftains Ascaric and Merogaisus, paraded them in a triumphal procession, and had them fed to the beasts in the arena of Augusta Treverorum (Trier).¹⁰⁴¹

Here is a Christian and pious emperor at work and still appealing to Eusebius as a Christian bishop. The major problem here is that such vile acts are done in the name of God. We reminded ourselves of such heinous acts even in Rhodesia when white people wanted to subjugate the indigenous through military force.

Secondly, and

remarkably, Constantine spared his father-in-law, keeping him under house arrest, until the incorrigible Maximian hatched a final plot to assassinate

¹⁰⁴⁰ Edwards, M., 2007: The beginnings of Christianization, In [The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine](#), Cambridge University Press, UK. p.141. Available online at: http://0cco.cambridge.org.oasis.unisa.ac.za/uid=2729/pdf_handler?id=ccol0521818389_CCOL0521818389A009&pdf_hh=1. Accessed on 24 September 2012

¹⁰⁴¹ Lenski, N. The reign of Constantine, in [The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine](#), Cambridge University Press, UK. p.63 Available online at: <http://0cco.cambridge.org.oasis.unisa.ac.za/uid=2729/pdf> , Accessed on 24 September 2012.

Constantine (if we can believe Lactantius), in consequence of which he was arrested and forced to commit suicide.¹⁰⁴²

It is still the Christian and pious emperor who is associated with such an act that is open to moral censure. There is nothing in this act that demonstrates to us that we are here faced with a Christian hero. These are barbaric acts to which we are exposed when we look at Constantine from this angle. It becomes imperative, therefore, to see the Christian virtues ascribed to Constantine as mere garlands from the pen of a historian.

Thirdly, we are informed that:

...chief among Constantine's many virtues as a military leader was his willingness to act boldly and swiftly. Rather than bide his time as relations deteriorated or wait for Maxentius to attack him, Constantine assembled a compact crack force and vaulted over the Alps in the spring of 312. When he encountered resistance in the Alpine town of Segusio (Susa), he burned it.¹⁰⁴³

Again we are confronted with acts that might make it problematic to associate Constantine with Christian heroism. He seems to have been a master of terror and plunder. Appealing to God will lead to the unfortunate conclusion we have already dared to the effect that none in their right senses would submit to such a god freely. Extreme fear would be the normal reaction to such a vindictive God.

In line with the preceding observations by Lenski, we are told that imperial propaganda influenced by Constantine went on to portray Maxentius as a "cruel tyrant" and not as a "rival emperor."¹⁰⁴⁴ This is our curiosity in this context. When the victors are eager to tell only their side of the story and this is recorded as the only history that matters. The defeat of Maxentius and the pro-Constantine propaganda that followed depicted him as "liberator" and "establisher of peace."¹⁰⁴⁵

Around A.D.326, we read that Constantine ordered the execution of his son Crispus.¹⁰⁴⁶ In this connection another critic, Lenski, goes on to note:

¹⁰⁴². Lenski, op.cit. p.66

¹⁰⁴³. Ibid p.69

¹⁰⁴⁴. Ibid.p.70

¹⁰⁴⁵. Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁶. Ibid, p.79

Shortly after that he ordered his wife Fausta killed in a gruesome fashion – cooked to death in a superheated bath chamber. The reason for these brutal family murders remains a mystery. Sources favourable to Constantine, especially Eusebius, gloss over the events without mention.¹⁰⁴⁷

It is clear in this connection that scholars such as Lenski are concerned about the selectivity that Eusebius pursues to extreme levels in order to support emperor Constantine. Again, why would a Christian historian elect to narrate facts in such a biased manner?

5.16.8. Massacre of the weak in the name of God

For a politician who had been brought up in a godly family, such base cruelty, as outlined above, speaks volumes in the negative and we include these references for emphasis' sake. There was no prophetic voice to challenge the emperor who had converted to Christianity, or had he converted Christianity to his empire?¹⁰⁴⁸ Because of the propaganda in question, we emphasise the fact that Maxentius' fate falls squarely into the category of negative predestination. It seems was created a loser in the schemes of God, to begin with! This follows from what Eusebius is saying to us in the foregoing connection about Constantine's piety.

However, we are concerned about the credibility of pious people who master the art of war, brutality and plunder in the name of God. We have repeated this point several times now using the Mashonaland context where civilisation and Christianity were used as an excuse to massacre the indigenous people. The latter did not seem to matter as long as those who claimed to be Christian emperors were responsible. We are concerned that Christian historians within the Mashonaland context would find it easier to ignore the magnitude of this moral laxity and narrate the history in question from a one-sided perspective. It is clear that the challenge is to acknowledge the good works done by missionaries but from the point of view of our theme, the evils that accompanied such work should be narrated emphatically as well. Circumspection seems to be the most appealing method in this connection regarding narrating history. We are talking about an approach that could be inclusive and, therefore, be free unwarranted bias.

¹⁰⁴⁷. Lenski, *op.cit.*p.79

¹⁰⁴⁸. Kee, *op.cit.* pp.154-156.

The preceding comments become more urgent if we consider the way Eusebius was writing. His one-sided approach ensures that there is no room for any one opposed to Constantine to be so privileged as well in terms of getting divine support. In this connection Eusebius again informs us:

And God himself, whom Constantine worshipped, has confirmed this truth by the clearest manifestations of his will, being present to aid him at the commencement, during the course, and at the end of his reign, and holding him up to the human race as an instructive example of godliness. Accordingly, by the manifold blessings he has conferred on him, he has distinguished him alone of all the sovereigns of whom we have ever heard as at once a mighty luminary and most clear-voiced herald of genuine piety.¹⁰⁴⁹

It is clear that the way this narrative is presented leaves no room for contrary opinions. God is taking the lead in favour of the emperor, and, therefore, no human could contradict this state of affairs. Again, our worries are elevated to extreme levels when we hear the emperor whose brutality speaks volumes being advanced as the one blessed by God from beginning to end. That blunt terrorism would also be understood as an “instructive example of godliness” seems to rob us of any correct understanding of who God is. This also challenges us to interrogate whether Eusebius himself understood the other side of God that seems to make sense. That side seems to be the one that appeals to the majority of Christians for it talks, as MacCulloch reminded us earlier, of humility, love and forgiveness and not a capricious and vindictive God –not even the God of battles!

That we are dealing with a kind of romanticised case, the historian Eusebius prefers to advance to us, is a fact that is obvious from the words utilised. Firstly, it seems to be the case that God was on Constantine’s side and to none other. That God for us would be a discriminatory being. The emperor in the same context is the only “example of godliness.” Above all, the emperor received blessings in abundance during his lifetime. Secondly, to qualify our context, Cecil John Rhodes, who colonised Mashonaland and named it Rhodesia, could be justified to see God in the same light preferred for the Roman Empire given all that he acquired in the process.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁹. Pamphilus, E., *Life*, op.cit. Bk. I.IV. op.cit. pp.930f.

¹⁰⁵⁰. Rhodesia - Mzilikazi to Smith, 1977: *Africa Institute Bulletin*, 15, (unpaged). Available online at: [Url](#):

Therefore we should agree with Beaven who wanted to dedicate a chapel to Cecil John Rhodes in the Cathedral in Salisbury to honour God for the role played by this British capitalist in Mashonaland. Europeans in Rhodesia always claimed to be representing Christianity and the civilisation associated with it.¹⁰⁵¹ Could we not rightly say that the Christian God they worshipped granted them the many blessings that saw them enjoying the best of the country for nearly a century while subjugating black people by using the same excuse? The idea of blessings in this context becomes a controversial question if not elusive. The theology of empire would require us to understand that historically, blessings are those successes recorded for the privileged in society regardless of the legitimacy or morality of the processes followed. In short, our understanding of blessings within the Mashonaland context must be challenged. This is because blessings are always viewed as successes that seem to sacrifice human lives for the sake of a privileged few and in the name of God. This is why the theology of empire must be seen as continuing to challenge us when it comes to history narratives that align themselves with the work of God in this world.

We have tried, in line with the preceding, to demonstrate that some of the historians who have attempted to document the developments in Mashonaland tended to sympathise with the Anglican Bishops rather too much¹⁰⁵² and, therefore, command the Eusebian legacy of prophetic dearth. As a result, incriminating evidence against the missionaries and colonisers is excluded. It is only the Anglican missionaries' efforts that amount to hard work and self-sacrifice that are insisted upon without reference to the outcomes of all that impacted negatively especially on the indigenous people. We are faced with a worrisome methodology of evangelism in this connection that historians could be quick to acknowledge but reluctant to question.

<http://www.rhodesia.nl/mztosm.html>. Accessed on 2 February 2014. This article indicates that „Rhodes had “considerable financial resources, derived from control of De Beers and Gold Fields of South Africa”

¹⁰⁵¹. Thomas, NE, op.cit. p.123. Ian Douglas Smith, then prime minister of Rhodesia and leader of the RF is quoted as saying that, his unilateral declaration of independence was a Christian gesture!

¹⁰⁵². We have already given Arnold's here to stay as a good example.

Up to now, we have maintained that the prophetic voice consistent with Christianity was compromised in this regard since the Anglican leadership in question simply blessed the *status quo* and never challenged it just as Eusebius did in his context. Narratives that put the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and the settlers into some critical tribunal happen to be a scarce commodity in this context. There are many questions that concern us in this connection: Those that interrogate how Christianity and military brutality could be seen as sociable are urgent. Those that are impatient with the idea of Christianity sanctioning the dispossession of the indigenous people are numerous. In addition, questions that seek to establish how Christianity and fraud could be seen as finding no fault with the idea of partnerships are abundant. In short, there are questions that could be seen as challenging the whole idea of missionary Christianity and evil working hand-in-hand without causing any major moral outrage. These questions are urgent in the preceding connection. The Mashonaland case and the Roman Empire seem to have some similar Christian acquaintances when it comes to narrating their respective histories. Eusebius' approach seems to be a model regarding how Church historians of the Diocese of Mashonaland have exposed some of the urgent developments in this context.

Eusebius seems to be out to convince us that there is a way of looking at facts that have nothing to do with the positive appreciation of values and convictions, in line with the above, as he advances his case for Constantine. To this effect, he writes again,

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. Moreover, God forthwith rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before.¹⁰⁵³

This is not the first time we have come across such a eulogy by a Christian historian on behalf of the emperor. Success comes from God, and that is all that could be said, according to Eusebius. In a world where even the Christian God

¹⁰⁵³. Pamphilus, E., Life, Bk. I. IV, op.cit. p.931

could not be acknowledged and where people fight, victors are likely to emerge. The narrative being presented by Eusebius here seems to be weak.

However, Eusebius is even more determined to offer narratives about a Christian empire. He is even more emphatic about the emperor's virtue when he goes on to observe that,

So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.¹⁰⁵⁴

Effectively, we are talking about an emperor who was a living saint. He enjoyed everything good that God could offer to rulers moulded in his fashion. Furthermore, his colonial ambitions are seen as blessings. In this work, we have elected to focus, emphatically on the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, and how it could be understood by utilising the Eusebian model of writing history. We have already demonstrated that colonialism as applied in this context happens to be very problematic yet not being challenged.

When Eusebius presents the foregoing model of an emperor, it becomes imperative to examine the Mashonaland context. We are persuaded to appreciate the attitudes of missionaries to the whole colonial enterprise that began to take shape in Mashonaland during the late nineteenth century. To this end, we could present our own problematic narratives along the following lines:

Europeans were people sent by God if the Constantinean model presented by Eusebius makes any sense. This granted, whatever else the settlers did in Mashonaland to their advantage and at the expense of the indigenous: looting, exploiting the indigenous, instituting racism, land grabbing and such related atrocities, were the work of God. Missionary efforts would then be in the service of those who were intent on occupying land that did not belong to them under the direction of God. They were leaving Europe that was not open to the same process of being grabbed by the fastest and the most militant forces. It is clear

¹⁰⁵⁴. Pamphilus, E., *Life*, Bk. I. IV, *op.cit.* p.931

therefore: our worry here is that such developments have been treated as though nothing much to the contrary could be said. Taking full advantage of the weaker races is advanced to us as a reward for the most powerful by God. Consequently, and from the point of view of the theology of empire, being militarily weak is indeed a curse of God. That Jesus ever taught about the meek and poor being blessed has no room in this kind of narrating history.

In line with the foregoing, how violent colonisation was to be given a Christian face requires us to ask the same for Eusebius' context, where a ferocious emperor could be seen as an example of godly virtue. Therefore, we have a problem when we allow a narrative that is not sympathetic to the victims of greed and wanton ambition to go unchallenged. The theme of the theology of empire seems to give us opportunities to interrogate historical narratives that seem to be at the service of the rich and powerful. What would become of history if it were to be emphatic in terms of exposing the blunders of the usurpers of other humans no matter how noble their justification?

There is need to say something emphatic about the issue of prophetic leadership that has been raised above because in the Mashonaland under scrutiny it is still a burning issue. It is also important if historical narratives about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland were to be allowed some significant space. According to Ikenye,

Prophetic leadership is not about prediction about the future of church, its leadership or its membership; rather it is telling and living the truth as revealed by the Word of God in Scripture. Prophecy also means preaching and teaching the Word of God with power, with the goal of telling the truth that sets people free, and equipping them for the works of service. Prophecy also involves discerning and distinguishing the spirits and voices, idols and demonic powers which make claims in the lives of the people of God.¹⁰⁵⁵

Perhaps it is the latter point that is extremely relevant to the context we are highlighting within the Diocese of Mashonaland. As we look for narratives about this Church, we must also pay attention to the leadership styles common and how they impacted on the indigenous peoples. The fact that there were extremely few prophetic voices within the Diocese of Mashonaland is a point to which we are

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ikenye, A.J.B.: 2012, Modelling servant-leaders for Africa: Lessons from St Paul, Zapf Chancery, Eldoret, Kenya, p.3

consistently alluding and could be testified by some of the documental evidence we have consulted.

The theme of the theology of empire on which we are focusing requires us to admit that when it is about glorifying human leaders without reference to the truth, God could not be said to be part of the process. Ikenye's observations above in connection with prophetic leadership should be taken seriously. If the ultimate glorification of human leaders does not involve setting people free, then the prophetic voice of the Church has been severely compromised. Could we not be justified to talk about the demon called materialism taking centre-stage in Mashonaland, thereby giving rise to an Anglican Church that did not challenge this selfish acquisition of resources? Critical to our case is that this was done by one group of people at the expense of another, and, hence, the Church leadership found itself forfeiting that special and critical role to be prophetic in a given context. To this extent, we could agree with Ikenye. Anglican missionaries in Mashonaland could not be said to have been representatives of the liberating truth we are worried about here, because theirs was a clear case of compromise that was never really documented in any detail. Their sermons should have been punctuated by urgent reminders that the Rhodesian situation was not sustainable as Cripps tried to argue. We raise these concerns under the cover of facts that discredit colonial greedy in Rhodesia and everything associated with it.

5.17. Challenge from the first century Church

The problem we are trying to highlight in this context could be appreciated if some views about the history of the Church before Constantine is taken into serious consideration. The narratives inspired by the theology of empire dialogue could also be seen as being boosted by developments that date back to this period. The question of why historians would find it critical to glorify individuals with socio-political as well as economic ambitions within church circles must concern us here as we evaluate the fourth-century Christian context against the background of what Christianity had gone through before. Of what benefit would the control of power and wealth be to the Church as an institution meant to serve humanity as a whole? The Christian church went through more than three centuries of

persecution and never was there this urgent need to assume positions of influence in society and to transform Jesus Christ into a potentate of this world or a major exponent of such aspirations. There is no biblical intimation to the effect that Jesus Christ would sanction military conquest in the name of the gospel imperatives one day in order to convert the world.

Edwin Essex, in line with the preceding points, notes it so cogently when he observes that,

The history of the Church from the stoning of St. Stephen, the first martyr, in the year of 36 A.D. up to the time of the Declaration of Religious Liberty in 313, is a history of Christian persecution, Christian heroism, and Christian bloodshed.¹⁰⁵⁶

Christians of the first three centuries, therefore, did not seem to have been concerned with getting imperial protection exclusively, but were perhaps more concerned with how best the Christian faith could be lived in challenging socio-political as well as economic and religious environments. Those Christians never imagined their cause being decided by the sword. MacCulloch writes to the point when he reminds us that even the violent Saul of Tarsus, who had seen Stephen being murdered, got converted sometime after this incident.¹⁰⁵⁷ Clearly, neither the sword nor the gun could settle matters pertaining to God. Why the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century saw a different approach to the spread of the Christian faith is a question we raise against the background of what transpired from the time of Emperor Constantine onwards. Historians within the Anglican context of Mashonaland should not proceed as though missionary Christianity was not aware that the founder of missions did not support violence although his death had been the result of it. That God raised him to life is a clear indication that there is no need to engage human armies in bringing the message of Jesus Christ to all parts of the world.

The Mashonaland Anglican context we are scrutinising is not advanced to us as one that was conscious of this piece of early church history for it should have been alert to the fact that force had never been appealed to as a successful tool in the

¹⁰⁵⁶. Essex, E., 1913: Constantine the Great and the Peace of the Church: The Sixteenth Centenary 313-1913. The Irish Monthly, (Irish Jesuit Province), Ireland, 41(483) p.478. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20503448>. Accessed 14 December 2011.

¹⁰⁵⁷. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.97

hands of Christians. Now guns were appealed to in Mashonaland and the indigenous subdued in a context in which missionaries were more critical than policemen according to Rhodes' appreciation.¹⁰⁵⁸ The Christianity in the first three hundred years of our common era could only make sense if it were a theological expression informed by the need to maintain the identity of genuine belief in God as taught by Jesus Christ and not as distorted by those who did not understand who the Saviour of the world really is.¹⁰⁵⁹

Therefore, we are faced with a first through to the third century Christianity that was not afraid of the secular establishments to the extent of compromising the rationale of its existence. From such information, we could safely maintain that it was a Christianity that saw itself as inspired to confront and transform the world without losing its focus on making God relevant. It was not about asserting the ambitions of humanity in an exclusive mode.

We contend that the Christianity described above aimed at pleasing God rather than the elite among human beings in Southern Rhodesia who included Cecil John Rhodes and those who supported his imperial ideals. We know that when the will of God prevails, it cannot be seen to contradict the indigenous people of Rhodesia at all but to promote their well-being. The British aspirations in our context could not always be said to have conformed to the will of the divine, and this has been the most problematic theme in the Anglican Church history in Rhodesia.

Nevertheless, that missions were founded in many parts of the country could not be used as an argument for success. Other colonial institutions enjoyed the same privilege of being established all over the country. We are talking here about farms, industries, mines, and even schools to the extent that we could not link their successful establishments to God, but to human ambition. It is important, therefore, to bear this fact in mind that our insistence on the theme of the theology

¹⁰⁵⁸. Parker, *ibid.* p.28. (Education of Africans In Southern Rhodesia) "Rhodes is understood as maintaining that, "one missionary was worth fifty policemen in his influence for good upon the Africans"

¹⁰⁵⁹. Grant, R.M., 1970. *Augustus to Constantine: The rise and triumph of Christianity in the Roman world*, London, UK: Westminster John Knox Press, London, UK, p.78. (N.B. On the same page it is clear that Christians were suspected of crimes inclusive of failing to acknowledge "Caesar as their master"; "being hostile to the Roman state"; capable of arson as Nero charged, and ill-disposed towards humanity.

of empire gives us an opportunity to advance arguments that should demonstrate how Christianity, and, therefore, missionary work should be in a very different category from colonial projects.

Elmer Truesdell Merrill, in line with the above contention, puts it so cogently when he observes that pre-Constantine Christianity had already outwitted the common pagan and imperial cults that had done nothing to support the state systems of the day.¹⁰⁶⁰ These cultic movements seemed to be of no socio-political or religious significance in the eyes of those with voracious imperial ambitions. It is in this connection, that the Christian identity became so particular and indeed impressive as well as expressive. Merrill, in the preceding connection, goes on to add that, "The Christian Church was a unique and imposing phenomenon in Roman society. It had found the mass of its earlier adherents among the poor and lowly of this world."¹⁰⁶¹

Here we could argue for divine intervention since the victors were extremely weak people who never took up arms to assert their cause. They were peaceful and confident that the God, in whom they believed, would fight on their behalf without them being actively involved in any violent behaviour.¹⁰⁶² They did not even align their missionary programmes to any of those with which the civil authorities were busy. This state of affairs, we could safely assume, was extremely attractive to people such as Emperor Constantine, but who went on to impose his own distorted approach to the gospel.

In line with the above, Merrill goes on to observe that:

But by the beginning of the fourth century all this was changed. Christianity counted its members now among all classes of the population. Moreover, it was a body outside the state, indeed, but of the thoroughly efficient organisation. Whether the majority of the inhabitants of the Roman world were now Christians is, to be sure, doubtful; but if not in the majority, Christians formed, like the

¹⁰⁶⁰. Merrill, E.T. 1919. The Church in the fourth century. In: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, USA, 50, p., 103. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/282921>. Accessed on 14 December 2011

¹⁰⁶¹. *Ibid.* p.103

¹⁰⁶². Grant, *op.cit.* p.88. Of course we are informed that other people did not take the majority of Christians seriously for they saw them as a group of misguided faith. A certain Lucian even satirised the Christians' conduct.

prohibitionists of today, a large, enthusiastic, organized, active, efficient, and therefore pre-dominant minority.¹⁰⁶³

In the foregoing connection, it could be argued that while, the Christian character was now extremely imposing, it was not military power, colonialism or land grabbing that defined it. It was the power of the good news that won the day by ensuring that the quality of life people lived in the name of God could be appreciated by even more people. Only people with ulterior motives such as empire building could hijack God's work to further their own human ends. However, could this be the only explanation that makes sense in this context regarding how Constantine understood his empire in the face of Christianity?

In the preceding connection, Charls Odahl seems to make it easier for us to appreciate what was at stake here when he observes, in connection with Constantine's ambitions and calculations, that,

Noting that the previous generation of emperors who had followed traditional pagan cults and persecuted the Christian Church had come to unhappy ends, he invoked the "Highest God" of the universe through prayer for aid and power in his time of trial.¹⁰⁶⁴

We have here an emperor who was aware of what others before him were faced and, hence, worried about appeasing the gods. Odahl goes on to note that,

Believing that he received an answer to this appeal through revelatory experiences from the God of the Christians, he decided to employ the caelestia signa of Christ as talismanic emblems on the arms of his troops.¹⁰⁶⁵

Military victory seems to be urgent for Constantine and not so much faith in Christ. Any god promising victory could have won the emperor's heart, it seems. The idea of using a Christian sign as "talismanic" happens to be a curious development if we were to focus on the emperor's conviction. However, we are informed that,

The emperor's climactic victory over the forces of Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312, convinced him that he had made the right choice for a divine patron and that he should direct his religious loyalty to this Divinity in the future.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶³. Merrill, p.103f.

¹⁰⁶⁴. Odahl, C. 1996. God And Constantine: Divine sanction for imperial rule in the first Christian emperors' early letters and Art, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 1996. Catholic University of America Press, USA 81(3) p. 327. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25024522>. Accessed: on 17 September 2016.

¹⁰⁶⁵. Ibid.p.327

¹⁰⁶⁶. Ibid.

It must, therefore, be seen as prudent to talk about more than one attraction to the Christian faith that moved the emperor Constantine. Of major significance in this connection is the personal, perhaps more selfish reasons than faith in the Christian God for its sake. We heard earlier from MacCulloch, that it was not the humble God manifesting himself through Jesus Christ that Constantine admired. He wanted a God who believed in violence, rather than peace.

In addition to the above and on the issue of faith, Merrill observes that,

Constantine discerned the advantage of winning for the State the hearty support of this vast and inevitably growing corporate power. However, in order to secure this end, there must be the offer of a sufficient *quid pro quo*. This must evidently include not merely toleration (that had already been conceded), not merely recognition, protection, and the right to hold corporate property, but the reinforcement of the ecclesiastical by the temporal authority - something beyond what the Roman state had ever before undertaken in matters of religion.¹⁰⁶⁷

Clearly, then, we are looking at facts which concur on the fact that Christianity was not being considered by the emperor because of its salvific claims but for reasons very much tied to the political and military advantages as interpreted by the emperor. Assurance of victory meant that the emperor could also reciprocate by being extremely generous to the Church. Again, Cecil John Rhodes comes to mind in this connection.

For us, in line with the foregoing context, whether it was mere superstition as to the efficacy of the Christian God in terms of the emperor's ambitions or the obvious impact the Christians were making within the empire, it could be maintained that the idea of the emperor mixing his authority with that of God in religious matters was urgent. Our argument in this context requires us to accept the imposition of imperial power on the Church and, thereby distorting the Christianity that had survived the preceding three centuries. When Eusebius wrote about the emperor, he did not highlight this shortfall and we are referring to the fact that this historian seems to have bequeathed this attitude of writing Church History to generations who came many centuries after him such as those who have elected to write about the Diocese of Mashonaland in Rhodesia.

¹⁰⁶⁷. Merrill *op.cit.*, p.104.

5.17.0. The pre-Constantinean Church model

We could safely conclude that no serious politician of fourth century Rome could therefore afford to side-line the Christian Church that had not yet been compromised. Yet, there was also something even more attractive about that very Christianity prevalent within the Empire that could not escape the eyes of those prone to political pragmatism. There is a need to be emphatic about that Christianity because it helps us to assert its uniqueness as opposed to the Christianity that came to rely more on the powers of this world as we have seen happening in the country called Rhodesia. We are insisting on the fact that Christianity even in Rhodesia, did not need to come swaddled in colonial garb in order to establish itself and become part of the indigenous religious matrices. Its attraction did not need the support of maxim guns.

In addition to the above, we are informed how the early Christians ordered themselves within the Roman Empire. In this regard, Merrill notes that,

Their communities, centred about their local bishops, thickly dotted the map from Abyssinia and Assyria to farthest Britain. They not only exchanged information and advice with one another, but they had also learned to act together in local councils, which drew from large areas, and legislated on matters of faith and order.¹⁰⁶⁸

We are faced with a Christianity that could rightly be narrated about using eulogistic terms because it aimed at converting people and not colonising them. Its aims went beyond mundane limitations that could be defined in economic as well as political terms. The following could be said about the Christianity that prevailed before usurpation of its authority by the empire:

Firstly, it aimed at affirming the hopes and aspirations of people and not thwarting them by using military force. Secondly, people became Christians because they admired the way of life led by Jesus Christ's followers as the book of Acts of the Apostles reminds us.¹⁰⁶⁹ It would be distorting history if the problems of Christianity in Mashonaland were to be ignored in our narratives. We must still

¹⁰⁶⁸. Merrill.op.cit.p.104, See also Grant's work cited above, pp.219-220

¹⁰⁶⁹. Acts 2:42ff

come across literature that could inform us that Anglican missionaries in Rhodesia conducted themselves in ways that attracted the indigenous people on the basis of their simplicity and apostolicity. It is only when there is evidence of such Christianity that we can begin to talk about fitting into the scheme of things or relevance as we mentioned earlier when we looked at the definitions of Anglicanism.

With reference to the fourth century in line with the preceding paragraphs, some authorities make us understand that Constantine came to appreciate and to exploit the resilience of Christians in affirming the good news for his own ends.¹⁰⁷⁰ The Church was already a formidable institution by the time Constantine took over the leadership of the Roman Empire. Its structures could be said to have been attractive as the above passage suggests.

We make the foregoing point at this juncture to help us appreciate developments that historians, such as Eusebius, would not find fascinating to narrate. Any conscientious politician with military interests in a volatile atmosphere would certainly take advantage of ideas and expressions that tend to promote desired ends, that is, that of unity and, therefore, the cessation of hostilities that had obvious negative implications for their power base. In the politically erratic Roman Empire before him, Constantine seems to have been worried about concord and, therefore, what Christianity offered were opportunities that would make the amalgamation of people feasible as the passage cited above supports.¹⁰⁷¹ The understanding handed down to us is that Constantine did indeed calculate the rewards of aligning himself with the God who had already proved their mettle in terms of resilience and uniting those responsive and sympathetic to their cause.¹⁰⁷² Whether he was interested in remaining faithful to that God seems to be a question that must continue to baffle us given the fact that Constantine was even boastful about being helped to militarily conquer other tyrannies through the power of Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁷⁰. Merrill, op.cit.p.104

¹⁰⁷¹. Contrast this view with that of MacCulloch (2009), p.191, to the effect that the Christians did not really make an impact on Constantine: it was the Christian God who he turned into a God of battles.

¹⁰⁷². MacCulloch, op.cit.p.191

¹⁰⁷³. Odahl, op.cit.p.328

Nevertheless, the unfortunate thing is that the good news as proclaimed by Jesus Christ never referred to military campaigns in his name and, therefore, we worry about this fourth century development. We also are concerned about anyone who now or in the past or the future will justify the use of violence in the name of God. We have maintained that God cannot be advanced as being at war with himself for that is what violence amounts. The reason why the theme of the theology of empire is attractive in our context derives precisely from this fact that if God is in control of everything in the known universe, there is no way we could find him taking sides especially with the powerful at the expense of the poor and underprivileged.

Eusebius' historiographical project in the preceding connection brings us face-to-face with the problem facing us in this context. The major worry here is how the rulers of this world could manipulate the Gospel of Christ to make it appear as though it was a power game. Given that the Church came to Mashonaland after having been through centuries of struggle we need to be alert. We are talking about the Church that saw all the Romanisation being perfected as well as disguised, especially in Europe. How the leadership in this context would assimilate issues of power and control among the indigenous people, become a curious question here. We are talking about the right of people to be themselves and not what others would like them to be. The right of every individual derives from God and not from what other human beings have worked out. Our appreciation of concepts such as indigenisation makes sense only if we could agree that the process is not initiated by some foreigner but by those who have come to the fullest realisation that in the name of God, there is a certain way of doing things. Our focus clearly tries to discourage, this habit among Africans, of proving to Western Europe that we also could be as religious as they are. That is not our station in life nor is it our mandate as Africans. What is urgent is to discover who we are and to insist on what we think we are worth.

Therefore, in line with the above, indigenisation is not what it is worth only when we could account for it in Mashonaland in terms of what the British brought into the context. It is important to ask ourselves whether Mashonaland began to make

sense only after missionaries such as Knight-Bruce and those who followed him had given their opinion or worked among its people. We could find it difficult to talk about Mashonaland, uniquely if we were not able to insist that before missionaries came, this part of the world existed. The British presence in Mashonaland could then be seen as accidental and not essential.

Therefore, our reference to the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations should be seen as urgent because the whole colonial enterprise left them without the power and authority to take full ownership of their destiny. The British and those aligned to them would be the ones to dictate the rules of engagement even in cultural matters for the indigenous. Again, Africa does not begin to make sense until the British have determined the criterion of adequacy. The indigenous have no meaning unless it is given to them by others. We are worried about perfected ideologies that came to utilise Christian jargon not for its sake but for politico-economic ends. In Mashonaland, we could be persuaded to understand that colonialism was a function of God, and we are raising critical questions about this. That colonialism had nothing to do with the upliftment of the indigenous people, but had everything to do with their demise, is a strong argument we are trying to advance in this connection.

In Constantine, and in line with the preceding, we have already seen that he had his own agenda that could hardly qualify as Christian using today's standards.¹⁰⁷⁴ Could we really argue that the model of narratives preferred by Eusebius is different from the way the Anglican Church in Mashonaland has been advanced to us by historians? We could be persuaded to accept the *status quo* given that this point is advanced against the reality that colonial assertions are made arbitrarily critical to missionary successes.

5.17.1. Imposing God on the life of the Emperor

In the above connection, the historian Eusebius seems to contradict our concerns when he makes drastic claims about Constantine's ascendancy to the throne, just to cite another example. Again, God is referred to as the initiator of developments

¹⁰⁷⁴. MacCulloch, op.cit. p.190

in this imperial context. The ground is already set for a new way of understanding Church-state relations and, hence, the living of the Christian faith in new socio-political environments such as the Mashonaland context. In the latter, as we are trying to demonstrate, the Anglican Church's agenda would be difficult to separate from the colonial programmes of the day that involved bringing the indigenous people permanently under British control.

5.17.2. Eusebius and colonialism

Our concerns in the above connection are also based on the fact that, in line with Eusebius' understanding, God is always put at the centre in his narratives such that the political ambition prevalent in the context is given a Christian character. Therefore, about the emperor, he observes that,

Thus then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.¹⁰⁷⁵

Clearly, the emperor's role is very much part of the divine plan for the universe, according to Eusebius. If we were to go back to what we have said about Beaven's view of Rhodes, whom he wanted to be remembered by dedicating a chapel within the Cathedral in Salisbury to him, some similarities could be detected. Why an imperialist would be given space in the cathedral unless his role was interpreted as divine by those who benefited from his sponsorship, is a cause for concern. In short, such a dedication would have been a clear indication that colonialism in Mashonaland was very Christian. The lack of critical narratives, by historians in this context, on the attitudes of Anglican bishops towards colonisers in Mashonaland, seems to distort history for us. It is as if God had imposed Cecil John Rhodes in Mashonaland and, therefore, the Church could simply accept the *status quo*. Instead of questioning the legitimacy of colonial rule in Mashonaland, it is clear that Bishops in the mould of Beaven would baptise the process and thereby give it a Christian face. In doing this, Beaven would not have been doing something radically contrary to what his predecessors' opinions could support.

¹⁰⁷⁵. Eusebius, Life of Constantine, 1, XXIV

5.18. T.D. Barnes' critical views on Eusebius' approach

Nevertheless, and in line with the forgoing observations, our understanding of the Anglican Church historiography within the Mashonaland context seems to warrant the reference we are making to the fourth century. Whether we agree with it or not, the assertion that God had given the Roman Empire a ruler according to his own heart is clear from Eusebius' pen as the official Christian historian of the empire. In this section we allow T.D. Barnes some space to lead us in challenging Eusebius's approach.

T.D. Barnes is a scholar of our time. When consulting a document called *Panegyris Latina*, he comes up with some information to the effect that Constantine was first the "designated heir" to the imperial throne.¹⁰⁷⁶ Secondly, and very critical, when his father, Constantius, died, "all his army and all his subjects fixed on Constantine as their new emperor."¹⁰⁷⁷ This information is important in that it helps us to look at Eusebius' claims from another perspective.

We have already seen that Eusebius contradicts the foregoing claim by ruling out the human factor in the election of the emperor Constantine.¹⁰⁷⁸ Considering the fact that the document in question deals with developments around A.D.310 and, therefore, earlier than Eusebius' work that seems to tell the same story from around A.D.337 onwards, we could sense a deliberate manipulation of facts. A normal political event is given a divine dimension to make it even more convincing as we saw from Eusebius' views above, in connection with Constantine's ascendancy to power. What really transpired seems to be told from the point of view of the emperor, as supported by Eusebius, and not really from historical facts as they could be understood.

When history is forced to tell its story from this biased viewpoint, it becomes imperative for those interested in balancing its claims to proceed with a great deal

¹⁰⁷⁶. Barnes, T.D., 1981: *Constantine and Eusebius*, (Harvard, University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England), p.35. This work is extensive in both consultation of original sources and coverage. It gives both sides of Constantine hence exposing the limitations that could be found in Eusebius' appraisals of the empire. Here selected views are seen as relevant to the theme we are following

¹⁰⁷⁷. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁸. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 1, XXIV

of intellectual vigilance. Any favourable development could just be given a Christian face and no questions could be expected as we might not be privy to the historical realities surrounding them. In the case of Constantine, however, we are being helped to see how Eusebius' history could be misleading regarding how God could be said to have been linked to the Roman Empire at this point. Unfortunately, within the Mashonaland context, we do not encounter writings that have so far attempted to challenge narratives given by historians who elected to write about the Anglican Church. Such critical literature is still scarce and, therefore, not comparable to that which Eusebius has been subjected.

The claims to divine volition, in political matters, seem to be a *fait accompli* in the above connection when Eusebius is our main authority. The suppression of human initiatives is evident while divine intervention is preferred as the norm. The historiographical approach preferred is strategic: all claims made in this context on behalf of the emperor are appealing to a Christian audience because God is made a critical dimension. Yet, the historical point here is not so much about disputing what God is capable of doing. Our problem should become acute when in any human context; such claims are made popular through the pen while at the same time human ambitions continue to manifest themselves as obvious, given the various military confrontations that we encounter in this context.

5.18.0. Fear and the writing of history

The point we are making in the preceding connection becomes urgent when we are reminded by Barnes that from the time Constantine succeeded his father in A.D.306 up to A.D.324, there were a series of civil wars through which he emerged as the sole ruler of the empire.¹⁰⁷⁹ Many people could have been overwhelmed by such military victories and so, according to Barnes, those who elected to narrate such developments, had to proceed with a great deal of caution.¹⁰⁸⁰ This means that certain facts had to be suppressed in favour of the contemporary dispensation. Hence, we are made to understand the fact that, on the one hand, there was an ideological strategy to glorify Constantine as a God-

¹⁰⁷⁹. Baines, T.D. 1973. Lactantius and Constantine. *The Journal of Roman Studies, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*, 63, p.29. Available online at: Url: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0075-4358>. Accessed on 18 August 2014.

¹⁰⁸⁰. Ibid.

sent emperor.¹⁰⁸¹ By virtue of the latter, he was out to vanquish all those opposed to God's people.¹⁰⁸² On the other hand, there was fear among those interested in narrating these developments, with the impartiality that could be envisaged.¹⁰⁸³ We are looking at a situation in which, propaganda, and not history, was allowed to dictate the pace of narrating events. This clearly is another reason why the theology of empire could be seen as the criterion of adequacy here.

Perhaps these two facts: the ideological aggressiveness that accompanied Constantine's victories and the urgent need to be politically correct in such a volatile context could be accepted as impacting on the history with which we are presented by authors such as Eusebius of Caesarea. When history is written under the censure of ideological correctness and political fear, perhaps we should find another fitting name for it. We are worried because, in this connection, facts could be suppressed just to keep the narratives interesting for those who could otherwise cause them to be withdrawn from the public. Therefore, we are not only dealing with bias but the fear of consequences that could be risked when narrating events. Under severe censure, a historian might not be fully accountable for his/her work.

5.18.1. Against narratives that favour God as an oppressor

In this section we raise the critical question of whether God could be seen as supporting oppression and whether such a narrative could be sustainable. If God was to be taken as an oppressor, we could find it difficult to understand them as having a universal appeal. Therefore, taking the fourth-century scenario, such a political project as advanced by Eusebius, in line with the above, would require us to assume that it is perfect to subdue other people by virtue of being profoundly embedded in the divine, and therefore, God's initiative.¹⁰⁸⁴ Theologically expressed, a divinely inspired institution should be seen as diametrically opposed

¹⁰⁸¹. Baines, op.cit.p.29

¹⁰⁸². Ibid.

¹⁰⁸³. Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁴. Porter, A. (ed.), 2003: *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions 1880-1914*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, UK. p.25. There are indications that blood confrontations were very much opposed to some section of the British church people as supported by the disapproval of Rhodes' war with the Ndebele people in 1893.

to that which is lock, stock and barrel, human.¹⁰⁸⁵ The problem here seems to be the failure to distinguish between the human master and God. The politician's ambitions must not always be seen as compliant to divine sanction without the possibility of human wantonness.¹⁰⁸⁶ These observations become urgent given the developments of the fourth century.

Averil Cameron in line with the above and looking at what was happening in the period in question observes that "Constantine was as ruthless as any in his pursuit of personal ambition, and sought divine help where he found it expedient".¹⁰⁸⁷ This is a direct challenge to the eulogies that could be preferred on the Emperor Constantine, especially with his close affinities with the Christian God. The same God had not raised any Christian armies in the past three centuries (AD1-AD300). He had not promoted ruthlessness or such pursuit of wanton vengeance and greed within the same period that saw the fame of Jesus Christ growing from strength to strength.

In our context, and in addition to what has already been said, we are trying to raise the concern that the difference between Rhodes and Jesus should not have been underestimated by some Anglican missionaries. The fact that the Shona and Ndebele had no obligation to associate whiteness (as a biological given) with God is a point that could be seen as absent in narratives that highlight missionary successes in our context. We should anticipate balanced narratives that could expose both the human and divine aspects of missionary work in Mashonaland. This could then be a measure to discourage any possible usurpation of powers by mere mortals who may want to impose the divine factor for their own egocentric ends such as colonisation and the subjugation of people in the name of God and through writings that claim to be history.

5.18.2. Taking God for granted in historical narratives

¹⁰⁸⁵. Merrill, op.cit. p.105. Here we are reminded that Tertullian's contention was that to be emperor and Christian was not a consistent state of affairs.

¹⁰⁸⁶. Again, we have in mind Cecil John Rhodes' ambitions in Mashonaland.

¹⁰⁸⁷. Cameron, A., 2014:Constantine and the 'peace of the church'. In: The Cambridge History of Christianity, Cambridge University Press, p.541, Available online at: Url: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521812399.032>. Accessed on 21 August 2014

In this section we continue to emphasise the fact that God-talk is not an easy subject. There is evidence for this. If, for example, people of first century Palestine could not even comprehend the presence of God in Jesus Christ, how could historians in the fourth century Rome find it so easy to see God in the emperors such as Constantine? In Eusebius' context and the ultimate interpretation of events, we seem to have been robbed of the capacity to make discrete conclusions along these lines. The major problem here is even more complicated by claims of God who seems to be partial, advancing imperial decrees to the level of infallibility by design.¹⁰⁸⁸ To a modern way of theological interpretation, the distinction between what is purely human and what is divine must continue to be a challenge, especially when narrating the history of the Church's encounter with people who had no prior knowledge of Christianity such as the indigenous in Mashonaland.

5.18.3. Constantine's divine ascendance problematic

It should be noted that by the time Eusebius had made the observation to the effect that Constantine was a divine candidate, he also had already made an earlier statement that must be of interest to us here. In connection with Constantine taking over from his father Eusebius notes that,

Nor did the imperial throne remain unoccupied long: for Constantine invested himself with his father's purple, and proceeded from his father's palace, presenting a renewal to all, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign.¹⁰⁸⁹

The language Eusebius uses in his narrative continues to challenge us. The vesting of Constantine seems to be his own personal initiative after realising that his father was no more. But his ambition is overshadowed by the fact that Eusebius wants to premise the whole development on God's initiative. Our problem for the theology of empire is made acute here.

Nevertheless, the ambition of the new emperor is clear, for Eusebius unwittingly tells us that,

He then conducted the funeral procession in company with his father's friends, some preceding, others following the train, and performed the last offices for the pious deceased with an extraordinary degree of magnificence, and all united in

¹⁰⁸⁸. This point should follow from the fact that God was on the emperor's side.

¹⁰⁸⁹. Eusebius, op.cit., 1.XXII

honouring this thrice blessed prince with acclamations and praises, and while with one mind and voice, they glorified the rule of the son as a living again of him who was dead, they hastened at once to hail their new sovereign by the titles of Imperial and Worshipful Augustus, with joyful shouts.¹⁰⁹⁰

The terms “pious” and “thrice blessed prince” are loaded with the Christian bias that Eusebius prefers in this context. The ceremony referred to, therefore, qualifies to be a Christian one because of the relevance of the terms we have identified. However, why no Christian priest was invited to officiate at this very religious ceremony is a question that could be raised here. How the ceremony qualifies to be spoken of in eulogistic terms again, does not come to us as a surprise because Eusebius is out to convince us that we are looking at the death of a very religious emperor.

5.18.4. Constantine’s understanding of Christianity challenged

This section raises problems related to Constantine’s understanding of Christianity within the Roman imperial matrix. Odahl makes a statement that is critical to our understanding of Constantine’s religious awareness that the preceding citations from Eusebius seem to ignore. This obviously comes at a later date for it is noted about Constantine that,

Although he believed that power from the God of the Christians had aided his troops in overcoming the forces of his enemy, and he was willing to make a public profession of that belief, Constantine as yet knew little about the characteristics of the Christian Deity or the practices of the Christian Church.¹⁰⁹¹

Therefore, if it is true that he knew very little about Christianity, what justification did Eusebius have to call emperor Constantine “pious” or “blessed” after his father? This latter observation challenges us to appreciate the fact that Eusebius could have been exaggerating the emperor’s Christian virtues in a freelance fashion. Above we have already made reference to the issue of narrating things that could offend the powerful.¹⁰⁹²

Again, we have a major hurdle in the above connection given that divine and human schemata may easily get mixed up so that an imprudent approach may not

¹⁰⁹⁰. Eusebius, op.cit., 1.XXII

¹⁰⁹¹. Odahl, op.cit.p.329

¹⁰⁹². Barnes, op.cit.p.29

be able to disentangle the blended intricacies in an attempt to narrate history. The historian's bias in this context is geared towards transforming worldly developments into designs initiated by God. The hazard of overstating a human case is extremely great in this connection.

We seem to be challenged to include here a warning to African scholars that could be fitting, given the possible misleading narratives credited to Eusebius. Understanding Western Christianity should always be done against this background of a keen awareness of bias and analytical commitment to history. Failure to do this will always leave us wondering whether an African approach to Christianity is a viable project given its uncritical reliance on Western thought-forms and mind-sets that were designed to serve other interests than enlightening the Africans.¹⁰⁹³ Such a naive appraisal of western Christianity would perpetuate the domesticated mentality that has seen African theologians always coming second best, even in subjects, their indigenous advantage would require them to be viewed as forces with which to reckon.

The dearth of indigenous scholarship baffles us here. We raise concerns here, because for a long time, Anglicans, especially theologians within the Mashonaland context, have not been able to see beyond what their western masters have bequeathed to them. We do not get any significant literature that celebrates the narratives that come from indigenous Anglicans in Rhodesia. This causes us to pose even more questions: How Africans could be expected to play a proactive role in making Christian history relevant to their context, is here a challenging question. If distortions were already allowed by Eusebius, how could we correct this within a Mashonaland setting if we are not equipped with analytical tools in this regard? These are perennial questions with no easy answers unless a radical way of applying history and theology is preferred.

5.18.5. Eusebius' position and the Mashonaland context

¹⁰⁹³. Many practices in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe may not be seen by others as connected to the Eusebian church we are describing in this context. This disconnection in terms of historical appreciation means that impositions from the past could just be accepted at face value. The why of theology and its practice as it is connected to history is not an urgent question. By implication, Africans are supposed to be mere consumers of theology and not inventors thus alienating them in the process of assimilating a liberating enterprise. God only makes sense through the eyes of others and never through African thought patterns and expressions.

In this section we raise the question of the impact of history on future developments. The Anglican Church in Mashonaland we are using as our referral case may not have been privileged to ask such questions, in line with the above, hence, allowing the legacy of Eusebius to go unchallenged. The danger of such scholarly dearth is obvious: future generations of Christians in such a compromised context would not be in a position to understand what went wrong.¹⁰⁹⁴ Within the Diocese of Mashonaland setting, failure to ask such questions would mean accepting whatever Constantinean structures, imposed from without, dictate. It may be a pragmatic approach in which the danger of reinventing the wheel is averted. However, we continue to worry about the stifling effect that pragmatism commands within the Mashonaland Anglican circles where others have already confirmed the presence of assiduous efforts by European missionaries to indigenise the church from the beginning and yet others confirm more unqualified successes. To this end, not much work has been done to interrogate such narratives.

5.18.6. Civilisation and barbarism in both Mashonaland and the Roman empire

In this section we raise the question of common themes between Eusebius' context and that of Mashonaland. The Roman Empire that attracted Eusebius of Caesarea should be seen as extremely imposing in line with the preceding observations. Once at the helm of power in the above connection, we are told that one of Constantine's many acts of benevolence that should also capture our attention here was the civilising measures he put in place against barbarians. Key words here are "civilising" and "barbarians", as the quote below will reveal. We know how they were always appealed to within the Mashonaland context by people such as Selous and many of his European observers, who included the majority of missionaries. At least we also appreciate the fact that these prejudicial and misleading characterisations of other people were utilised within the fourth-century Constantinean context. In this connection, Eusebius again observes that,

¹⁰⁹⁴. We have pointed out that in the field research undertaken for this work, St Augustine Penhalonga was used as an example. Former students of this institution were given to answer the question whether they knew anything about Cecil John Rhodes' connection to it. The answers were mostly negative giving rise to the concern that a significant section of Anglicans in Zimbabwe are not privy to the fact that their Church was being used by colonialists for other purposes than religious ones.

Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilized life.¹⁰⁹⁵

We must remember that claims to civilisation were used as the excuse to colonise Mashonaland violently. The British came to call this area, Rhodesia, both from politico-economic and Christian perspectives. The indigenous people in Mashonaland found themselves at the receiving end of the British militia because they were considered barbaric as we heard being affirmed by Terrence Ranger, as a researcher and Selous, as a participant in the war against the indigenous. We have also referenced the missionaries who sincerely believed that the Shona and Ndebele were savages and needed to be brought to order.

The utilisation of biased terminology by Eusebius, in the above connection, is critical if our context is to be taken seriously. It requires us to describe other human beings as savages, and, therefore, in need of being civilised, as in Constantine's context.¹⁰⁹⁶

That Constantine belonged to the civilised group and, was; therefore out to defend that civilisation is another problem that will continue to complicate our appreciation of historical narratives. We know that claims to civilisation continued to be used as theoretical justifications by those who wielded powers in countries such as Mashonaland where the Anglican Church had to do its business. Such arbitrary claims have been abused more than hundred and one times on the African soil.

The above is true given the Rhodesia of interest to us, in this context, as we saw happening earlier in the 1890s from the evidence we have included. It is the thinking that justifies the cheating and military conquest that took place during the occupation and colonisation of Mashonaland that could be said to be problematic. Because the British were dealing with perceived savages in the form of Ndebele and Shona peoples, illegal means could be employed while Church blessings

¹⁰⁹⁵. Eusebius op.cit. 1, XXV

¹⁰⁹⁶. Odahl, op.cit. p.339ff/ Here the influence of the Constantinean apologist, Lactantius is reference by Odahl.

were guaranteed.¹⁰⁹⁷ God from this historical perspective is advanced as the protagonist of strait-jacket manipulation and regimentation.

In line with the above, Shona and Ndebele people either had to comply with the invading forces or be exterminated in the name of the Christian God whose interest was to civilise them. In line with the spirit of our context, this will also help us to appreciate the fact that when Mashonaland was colonised, towards the end of the nineteenth century of our common era, the same excuse was used as a justification for whatever else the British did to the Shona and Ndebele peoples. Therefore, Beaven would have no qualms in seeing a hero in the person of Cecil John Rhodes instead of questioning his methods.

5.18.7. Barbarism in Mashonaland

This section raises the question of who was actually barbaric in Mashonaland. The Mashonaland people did not understand themselves as barbaric. Professor Terrence Ranger is clear about what the British colonisers did to the Ndebele in Rhodesia (Diocese of Mashonaland), sometime after the conquest, as he notes that,

Before 1896 the Ndebele state had been in ruins; its white rulers had broken up all its institutions; confiscated all Ndebele land and nearly all Ndebele cattle; disregarded every Ndebele political authority.¹⁰⁹⁸

The indigenous people were perceived as simply savages in need of being civilised, and if this was not possible, they had to be wiped off the face of the earth, while their valuable property was taken over by the settlers.¹⁰⁹⁹ Emperor Constantine seems to have dealt with those he considered savages in the same manner and Eusebius went on to narrate such developments as though they were direct dictates from God.

¹⁰⁹⁷. Fry, op.cit. pp.xii-xiii. Interested readers will note that there is an admission that Rhodes knew very well that he was dealing with a king who could not read. So what he said verbally was different from what the Rudd Concession stated in written form. Knowing very well that he had cheated, he prepared for any Ndebele attack and also avoided Bulawayo when entering Zimbabwe. If everything had been above board, he could have proceeded straight to Bulawayo and then to Mashonaland with Lobengula's explicit blessing. Our worry in this context is that he was given Anglican chaplains to bless this illicit action.

¹⁰⁹⁸. Ranger, T.O. 1968. Connexions between 'primary resistance' movements and modern mass nationalism in East and Central Africa. part *Journal of African History (Great Britain)*, ix(3): 442..

¹⁰⁹⁹. Hodder-Williams, op.cit.p.42. His discussion of the Shona rebellion refers to some European fighters' insensitivity to abstract justice and the Europeans' widespread bitterness against the Africans.

We saw somewhere in the earlier chapters of this research that one Anglican pioneer bishop had no qualms about applying such derogatory jargon on the Mashona he encountered in the country.¹¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, our problem is further compounded. The fact that we are faced with narratives that seem to take it for granted that there are people who do not belong to God. These are people who must be dealt with so harshly in order to neutralise them or dissolve their pernicious influences. God would, therefore, give us the emperors in the mould of Constantine and imperialists in the fashion of Cecil John Rhodes to rid the world of savages. This is extremely problematic and, hence, our insistence on the theology of empire as belonging to the genre of the history narratives that see nothing wrong with those in advantageous positions taking maximum advantage of the weak and underprivileged. We are also consistent in our observation that writings about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland that do not expose settler activities in detail or are not condemnatory in their emphasis could be accused of disregarding the plight of the indigenous people.

5.18.8. The use of force and Gospel imperatives

This section raises the question of how the use of force could be reconciled with the idea of Good News. The argument we see sustaining the settlers' motives in Mashonaland is premised on the fact that since the indigenous were savagery and barbaric, they stood in need of being vanquished and subjugated. Punitive measures were to be appealed to in dealing with the indigenous. However, given the fact that they are also creatures of God fashioned in the divine image and occupying their own unique space, the moral argument would be extremely strong if the violence sanctioned by the settlers was unrestrained. We continue to advance these complications because Christian historians may get carried away to the point where they forget that the issue of force and dominance played a pivotal role in Mashonaland, hence, militating against any gospel imperatives that could be invoked. Recording developments of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland as though they were taking place on a level playing field could be misleading and problematic. Eusebius' narratives about Constantine are equally

¹¹⁰⁰. Knight-Bruce, Mashonaland Journals, op.cit.

awkward in this connection, since they tend to turn the evils that Constantine did into acts of glory.

5.18.9. Rhodes, Constantine and the right of conquest

This section raises the question of who gives one group of people the right to conquer others. In line with the above, it could be insisted, that if God had so intended to punish the underdeveloped peoples -the so-called primitive and barbarous, how come he did not send angels to do the job in Mashonaland or anywhere else in Africa? It could also be argued that Jesus Christ never preached that those straggling behind civilisation should be brought into modernity forcibly by military conquest. We wonder whether we could call Jesus' message 'Good News' if it had been given to humanity in the mould of confrontations. Therefore, whoever gave Constantine the mandate to use force against his enemies could not be associated to the God of love.

Nevertheless, we note that the issue is not that Constantine was not supposed to fight his wars. Our concern is about the fact that such fighting, and whatever else the emperor did, are alleged to have been legitimised by Jesus Christ as we have already seen from Eusebius' testimony.

Zosimus spends sometime in his work reviewing the activities of Constantine especially when he was the sole ruler of the empire. Of most of the things we have seen being highlighted by Eusebius about Constantine in a positive light, Zosimus concludes that,

Constantine, having done this, not only continued to waste the revenue of the empire in useless expenses, and in presents to mean and worthless persons, but oppressed those who paid the tributes, and enriched those that were useless to the state. For, he mistook prodigality for magnificence.¹¹⁰¹

The above quote from Zosimus is a challenge to pay attention to the way history could be written. Even if we might not be in a position to pin point where Zosimus is wrong, but he seems to appeal to us to read Eusebius' eulogies on Constantine with open minds.

¹¹⁰¹. Vossius, op.cit. p.56

When will narratives that offer us distorted histories be challenged even within the Mashonaland Anglican context? Could not foreign values that dictate the way Anglican history could be narrated within Mashonaland, be viewed as elusive to the indigenous people and, hence, giving westerners an upper hand even on things of God?¹¹⁰² We are worried that years of colonial dominance have seen the indigenous people depending too much on the narratives imposed upon them. We have already made special references to Bernard Mizeki's accounts and we will continue to be challenged to bring such developments to bear on our observations in this context.

5.18.10. Exclusive Christianity in the name of empire building

In this section we raise the question of the God who is understood to be exclusive. The morality appealed to as the theoretical justification of the subjugation of one people by another through force, in the foregoing connection, seems to be tied to some parts of the Christian history known to us as Eusebius proves in his writings. The problem becomes even more acute when the Christian God is seen to side with the powerful and even to sanction the extermination of people who could have enjoyed themselves in isolated contexts such as those in Mashonaland without reference to the aggressive British missionary Christianity. The evangelisation of the world that is supposed to be a process of bringing good tidings to those in the dark in terms of knowing the Christian teachings became a process of systematic suppression of all those perceived to be different and the extermination of those that dared resistance. Clearly, even some of our key terms in this connection need new historical meanings.

For example, and in line with the preceding, evangelisation in Mashonaland, therefore, came to mean the degradation of indigenous cultures and their systematic elimination in the name of Christ. The term "evangelisation" by that very token of being linked to violence must, therefore, be interpreted in a new way in contexts such as Mashonaland. Accounts that depict the fourth century in this regard are revealing. We are thus presented with a Constantine who went out full

¹¹⁰². Implicit in our position here is the fact that history should pay attention to indigenous values of the Zimbabwean people that could be boosted by a sympathetic appeal to Christianity. If these values were discarded by an appeal to Christianity, what then should the indigenous people be able to advance in order to assert their authenticity?

force to introduce Christianity by ensuring the disappearance of all that was perceived to be pagan¹¹⁰³ and contrary to his imperial schemes. If we are to be faithful to history in this connection, the term “evangelisation” should be applied with many reservations because it could easily be viewed in the same light as imperialism as facts in our context compel us to do.

The preceding context seems to suggest to us that those who were considered pagan had no right to live their convictions and so Constantine could suppress them with justification. Today we do not find Christian people having a free hand to suppress those with different religious convictions. Yet, during Constantine’s time, it was seen as a divine injunction to do so. Self-imposed privileges would assume some divine status. Therefore, in this connection, colonialism becomes a function of the theology of empire by way of insisting on the fact that God is always on the side of the most powerful of the day. Its exponents are therefore those whose ambitions are tied to power and even its abuse. Campaigns that have these ambitious attributes, which include forcing others to do the things they would not freely choose to do really cease to be Christianising enterprises by virtue of the compromise they command. By way of compromise in this connection, we must admit that wherever humanity is forced to proceed along the course initiated from without its own God-given values, accountability becomes impossible.

5.18.11. God-given freedom and human thirst for power

In line with the above, it could be argued along the lines, that if God is responsible for creating the human mind, there is no reason why the same divine could be seen to be discarding it. A theology that claims to condone such a state of affairs must be seen as compromising the very rationale that obtained before the Romanisation of Christianity, we have alluded to above. We are talking about a pre-Constantine Christianity that was not violent but aimed at perfecting what God had initiated. We shall continue to raise the question whether our Anglican leaders in Mashonaland were able to avoid such a historical trap in order to advance a radical Christianity that could take the aspirations of the local people as their major

¹¹⁰³.Barnes, 1982, op.cit.pp.246-247

points of departure. How could a Christianity that alienates people be seen as the norm and be expected to last in terms of its positive impact on peoples' lives?

Two important observations are made in the above connection by Eusebius that help us to enhance our concerns about theological compromise. Firstly, it is Eusebius' conviction that Constantine had to deliberate on the choice of a divinity to which he could pay allegiance.¹¹⁰⁴ This was because he had come to a fuller realisation of the fact that many so-called gods in his context were no more than mere human fabrications and, hence, fakes deities at best.¹¹⁰⁵ Those who had placed their hopes in such irrational speculations had all become victims of their own foolhardiness and, therefore, became extinct.¹¹⁰⁶ The idea was to evolve by way of an appeal to the most powerful God. We are talking about a God who would be decisive regarding winning the many wars in which Constantine was set to engage his rivals. Precisely, Eusebius informs us in this connection:

Being convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him, on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant, he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the co-operating power of Deity invincible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely on protection and assistance.¹¹⁰⁷

Clearly, and in line with the above, we are more concerned with the religious justification of human political and military endeavours than Christianity could sanction. A theological jargon could be seen to be juxtaposed with an acute intent to explain the political evolution of a given imperial history by Eusebius. This should be a context where mystery rather than the spirit of ordinariness should prevail for where the divine takes centre stage; the human dimension is only passively instrumental in terms of outcomes. Admittedly, even though we could be perplexed by what has been said, Eusebius even complicates matters for us when he goes on to note, in connection with Constantine's faith in the Christian God, that:

¹¹⁰⁴. Eusebius, op.cit.1, XXVII

¹¹⁰⁵. Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁶. Ibid

¹¹⁰⁷. Ibid.

While engaged in this enquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honoured the one Supreme God during his whole life, had found him to be the Saviour and Protector of his empire and the Giver of every good thing.¹¹⁰⁸

The above passages are critical in that they give us a Constantine who was already theologically engaged with his contextual challenges in order to map the way forward for the empire he had inherited from his father, Constantius. God, in this connection, takes centre stage and again, our case is so complicated because a divine sanction, by design or default, is no easy matter for the human contest. If our argument for power is premised on God's initiatives, those who oppose it would be opposing God, and it would be up to God to mete punishment. That a human being becomes the instrument that God uses to punish another has always been an unwarranted theological gamble. A primitive interpretation to the effect that theodicy could be delegated to a mere human is something that we should accept with many reservations even within the Mashonaland Anglican context.

In line with the above, we grant the reservation here because human essence has more of its natural attributes than of God and, therefore, claims of delegation by the divine in this connection, should always be interrogated thoroughly. However, modern interpretation of the same effect should be met with a categorical denial because history has shown us more human impostors in the name of God than what God has ever sanctioned. We are worried about claims to the effect that the colonisation of Mashonaland by the British could be said to be the work of God, as we heard before.

In Mashonaland, we must still come to terms with the fact that indigenous people were forced to accept such theological garbage that presented a God who has the habit of short-changing humanity arbitrarily in the name of European civilisation. If God is not happy with a certain people, why could they not apply the Sodom and

¹¹⁰⁸. Eusebius, op.cit.1, XXVII

Gomorrah principle where angels are said to have been dispatched from heaven to come and destroy a culture that had become so prone to wanton profligacy?¹¹⁰⁹

The above could leave no one guessing about the divine intent. The reason for raising this point here is that, if we are not vigilant, any tyrannical culture could claim to be God's instrument to bring recalcitrant individuals to order. Human power and divine justice, we still maintain, are two separate functions. Those who want to see them working closely within the historical context of the fourth century and later in the nineteenth century Mashonaland create historico-theological glitches for us as well. We have maintained that if the powerful are automatically the instruments of God, the poor and underprivileged have no hope of espousing the Good News except by force. The fact is that nothing recorded about Jesus Christ's teachings supports this interpretation that seems to be aligned to Eusebius' way of writing the history of the Roman Empire under Constantine.

The major cause for concern in the above connection is whether it is the divine that takes the initiative or it is the human who manipulates the divine claims. Was it Constantine for God or God for Constantine in this historical context on which Eusebius was focusing? The information that we have come across does not seem to give us a humble emperor who could have submitted to God. Instead, it seems to be the case that God had to submit to the emperor, and this is the only reason we could cite to justify why God could not be allowed to operate independently without reference to the schemes of Constantine.

In Mashonaland, such questioning that tries to understand the link between God and the British colonisation, in the preceding connection, must be given due consideration in contexts that reveal some amount of religio-political manipulation. When colonialism became the norm in southern Africa, where could we situate the missionary enterprise that became almost intrinsically annexed to this subjugation and ultimate denial of the indigenous' humanhood and poise in the name of God? The issue of freedom of worship falls away when politicians, such as Constantine, make deliberations on the choice of religion to impose on their subjects. Within the

¹¹⁰⁹. Genesis 19: 4-5 (Chapter 19: 1-29 is an account that gives details of how God dealt with a licentious people).

Mashonaland context, we do not find it easy to establish whether there were many converts to Anglicanism who did so out of conviction because it was only after the conquest by Europeans that many people began to submit themselves to missionaries, possibly for pragmatic reasons.¹¹¹⁰ After all, we still insist, what options do a conquered people have save those that are deeply anchored in survival in a hostile environment?

5.18.12. A history written by Christian colonisers

The Mashonaland Anglican context, therefore, compels us to ask critical questions in terms of how historians could expose facts about a compromised situation. We should not forget that this information alluded to above in connection with Constantine is coming to us through Eusebius, a historian, who has vested interests in advancing a Christian God over and above other gods and within the context of imperial Rome. Therefore, the selection of facts is such that a preferred opinion will carry the day at the expense of the underprivileged whose voices count for nothing within the discourse of the theology of empire. That favoured opinion could be seen to have a ripple effect when the Mashonaland Anglican context, from the nineteenth century onwards, is analysed. Hence, we must brace ourselves to understand and distinguish propaganda from purely historical developments. We must bear in mind that a civilised nation that understands itself as superior to others will proceed to develop convictions that are not strangers to a domineering attitude. That attitude does not allow space for those whose situation in life could be considered backwards.

After all, based on the above discourse of imperial Rome, what Constantine does, judging from Eusebius' narratives that we have already cited, was not an act of pure faith in God. It could not pass as a genuine theological interrogation aimed at establishing a balanced understanding of God. The pragmatism in Constantine's intention could not escape any critical eye. He wanted to be helped to win against his adversaries and not so much to worship God for whom they are. People who become Christians for selfish reasons do not warrant us to celebrate their

¹¹¹⁰. This point must be understood against the background of the military conquest of the indigenous by the British during the 1896-7 revolutionary protests.

conversion. The pre-Constantine Christians knew very well that they could be killed any time but braved the cause and, hence, became martyrs.¹¹¹¹ Such people deserve to be celebrated because it was not worldly glory they aimed at, but that of the kingdom of their God.¹¹¹² Believers in God do not worry very much about their enemies and how they should deal with them, because they trust that they will not be let down. They leave everything in God's hands, even if it means surrendering their lives.¹¹¹³ They still maintain a firm faith to the effect that even in dying, God is still in control. Those who go on to use violent means in the name of God in order to neutralise the threat of their enemies do not have much faith. In Constantine, therefore and as exposed by Eusebius of Caesarea, we have an emperor whose Christianity commands all the dubious tenets we could imagine. It is a Christianity that could sanction murder and such cruel measures in the name of God as we saw happening during the takeover of Mashonaland by the British. We know that such Christianity has no place among reasonable people and in the Church, those that worship the One and True God. In fact, such an understanding that boasts of a partial God makes theology and history frivolous.

5.18.13. The captured cross versus liberating initiatives

In addition to the above and as a cause for concern, in this context, we should appreciate the fact that the Christian cross had never before been used within military circles and we wonder how Constantine concluded that it could now be invoked for such sinister purposes as the defeat of others. Clearly, exponents of such a conviction would like us to believe that Jesus Christ had decided to become unpredictable and dangerous ultimately. Eusebius seems to be determined to make a strong case in favour of this new and problematic understanding for he goes on to note, in connection with Constantine, that:

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a

¹¹¹¹. MacCulloch, 2010, op.cit.p.161. Here the author details for us what martyrdom involved and there is support on the fact that fear was out of question, even when instilled by emperors.

¹¹¹². Ibid.

¹¹¹³. Ibid. p.162. Here the story of Perpetua in North Africa is cited as a good example of enduring faith leading to martyrdom.

likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.¹¹¹⁴

This is strange given the fact that Christ in a time of extreme danger discouraged his apostles from attacking those who had come to arrest him.¹¹¹⁵ How this kind of vision could be accepted as Christian baffles us. What had become of that humble Christ who had managed to inspire His followers through His humility as His death on the cross symbolised?¹¹¹⁶

Here we come face to face with a problematic scheme of history: the human enemies of the emperor by that very token, are the adversaries of God. We accept this kind of understanding with many qualms. When such exaggerations are made in the name of history, the distinction between the divine and the human is made redundant. Theological logic, in the same breath, becomes obsolete because the divine by that very token is made an object of manipulation in order to bring about human ends. This way of recording history becomes even more complicated in that we are not able to distinguish it from propaganda. When history tends to exchange posts with propaganda, wrapped in theological garb in a freelance fashion, the study of it becomes cumbersome. History should help us explain the ordinary, while theology must grapple with mystery and such fascinating phenomena as they relate to God. Failure to maintain this peculiarity in interpreting Christianity will mean that we are not able to expose the ordinary: At one time, it would be linked to God and at another, down to earth, but we would not be in a position to make any profound distinctions on the matter. The whole principle of gnosis, that which dictates how human knowledge could be possible, is reduced to a mere figment of the imagination. Philosophically speaking, even the imagination must subscribe to some form of logic in order to make sense. History and theology could not be said to be so deceptive!

More questions could be raised here. They have to do with the kind of Christ who becomes important within the fourth-century framework advanced by Eusebius

¹¹¹⁴. Eusebius, *op.cit.* 1, XXIX

¹¹¹⁵. John 18:10-11

¹¹¹⁶. See Philippians 2:5-11. Jesus Christ is said of, by Paul, that he voluntarily surrendered his divinity in order to identify with humanity in its total submissiveness.

and propagated to the ends of the world in time. Jesus Christ, in this cast, is now a military specialist rather than the redeemer of the world. He comes to Constantine and his army to assure them of victory. Now priests could proceed to bless conquering armies without any qualms of conscience henceforth. Chaplaincy work within militarised establishments would become a major function of the Church without any qualifications. Instead of speaking of a Jesus who saves humanity together with the whole of creation, we must now admit a Jesus who masters the techniques of destruction, one who causes fear and trembling. This is in keeping with the instruction Constantine should implement: using a Christian symbol, he must conquer!

In the fourth century, Jesus Christ, according to the way Eusebius recorded historical events before him, decides to become a partisan and power-mongering protagonist. He becomes violent and a supporter of vindictiveness. The unfortunate development here is that history is being forced to treat this as something befitting nobility; commanding prototypical divine attributes and, therefore, very Christian. It is clear that the Christianity that emerges within this context differs radically from that which had preceded it.

In the above connection, the Jesus of Emperor Constantine advocated by Eusebius of Caesarea appears to be poles apart from the one who was adamant about the forgiveness of enemies seventy times seven (Matthew 18:22) as we heard MacCulloch stating earlier. We are talking about the Christ who reprimanded the sons of Zebedee when they seriously considered the option of calling down fire from heaven to destroy a Samaritan city opposed to Jesus (Luke 9:54-55). The same Jesus of the Gospels could not allow the militant Peter to use his sword against those who came to arrest him (John 18:10-11). We could cite more examples in this regard. Here we have a strange development when Jesus begins to reveal himself to militant emperors such as Constantine more than three hundred years later; he comes to endorse their wanton political and military determinations rather than restrain them. Within this theme of the theology of

empire, we are therefore given a Christ who even baptises the savage intentions of a ruler, thereby, contradicting his earlier claims recorded in the gospels.¹¹¹⁷

In Mashonaland and in the name of the same Christ, invading armies from the British fold would humiliate the indigenous and impose the Christian religion. The missionaries could still boast about it as being God's work. In our investigation, there is a reason to suspect that humanity could not exaggerate its claims more. The God associated with the Good News could not be successfully advanced by those who contradicted the claims of love and the unity that humanity should have under him.

We contend that God could not be understood as indulging in the habit of self-contradiction, metaphysically (as the one responsible for creating and destroying for purposes that have nothing to do with his original plan shown in Genesis 1-2), or epistemologically (having foreknowledge and lacking it). God should not be understood as inclined towards violence against humanity in the foregoing Eusebian fashion. It simply does not make any theological sense to maintain that the God who so much loved the world that He gave His Son (John 3:16) for purposes of liberating it, could in turn, sanction violence in the same world using one powerful nation. Re-reading the passages we have cited from Eusebius will certainly lead us to the fact that our celebrated historian was down-playing not only theology but the scriptures that could inform it and in the process making a mockery of human history. The saviour of the world in the process and in time would be politicised beyond reasonable limits. For those whose histories could not be narrated without critical references to colonialism, like what the Mashonaland context dictates to us, Eusebius' treatment of Constantine is very problematic given its justification of the unrestrained use of power by a given military ruler.

5.18.14. Narratives that shift goal-posts

The foregoing understanding that makes Eusebius' history narratives problematic is captured for us by Averil Cameron when he observes that Licinius,

¹¹¹⁷. This observation is based on the fact that the sign that Constantine saw is supposed to be understood as one given by Jesus and through it enemies of the empire would be destroyed. The term 'savagery' is deliberate here in the sense that when war is sanctioned, the brutalities associated with it could not be ruled out and to make the whole enterprise divine is to overstate God's love for emperors.

...had been initially presented in Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* as a pro-Christian emperor like Constantine; it was only later and following their hostilities in 316 and 324 that Eusebius rewrote his story so as to make Licinius into a tyrant and persecutor.¹¹¹⁸

We referred to the above state of affairs earlier on in this work. This idea of rewriting history to suit a preferred interpretation of events makes the narrative in question extremely suspect. Consistency is lost, and the reliability of the account is plunged into doubt. Licinius becomes a villain from the point where he contradicts Constantine and not on the basis of any violation of an ethical principle. The warning that comes out clearly in this connection is that some histories are narrated not so much to give guidance to events that defined certain contexts in history but to boost the egos of individuals such as emperor Constantine in our case. Eusebius, therefore, gives us many opportunities to question the rationale of certain historical narratives in different contexts. God and the powerful ruler always seem to be on the same side. This is not to imply that God must always be seen as being on the side of the weak. Our contention here is that it would be consistent with what he revealed through Jesus Christ to the effect that He could use human weaknesses to demonstrate how powerful He is.¹¹¹⁹ It is the human element that appeals to power for its sake and never for the greater glory of all, and this is why Eusebius' historical-theological understanding of Constantine is problematic.

5.18.15. The secular enticing the Church

The Church, that Eusebius advocates for in support of the emperor, could be said to have surrendered its Godly simplicity and humility, choosing to indulge in the extravagancies associated with political boons and worldly schemes. We are talking about an intricate state of affairs that could see the Church being an accomplice in crimes against humanity and, hence, permanently ceasing to be prophetic. Such a Church could have problems in challenging any oppressive politico-militant structure this world could advance. The big question is whether such a compromised Church could have any relevance to the liberation and emancipation of humanity in a world that continues to give us one oppressive

¹¹¹⁸. Cameron, "Constantine and the Peace of the Church" op.cit.p.542

¹¹¹⁹. Again an appeal to Philippians 2:5-11 is envisaged here.

system after another. In Africa and within the Mashonaland connection, more reflections and narratives are needed in line with our contention above.

Focusing on the Eusebian appreciation in the foregoing connection, we are maintaining that a tradition that continues to cause problems in the Rhodesian Anglican Church under scrutiny has to do with the status of the clergy that could be traced to this period. We are worried in this context about how power and prestige should be understood within Christian circles. Christianity could not sink so low as to identify itself with money, social status and such worldly achievements. Today, riding in expensive cars and sleeping in expensive hotels does not always imply that Jesus Christ is part of the scheme. There is still the problem of whether the clergy's lifestyle should be so lavish or parsimonious. Whether the clergy are servants of God's people or some elitist club that is not answerable to the divine ultimately as it claims becomes a curious development in this connection.

It is clear that in our Mashonaland context, due to the uncritical assumption of western standards, many have unconsciously come to associate material advantages with Jesus Christ. Our position in this investigation is to try to expose the fact that when narrating developments within the Mashonaland Anglican context, there is a need to be aware of the possible manipulation of information submitted by those with obvious inclinations towards highlighting only the positive side of events. In the process, the status of the indigenous people could be ignored or simply downplayed. Their hopes and aspirations as subdued people could be treated as an appendix within Church history circles in this context.

Eusebius' narratives about Constantine seem to create the impression for us that history must only be told from the point of view of the powerful. The powerful Romans under Constantine, the Pioneers under Rhodes and the Rhodesia they founded; these could be seen as more important to history narratives than the subjugated people who suffered such negative consequences. The issues of relevance, authenticity and gospel imperatives are not given their due urgency in a context that demands such. We have already heard that it was one of Eusebius' preferred styles to rewrite history to accommodate or support the position of

Constantine. The complication we encounter here derives from the fact that God is seen as the one directing the events that favour the emperor and so the subject people do not count for much unless their contribution is to boost the status of their conquerors.

5.18.16. Controversy over Eusebius' theology of empire

In this section we look at some critics of Eusebius in today's scholarship. Rudolph H. Storch's article¹¹²⁰ becomes handy at this point and in line with the preceding exposition that highlights some urgent tenets of the theology of empire. We appeal to it to be helped to understand Eusebius' project from one of the critical perspectives that capture the spirit in this context. Analysing the work, The Life of Constantine (Latin: *Vita Constantini*) to which we have already referred, Storch maintains that we should realise what Eusebius does in his presentation of the history of imperial Rome under Constantine. In fact, Eusebius is seen as giving us the history of Constantine, while emphasising four dimensions of this emperor, namely: his divine-inspired successes; personal piety warranting divine favours; military victory as a result of piety and the unity of the empire emanating from that military victory.¹¹²¹

The idea is to maintain some consistency on the characterisation of the person of the emperor who must appear to be Christian in everything he undertakes to do and, therefore, a God-ordained ruler. That there is a deliberate bias in this connection is attested to by the fact that, as Storch points out, Eusebius' characterisation of the Christian emperor before him was not novel for it could have been inspired by ancient Greek political philosophy as understood then. That extant philosophy tended to link earthly empires with heavenly realms so that human rulers were simply copies of the divine.¹¹²² In this connection, Storch observes that,

¹¹²⁰ . Storch, R.H. 1971. The Eusebian Constantine. Church History, (Cambridge University Press on behalf of the American Society of Church History), June, 40(2): 145-155. Online Journal: available at: Url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3162367>. Accessed 19 September 2010.

¹¹²¹. Storch, *ibid.* p.145f.

¹¹²². *Ibid.*146. The point about divine intervention in imperial affairs is referenced in the footnote on the same page. Storch is borrowing from another authority.

Once Eusebius had portrayed Constantine as being close to his God who would intervene in imperial affairs, he had to show that the emperor was pious, and was, thus worthy of divine favour, since God is the defender of the pious.¹¹²³

5.18.17. Constantine's piety in *Vita Constantini*

This section draws our attention to the way Eusebius treats the Emperor's pious disposition. In line with the preceding, it is clear that by accepting conventional interpretations common in his day, Eusebius could not afford to guard against too much bias in his narratives. Since the piety of Emperor Constantine had to be understood as the reason for his victories against other emperors, Storch thinks that this could explain why the idea of a pious emperor tends to dominate Eusebius' narratives in the *Vita Constantini*.¹¹²⁴ Since this bias had to be allowed a great deal of space by Eusebius' preferred approach, Storch again concludes that:

The image of *Constantinus victor* is remarkably strong in the *Vita*, a work which ostensibly, was to overlook such things as battles, victories, and successes against the enemy and to treat only of things pertaining to the emperor's religious character and to record only his pious acts.¹¹²⁵

Clearly and in line with the above, selectivity is allowed, based not so much on the importance of facts but on the need to impose piety on the emperor. In other words, other aspects of the emperor's life could have contradicted Eusebius' project and were thus excluded systematically. What we get therefore at the end of the day are narratives carefully crafted to protect and advance the emperor's image. He must appear extremely pious at all times although we are not so sure what that could entail, given the other side of Constantine.

5.18.18. Eusebius and convention in presenting his narratives

In addition, in line with the above, we compare Eusebius' way of presenting historical facts with others of his time. We are made to understand that what Eusebius was doing to Constantine was in keeping with what other historians had done to pagan emperors, namely, giving them divine attributes that could be used to legitimise their political ambitions.¹¹²⁶ It looks as if Eusebius was extremely alert to the convention when it came to writing his history about Constantine. Instead of

¹¹²³. Storch, op.cit. p.146

¹¹²⁴. Ibid. p.146ff.

¹¹²⁵. Ibid. p.147

¹¹²⁶. Ibid. p.155.

deciding on a radical approach to narrating the events of interest to him, he had to pay attention to the prevalent literary convention of glorifying those in power. By so doing, Church history seems to have been deprived of the ability to expose serious weaknesses of some of the people who have come to us as heroes when critical analyses on the same could give us different conclusions.

Therefore, taking the above as our example, we see Church history being forced to rely on convention rather than on its unique characteristics to account for developments in time and space. The progress of Christianity must, therefore, be narrated with consistency and not according to human conventions. Instead of telling its own story of God coming to interact with humanity through Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the theology of empire requires that Church history be reduced to a matter of propaganda and, hence, forced to part ways with consistency. This means, in our Mashonaland Anglican context, the progress of missionary Christianity should be told in terms of only the positive developments such as the establishment of new parishes and the recruitment of personnel while glossing over the colonial burden under which the indigenous people were struggling.

5.18.19. Eusebius on the divinity of the emperor

This section looks at the observations made by Eusebius on Emperor Constantine's status. The idea of making divine claims on what could be explained from a purely human perspective renders Eusebius' theology of empire problematic as David Ferguson observes. In this connection Ferguson writes,

In claiming that the emperor bears the image of the Word of God in a pre-eminent way by which he can rightly exercise divine sovereignty on earth, Eusebius flouts all the cautionary words in the Hebrew Bible about kingship and its need to be regulated by the law and the prophets. The king is only one other human being, susceptible to error and prone to sin.¹¹²⁷

However, the influence of the pagan cults on Eusebius seems to carry the day.¹¹²⁸ Kings and emperors are divine and so are their actions in accordance to pagan logic. This complicates matters for us. Our analysis of the theology of empire,

¹¹²⁷ . Ferguson, D., 2009: Church, state and civil society, in Cambridge Books Online, Cambridge, UK, p.28. Available online at: <http://0-ebooks.cambridge.org.oasis.unisa.ac.za/ebook.jsf?bid=CBO9780511607097>. Accessed on 19 September 2010

¹¹²⁸. Ibid.

therefore, becomes a fascinating undertaking especially in our context and particularly in Mashonaland and the way the Anglican Church history is narrated. Not much negativity was emphasised on how settlers and their schemes in Mashonaland could be allowed to dominate considerable space, hence, supporting the idea of civilisation and Christianity being advanced in a noble fashion.

We need to bear in mind, in line with the above, that it could be possible to have rulers, who have no fear of God, yet rise to levels of magnanimity unprecedented before in this world. We continue to see, to this day, the rise among some western powers that have almost made themselves military overseers of the whole world.¹¹²⁹ What could be said here is that any of these powers could claim to be divinely inspired. We maintain that such claims could be difficult to sustain from a sober historical perspective and serious historians would have to interrogate such developments. If such divine claims are not investigated, then the world could be plunged into serious chaos as some of them could end up contradicting one another though claiming to be inspired by the same God.¹¹³⁰

What Eusebius does to Constantine, therefore, is an attempt to impose the Roman Empire on the Christian God, hence, contradicting earlier developments that had seen the two in a head-on collision in the form of persecutions and hostilities against the Church. Michael, J. Hollerich observes that,

Much traditional scholarship, sometimes with barely suppressed disdain, has regarded Eusebius as one who risked his orthodoxy and perhaps his character because of his zeal for the Constantinean establishment.¹¹³¹

In this work, we are interrogating the claim that when it comes to the way Eusebius wrote about Constantine, did he indeed put orthodoxy on the line? We are further investigating whether Eusebius of Caesarea might be the only one whose method was to allow too much bias to dictate the pace of historical narratives.

¹¹²⁹ . As this research was in progress, NATO-led allies bombed Libya and went on to cause the death of its long time ruler.

¹¹³⁰. This is obvious from Christian denominations that claim to be inspired by the same God and yet find themselves at loggerheads even on simple matters hence giving rise to the distinction between heresy and orthodox. Even Constantine's Nicene involvement was complicated by Christians failing to agree on doctrinal matters.

¹¹³¹. Hollerich, M.J. *Religion and politics in the writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the first 'court theologian,'* p.309

5.18.20. Scholarship sympathetic to Eusebius' historical approach

This section gives a sample of some scholarship that tends to be sympathetic to Eusebius' approach. In the above connection, we need to note that Hollerich's position is that of sympathy towards Eusebius' historical expositions. The basis of his sympathy emanates from the scholarship that seems to contradict our views in this context. It sees in Eusebius, not one out to exaggerate the claims of Roman imperialism through the person of Constantine and his open generosity to the Church, but one faithful to ecclesiological-cum-political correctness and, therefore, impartial historical narratives.¹¹³² Again, the claims for objectivity in historical narratives become controversial in this connection. Nevertheless, with sympathy being allowed too much space in favour of a given historian such as Eusebius, the controversy might not be explicit.

It is against the ongoing appreciation of a given historian that Hollerich would like us to consider Eusebius' interpretation of the scriptures in order to acknowledge the fact that he should not be accused of the naivety and bias that has become a common charge among those critical of his views.¹¹³³ However, why should those who see in Eusebius considerable political bias towards Emperor Constantine, be accused of partiality? The advocacy on behalf of Eusebius is elevated to greater academic heights. Hollerich would like us to understand that in one of Eusebius' works, *Commentary on Isaiah*, Emperor Constantine only appears as a vague reference while the authority of Bishops is given prominence.¹¹³⁴ To this end, Hollerich notes

The ecclesiastical emphasis suggests that Eusebius was not so overwhelmed with the prospect of a Christianized empire that he ceased to be, first and foremost, a devoted churchman. The commentary puts us in a better position to evaluate the *Life of Constantine*, the *Tricennial Oration*, and the *Speech on the Holy Sepulchre*. The importance of these works, written near the end of both Constantine's and Eusebius's lives, has perhaps been swollen out of proportion.¹¹³⁵

¹¹³². Hollerich, op.cit. p.310 Ibid. p.310

¹¹³³. Ibid.

¹¹³⁴. Ibid. p.314

¹¹³⁵. Ibid. p.315

It is clear that here we have an authority that is extremely sympathetic to Eusebius but that gives us an argument that is difficult to accept. Perhaps a case characterised by inconsistency is turned into something balanced and well-calculated.

If the above could be taken as our understanding and the interpretation of the material that is being analysed, Hollerich's concern for Eusebius should be respected. However, that concern is flawed on the premise that any historian's consistency must only be appreciated after all his/her works have been scrutinised even though his/her themes are varied. Such an approach is not in keeping with the common rules of conventional scholarship, which allows us to scrutinise expositions in their own right. Could we allow a commentary and a historical narrative to be guided by the same rule where their terms of reference, when it comes to stating facts, happen to be anchored in divergent considerations? For example, a commentary may be guided by reflections that may be tied to a subjective understanding of what could be at stake. This might not be easy to contradict. However, if other scholars tell us that, from a historical perspective, there are facts to prove that certain things happened because of the available evidence that could not be ignored, we can judge whether facts are being misrepresented or not. Any statement made must be judged according to the logic on which it bases itself and not on statements made from without the context. History would be extremely complicated if our understanding of it had to rely not on the facts at hand, but those imposed from outside its area of focus that does not claim any direct links to a specific investigation or is seen as relevant by the researcher. Of course, we need to be cautious here. Historical facts that tend to speak about the same subject need to be approached holistically. Nevertheless, it would be imprudent to respond to critics by pointing to facts that are not implied in the argument at stake as Hollerich would like us to do in favour of Eusebius.

In our case, and in line with the above, Hollerich seems to suggest that the *Commentary on Isaiah* or any other works by Eusebius should be consulted before conclusions on his observations in the *Life of Constantine* could be drawn. This seems to be out of order because the two works have different emphasis although by the same author. We have already seen that the *Life of Constantine*

was rewritten in order to boost Constantine's position over and against that of a former ally who had turned out to be a rebel. In his appreciation of Constantine, Eusebius does not leave us guessing regarding what he wants to achieve, namely that God was working through the emperor and that the emperor, in turn, responded accordingly. Above, we saw this point being developed by Storch. Whether the bishops of the Church are more or less important in this emphasis on Constantine is not the theme with which he is concerned.

We have already cited a claim that it was the emperor who became extremely compassionate and munificent to the clergy. It was not the other way round, and there is no indication that the clergy would come to understand themselves as having responsibilities above the emperor, spiritually or otherwise. They were virtually reduced to mere commodities at the mercy of imperial market designs. The Church could be only critical in so far as it was able to satisfy imperial tastes. Those formerly understood as the initiators of justice and peace in the name of Jesus Christ had now assumed partiality and condoned violence in the name of the empire. This is what Hollerich seems to ignore.

In line with the preceding contention, whether Eusebius has got other opinions about the Roman Empire could only be treated separately since his position in the *Life of Constantine* is assumed to be clear. There are no riddles in the *Life of Constantine* that we should worry about interpreting or missing in terms of their focus. We have already seen that Eusebius saw divine initiatives as dictating the pace in his exposition of the life of the Emperor Constantine. Hence, in the interests of logic and of recorded facts, we could not be justified to accuse the critics of Eusebius of foul play regarding scholarship in this connection because they are concerned with what he notes in this work rather than anywhere else. A eulogy cannot be confused with an impartial observation; therefore, we cannot accept the defence of Hollerich preferred on behalf of Eusebius.

The concern we have about the Church that results from Eusebius' most celebrated emperor is summed up by Merrill when he observes that the evils that began to permeate the Christian institution from the fourth century came to include,

loss of legitimate autonomy and of the power of purely spiritual appeal, deadening of spirituality, increase in worldliness, involution in political intrigue, dry rot of formalism, growth of membership by other than the attraction of religious truth, and all the other ills of a politically privileged position of a church, such as we hear something about in certain quarters at the present day.¹¹³⁶

These compromises should have been given due attention by Eusebius' narratives, and we know that an independent Christian Church was in keeping with earlier traditions before the fourth century. We are talking about a Church that had lost its original mandate.

The praises that Eusebius refers to how Constantine treated the clergy of his day (see Eusebius, *Life*, 1, XLII) could be seen as unfortunate. This is because Christianity becomes elitist and does not hold up well regarding its purity of intent, its desire to be at the service of the poor and underprivileged and, indeed, the communal charity that had propelled it before. From the time of Constantine onwards, it appears to be the case that salvation became a monopoly of just a few imperial cognates, and those so favoured by them, and not so much a gift for all by a universal God. The institution founded by Jesus Christ becomes an appendix of the empire. This seems to become the norm, and, therefore, the Church begins to move away from the impartiality that could be envisaged for it to have a world-wide appeal. We continue to be emphatic on the fact that the way the history of the Roman Empire under Constantine is exposed by Eusebius seems to be one-sided and, therefore, problematic as a sample of scholars we are citing here testifies.

5.18.21. Contextualising the theology of empire controversy

We should not lose sight of the fact that we are not attempting to outline the history of Emperor Constantine in this exercise. Our assumption is that enough scholarship obtains in this regard. Rather, the main concern throughout is to review how Eusebius treated Emperor Constantine and the implications of such an approach to the whole philosophy of writing church history in ever new contexts. It is also an invitation to begin to think of the best ways through which the

¹¹³⁶. Merrill, *op.cit.*p.105

Mashonaland Anglican Christianity could be accounted for, without falling into the Eusebian temptation that allowed him to glorify the emperor in exaggerated ways.

In this chapter we have been critical about Bishop Beaven. It is curious to note that at the end of his ministry as Bishop, Pamela Welch does not write much except the fact that he retired to England and was succeeded by Edward Paget.¹¹³⁷ On the same subject, Arnold cites Broderick, *The Rhodesian Herald* and the *Diocesan Magazine*, all which had very good things to say about Beaven.¹¹³⁸ We noted earlier that he was the favourite among white people. The sources cited by Arnold are all aligned to the whites who controlled things in Southern Rhodesia. Clearly, we could sense something in line with the way Eusebius was writing about the emperor.

In line with the above and in our context, we have raised the question of the image of a church that is conjured through the historiography advanced by Eusebius. Here we have a Church that invokes God in theory and contradicts the same God in practice. For example, while Eusebius made Constantine a celebrity within the Roman Church, scholars such as Burgess, have this to say about the emperor:

Although Constantine was the first Christian emperor, his reign was marred by more familial bloodshed than that of any other Roman emperor: he was involved to one degree or another in the deaths of his wife's father, his wife's brother, his half-sister's husband, his eldest son, his wife, and another half sister's husband and son.¹¹³⁹

We have already raised similar concerns regarding the understanding of Rhodesia as being founded on Christianity and civilisation when a considerable amount of innocent indigenous blood was shed. We also came across Bishop Beaven who favoured that Rhodesian establishment. The point that seems to emerge clearly and consistently is that evil may have to be qualified as long as rich and powerful people are concerned.

¹¹³⁷. Welch, *op.cit.*p.116

¹¹³⁸. Arnold, p.71

¹¹³⁹. Burgess, R.W. 2008. The summer of blood. The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the promotion of the sons of Constantine. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University), Vol. 62, p.5. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20788042>. (Accessed on 14 December 2011).

What Burgess cites in line with Constantine's character imposes no obligation for us to hold the emperor in high esteem. His moral standing is repugnant. He was a murderer of the first order! Nevertheless, Constantine is ranked among the most celebrated saints of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁴⁰ Clearly, and in keeping with the above, we have a Eusebian Church that comes to commemorate the achievements of the powerful without really paying attention to the legitimate claims that we could extrapolate from the scriptures. It is a Church that takes its directives from the emperor rather than one that has time to reflect on what Jesus Christ bequeathed to it, and, hence, in tension with purely worldly schemes. Such a Church could be said to contradict Christianity. It celebrates vice at the expense of virtue.

In Eusebius' treatment of Constantine, the fact that a Christian emperor entertained murder to safeguard his interests is suppressed in order to highlight the preferred side of his life. It is a distortion that is imposed on orthodoxy by the most powerful. It is, therefore, a historical scenario that has no concern for the poor and marginalised. We need to see how this position could be linked to the Rhodesian milieu. It is clear that when we allow this misinterpretation of God's dealings with humanity, none should take us seriously. Missionaries who saw nothing wrong in supporting colonialism could, therefore, be said to have left a legacy of the theology of empire we would like to link to that of Eusebius of Caesarea.

5.18.22. Gospel imperatives and missionary work

Numerous questions present themselves in connection with the preceding section. Missionary work by the Anglican Church in Mashonaland needs to be accounted for in a balanced manner. The indigenous people's understanding of a Church with significant links to the oppressive structures must also be respected. This we do not find to be the case in the writings about the Anglican Church in this context. It seems to be the case that we could not absolve the Anglican Church from the numerous political, economic, social and religious blunders that obtain within the

¹¹⁴⁰ St. Constantine the Great, in Catholic Online, USA. Available online at: http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=2731. Accessed 13 June 2015. According to the liturgical calendars in some churches of the catholic tradition Constantine is remembered on 21 May as a great saint.

Rhodesian context founded on British colonial principles. This calls a balanced narrative that could differ significantly from the approach advocated by Eusebius. We premise our position for a reviewing of the history of Mashonaland on the following observations:

Firstly, and in general terms, we shall contend that the only reason the Anglican Church's expansion to the whole world could be justified is underpinned by the desire to bring good news to the whole of creation (Matthew 28) and none other.¹¹⁴¹ The good news is a divine initiative through human agents. It is critical that such agents submit themselves only to the will of God all the time and to no other forces. Saul of Tarsus was a murderer,¹¹⁴² and we know that during that time he was being propelled by the kind of Judaism that had gone astray to the point of killing the very God to whom the Jews owed their continued existence.¹¹⁴³ We know very well that God did not condone the madness that accompanied this zeal to defend Judaism.¹¹⁴⁴ It is critical for us to realise that once God took over the life of Saul and turned him into His messenger,¹¹⁴⁵ all the killings stopped and the platform for the good news to spread was created. We should also appreciate the fact that Paul travelled to many foreign lands and never used violence directly or indirectly to convert people to Christianity. There is no reason for us to doubt the fact that he could have condemned any form of violence that could have been done in the name of God. We could argue that when God takes over the whole enterprise of spreading the good news, violence, looting, plundering and such vices must give way. To see God in contexts where such vices are the order of the day and the prophetic voice subdued is to distort the history of salvation and therefore to reject the very God who justifies missions.¹¹⁴⁶

Secondly, when the indigenous people in Mashonaland who were subjected to wanton colonial greed, look at the Anglican Church, they are forced to see two

¹¹⁴¹. This is a peculiar feature of all Christianity that bases itself on the Scriptures as does the Anglican Church.

¹¹⁴². See Acts 8:3 and also 9:1.

¹¹⁴³. Acts 9:4-5

¹¹⁴⁴. See Matthew 23:37-39 and also Luke 13:34-35

¹¹⁴⁵. Acts 9:15-16

¹¹⁴⁶. See MacCulloch, 2010, pp.691ff. The context happens to be the Americas where some Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries preached against violence and slavery and took their pleas as far as Europe to make their point. Of course, others such as Bartolome de las Casas got mixed up in this moral outrage as they advocated for the enslavement of Africans instead of American natives.

contradictory trends. On the one hand, there is a Church severely compromised in its mission by attitudes that hardly qualify to be called Christian at all because of colonial links.¹¹⁴⁷ These are seen in missionaries who forgot that God was not a violent and partisan being that supports one group and allows the other to be vanquished in the process. God has no linguistic preferences as shown on the day of Pentecost when the good news was proclaimed to the people in their native tongues.¹¹⁴⁸ It was not one predominant language against many others. Therefore, a God who comes to Mashonaland through violence deserves to be castigated in the strongest terms possible.

On the other hand, in line with the preceding contention, there is an Anglican Church that has been championed by historians who see the urgency and purity of its missions in Mashonaland. The narrative we are trying to put together in this work is concerned with highlighting the side that could contribute to a balanced understanding of what was at stake. So far, what we have encountered are narratives that command the spirit that is favourable to what Mashonaland was subjected to throughout the colonial period.

5.19. Critical Remarks for this chapter

This lengthy chapter has attempted to gather information about a leadership genre within the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe between 1895 and 1925. The main focus was to look at the bishops who spear-headed this institution and the policies they endorsed regarding defining the general thrust of the Anglican Church. Our concerns have been noted in no uncertain terms. We have pointed out that meanwhile, we meet with developments that are hardly Christian and yet linked to the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, the absence of thoroughly critical narratives in this connection boost our position. The latter is characterised by a certain amount of academic impatience in this context. Regarding the theology of empire that is of interest to us in this research, we need to continue asking ourselves whether there has been any consistency in our theme in this chapter.

¹¹⁴⁷. The example of Bishop Beaven is very relevant in this regard

¹¹⁴⁸. See Acts 2:4-11

The following issues could be highlighted with some justification as corroborative evidence in our findings:

Firstly, we have some important questions for the Anglican Bishops, including W.T. Gaul, Powell and Beaven: Were they successful in steering their Mashonaland Church towards taking the indigenous people seriously or protecting them from exploitation by the settlers? Could such policies be cited in any of their official capacities? What we have included in the various sections of this chapter seem to give us only one major option: These leaders, as given to us by history, were either weak in their efforts as was true of Powell or they were just outright supporters of the colonial establishment as Gaul and Beaven's positions could testify.

Secondly, it is clear that when we compare the above state of affairs with what happened in the fourth century, there seems to be a consistent pattern in terms of how the Church was understood by Eusebius of Caesarea and how he wrote about it in relation to the Roman Empire. Eusebius does not see any problems with associating the Church with imperial schemes that otherwise were contrary to the gospel. With all the violence that could be cited and with the way Eusebius wrote about Constantine, how could we not support the view that we have a historian here who was partisan and could be a pacesetter in contexts such as Mashonaland? In addition to the imperial schemes that Constantine put in place, there seems to be a deliberate neutralisation of the gospel. In this connection, was the Church not seen as an appendix to the empire? In our exposition, is it not clear that we are highlighting the problems that arise when a mundane institution claims to have a divine mandate to which it is not able to be faithful?

Thirdly, even though the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was blessed by individuals such as Arthur Shearly Cripps and his friends, these were not effective in the sense that they were lone voices. From what has been included, it seems to be the case that these prophetic individuals could not influence the policy at all within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. We have encountered evidence to the fact that during the deliberations of the 1903 Synod, Cripps' protests could not command sufficient votes where it was an all-white affair, to begin with. Therefore,

when we look at the entire development from the point of view of the theology of empire, we are challenged to accept the fact that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was prepared to support colonial policies at the expense of the gospel values. This seems to point to the obvious relegation of the indigenous people to second or third-class citizenship in the name of God. Once it could be accepted and supported by the official policy that human beings are not all the same, we could not expect such a context to work out systems and practices consistent with gospel imperatives. Our challenge is therefore compounded. We still must emphasise the fact that Bishops, such as Beaven and narratives that are not critical about his association with the Rhodesian establishment, give us opportunities to continue interrogating this Mashonaland context using the theology of empire model.

5.20. Conclusion

We must conclude this chapter by reminding ourselves that the information we gathered seems to point to the fact that the Church that Knight-Bruce established continued to operate closely with the colonial state of Southern Rhodesia under the auspices of the Diocese of Mashonaland (which also had become the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia). There was no attempt to radicalise the gospel although the context demanded it. It is clear that we should talk more about compromise rather than a unique approach to God's work within Mashonaland by the Anglican Church. Conspiracy against the indigenous seems to be the norm in this regard. We shall proceed to analyse the progress of the Anglican Church under Bishop Paget from 1925 till the end of his episcopate after the mid-1950s. The question of whether there was any radical shift with regard to the indigenous people seriously will become extremely critical in terms of asserting the prevalence of the theology of empire within a historical context such as Mashonaland.

CHAPTER 6: THE THEOLOGY OF EMPIRE WITHIN FRANCIS PAGET'S LONG EPISCOPATE

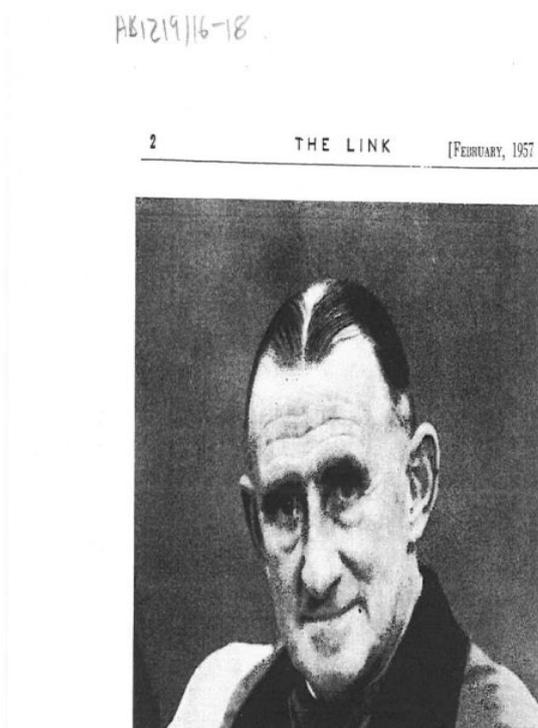


Fig.6.1. Insert of Bishop Edward Francis Paget.¹¹⁴⁹ (Courtesy of the Link 1957)

6.0. Introducing Bishop Paget

In this chapter, we proceed to work out a narrative that highlights the prevalence of the theology of empire in the episcopate of Edward Francis Paget who became the fifth Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, also called Southern Rhodesia between 1925 and 1957. He succeeded Bishop Frederick Hick Beaven we dealt with in Chapter 5. The materials, consulted here, range from internet articles, especially for the biography, other literature and archival materials for selective details of Paget's involvement within both the Church and the state in Rhodesia. The main aim here is to insist on the fact that while the Anglican Church in Mashonaland during this time claimed to be paying attention to gospel imperatives, underneath there were other forces that militated against what we would normally ascribe to God. It is in line with this understanding that we should be able to demonstrate the consistence, among the Anglican Bishops, in terms of supporting empire building using the Church as a major component and at the expense of the indigenous

¹¹⁴⁹. AB1219/16-18. Historical research Papers, Wits University, op.cit.

people. We should be in a position to appreciate some Eusebian links that may not be obvious if we were to turn a blind eye to the way some historical details are exposed. Our approach here does not dwell much on the general thrust of the bishop's work, which writers such as Gibbon, Welch, Arnold and others have already exposed, but on issues that help us to argue for the prevalence of the theology of empire within the Mashonaland Anglican context. The rationale here is that not much work has been done in terms of linking Paget to the theology of empire within this context. It is important, however, to remind ourselves that the materials we will utilise here are not submitted anywhere under the clear categorisation or identification with the theology of empire in Mashonaland as such.

6.1. Bishop Francis Paget's leadership in Mashonaland

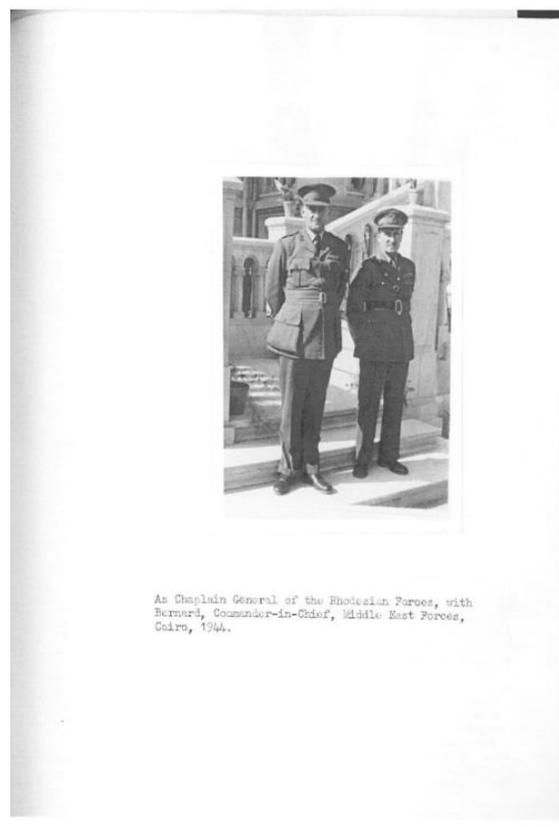


Fig.6.2. Rt Rev Bishop Francis Paget, “As Chaplain General of the Rhodesian Forces, with Bernard, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Forces, Cairo, 1944”¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁵⁰ .AB1219/16-18, Historical research Papers, Wits University, op.cit.

To help us appreciate how the theme of the theology of empire could be detected in Paget's work, a wide range of issues that have a bearing on the way the Anglican Church in Rhodesia handled race relations and socio-economic as well as political matters will be attended to. These will follow after some background of Paget's life has been outlined.

6.1.0. Paget's birth and marriage

The facts about the Rt. Rev. Edward Francis Paget's biography are as follows: He was born on 8 July 1886¹¹⁵¹ His father was the Rt. Rev. Francis Paget and mother was Helen Beatrice Church.¹¹⁵² He married Rosemary Allin, daughter of Auriol Sealy Allin and Rose Goddard, on 20 October 1932¹¹⁵³ in Salisbury Cathedral, Rhodesia, at 10.30 a.m.¹¹⁵⁴

6.1.1. Paget's educational background

All his education took place in England "at Shrewsbury School" and "Shropshire".¹¹⁵⁵ We are also informed that "he graduated from Christ Church, Oxford University, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England, in 1909 with a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.)".¹¹⁵⁶ He went on to do his MA and Doctorate at the same University.¹¹⁵⁷ His curateship was at "St Frideswide, Poplar, London, England" "between 1911 and 1914".¹¹⁵⁸ We need to take note of the high standards of education the Anglican missionaries had and compared with what Can Mhlanga or Bernard Mzeki got. Perhaps we are already anticipating a question that will be raised again in our context when the missionaries are critiqued in terms of empowering the indigenous clergy.

6.1.2. Two critical anchors in Paget's career

¹¹⁵¹. Rt. Rev. Edward Francis Paget. Available online at: Url: <http://thepeerage.com/p54741.htm> . Accessed on 19 July 2015. NB: details given by this source do not differ much from those included in AB1219 collection in the Historical Papers, Wits University Library. Available online at: Url: <http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/Collections&c=AB1219/I>. Accessed on 29 March 2012.

¹¹⁵². Ibid.

¹¹⁵³. <http://thepeerage.com/p54741.htm>

¹¹⁵⁴. Rt. Rev. Edward Francis Paget Archbishop of Central Africa , Available online at: Url: http://www.anatpro.com/index_files/Edward_Francis_Paget.htm. Accessed 19 July 2015

¹¹⁵⁵ <http://thepeerage.com/p54741.htm>

¹¹⁵⁶. Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁷. Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸. Ibid.

Paget's career could be looked at from two angles, which are critical to our investigation, namely, his ecclesiastical and military engagements. The latter makes him a very important ally of Beaven whom we saw as extremely excited about military service in this context. We are drawing attention to this factor so that the missionary dimension here can help us use the theology of empire as a relevant starting point.

During the First World War that began in 1914, Paget "was for two years chaplain to the British forces in East Africa and was awarded the Military Cross."¹¹⁵⁹ Later as bishop, "he held the office of Chaplain-General of the South Rhodesian Forces between 1925 and 1957."¹¹⁶⁰ His awards in this connection include "Chaplain, Order of St. John (O.St.J.)", "a Commander, Order of Phoenix [Greece]" and "a Commander, Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 1950."¹¹⁶¹ We could safely assume that wherever the military is involved in contexts known to human history, partisan considerations become critical anchors. The Church may underestimate this, but Christianity could not make sense if its own members are at war: one with another. In the Mashonaland context, bishops who were too quick to render their services to armed forces from a partisan perspective could not escape being classified as imperial agents. Historians who gloss over this could leave us with no options except to see them as following in the footsteps of Eusebius of Caesarea who was quick to rewrite history to exonerate the emperor Constantine by turning his mundane ambitions into Christian principles.

Paget's ministry in Southern Africa saw him as a "Vicar between 1914 and 1925 at Benoni Transvaal, South Africa."¹¹⁶² He became the bishop of Southern Rhodesia between 1925 and 1952 and then Mashonaland, between 1952 and 1955.¹¹⁶³ Finally, he was Archbishop of Central Africa between 1955 and 1957.¹¹⁶⁴ He retired to South Africa where he was appointed as assistant bishop of Natal from 1961.¹¹⁶⁵ It is clear that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was not

¹¹⁵⁹. http://www.anatpro.com/index_files/Edward_Francis_Paget.htm

¹¹⁶⁰. <http://thepeerage.com/p54741.htm>

¹¹⁶¹. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶². <http://thepeerage.com/p54741.htm>

¹¹⁶³. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁴. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁵. http://www.anatpro.com/index_files/Edward_Francis_Paget.htm

unfamiliar, from the beginning, with bishops and priests who also served their government as military chaplains.

6.1.3. A key Anglican Bishop in Mashonaland or Southern Rhodesia

In 1925, the Anglican Church in Rhodesia bade farewell to Bishop Frederick Hick Beaven, and Francis Paget took over the episcopate. One source states that “Edward Paget might be said to be the architect of the Anglican Church in Central Africa.”¹¹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, Arnold tells us that Paget was a “Man of Action”.¹¹⁶⁷ Above all, this English Bishop “was the kind of church leader that Southern Rhodesia needed at this time”.¹¹⁶⁸ Again, whether the Southern Rhodesia that is being referred to could be inclusive of the indigenous people of Mashonaland is a question suppressed here. It is not critical perhaps on the grounds that missionary work in this context could not be allowed to represent the poor and oppressed indigenous people in favour of programmes that could promote the well-being of the conquerors. This could, in the long run, be seen as the criterion of adequacy when it came to the issue of whether the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia was faithful to gospel imperatives or not. As we proceed to look at salient facts of the developments in Mashonaland under Paget, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are also curious to find out how the indigenous church within this context was being developed.

Facts that we could encounter in line with the foregoing observations by Arnold require us to demonstrate that we are not really being helped to understand the full picture of what was at stake within this Anglican context. Arnold seems to have a tendency of oversimplifying complex matters. The context in which such accolades are preferred on Bishop Paget should be emphasised. We are informed that when Paget became Bishop,

...The small white community had, in general, given little thought to the future development of the African people; the church needed to give guidance and to challenge its white adherents to do more than adopt a benevolent paternalism towards the black people who outnumbered them many times over. There was a vast amount of work to be done in developing the Church’s mission to its entire

¹¹⁶⁶. http://www.anatpro.com/index_files/Edward_Francis_Paget.htm

¹¹⁶⁷. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.72

¹¹⁶⁸. *Ibid.*

people, both black and white and this meant continual and continuous forcing of the pace.¹¹⁶⁹

Below, we shall continue to make important observations that have a great deal of bearing on the foregoing words we have cited. However, before we do that, it is clear from Arnold's observation that it was the Anglican Church that was trying to bring about harmony among blacks and whites in Rhodesia. Regarding how the Anglican Church had been doing that for nearly three decades, it is not clear. What we know for certain and from the quote is that, in general, the whites did not care much about the well-being of the indigenous people and, hence, the earlier moral outrage that we saw being expressed by the radical Cripps. Here it looks as if they were being ignored when it meant welcoming their new shepherd. Again, without a clear-cut policy on racial harmony, there was no way the white organisers could get things right when they knew very well that other clergy turned a blind eye to such matters. A once-off gesture of goodwill and a consistent racial discriminatory programme seem to have been on a head-on collision by default.

For our purpose within the framework of this research informed by our appreciation of the theology of empire as our criterion of adequacy, we are equipped to handle the foregoing passage from a more enlightened and critical approach. We are aware that the passage comes to us as pure, uncontaminated history. Arnold seems to be interested in stating the facts as they have been advanced to him, with a view of supporting the thesis that the "Anglican Church was there to stay" in Mashonaland. Nevertheless, we have already expressed our reservations in this connection.

The Paget given to us by Arnold is one whose integrity in doing Church business is unquestionable. Importantly, the problem of the relationship between blacks and whites within the Mashonaland context is hinted at. A critical reading of the passage again could lead us to some unfortunate conclusions. Below we attend to some of these conclusions that are informed by some relevant facts encountered in this connection and influenced by our emphasis on the prevalence of the theology of empire within Mashonaland.

¹¹⁶⁹. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.72

6.2. The problem of racial supremacy within Paget's church

In line with the above, we are forced to accept the fact that the white people had an obligation to do more for the blacks in Mashonaland. The Church could be seen as promoting this kind of paternalism as though it was an acceptable starting point. Our question in this connection should be clear: Did God really create Europeans so that they could be masters over Africans? The rebellions we have witnessed in this connection seem to prove us right to the effect that the indigenous people did not see any benevolence in the newcomers. The Anglican bishop within the Southern Rhodesian context would take it upon himself to ensure that the white community was prepared sufficiently to come to the rescue of the Africans. On his enthronement as Bishop in 1925, the embarrassment was obvious: no Africans had been invited to attend the ceremony!¹¹⁷⁰ Anglican Church business in this context was simply a monopoly of the white people. This point becomes even more urgent when we are made to understand that for his inauguration ceremony, no indigenous Anglicans had been also invited to attend the ceremony. These two incidents of omission make it so clear to us that it was a white people's affair and, hence, scandalous in the context of a critical understanding of Mashonaland. The Anglican Church was in Mashonaland but not for Mashonaland. The adjective, scandalous in this connection is critical to those writing about the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. The context we are faced with here is captured by Gibbon as follows:

His (Paget's) enthronement for Sunday, October 11 (1925).The Cathedral was, and still is a Parish Church for the white community and was at that time used only by the white people, and so the authorities had not thought of inviting the Africans to the service. When Edward discovered this, he insisted on Africans being invited, and his own story was that when the Cathedral authorities demurred, he threatened to move the enthronement to St Michael's, the little African church-cum-school in Manica Road. He won his point.¹¹⁷¹

It may not have been the bishop's fault as he is said to have protested against this omission,¹¹⁷² but it tells us how much work had been done by the Anglican Church before Paget within the Rhodesian context with regard to improving race relations. This should have given Paget some warning shots so that he could take serious note of the context into which he was getting. A radical approach to the context in

¹¹⁷⁰. Arnold, op.cit.p.74

¹¹⁷¹. Ibid.

¹¹⁷². Ibid.

terms of racial harmony was therefore urgent. We are also insisting on the fact that those who have written the history of the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia could have been treating this as a subject that does not require any significant attention, thereby trivialising it. The concern here is that those who were greatly impacted on and in the negative were the indigenous. This could not be trivialised. Nevertheless, besides this personal initiative by Bishop Paget, we do not hear much in terms of policies meant to guard against future confrontations on the matter. The silence on this matter is of great concern given a Church that saw itself as trying to harmonise blacks and whites.

In line with the above, that we have a historical narrative that is devoid of critical sensitivities is attested to by the fact that 35 years along the way, colonialism is accepted as legally binding. Anglican reference to this socio-economic as well as the political anomaly seems to take for granted that everything is above board in terms of excluding the indigenous people. If this was not the case, we have no way of explaining how a conscientious Church leadership could handle such a situation with 'soft gloves' that was already out of hand and needed drastic intervention in the name of God.¹¹⁷³ This point should be seen as urgent given the fact that we are against the Eusebian God who takes sides over and against the poor, weak and marginalised of this world in favour of those with the power to suppress and manipulate others. Not many curious questions are asked about the leadership that was there before Paget. In addition, we could accept the fact that no other clergy involved in the welcoming of the Bishop could explain why the white laity did not get any counsel on this matter on time.

The whites are advanced as the lawful custodians of the black people's advancement in Rhodesia at this point in time. We know that this was not true at all. According to Gibbon, in 1925 Southern Rhodesia had a population of about 840 000 people (that is, .40 000 whites and 800000 indigenous).¹¹⁷⁴ He also informs us that,

There were as yet no educated, professional or middle-class Africans, because there was as yet no secondary or higher education available for them except in

¹¹⁷³. We know that Cripps, around this time, had already expressed his prophetic views about the futility of European self-imposed lordship over Africans.

¹¹⁷⁴. Gibbon, op.cit. p.27.

South Africa. The only Government school for Africans was Domboshawa, near Salisbury, where trades such as building, carpentry and agriculture were taught. Many of the mission schools went no higher than Standard 1 or 2; men and women who reached Standard 4 were accepted for training as teachers, but most of the teachers were untrained. Each of the mission schools, however, was a Christian centre where children learnt something of Christian life and worship even if they learnt little else.¹¹⁷⁵

This is perplexing and needs to be considered side-by-side with the facts that could attract us at this point. We have already been reminded that the white people in Rhodesia were not in favour of education the indigenous people for fear of the challenge that this development could give rise to.¹¹⁷⁶ This could explain the slow pace at which education for the indigenous people was developed in Southern Rhodesia. Missionaries could be blamed for not making higher education a priority; otherwise they would have been able to ensure that the indigenous were not left behind. In a context in which the indigenous should have been taken seriously, by 1925, there should have been a significant number of graduates from the indigenous fold. We have already seen that Anglican Bishops, who came to work in Mashonaland, had extremely high qualifications. To accept an educational standard that went no further than the lower primary school grades and continue with it for a significant time could be interpreted as a sinister strategy to keep the indigenous people in perpetual bondage and under white paternalism. So the settlers' position on the education of the indigenous carried the day.

The Anglican Church in the above connection is not really the conscience of the nation but an institution that has the sole purpose of perpetuating Constantineanism. Gibbon is aware of this in his narratives as he rightly identifies Arthur Shearly Cripps as the "first champion of African rights."¹¹⁷⁷ However, Cripps only became a member of the Mashonaland Anglican clergy in 1902. He was not even a pioneer in the Mashonaland mission. If he comes in as champion, according to Gibbon's admission, how do we then characterise all the others who had laboured in this context? It is important to raise this critical question, in this curious undertaking in which we put Paget under the spotlight. The Emperor must be seen to be in the right and, therefore, on the side of God, thus, making it

¹¹⁷⁵. Gibbon, op.cit.p.27f.

¹¹⁷⁶. Parker, op.cit:p.29.

¹¹⁷⁷. Gibbon, op.cit. p.28

difficult for the bishop to tackle the Rhodesian government of the day. Religio-political diplomacy needs to be observed here as far as the Anglican Church leadership is concerned.

Like the tradition, we saw obtaining during Knight-Bruce's episcopacy, and beyond, pragmatism seemed to carry the day. The fact that blacks were getting a raw deal from the beginning seems to be side-lined, and, hence, the Anglican Church could rightly be seen as promoting the vices that it was meant to militate against in the first place. Of course, we know that Arnold does not agree with us for his position is that Paget led the way against the colour bar in Rhodesia.¹¹⁷⁸ This point could make the comparison between Cripps and Paget superfluous. However, this superfluity could be justified to give the facts that we are going to discuss below.

Reading Gibbon and Arnold's narratives in the foregoing connection could give us a resolute Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia on the question of how the general policy about the indigenous people was handled. Gibbon assures us that,

Edward wrote continuously and emphatically about the rights of Africans and the duties of Europeans towards them, but more effective than all was his own example of courtesy and hospitality, and the consideration and respect and the responsibility and the opportunity that he gave to them.¹¹⁷⁹

As something that was initiated and promoted by the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia from the mid-1920s onwards, the absence of documented policies that militated against racial segregation conjures feelings of anxiety in our minds as this piece of history is narrated. Whether there was an open attack against racial supremacy by the Anglicans that could have shown that they were not accomplices in this evil in Southern Rhodesia makes us curious here. If Edward was leading by word and deed, what his white followers were doing about segregation in their various congregations, seems to be another important question.

¹¹⁷⁸. Arnold, op.cit. p.75

¹¹⁷⁹. Gibbon, op.cit.p.156

We should compare Gibbon's Paget with Arnold's position on Cripps at this point to make the foregoing points a little bit more convincing. Arnold observes that,

Cripps' voice was perhaps the most eloquent, compelling and sustained for something like half a century, raised by an Anglican clergyman on behalf of the African in what was then Southern Rhodesia. He was always something of a lone wolf; indeed almost entirely so in his latter days when he was not officially a member of the diocesan staff, but there can be no doubt that his precepts and example had a deeper effect on the thinking and actions of his brother Anglicans than was always apparent at the time.¹¹⁸⁰

The key word in this narrative happens to be "lone wolf." There is something curious here about how the historical facts are being presented. Gibbon would like to convince us that Paget, the bishop was also doing the same in terms of championing the indigenous people's cause in Mashonaland. This would challenge the understanding of Cripps as a lone wolf.

It is clear that some of these narratives, when understood in isolation could distort the scenario for us. Having Cripps and Paget side-by-side and in harmony in terms of tackling racial discrimination could have given the Anglican Church a boost. Our available narratives do not seem to concur. Mashonaland does not seem to have celebrated any dual championship when it comes to a critical approach to the liberation of the indigenous people. We call to mind the fact that Cripps had been a loser in the 1902 Anglican debate about the humanity of the indigenous people. How could he begin to make sense during Paget's time? This is a curious question and not something that could be reduced to speculation or even romantic if we are to take into consideration the basic facts we have found appealing in this context of Anglicanism in Mashonaland.

Therefore, and in line with the foregoing, Cripps and Paget could be viewed as champions for the African cause in the same breath but with many reservations or qualifications when it comes to emphasis. Obviously, we are required to substantiate our position in this regard. Gibbon has already told us that Paget also led by example in the way he treated Africans. How much this position could be sustained depends very much again on selectivity. We either must take all the facts seriously or like Eusebius, we need to adopt the emperor as our hero.

¹¹⁸⁰. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.38

Coming back to this Mashonaland historical challenge, the amount of conviction that we could command from Gibbon's position depends on whether Arnold was being inclusive in his observation to the effect that in Paget we also have a champion for the indigenous people. An article in the *Link* of 1957, after more than thirty years of Paget's episcopacy, informs us that there was a disparity along racial lines when it came to the clergy salaries.¹¹⁸¹ It should come to us as a shock, given the fact that we are looking at an institution in which a leader with the indigenous people's interests at heart, was in power. For example, a committee that had been tasked to review clergy salaries and to recommend to the Standing Committee during the Synod of May 1956 submitted the following:

...for European clergy, the basic rate goes up from £363 to £400, the marriage allowance from £123 15s. to £150, and the children's allowance from £49 10s. To £60, plus £25 boarding school grant. There are four annual increments of £25 after three years' service as a priest.¹¹⁸²

These quantitative facts should speak volumes in terms of supporting the theology of empire within the Mashonaland context. We need to be just mindful of the fact that Paget had already been Bishop of Southern Rhodesia for many years. As Bishop of the Diocese and as one who led by example, it looks as if there were other matters he could not handle with the impartiality that such leadership requires. Those who celebrate him as a hero in this context seem to be somewhat uncritical to the facts that obtain in this context to the contrary. This should be urgent when we hear that:

For African clergy, the basic rate, recently increased, remains at £120. Marriage allowance goes up from £12 to £24, children's allowance from £6 to £9, plus £6 boarding school grant. The four annual increments are of £15, and there is a town allowance of £18 ...¹¹⁸³

It is clear that something is not right here in terms of how European and indigenous priests were being treated even inside the Church. The indigenous are clearly being short-changed within the Church that seems to be caring but unable to live to its claims. This was under Paget and his concern for racial harmony was being taken to its logical conclusions. Why such anomalies could be allowed

¹¹⁸¹. AB1219/16-18, *The Link*, January 1957, p.5. Historical research papers, Witts, op.cit.

¹¹⁸². Ibid

¹¹⁸³. *The Link*, January 1957, p.5.

seems to confirm our suspicions in this connection. Historians of these developments such as Gibbon and Arnold do not want to tell us that we have a bishop who could not work his way out of a compromised situation by insisting on gospel imperatives. We have a big historical problem when the narrators are extremely partisan and unable to move out of their dogmatic slumbers in the name of fairness. Let us be mindful of the fact that fairness requires us to acknowledge the fact that we could be limited in terms of capturing the real state of affairs, but when narrating events, we could not afford to compromise the given realities in any given context. We have already insisted on the fact that the Mashonaland context in which the Anglican Church was developing had been forced to view the aspirations of the indigenous people as second-class concerns.

The foregoing figures cited in terms of clergy allowances tell us an extremely sad story about a Paget who was concerned about the indigenous people's welfare and led by example in addressing it, if we are to go by the writings of those disposed favourably. to him This was not racism outside the Anglican Church but within it. This makes it a mockery to compare Paget's position with that of Cripps. Indeed, we could rightly be emphatic on the fact that, Cripps was alone in addressing the concerns of the indigenous people. Paget does not seem to come anywhere near this radical prophet of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Those who see him in the category of Cripps could be viewed as misleading and selective when it comes to narrating the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

Our position takes significant exception in the foregoing connection, because the argument is that sinful activities have no room in the work that should ultimately be ascribed to God. Furthermore, our reading of Arnold's work creates more problems for us than solutions. There is an admission that, by 1925, racial inequalities are already rampant within Southern Rhodesia. Whether Paget was really prepared to deal with this problem decisively remains an urgent question. Was his reaction to the details of his welcome that saw no need to include the indigenous the result of a principled conscience or something in the area of convenience? Arnold has already assured us that Paget was the right person for the job. However, the above example of salary disparities between black and

white clergy tells us a different story. Another twenty-five years seems to reveal to us that racial discrimination was actually being perfected and, therefore, not challenged even within Church circles. How then could we talk of championing the indigenous cause in any sustainable fashion when, in actual fact, the blacks were being relegated to a second-class status permanently? We are not talking here about debatable opinions in the Church, but articles of convictions which came to form the legal administrative statutes that were followed to the letter. The black and white clergy under Paget's leadership could not be given the same advantages. The whites were still more equal as compared to their black counterparts. This does not compare well with the moral outrage that came from Paget on the occasion of his enthronement in 1925! What we are stating here does not entail general observations but those that require us to take gospel imperatives into serious consideration by virtue of being a missionary and, therefore, God-driven.

Some more archival materials¹¹⁸⁴ in the foregoing connection do not allow us to conclude that here was an Anglican bishop in Mashonaland ready to rise to the occasion. We know that this material was never consulted and perhaps because of saying the kinds of things with which supporters of Paget would not be comfortable. We include these materials here not because we are enemies of Paget, but because we are worried about the bias allowed in narrating this history of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. We also would like to be emphatic about the theology of empire within an Anglican context in Rhodesia. Facts that are allowed to speak for themselves are more enlightening than those that are suppressed by way of being misinterpreted or deliberately deselected and so must, by that very virtue be highlighted. If an Anglican Bishop failed the Africans in one way or another, there is no reason why we should ignore such a major concern within the context of the theology of empire narratives. Below we attend to those critical facts that are pertinent to our quest.

6.2.0. Paget's position on racial segregation in South Africa

¹¹⁸⁴. AB742. Historical research Papers(of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa. This collection is under the title, "Original Collection of letters for or by African Bishops". It should be noted that "African" refers to European bishops working in Africa.

In a letter by Paget dated 31 July 1926, the bishop reveals the fact that the native problem was peculiar to the Union of South Africa where “the oppressive legislation of the Colour Bar” was in place.¹¹⁸⁵ When it comes to Southern Rhodesia, Paget’s tone is supportive of the Europeans there. Here the country is described as young and under a regime presented to us as “most anxious to do the right thing by both the native people and the European population, which on the whole, shares, I believe, the Government’s desire.”¹¹⁸⁶ That suddenly the primitive and barbarous blacks were now in a position to do the right thing comes to us as a shock. We have already seen that not much from the indigenous people’s side could be said in terms of assimilating western civilisation and Christianity. Whether Paget then was not lying about the intellectual awareness of the blacks in 1926 Mashonaland, seems to be a curious question in this connection.

In line with the foregoing, what the government really wanted is elusive in this context. It could be pointed out that the government in Southern Rhodesia wanted to depart as far as possible from the evils that were besetting South Africa already at this moment in time. The Europeans in Southern Rhodesia did not want to introduce racial segregation. This could have been mere rhetoric given the facts on the ground. The Southern Rhodesia we are talking about here was not a welfare state for the indigenous people, to begin with. Its ethos was not premised on Christian principles as many were made to believe. It was an economic establishment first and foremost. It also had political ambitions to settle in the name of the British tradition of empire building and imperialism. Christianity in this connection was simply a convenient appendix and nothing more. The bishop was not really facing the truth. We have already seen that it had to call for the bishop’s bold stance just to invite Africans to attend his enthronement and inauguration. A year later, Paget seemed to have forgotten that his white flock was racist and practised its own unique segregation in Rhodesia. That he had vehemently protested against this segregation because of the obvious embarrassment it could cause to the whole Church was no longer urgent. Cripps must be attended to in

¹¹⁸⁵. AB742: op.cit.

¹¹⁸⁶. *ibid.*

order to help us appreciate the concerns regarding racism we are raising in the foregoing connection.

6.2.1. Cripps on racial supremacy in Rhodesia in the 1920s

In this section an attempt is made to compare and contrast Cripps' position and that of his Bishop, Paget. We saw that in Cripps' mental categories and thought-patterns, the issue of European domineering over Africans took centre stage and it was almost difficult to imagine the day when the tables could be turned. We preferred to view Cripps as a priest whose prophetic voice had profound ramifications and yet had been silenced ecclesiastically¹¹⁸⁷ during his time. It is critical at this stage to continue referring to the work that advances Cripps¹¹⁸⁸ as a hero in terms of exposing the intricacies of the theology of empire within the Southern African context that Paget wanted to defend. From what we have already included, we know that Paget did not view matters in the same light as Cripps.

In the first chapter of Cripps' radical work in question, the moral tone of his argument is set. The key term in this connection is "soul-rot,"¹¹⁸⁹ which is used to express the main theme of one human race oppressing another. In this day and age, when human rights are asserted to the points beyond sheer exaggeration, our problem here should be seen as urgent. Our argument cuts right through to the core of the problem being advanced especially when the whole enterprise is premised on Christianity and civilisation against the background of barbaric atrocities within the Southern Rhodesian context. An anti-imperial theology was set in motion by Cripps then in terms of narrating history. Why Paget could miss out on this seems to be a genuine and serious concern for us, given all that we have said so far.

Certainly, and in line with the above, Cripps' position was the simplest expression of calling the emperor, who exaggerated his Christian faith, to order within the

¹¹⁸⁷. We make this point against the background that meanwhile Cripps was drastic against the Church's appreciation of civil authorities; there were no protracted moves to silence him publicly.

¹¹⁸⁸. Cripps, A.S., 1927: *An Africa for Africans: a plea on behalf of territorial segregation areas and their freedom in a South African colony*. New York: Negro Universities Press.

¹¹⁸⁹. *Ibid.* The theme of that first chapter reads "soul-rot in a servile atmosphere", unpagged before p.3

framework of history. His was a missionary stance premised on the virtues of humility and divine poverty and informed by gospel imperatives. To this end, it declared its freedom from imperial manipulation to preserve the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ through the Church. It is clear that Cripps understood his missionary conscience as having the sole task of opposing all the corruption in the Church that resulted from too much adaptation to the principles of protracted manipulation and, therefore, outright exploitation. Ultimately, it even confronted the civil authorities in this context with the question of whether they had the final say in questions that had a bearing on the destiny of humanity. Paget could have influenced the whole diocese to take such a bold stance in the name of God if he really wanted to support Cripps, but we hear nothing of that sort, although the two worked in the same context.

In line with the above, it could be pointed out that what had been taken for granted during the fourth-century Romano-Christian world, could not be accepted in the twentieth century in Mashonaland. We could safely point out that Cripps happened to be an exponent of our first Anglican version of an anti-imperial theology deeply rooted in the realities obtaining in Mashonaland during his time. The Church-state relations we have already met with could be defined in a new way that insisted on the autonomy and integrity of the Church to do its business without relying too much on secular control. In the 1920s and beyond, priests such as Cripps had already realised that the Anglican Church was creating problems that could militate against it then and in the long run.

In his book, Cripps refers to Cecil John Rhodes' bequest that saw young men of English and Dutch descent in Southern Africa being accorded opportunities to study at the Oxford University in the United Kingdom.¹¹⁹⁰ The irony that Cripps finds fascinating in this connection is that the young men in question, the future leaders of Southern Africa, are sent to study in an atmosphere he describes as "free and idealistic,"¹¹⁹¹ hence, meant to contrast with the atmosphere that obtained in South Africa that was hardly characterised by freedom and idealism. That atmosphere in South Africa is highlighted when Cripps observes that "My

¹¹⁹⁰. Cripps, *op.cit.* unpagged

¹¹⁹¹. *Ibid.*

own conclusion tends to be decisive that the prevalent atmosphere of South Africa is neither free nor idealistic, in the sense in which our English Mother Country we have been taught to understand those words.”¹¹⁹² Already the assumption, on which we could pin our argument, is that if England was to be taken as our foundation, then what was happening in Mashonaland was a superstructure that did not respect its anchors. A civilised society should be expected to engender civilised structures, norms and such celebrated ethical values that could inform human conduct.

Yet, and in line with the above, the colonial history that obtains in this Southern Rhodesia context, tells a different story. We find that for the next six decades after Cripps’ observations, Rhodesia as a country in Southern Africa under the direction of those who were expected to be masters of Christianity and civilisation only gave rise to a brutal civil war. We have already maintained that pure Christian values do not and should not be expected to create an atmosphere of violence or such animosity. A historical argument underpinned by claims to civilisation has the potential to contradict any predictions that envisage an uncivilised outcome. We know that the concern we have dates back to the first day of colonialism in Mashonaland and those who did nothing to correct the anomalies involved could not be advanced as people who were bent on doing the right thing as Paget convinced himself in 1926.

In the same book, to which we are referring, Cripps is clearly concerned with racial harmony in South Africa (inclusive of the Southern Rhodesia/Mashonaland on which we are focusing) that he sees lacking and yet premised on claims that people preferred to call Christian and, therefore, civilised. He sees the partnership between the Church and the state in the context as one that agreed on the principle of segregation on the basis of race which meant an agreement characterised by severe contradictions in terms of values.¹¹⁹³ We have decided to look at issues such as racial segregation as indicators of the presence of abnormal rules of human engagements that do not promote the argument of civilisation and consequently, any claims to Christian principles. Why Paget could

¹¹⁹². Cripps, *op.cit.*p.5

¹¹⁹³. *Ibid.*

not see this, and treat it with the urgency, it deserved then, baffles our minds. In this connection, Cripps writes, "Church and State, for the most part, seem to agree in ignoring the inconsistencies of a peace that is no peace in their overlapping provinces."¹¹⁹⁴ He describes the interests of both Church and State in this context as "shallowly conceived and short-sightedly estimated."¹¹⁹⁵ We are here talking about serious compromises even within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

The above observation is being highlighted by a missionary who knew very well that his colleagues were defiling the work of God while at the same time claiming actively that they were promoting Christianity and civilisation. We know that the Church Cripps has in mind, is Anglican and he does not feel comfortable with what he experienced in his own context. That these observations could not be shared by Paget shows us that the appreciation of the indigenous people's concerns could be attributed exclusively to Cripps in this context. That we could be persuaded to treat Cripps and Paget as both being champions the welfare of the indigenous people is problematic here. The facts being consulted do not give us that kind of latitude. Between Cripps and Paget, divergences at the level of principles could be a distinctive feature in terms of their responses to the Mashonaland context.

We assume that the foundation laid by Knight-Bruce, in line with the above, was not meant to create such religio-political as well as economic polarisations as those that came to obtain in Mashonaland. We need a qualification of the foregoing assumption: To the extent that Knight-Bruce was responsible for bringing a Christian institution into being in Mashonaland, the socio-political as well as economic outcomes that came to be inimical to the indigenous people could be said to be unfortunate. Any missionary could be assumed to be aiming at a successful Christian ministry. Success is one predicate that could be assumed to be consociable with strict adherence to principles. Here we have principles in mind that are Christian and, ultimately, extremely human. These are the principles that could have been insisted upon in order to give rise to a pure Christian environment, uncontaminated by political and economic preferences imposed by

¹¹⁹⁴. Cripps, *op.cit.*p.5

¹¹⁹⁵. *Ibid*

civil authorities of European origin. Paget's episcopate does not seem to pay any serious attention to these concerns.

If we are to agree with Cripps, then, it should be acceptable to maintain that in Paget, we are talking about a bishop who downplays racial conflict in Mashonaland in order to draw people's attention to the South where the white administrators had openly introduced apartheid legislation. It is difficult for us to assume that Paget was not aware of what was happening or that he had not come across any incident of racial prejudice within the Rhodesian context in the way Cripps had. Therefore, why was he ready to condemn the South African context that was exactly the same as the context obtaining in Rhodesia?

6.2.2. Racial segregation within Paget's episcopate

In this work, we have already seen that, as far back as the mid-1890s, the Europeans had proved to the Africans that they were racist neighbours and it was one of the reasons that prompted the First Chimurenga of 1896. We have already demonstrated that as far back as pre-1896, it was the Europeans' blinkered opinion that led them to believe that all was well in the land they had occupied by force and that Africans, especially the Ndebeles, were a happy people after the fall of Lobengula. The Shona were expected to be even more grateful to the British who had neutralised their long-time foes, the Ndebeles, in this regard. We know of course that Europeans were entertaining what amounted to no more than wishful thinking. "*Rine manyanga hariputirwi*" (that is, it is futile to cover something that has horns), so the Shona maintain. In terms of this philosophical reflection, the idea emphasised is that facts are stubborn; in one way or another, they will manifest themselves without reference to the amount of cover-up. Those who try to cover something up will be found out in the long run.

While, and in line with the above, there was tension between the Ndebeles and Shonas before the arrival of the pioneers under Rhodes, it did not rule out the fact that these two groups had a great deal in common. After all, the very fact that many Shona young men and women were being assimilated into the Ndebele

system meant that the conditions for unity were being put in place as a long-term reality.¹¹⁹⁶

One day, in line with the foregoing reflections, it would be easier for these people to come together and assert their common identity, their common *Ubuntu* and, therefore, to understand who their real enemies were, since they were able to exchange gifts as Lobengula himself did to Chaminuka.¹¹⁹⁷ Europe was oblivious to what mother nature was busy doing in her own right for the indigenous people in Mashonaland.

It is strange to note that Cripps, in the above connection, was ready to appreciate the story of Chaminuka and to write about it in such a way as to inspire the Shona people.¹¹⁹⁸ When the Shonas and Ndebeles united against the British in 1896 and from the 1960s onwards, those who had mastered the art of distorting history were put to the shame they deserved. However, our aim in this research goes beyond reflecting on the Europeans' epistemological deficiencies in terms of understanding Africa. It touches on the very core of the Africans' existence, their cosmological affiliation, their metaphysics and theology. Our argument does so by appealing to the God of the universe who was already at work long before Europe even dreamt of being Christian. What is peculiar to us here is that those who came to Africa thought they were bringing God: something we know very well to be an impossible undertaking by any human being. Missionaries who were convinced that they were bringing God where he was absent should be dismissed as theological speculators if not outright impostors.

To talk about God in the above connection, is to invoke the ultimate principles of being as such. God is also known as *Mutangakugara* (the one who was there at the beginning) by the Shona people. Their metaphysics in this connection is underpinned by a deep theological appreciation of the Being that existed first. To

¹¹⁹⁶. Ranger, T 1992. The death of Chaminuka: spirit mediums, nationalism and the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe, African Affairs, Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society, 81(324):.349-369. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/721579>. Accessed on 28 September 2015

¹¹⁹⁷. Ranger, op.cit.p.349.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid. p.350. Ranger puts it so well when he notes that, "But in 1928 the radical missionary Arthur Shearly Cripps published his "*Chaminuka: The man whom God taught.*" Cripps' version was proto-nationalist and it had an enduring influence on Christian educated Africans. "Any nation would be poor indeed", wrote Cripps, "if it had no real hero of its own!"

that being, all existence owes its origin. We have already entered the world of the ultimate. Now, the ultimate could not be understood as limited. The ultimate must be infinite and should always be advanced as such. That which is infinite could not be domesticated. Missionaries who came to Mashonaland should have been humble enough to admit that God had preceded them. Their mission was simply to celebrate the very things that God had already done with the indigenous people. Here our point should be understood in its categorical fashion: a god brought to Africa by Europeans was no more than an idol. A god who can be domesticated and put into a briefcase by missionaries is no god at all, but a nihilistic being, that is, a god who contradicts the existence! Colonialism and all that is associated with it should be understood under the auspices of gods who are contrary to God. It is the real God who leads people into a peaceful co-existence and not the other way round. However, a dubious theology requires us to understand otherwise, hence, making the theology of empire even more challenging in terms of highlighting abuses related to power and wealth. Below we will continue to express our dissatisfaction with a historical context that allowed people to discriminate against others and yet claiming to be very much Christian and civilised.

6.2.3. A well-calculated system of segregation

The following observations should be cited to contradict Paget's denial of segregation, and, hence, he could be indicted for promoting the theology of empire at the expense of the indigenous people of Mashonaland.

The fact that we have a well-calculated system in place in the above connection is attested to by John Roden's findings within a Southern African context in which the Anglican Church was a major player.¹¹⁹⁹ Again, we see African clergy getting second-class treatment in terms of the work they had to do and in terms of status. Clearly, it was inconceivable that black clergy could be given concessions that were on par with their white-counterparts.¹²⁰⁰ A good example is that those doing chaplaincy work along the railway lines between Rhodesia and South Africa were given travel passes according to their colour. White clergy got first class passes

¹¹⁹⁹. Roden, J., 1999, *Northward from Cape Town: The Anglican Church railway mission in Southern Africa, 1885-1980*, York, UK, Sacram Publishing,..

¹²⁰⁰. *Ibid*, p.240

while the best the African clergy could get was a second class pass.¹²⁰¹ We are worried because none within the hierarchical establishment of the white clergy ever protested against this practice. It was, therefore, acceptable to look at black priests as though they, by virtue of their skin colour and nothing else, deserved to be segregated. An unambiguous protest from Bishop Paget or many of his colleagues in this context is non-existent. We have already seen that by 1957, church policies that were discriminatory in nature were being applied as though there was nothing wrong with them. White clergy could enjoy the advantage of higher stipends while the blacks could be expected to be satisfied with lower stipends.

R.G. Gibbon and G.H. Pugh make the foregoing observations almost untrue when we read an article they co-authored,¹²⁰² which seems to indicate that the missionary enterprise in Mashonaland was going smooth sailing. The observations we are making in order to put the theology of empire discourse from a Mashonaland Anglican context together are not part of what they would like the world to know. The fraudulent activities by the pioneers we referred to earlier in this work are not mentioned, and yet there is an urgency to outline the achievements of missionaries in the period in question. The two authors are even bold enough to bring their narrative to its conclusion by noting that,

African and European work is being drawn together; church doors are open to members of every race and most parish churches have Africans among their worshippers as well as holding services in the vernacular. The diocesan budgets are so arranged that contributions from European parishes, with some help from overseas, make up the deficit on African work...¹²⁰³

We find it difficult to accept the observations made in the above exposition. What Gibbon and Pugh fail to acknowledge, in the above connection, is the fact that the relationship between African and European Anglicans in Mashonaland was not rosy at all. That relationship is found to be problematic throughout. This one-sided approach looks at the side that is sympathetic to colonisers and makes them appear to be heroes doing noble work in Mashonaland. We have already pointed out that Roden's work does not suppress such facts and , therefore, contradicts

¹²⁰¹. Roden, *op.cit.* pp.244-5

¹²⁰². Gibbon, and Pugh, *op.cit.*

¹²⁰³. *Ibid.*p.29

the work of historians who are biased in favour of the white colonial establishment in Mashonaland. For example, Roden draws our attention to the fact that there was stiff resistance among Europeans to the education of the Africans.¹²⁰⁴ When it comes to Church matters, we are informed that,

Many of the missionaries made attempts to bring together the different communities in worship. Sometimes this worked as a 'one off', and then they would be told by some of the Europeans that it ought not to happen again. In order to continue their work, and not 'rock the boat' too much, they acquiesced. It is difficult to know what else they could have done given the overall prevailing views of the time.¹²⁰⁵

To attempt to be prophetic and ready to comply with the demands of an evil system could be seen as a trend that runs through the whole Anglican missionary enterprise in Mashonaland. Of course, Roden sounds apologetic about the missionaries in this context, but is emphatic on the point that the predominant views in Rhodesia when it came to race relations favoured a discriminatory approach. What was lacking that we are looking for here were prophetic voices that could have formed a united front against the evils of racial discrimination. To maintain that opportunities for a prophetic ministry were limited could not be taken seriously as an excuse for the Church to compromise its gospel imperatives.

In line with the foregoing, "the overall prevailing views of the time" seemed to favour racial segregation and the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and its bishops such as Paget had to fall in line. It is clear, therefore, that a critical narrative of the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland during this early period should highlight the tensions that existed between the Africans and Europeans. The idea of having Africans' treatment being brought to parity with that of Europeans was just out of the question. This point is further augmented when Roden goes on to note that,

Protests were, of course, made. One missionary wrote of taking Communion Services at private houses and finding some devout old Native, baptised and confirmed, kneeling outside in the passage, not allowed to come in. Clean enough to...handle and cook the food but not clean enough to receive the Bread of life with fellow Christians of another race or colour!¹²⁰⁶

¹²⁰⁴. Roden, op.cit. p.226

¹²⁰⁵. Ibid.

¹²⁰⁶. Ibid.

It could be said that while, the Anglican whites in Rhodesia wanted to be Christian, they were not prepared to submit to its ultimate demands. They were Christians in the order of Constantine whose life was celebrated by the historian, Eusebius of Caesarea. This question is imperative here given the fact that they could attend church services but continue to be hard-core racists. Where the missionaries were, who could insist on gospel imperatives and express moral outrage on what was at stake, is an urgent question here. One wonders how many historians would find the Mashonaland Anglican context attractive in terms of exposing how compromised the Church had been by allowing itself to operate peacefully alongside a racist establishment.

Therefore, we have a strong case against Paget who glossed over such critical matters in the life of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. If historians could afford to treat these moral matters lightly and present a balanced missionary to us in this context, the obvious response to them here could be that they were deliberately misleading those who would read their reports. Bearing in mind that we meet with such literature as that attributed to Gibbon and Pugh above, the questions of indigenisation and missionary commitment to the African cause, require us to proceed with a great deal of caution. Perhaps we impose the attitudes rather too much that were never meant to determine any radical policies in favour of the indigenous Anglicans in Mashonaland. Our argument in favour of the prevalence of the theology of empire continues to submit its relevance in this connection, as it focuses on critical matters that we could not afford to ignore.

6.3. Bishop Paget and the issue of manpower

Where Paget saw the absence of racial tensions, he concluded that manpower shortages constituted the major challenge in Mashonaland. As he saw it, more white missionaries were needed to deal with the influx of Africans into the Church.¹²⁰⁷ Why not much was done about boosting the Africans' capacity to minister to their own people in this connection is the reason why concerns must be raised and why the issue of the theology of empire must continue to be our

¹²⁰⁷. AB742, op.cit.

criterion. No one in this tradition could understand that the country was just coming out of a context that had seen Africans being defeated, Africans losing all that counted for their livelihood and, indeed, all that mattered in terms of their understanding of who they were. Their yearning for a better livelihood had been thwarted and all hopes had been suspended. The Africans were flocking into the Church not because they were free agents making an important and liberal choice in terms of religious values. Rather, we are faced with a desperate lot that had been forced to accept the fact that they were losers and did not have many options available to them. This observation follows from what we have seen happening from 1890 onwards in terms of the disempowerment of the indigenous people. Missionary Christianity that took advantage of this new development could not be credited for making breakthroughs in the hearts and minds of the indigenous people. Genuine conversion, in this case, is doubtful as it was now a question of convenience and not of necessity.

Towards the end of the letter we referred to above, Paget cites the issue of land distribution “and the rights of natives in their own country.”¹²⁰⁸ The very fact that he does not elaborate on this critical issue for his audience proves to us that the bishop downplayed the importance of this matter that has wreaked havoc in Zimbabwe to this day. The question of who had elected Europeans to be the arbitrators of land rights for the indigenous in their motherland is not addressed. This should require us to counterbalance Cripps’ approach that wanted to see issues of justice and fairness prevailing on behalf of the indigenous. Why missionaries were slow to see that they were dealing with a corrupt development, if authentic civilised and Christian principles were to be allowed their space in this context, is glossed over. The land question would one day take many Europeans in Rhodesia by surprise, especially those who were not ready to accept the fact that their ancestors had erred by robbing the natives of the land.¹²⁰⁹ The truth had to be told and the ultimate arbiter, where word of mouth failed, the AK-47, was appealed to. Accordingly, it was the gun that came to the indigenous people’s rescue and not missionary Christianity. We are also implicating the fact that the

¹²⁰⁸. AB742, op.cit.

¹²⁰⁹. If historical facts are ignored, people may have false convictions and this could be very problematic.

missionary's Bible¹²¹⁰ failed to reconcile the blacks and whites in Mashonaland. Accordingly, how we could insist that the Bible is the word of God when, in the hands of many Anglican missionaries, it did not bring the people of God together is a curious question in this regard. Had Anglican missionaries, holistically, insisted on dealing with racial discrimination from the beginning; had they challenged colonial rule and commercial greed in the fashion of Cripps, Mashonaland could have seen considerable harmony obtaining among all those who chose to live in it. Now, this did not happen. What we see are leaders who were out to defend the *status quo*, and Paget could not be absolved from this. Indeed, this was a blunder that came to be regretted rather too late, especially as it premised itself on Christian principles and yet created more tensions than harmony within the Mashonaland context where the indigenous people and the Europeans were on a collision course.

6.3.0. The two sides of Bishop Paget

It is interesting to note that despite the foregoing criticism of Bishop Paget, in the *Rhodesian Herald* of 25 January 1927, an extract of his charge seems to present him in a completely different mould.¹²¹¹ There the Bishop's stance is categorical in terms of stating the function of the Christian Church. In this regard, Paget is quoted as saying that the Church must serve both "Europeans and Africans without distinction and without favour."¹²¹² For public relations purposes, it could be said that the Bishop gained some religious mileage in this connection. He even went as far as pointing out that,

Our African people have their own contribution to make in their own way and on their own line to the great Catholic Church of Christ. They have their own peculiar treasure to bring into it, without which it can never be complete, without which we cannot be perfect.¹²¹³

Clearly this is a powerful charge. Nevertheless, was it followed by any practical action?

¹²¹⁰. This distinction is my arbitrary undertaking. The universal Bible, if it is the Word of God and not the words of humanity, must neutralise tensions and bring harmony to the world.

¹²¹¹. AB1219/16-18: "BISHOP PAGET'S CHARGE" –The Principle of Missions: Duty to Native and Europeans alike, Historical Papers, Wits University Library Archives.

¹²¹². AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

¹²¹³. Ibid.

Again, the bishop seemed to be on course in terms of understanding what missionary Christianity ought to have been seen doing in Mashonaland: giving people of every race their due recognition in terms of their understanding of God and the liturgical responses fitting for that theological discourse. The fact that he, as a European missionary in Mashonaland, has the audacity to call the indigenous “our African people” is problematic and smacks of the racial superiority that we are questioning in this context. If Anglican missionaries, as we have seen from the beginning, and even in the Americas, could not challenge the racial superiority of their kindred, who could really take them seriously as representatives of God?

6.3.1. Anglican educational policies for Africans in Mashonaland

Nevertheless, there is evidence that Anglican missionaries were not comfortable with what was obtaining in relation to the education of Africans. In 1951, for example, the Anglicans presented a “memorandum” before a “Commission of Enquiry on Native Education” that touched on a wide range of issues.¹²¹⁴ The introduction, which sets the tone for the presentation, makes a point to the effect that African education had to take the moral and intellectual capabilities of the natives seriously and not only focus on mundane concerns devoid of any emphasis on their dignity.¹²¹⁵ Moreover, according to the article, the Africans needed an education that could prepare them for any eventualities in terms of their own aspirations that was not based on Eurocentric artificialities and expectations, and therefore bound to fail.¹²¹⁶ Why for Paget, after so many years as the Bishop of Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia), it was still relevant to review the education of natives is a question that baffles us. We are maintaining that this should have been seen as urgent from the beginning of missionary work in Mashonaland.

6.3.2. Paget and the romanticisation of racial harmony in Mashonaland

Arnold cites the fact that even in the 1955 diocesan synod charge; Paget was upbeat about racial harmony in the Anglican Church in Rhodesia and the pace at

¹²¹⁴. AB690f, 1951: Memorandum presented to the “Commission of Inquiry on Native Education”, Anglican Communion, Church of the Province of South Africa, Diocese of Southern Rhodesia, Historical research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²¹⁵. Ibid.

¹²¹⁶. Ibid.

which it had been promoted.¹²¹⁷ Accordingly, and in line with the charge, Africans and Europeans had been successfully brought together and even shared the Holy Eucharist without prejudice.¹²¹⁸ We are concerned that words may be so appealing, but the practical expressions could be a different story altogether. A theory does not automatically translate into practice by virtue of having been stated brilliantly! Arnold admits this point when he observes that what Paget was upbeat about in terms of racial harmony was rather “over-optimistic,” given what came to pass in the country. Therefore, here again, the bishop was misrepresenting facts to his own synod. Those who could rely on the contents of the bishop’s charge, but who were not familiar with the Mashonaland situation could be misled into believing that the indigenous people had actually struck a noble deal with the white settlers. All this seems to have been false.

There is a need to point out that the letters in this collection¹²¹⁹ where we picked Paget’s demonstrate to us that there was an endemic racial conflict in Southern Africa that any missionary in the category of Cripps could have identified easily. Why Paget fails his own self-critical test in this connection could baffle the imagination of any enquiring mind. The letter by Paget, which refers to the Bloemfontein Diocese,¹²²⁰ talks about racial prejudices by a white judiciary.¹²²¹ It is the bench of white judges that sits to decide cases that are between blacks and whites.¹²²² If a white man kills a black man, the white judges are reluctant to find the latter guilty of murder.¹²²³ However, should a black man dare to kill a white man, regardless of any extenuating circumstances; he will have to face the hangman’s noose.¹²²⁴ Such developments were seen by Paget to be peculiar to South Africa and not to Southern Rhodesia.¹²²⁵ We know, of course, that the bishop was misrepresenting the context in which he was working. If he was not

¹²¹⁷. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.89

¹²¹⁸. *Ibid.*, p.90

¹²¹⁹. AB1219/16-18. William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University *op.cit.*

¹²²⁰. Surprisingly, I have had some encounters with this Diocese in question and have discovered that it has never had a black bishop ever since its inception. The current Bishop is due to retire soon and in August 2012 a new Bishop will have to be elected. History will be made if a black bishop comes to the throne. My bet is against such a development, but I cannot rule out God’s mysterious works!

¹²²¹. AB742, Historical research Papers, *op.cit.*

¹²²². *Ibid.*

¹²²³. *Ibid.*

¹²²⁴. *Ibid.*

¹²²⁵. *Ibid.*

misrepresenting it, then we could safely conclude that he was oblivious to critical developments that shaped his own context. Bishops, by virtue of the office they occupy in the Church, are supposed to be honest – people of high moral standing and objective in their assessment of issues, otherwise they could be out of sync with their environment or anachronistic at best.¹²²⁶ There could have been attempts to promote racial harmony within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland within the framework of gospel imperatives. Nevertheless, we saw how, from the time of Knight-Bruce, the Anglican Church had been compromised, and it was the state that dictated the pace. It is important to point out that the space allowed for gospel imperatives is extremely difficult to determine.

6.3.3. Paget's attitude towards African spirituality

We have already stressed, in the above connection, the fact that Paget was not being honest about the situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia where racial conflict had already reared its ugly head long before his episcopate. That we have a Paget who was not consistent is a point that could be substantiated. Below we shall provide details of certain developments in the 1930s that require us to view the position of Paget through even more critical eyes. This should be another example that shows us that Paget was a bishop who paid lip-service to his understanding of Africans and their religious aspirations. When an opportunity arose for him to put something that could have challenged the Anglican Church to take African spirituality seriously, into practice, the bishop faltered. Yet he had charged that Africans were supposed to be respected in terms of their ability to introduce an indigenous dose of spirituality into the Church. Again, we have reservations here because the spirituality of Africans could not be seen as something deriving its legitimacy from Europeans. We have already referred to the effect that Mashonaland knew God long before the British arrived on the scene. We have also provided evidence that missionaries such as Cripps were quick to credit even the Shona spiritual giants such as Chaminuka, with that eulogistic appraisal fitting to their role among the Mashona and the Ndebele. Perhaps this is the point at which the Anglican Church in Mashonaland lost an opportunity to become a real missionary church. Of course, we are arguing here that one of the

¹²²⁶This point must be understood within the context of a compromised state of affairs that seems to suggest that the oppression of the indigenous could be legitimised even within Christian circles hence causing many anxieties.

most critical reasons is that it decided to wrestle Jesus Christ away from the manger in order to put him in a five-star-hospital!

6.3.4. Paget and the colonial legacy of the pioneers

“Propaganda” and “objectivity” are normal terms that tend to contradict each other. Propaganda results when falsity is elevated to the level of truth. Objectivity refers to the fact that ideas we have in our minds correspond to what is actually out there for anyone to account. With regard to Paget’s observation that there was no racism in Mashonaland, we have no supporting evidence to enhance his claims. Perhaps it was wishful thinking, but unfortunately, not consistent with his office. This denial of the prevalence of racism in Mashonaland, by the Bishop, could be seen as a recipe for disaster for the Anglican Church. This is true given the fact that where a problem is downplayed, it is not possible to work out a solution. It is even worse when there is a deliberate intent to suppress facts, therefore, making those aiming to provide a solution part of the problem. It appears to be the case that the Mashonaland situation was problematic from the very day that the pioneer column invaded the land. To see this invasion as something noble even from the Anglican Church’s point of view, is a clear indication that Africans were not to be taken seriously as human beings whose rights had been infringed upon and which needed to be safeguarded. Furthermore, to see harmony, where the seeds of discontent had already been shown, as was true from the day Rhodesia came into existence, could be no more than a distortion of the indigenous people’s history. A further distortion was submitting the fact that the indigenous had no aspirations at all like other humans. This is what compounds our problem in this context.

To this day, and in line with the above, we should be able to insist that the indigenous needed to be given the very space allowed them by their Creator and not by Europe. It must be stated categorically that Europe and God are not one and the same thing. Let no one distort this fact. To twist this divine logic while claiming to be doing business in the name of God is to appeal to a philosophy riddled with contradictions. History need not depend on such confused logic. We are worried here because such a theological mess did not help the Anglican Church in Mashonaland to progress in a direction that was balanced in terms of harmonising races that did not share a common worldview. Lies were allowed to

be spread in abundance to the extent that racial prejudice was not seen, by its very perpetrators, as having any significant consequence. Paget, who had maintained that Africans needed recognition in his charge of 1925, went on to militate against the aspirations of the very same people in the 1930s, hence, demonstrating certain serious inconsistencies in his approach to God's work. A prophetic stance could not afford to be so ambiguous and, hence, end up being compromised.

6.3.5. Critical observations by an African priest dismissed by Paget

The foregoing point on Bishop Paget's contradictions when it came to dealing with Africans is inspired by what he said when he had already relinquished the episcopate. Sometime in 1959, Fr Webster Nechironga embarked on an academic thesis with the topic: "The Mashona and the Anglican Church, with special reference to the Diocese of Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia."¹²²⁷ In that thesis, Nechironga made some very critical comments on the case of Francis Nyabadza and how the Anglican Church in Mashonaland treated him. This was an indigenous Anglican who had come to assimilate the logic of independence instead of dependency when it came to Christian spirituality. According to this observation by Nechironga, Nyabadza was extremely sceptical about the way the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia was dealing with issues of prayer and evangelism.¹²²⁸ The Church, according to Nyabadza, was simply not fulfilling its obligations in the foregoing regard.¹²²⁹ Because Paget was in charge that time, he saw it fitting to comment on Nechironga's thesis. In a letter dated 18 October 1964, Paget states that Francis Nyabadza was given enough time to reconsider his position.¹²³⁰ The Diocese wanted Nyabadza to maintain contact with the St Faith Mission in Rusape, which, in fact, meant being controlled by the authorities whom he did not trust to have been doing God's work.¹²³¹ We have already maintained that the Shona could not have been oblivious to the fact that God and the missionaries were not the same. This man Nyabadza, being faithful to his identity as a Shona Christian who was extremely conscious of the need to be

¹²²⁷. AB913f. Historical research Papers, op.cit..

¹²²⁸. Ibid. This source includes Nechironga's thesis and reference is made to p.82f.

¹²²⁹. Ibid.

¹²³⁰. Ibid.

¹²³¹. Ibid.

independent in the face of oppressive British missionary assertiveness therefore refused to comply.¹²³² The issue of control by the Diocese over the indigenous Anglicans' initiatives is critical in this connection. We wrestled with this problem earlier on when we dealt with definitions and the issues of identity. It is clear that Nechironga, an indigenous Anglican priest, saw things differently from bishop Paget who seemed to be in a hurry to set the record straight from his perspective about Nyabadza. It is clear that he was not setting the record straight at all but distorting it. Why Paget was not humble enough to make an effort to understand an indigenous initiative and to learn something about African spirituality helps us to understand the arrogance that we suspect to have been pervasive in this context especially among British missionaries. That he had expressed some interest earlier on in the way Africans could contribute to Anglican spirituality in their own unique fashion seems to have been mere rhetoric.

6.3.6. Power and spirituality in Paget's handling of Nyabadza

In turn, Terrence Ranger gives us a slightly different perspective, from that of Paget, of the Francis Nyabadza's saga-cum-demise. He discusses his views within the discourse of the indigenous takeover of what the missionaries had initiated.¹²³³ Again, we recall the illustration we offered earlier about allowing people to find their own unique ways of farming once a crop has been introduced to them. Ranger makes it clear that the issue of power took precedence over matters of spirituality. It was no longer God directing the course of events but those aligned with Caesar. Hence, he observes in this connection that,

Just as the Jesuits believed that Manyika Catholics had been given too much freedom, had been encouraged to have too high an opinion of themselves and that too many compromises with traditional religion and culture had been made, so Edward Paget, who became Bishop of Mashonaland in 1925, was determined to break the power of the leaders of 'folk Anglicanism' in Manicaland. This meant dispensing with old-style teacher-evangelists and replacing them with young Government approved teachers-just as the Jesuits were doing at Triashill. It also meant bringing to heel the old white clergy who had presided over popular religion for so long. Modernization, rationalisation and centralization were Paget's watchwords, just as they were the watchwords of the Jesuits.¹²³⁴

¹²³². AB913f, Historical research Papers, Wits, op.cit.

¹²³³. Ranger, T.O. 1999. Taking on the missionary's task': African spirituality and the mission churches of Manicaland in the 1930s. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 29(2):175-205. Special Issue in honour of the editorship of Adrian Hastings 1985-1999 and of his seventieth birthday. p.205. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581871>. Accessed on 17 August 2015 19:24 UTC

¹²³⁴. Ibid. p.187.

Why the government had to be part of this church-led process becomes our catch-question in this context as well. However, it is clear to us that Nyabadza's case demonstrated that Paget did not understand the indigenous people at all. If this is a true observation, how he could promote matters that were still foreign to him is inconceivable here. How Paget could encourage the indigenous to be liturgically creative, innovative and radical when his first reaction was to control the process challenges our imaginations in this connection. This is a clear indication that this bishop did not understand the cultural dynamics of the indigenous people, some of whom constituted his flock in Mashonaland.

Therefore, in line with the foregoing connection, Paget was no champion of the indigenous cause as such but was out to see to it that effective domestication of their minds was perfected using Anglican Christianity as an excuse. Ranger tells us that throughout his ministry, Nyabadza's hero was none other than his mentor Edgar Lloyd at St Faith's Mission.¹²³⁵ It seems to be the case that Nyabadza was required to absorb Anglicanism thoroughly but without the freedom to adjust it to his own context or spiritual disposition.

Nyabadza could be viewed as one who yearned for an African response to Anglicanism in his own context; one who wanted to indigenise Christianity in a context that was extremely imposing and restrictive; using the categories and thought patterns available to him, but his European masters were simply not ready for this. In 1942, Paget made sure that he excommunicated this indigenous Anglican enthusiast who was penalised for attempting to express the faith as he had come to interpret it in his own Manyika context!¹²³⁶

Excommunication is no light penalty in the Church. It means being cut off; excluded and nothing could be more severe. Of course, we could not rule out the personal zeal for power in Nyabadza's understanding of ministry as he went on to assume the role of a priest without ordination; administering holy communion without having been trained and authorised by the Anglican Church in Southern

¹²³⁵. Ranger, 1999, op.cit.pp.189-191.

¹²³⁶. Ibid.p.191.

Rhodesia.¹²³⁷ Perhaps the only excuse could be that he had seen that the missionaries known to him were not consistent with their Christianity at all. He wanted to part ways with an oppressive faith.

6.4. Paget's allegiance to British dominance in Mashonaland

Perhaps, in line with the foregoing observations, there is a need for us to conjecture about the relevance of Bishop Paget's position within the framework of British imperial ideology obtaining in Rhodesia at the time. We focus on this fact against the background of a bishop who was supposed to uphold gospel imperatives. Missionary Christianity in this context had been robbed of its prophetic and independent dimension, hence, seriously weakened in terms of the principles on which it was supposed to be based and to advance. Allegiance to the political establishment in the name of God could be viewed in this background as a way of ensuring that the state could always be asked to support the Church even in a compromised context. Therefore, instead of a pure Church doing its core business, the objectives of the state became paramount. We know that this was not good news for the indigenous people of Mashonaland.

6.4.0. State-sponsored messages of solidarity

Already by May 1925, within the Rhodesian Anglican context, we begin to see congratulatory messages being showered on the Bishop elect who was none other than Francis Paget.¹²³⁸ It looks as if we need to be suspicious of these messages because of the context with which we are faced. The truth about all these messages seems to be that they were coming from Europeans who were the only major players in the Anglican Church of the day within the Rhodesian context and yet generalisations in this connection could suppress this fact. Africans were not part of the equation, and their situation in life was deliberately condemned to the periphery. It seems that power was appealed to at the expense of the Christian faith.

6.4.1. In Mashonaland but not for the indigenous people

¹²³⁷. Ranger, 1999, op.cit. p.191

¹²³⁸. AB1219/10-15, PAGET: Historical research Papers, Wits, op.cit.

We have already maintained that the available facts point to the idea of Anglican Church as being in Mashonaland, but not really meant for the indigenous. Basing our evidence on the period between 1890 and 1925, and dealing with the fifth Bishop of the diocese, thirty-five years later, the Africans still counted for nothing. Therefore, to credit the Anglican Church for a job well-done among the indigenous people does not give us a full story at all. What success among the indigenous people in this context amount to, is not addressed. For example, it is not clear whether success means total emancipation or total subjugation. More historical facts could be needed to enlighten us on this question.

6.4.2. Accolades for Paget from both the state and the Church

We are informed, in the above connection, that 25 years later, that is, by 1950, the mother Church in England was ready to reward Paget's efforts. By then, it was possible to take stock of what had transpired in Southern Rhodesia and within the Anglican Church precincts under the leadership of Paget. The Archbishop of Canterbury, then, saw it fitting to confer an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree on Paget. A church affair was graced by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia who also took the opportunity to appreciate what had been achieved by the Bishop. For example, Paget had inherited only 25 European clergy in 1925, but by 1950, this number had grown to 43. In 1925, there was only one African clergyman,¹²³⁹ but by 1950, there were 23. Many other notable achievements by the bishop were highlighted on this occasion.¹²⁴⁰ We have already submitted our reservations on the meaning of missionary success in Mashonaland. The governor then acknowledged the civil contributions made by the bishop by observing that,

In the two great wars of this century, the bishop rendered distinguished service – in the first war, as chaplain to the forces in East Africa, where he won the Military Cross¹²⁴¹; and in the second war, as Chaplain General¹²⁴² to the Southern Rhodesian Forces, when he had the experience, perhaps unique, of serving as Chaplain General, under his brother, who was Latterly Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East.¹²⁴³

¹²³⁹. Perhaps this should be understood as 1 priest.

¹²⁴⁰. AB1219/10-15, Paget, Historical research Papers, Wits. op.cit

¹²⁴¹. This Cross could be viewed at William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University.

¹²⁴². See photo inserted.

¹²⁴³. AB1219/10-15, Paget, op.cit.

In the spirit of the theology of empire, these civil contributions are of significant importance. They presented a bishop not as a mere religious leader, but as a critical partisan player on behalf of his empire. The other facts that could be provided to balance our understanding of Paget seem to be insignificant, since the civil authorities in this context are not worried about the number of baptisms, confirmations, pastoral visits or marriages that the bishop administered or celebrated. They were focusing on his support for what the state stands for.

6.4.3. Military service more imposing in Paget's missionary work

In our context and in line with the above, such references are deliberate. What makes the cited tributes to Bishop Paget interesting is that they come to us not so much from someone whose ecclesiological tastes could count for anything but from a civil authority and, hence, the emphasis on military service.

It is important to note that, in line with the above, a civil authority in this context is one whose mandate is not to promote the work that we could normally attribute to the gospel imperatives, but to the powers of the British in a colony they forcibly acquired. The British political and military presence could be assured of the Anglican Church's support in Mashonaland. It is clear that civil authorities saw in Paget one who was on their side and could be understood on the basis of the work that was rendered to the Rhodesian forces of the time. Chaplaincy work that is done from a partisan perspective is problematic for us in this context. We saw that the Anglican involvement in 1890, 1893 and 1896 in terms of providing chaplaincy to the conquering forces dented the otherwise noble cause for Anglicanism in Mashonaland. The indigenous people would always stand reminded that when it comes to patriotism, there is a point beyond which the church was not ready to go in terms of asserting equitable principles in Mashonaland in solidarity with the indigenous people.

A civil authority who is called upon to appreciate missionary achievements in line with what we have already noted above reminds us of the fourth-century developments. With regard to that century, we saw the Church surrendering much of its mandate to the emperor whose interests were not so much the salvation of souls but the unity and peace of his domains. It was not the kingdom of God that

concerned Constantine, but his own empire that he had put together using his military skills. Of course, we grant that God is for peace all the time, but if that peace is partisan and achieved at the expense of one class of humanity then it is suspect. In this connection, it is clear that our argument could favour the fact that Bishop Paget was seen more as a civil servant or someone linked to the state than a moral or an independent religious authority. How the indigenous people could be said to fit into this scheme of church leadership and feel at home could be very difficult to establish. In addition, that the indigenous could feel at home with a God who could not identify with them is a concern with which we must still deal. Behind all this, there is the major question regarding whether the indigenous could subscribe to such Christianity without compromising their own identities.

Now, if we were allowed to say something accurate about civil servants, they must always be understood to be in the service of the state, to begin with. This becomes clear when we read some of the missionary deliberations that come to us from the late 1930s and in which Paget was a participant. Here we refer specifically to the paper entitled, "Proceedings of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference, Bulawayo, June 1938."¹²⁴⁴ An extract of the minutes of those proceedings states that,

In performing the opening ceremony, His Excellency expressed his keen and unwavering interest in the valuable work the Missions were doing throughout the Colony for the uplift of the less fortunate members of the Community.¹²⁴⁵

The language used here is extremely general. Exactly who the so-called "less fortunate members" are, is not clear. This point will be made cogent later on in our critical interrogation of it. The minutes go on to emphasise that the governor,

...thereupon drew attention to the extremely difficult task of the Missionary whose work was not a profession but a vocation. In order to be successful, the Missionary had to be gifted with many varied qualities, the most important of which was faith. However, in addition to this, he must be gifted with patience and tact, he must have knowledge of the people and their customs, he must be a psychologist and an educationalist, he must know something of agriculture, medicine and hygiene.¹²⁴⁶

¹²⁴⁴. Proceedings of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference, Bulawayo, June 1938 . Available online at: Url: http://www.archive.org/stream/proceedingsofsou1938sout/proceedingsofsou1938sout_djvu.txt. Accessed on 17 August 2015

¹²⁴⁵. Ibid.

¹²⁴⁶. Ibid.

Again, and in line with the above, it is not clear whether the governor had the kingdom of God in mind or the Rhodesian state's welfare. The indigenous people here do not seem to matter much as things were done on their behalf and they were never allowed to do things as they understood them. We are worried because the interest expressed here seems to favour the state. The minutes being cited are emphatic on the governor's enthusiasm when he is cited to have commented, in line with the foregoing, that,

Most of these qualities, he was glad to say, were to be found among the various churches in the Colony, and in all his travels he had never found a Missionary who was not doing his best and something which was very useful for the advancement of the country. His Excellency wished to assure the Conference that they had his whole-hearted support as well as that of every right-thinking person in the Colony. He had the greatest pleasure, therefore, in wishing them every success in their deliberations.¹²⁴⁷

That we are faced with a compromise here will become clear when we refer to the other deliberations that put the Rhodesian state on the spotlight. That reference to "every right-thinking person in the colony" of Rhodesia is a biased interpretation of developments is again our concern because this had nothing to do with the indigenous people.

6.4.4. The marriage of convenience

The following points make it clear that the governor was either paying lip service to the missionary cause or just being diplomatic. Firstly, the missionaries were not happy with the response they received from the government of Rhodesia about their concerns that emanated from the way the Land Apportionment Act was being implemented.¹²⁴⁸ To say that the governor was supportive of these concerns could be tantamount to a gross contradiction. Secondly, missionaries were concerned that the female native nurses they trained were not being accorded satisfactory recognition by the government.¹²⁴⁹ The idea that native nurses who were being trained at various mission stations had to be a subject of discussion with the government indicates to us that compromise could be accommodated when it came to racial distinctions. The indigenous people simply did not qualify to be accorded a decent status. Thirdly, Paget proposed a resolution, which was

¹²⁴⁷. <http://www.archive.org/...op.cit>.

¹²⁴⁸. Ibid.

¹²⁴⁹. Ibid.

adopted by the conference to the effect that Order 676 of 1929, that dealt with native education was not satisfactory on the grounds that the government did not see missionary bodies as partners and was not committed financially to the cause.¹²⁵⁰ So much for the idea of paying attention to the less fortunate, when no commitment was guaranteed. That this could not constitute a critical missiological starting point in terms of emphasising the equality of humanity within the Mashonaland context is another cause of anxiety within this Christian context. For us to talk about successful missionary work in Mashonaland and to gloss over such attitudes would be hypocritical where history narratives are concerned.

The conference, in general, was extremely critical of how the government of Southern Rhodesia was dealing with the welfare of the indigenous people: from an educational perspective, land issues and labour practices. We have brought all these facts to prove that there seem to have been many double standards, since some of the missionaries, such as Bishop Paget of Southern Rhodesia, at times appeared to act like civil servants. That the governor could be called to a missionary conference that was critical to the state and find comfort in the deliberations raises suspicions in this connection. Whether he Bishop Paget was aware that the Church was actually in captivity within the Rhodesian confines and, therefore, deliberately downplaying its moral concerns becomes curious here.

From the point of view of the theology of empire, we could argue that civil servants are not missionary functionaries but belong to the state. We could not expect those in the civil service to be critical in a prophetic mode, of the very institution that is of paramount importance to their livelihood. By implication, it would not be fair to expect such a bishop as Paget to be critical of the very state that saw it fitting to make him part of everything it stood for and from a military point of view.

6.5. More evidence of Church-state conspiracy

We must come to terms with the fact that we have already made valid claims about the will to control the indigenous people of Mashonaland from the beginning as devised by the settlers'-missionary cohorts. The issue with which we are

¹²⁵⁰. <http://www.archive.org/...op.cit>.

concerned boils down to the critical distinction between educating people and brainwashing them. Perhaps this could explain why the government was supportive of the educational initiatives by the missionaries. Its major concern could have been the subjugation of the indigenous people rather than their emancipation.

Carol Summers focuses on how the indigenous people of Mashonaland came to be initiated into the western forms of habits and appetites and how systems of segregation were blended into the process.¹²⁵¹ Summers' work helps us to shed more light on the charge of the Church-state conspiracy that was not so obvious. This is why we have challenged the history narratives that gloss over this systematic approach to bring the indigenous people under effective European control in Rhodesia in the name of Christianity and civilisation.

6.5.0. Indigenous teachers were often strategically trained to be subservient

If we were to make generalised observations in the above connection and as we are informed by Summers, we should not have problems in understanding why even the famous catechists who did most of the evangelisation did not get the recognition we would expect from their missionary masters. Indigenous teachers, who were in turn controlled by Europeans, in terms of their training, handled education in Rhodesia, in the early twentieth century of our common era. For example, Summers cites the fact that "Most of the teaching was inevitably, done by African teachers, and it took the mission societies long to develop even marginally adequate teacher training programmes."¹²⁵² The inadequacy of teacher training programmes was a deliberate measure put in place by the authorities of the day. They feared the inevitable development of African elite that would challenge the European monopolies, and accordingly, there was a need to keep the teachers in the "dark" as it were.¹²⁵³ There is nothing as sinister as keeping those who teach in the dark. One who controls such a system could not qualify to be called "civilised."

¹²⁵¹. Summers, op.cit.

¹²⁵². Ibid, p.127

¹²⁵³. Ibid, p.128

In this connection, the training of teachers was to be based on the “American Hampton-Taskegee model.”¹²⁵⁴ In terms of this model of training, teachers “would learn enough to teach, but remain uncritical enough to be obedient to mission school superintendents, Education Department school inspectors, chiefs and native commissioners.”¹²⁵⁵ The products of this model, as advocated by one Chief Native Commissioner named Taylor, would be “industrially disciplined, but academically inferior.”¹²⁵⁶ Therefore, “humility” was imparted to them as the most celebrated virtue so that these “humble teachers” would teach the indigenous children of the time “obedience rather than innovation.”¹²⁵⁷

Linking this whole development to the missionary context with which we are concerned, and the theology of empire that is our main theme, Summers helps by pointing out that,

Missionaries were informed that they should train (not educate) teachers, establish them in proper schools, and inspect them frequently enough to ensure that the teaching remained orthodox and the students disciplined.¹²⁵⁸

This, no doubt, was the epitome of the sinister techniques of brainwashing, propaganda and thought-control. The indigenous people were guaranteed to be permanently subservient. Therefore, to claim that missionaries initiated the education of the indigenous people needs to be interrogated thoroughly in this connection. We are actually dealing with thought-provoking developments that had been allowed too much space within Christian circles.

Therefore, it seems imperative that missionaries had to comply with the system. It is concerning that bishops, such as Paget, should have protested loudly against this system, if they were to qualify as true champions of indigenous people. Summers cites the developments that obtained at three major Christian missions inclusive of St Augustine in Penhalonga. At the latter place, Anglican missionaries are said to have “sought to run a disciplined school according to a strict monastically inspired timetable that prescribed prayer, work and study from matins

¹²⁵⁴. Summers, op.cit.p.128

¹²⁵⁵. Ibid.

¹²⁵⁶. Ibid.

¹²⁵⁷. Ibid.

¹²⁵⁸. Ibid.

at 6.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. evensong.”¹²⁵⁹ The rationale of this approach is noted by Summers as follows,

Anglican missionaries argued that labour was not merely, as at Chishawasha, a tactic for teaching obedience or preventing idle hands from finding mischief. It was a strategy for moral transformation, working on the body, through the timetable of prescribed hours and the physical training of agricultural or craft work, and on the mind through the emphasis on discipline that pervaded both work and rote learning and the bracketing of work and education by prayer and reflection. St. Augustine’s supplemented Chishawasha’s strategy of exhausting the body to prevent youths from finding trouble with a school capable of exhausting the mind and leaving room for ‘habits of discipline, industry and respect’ to form.¹²⁶⁰

This passage from Carol Summers may not appeal to our discourse of the theology of empire if understood in isolation. It should be borne in mind that missionaries at St. Augustine’s Penhalonga were not just taking their own unique educational initiatives for their Anglican students but responding to a general directive from the Southern Rhodesian government. We have already been made to understand that the government wanted to ensure that there was discipline in schools and industrial work emphasised. The missionaries were therefore doing their best to be faithful to the directives of the government which had other ulterior motives.

6.5.1. Concepts meant for a subservient mentality

Several concepts, which pertain to the foregoing quote, need attention. These could be seen as critical in the whole understanding of what the Anglican missionaries were doing in Mashonaland in terms of grooming indigenous leaders. We have terms in mind here such as “obedience,” “mischief,” “physical training,” “rote learning,” “discipline,” “respect,” and “exhausting the body and mind.” The missionary programmes in place then were not so much in favour of creating independent thinkers but were rather aimed at domesticating indigenous Christians.

The indigenous people could then be moulded into whatever form the missionaries and settlers had in mind, and they were not expected to ask questions. That could be the meaning of obedience in this context. They were not

¹²⁵⁹. Summers, *op.cit.*p.145

¹²⁶⁰. *Ibid.*

expected to do unique things, of which the missionaries would not approve, for that would be regarded as mischievous. Physical training would make the indigenous students remain fit for labour and rote learning and, therefore, this prepared them to simply regurgitate what had been offered by their teachers and nothing more. Teaching in this connection was aimed at conditioning the minds of the indigenous as though they were animals. No room could be left for their own investigations and such initiatives. With their bodies and minds exhausted, discipline and respect would not be difficult to inculcate. These were the sinister techniques in place even within mission schools.

The above are the techniques that aimed at creating a permanent subservient consciousness among the indigenous people, and, therefore, people foreign to issues of liberation and humanhood. To think that these things were done in the name of God and for historians to write about these developments as success stories of Christianity and civilisation plunge us into a considerable confusion rather than enlightenment. Could God really sanction systems and processes that were designed to deprive the indigenous people of their rights and privileges?

We are at a loss as we look at these developments because they do not really demonstrate to us that the work of God was being taken seriously. Missionary work in the foregoing connection could not warrant any positive appraisals since it was meant to help the oppressive state to perfect its main objective of thoroughly brainwashing the indigenous people's consciousness, and so reduce them to objects of exploitation. Again, we are looking at a system that would ultimately succeed in creating dependency rather than independency among the indigenous people.

6.5.2. Missionaries, colonisers and inferior education

One observer, in line with the above and although not focusing on Rhodesian Anglicans specifically, notes the following,

...missionary education in Zimbabwe, as in other African settings, has been a thoroughly colonial process. Because the missionaries have, more often than not, been an integral component in the settlement and establishment of White Rhodesia, their interest in educating Africans has tended to be tainted with paternalistic impulses and motives. Conversion of the African to the European

mode of thought was *sine quo non* for the measurement of missionary success. Moreover, the ultimate achievement was the Africanisation of this Europeanization, i.e., the manufacture of African bishops, priests, and ministers.¹²⁶¹

In the absence of independent initiatives among the indigenous due to the thought control and strait-jacket thinking put in place by the Europeans, it is difficult to see how the missionaries could be credited for championing the cause of the Africans unconditionally. It is clear that while the indigenous thought that they were being educated, it was more brainwashing than preparing them to face their own world and respond accordingly to its challenges. Perhaps this could explain why it took a long time for the indigenous people to wake up to the truth. They were not really free at all and even in the name of God as Christianity had been captured as well by the settlers.

The language used in the foregoing quote is in line with the spirit of our thesis, which is an attempt to critique the theology of empire in Mashonaland. In this section, we have been trying to use the available information to argue that there is a need to highlight the manner in which the indigenous Anglican leaders were initiated into the system. They were never allowed opportunities to participate in the system as equals to their European counterparts. Their preparation, as we have already seen, was meant to keep them as underdogs.

6.5.3. Stifled political voices

Another area that also needs attention is the absence of indigenous Anglican clergy in the Rhodesian political forums at the earliest stages. The indigenous leaders' status could only be subject to interpretation and not so much to what they could come to command in terms of their own initiatives. We are looking at subservient leaders who could only make sense in terms of the interpretations imposed upon them and never in terms of their own unique world-views. Schutz, quoted above, makes another general statement, critical to us in terms of the theology of empire, to contrast his observations when he notes that,

¹²⁶¹. Schutz, B.M.1978. The colonial heritage of strife: Sources of cleavage in the Zimbabwe liberation movement. *Africa Today*, 25:171 Southern Africa: Confrontation and Conflict, Indiana University Press, USA. Available online at: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185750>. Accessed on 24 July 2011.

This devastating cultural abnegation would seem antithetical to the traditional orientation to the *mwaris* (italics mine) during times of crisis. From a dialectical perspective, this contradiction might be resolving itself in the thrust of African church leaders and spokesmen into the forefront of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement. The appearance of these African leaders of European-derived religions is thus perceived as expressions of traditional African spirit mediums in modern forms. Thus an unanticipated by-product of the missionary educational system has been the politicization and, indeed, the radicalization of the Africanized European churches.¹²⁶²

That Schutz must be taken seriously for making an important observation might reveal to us the unfortunate developments we are worried about. Europeans would be quick to see the relevance of their systems to the African context without paying attention to the imposition that is obvious. Why the indigenous initiatives are not relevant to a context of their own makes for curious observation. Indigenous people are not expected to be traditionalists, but only indirectly so through mastering western practices and habits within religious circles. This again is problematic.

The above quotation naturally leads us to ask whether the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was able to produce the products that would radicalise and even politicise their pastoral approaches for the greater glory of God. Earlier, we came across information that requires us to conclude that because of the way leaders were trained, it was not easy to employ radical priests before the independence of the country. We could guess why this was the case, given the allegiance of Anglican bishops to the colonial State of Rhodesia.

6.5.4. History narratives and issues of liberation

In line with the above, it could be said that Constantine was still enjoying the Eusebian eulogies even in Mashonaland. We are concerned that such radicalisation among the indigenous was either absent or simply suppressed in the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia.

Our thesis, in line with the above, happens to be consistent with maintaining that histories narrating the growth of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland tend to

¹²⁶². Schutz, op.cit.

gloss over the critical issues of the liberation and emancipation of the indigenous people, through exposure to pro-developmental knowledge. If there was no meaningful programme to liberate and, therefore, to empower the indigenous people, we do not know what else could be celebrated by missionaries in this context. Success with regard to the growth of the Church is therefore placed in other areas that left the people exposed to perpetual foreign domineering that they were not expected to question. Such histories that tend to be uncritical about what was being done to the indigenous people, in general, should be viewed as incomplete, if not misleading. Why they have been advanced so readily is baffling. As there are no other narratives to challenge them, they could pass as though they have the last word about Anglican activities in Mashonaland.

We are faced here with the truth that Bishops such as Paget could be talked about as though their presence had nothing to do with the British Empire's control of Mashonaland. Our focus on Paget continues to bring us face-to-face with the theology of empire on which we are insisting in this context. On 6 June 1950, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia's office informed Bishop Paget,

...that His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased on the occasion of the official celebration of His Majesty's Birthday, to appoint you to be a Commander in the Civil Division of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.¹²⁶³

That empire in question took for granted the fact that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was simply part of it. We know very well that many indigenous were not aware of this development and were ignorant of its implications for their humanhood given the controlled exposure to knowledge we have referred to above. The conquest of Mashonaland had been effected through the support of the same monarch. This meant, by right of conquest, the indigenous were not on a par with their conquerors. The views of the day seemed to take for granted that the indigenous in Mashonaland were the property of the empire. We are emphatic on this point that makes one constituency of human beings understand that they are the properties of another in the name of God. The theology of the empire could be seen as extremely imposing in this connection.

¹²⁶³. AB1219/10-15, op.cit.

In addition to the foregoing, the indigenous people, in turn, saw in Paget a bishop of their Anglican Church and not someone with such significant imperial connections. We have already pointed out that such a civil authority-cum-church leader could not be expected to be critical of the very system that he was part of in a meaningful way. We should also insist on the fact that it is usually difficult to be a solution for the very problem of which one is part. If a significant portion of this imperial establishment had become racist over time, it is hard to see how the bishop could be in the position to rise above the occasion in a prophetic mode, while enjoying the privileges of the empire, at the same time.

Still, in the foregoing connection, the reason why the English monarch during that time was ready to make Paget a “Commander in the Civil Division” instead of someone whose Christian achievements and ideals preceded his reputation becomes elusive. We become worried when Christian achievements are rewarded by politicians who, we know, have extremely little appreciation of religious values. Again, our idea of linking the Mashonaland developments to the Eusebian church is vindicated.

6.5.5. Paget’s Church and the white farmers

The fact that Bishop Paget was very much connected to the white establishment could be supported by the fact that even farmers in this context respected him. On 9 June 1950, the Rhodesian National Farmers’ Union also sent congratulatory messages.¹²⁶⁴ We also know that congratulatory messages normally go to those with whom we are acquainted or whom we would like to make understand that we have some form of solidarity with. We are trying to insist on the fact that Paget was seen as a critical player in the whole business of complete colonisation, which it was desperately in need of.

White farmers, later in Zimbabwe, (and we stand reminded), would come to regret the way peasant natives reacted to them. The future was not all that bright since tensions were never dealt with in any amicable fashion even during Paget’s episcopate. All the talk about land restitution in Zimbabwe, boils down to the fact

¹²⁶⁴. AB1219/10-15, op.cit.

that white farmers never dreamt of sharing their spoils with the victims of the injustice, which had given them the upper hand in the Rhodesian agricultural economy – courtesy of missionaries who did not warn them. For white farmers to appreciate the man of God in this context, it is a worrisome phenomenon, because we know very well how that land they occupied had been acquired. One authority puts it so well for us when he observes that,

When white farmers took land, they also gained control of the people on it. This allowed them to extract surplus in a variety of ways. They benefited from invested labour in the past, in the form of cleared and cultivated land, and they were enabled to extract a share of the crops grown, or rent in cash, or labour directly. These alternatives obtained from the Cape to Kenya.¹²⁶⁵

The point being emphasised here is simply that a Christianity that did not have time to interrogate such developments and still be seen as successful, is simply problematic. Here we see the blame on Bishops who failed to speak when it was clear that we are dealing with matters of dispossession and domineering. According to Rennie, white farmers actually had the freedom to abuse black tenants by way of refusing to pay them for work done and such related exploitation.¹²⁶⁶ We are talking about a context in which real pastoral work could have been focused on. In fact, we are told that the indigenous people who tried to resist the white man's demands had to be prepared for the worse. Rennie states that,

The refusal was dealt with by a celebrated case of public beating which was a symbolic assertion of settler power and Native Department powerlessness. Sometimes it was dealt with by crude fire-power.¹²⁶⁷

Our observation in connection with the way farmers treated indigenous people is simply that the missionary intent to resolve this development was just absent. We have already seen that the general thrust of the Land Apportionment Act of the 1930s met with considerable missionary discontent. Church connections could very well provide the much needed public relations and, therefore, the political mileage that was based on theology as its ideological justification. However, the

¹²⁶⁵. Rennie, J. K., 1978: White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930 *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5 (1), Special Issue on Themes in Agrarian History and Society, Taylor & Francis, Ltd, pp. 86-98, p.87. Available online at URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636766>.

Accessed: 28 March, 2011

¹²⁶⁶. *Ibid*, pp.88f.

¹²⁶⁷. *Ibid*, p.90

future was to demonstrate how futile the whole colonial land enterprise had been. What is worrying is that the way land for agricultural purposes had been allocated over the years compromised the livelihoods of the indigenous people, and yet the Church under Paget did nothing to challenge this moral blunder among those who were beneficiaries. The Anglican Church, by maintaining silence on this matter, also compromised its mandate as a moral authority in the name of God. It was a betrayal to all white farmers for the teachers of the Christian faith had reneged on their vows!

Christopher Youe¹²⁶⁸ who looks at the idea of the indigenous people squatting on white-owned farms could support the foregoing observations. In short, the philosophy obtaining against this background that militated against the indigenous people is thus expressed,

After gaining virtual independence of British imperial rule in 1910 and 1923 respectively, 'white' South Africa and Rhodesia embarked on a programme of territorial segregation which privileged Europeans with a Westminster style democracy while excluding Africans, whose franchise was linked to property qualifications, by challenging their rights to own property.¹²⁶⁹

The issue of land in the above connection is one area that any progressive missionary effort could not afford to ignore and still come out well. It has to do with the livelihood of the people of God. Its persistence up to our own time is a clear indication that it needs everyone's concerted efforts to resolve. We are maintaining that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland ignored this important question as a key factor in doing missionary work. The empire in this connection, became more urgent than the welfare of the people of God.

6.5.6. Paget's episcopate and more imperial accolades

Paget's letter to the St James Palace, in London, gives us a more elaborate picture of the political involvement we suspected in the above connection. We have put a strong argument forward about the imperial connections of the Christian Church within the Mashonaland context. Again the venue is the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury, and the distinguished guests included the Governor of

¹²⁶⁸. Youé, C., 2002: Black Squatters on White Farms: Segregation and Agrarian Change in Kenya, South Africa, and Rhodesia, 1902-1963, *The International History Review*, 24(3), pp. 558-602. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Available online at URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40110195> Accessed: 17 August, 2015

¹²⁶⁹. Ibid, p.561

Southern Rhodesia who acted “as a proxy for the Archbishop” of Canterbury.¹²⁷⁰ The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, also graced this occasion.¹²⁷¹ It was a church function in all appearances, but deep down, it also had imperial connotations that are not easy to dismiss. We should bear in mind that our references to Jesus Christ’s temptations had such implications. How the Bishop could be in a position to play the role of the prophet when he was part of the system that was being advanced to the peril of the indigenous, who were being marginalised in their motherland, both directly and indirectly, becomes tricky in this context.

On 10 June 1950, Captain H. Hawkins, president of the Mess Committee, writing on behalf of the Commanding officer indicated that the bishop had been offered “Honorary membership of the Southern Rhodesia Air Force Officers’ Mess.” This offer was accepted in a letter from Paget dated 12 June 1950.¹²⁷² We are talking here about State functionaries, whose sole responsibilities were to secure the airspace for whites, in Rhodesia to enjoy their spoils and yet wanted a man of God to authenticate their aspirations not only by his presence, but also by his permanent membership.

The fact that a Church leader could be enlisted to identify with the obtaining system smacks of the hypocrisy of which we are critical in this context of the theology of empire. If such opportunities could not be used to call the emperor to order, then imperial ideals would carry the day over those of the Church. Again, we are worried that no narratives so far have been critical to such developments that happen to be linked to the life of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Our main argument here is that such links could not be anchored on gospel imperatives and still be seen to pass the test given the fact that the indigenous people were excluded.

During the course of the year, on 12 September 1950, Paget conducted a service to commemorate the arrival of the Pioneer Column in the country on Occupation

¹²⁷⁰. AB1219/10-15, op.cit.

¹²⁷¹. Ibid.

¹²⁷². Ibid.

Day.¹²⁷³ Again, for the Church to be part of a celebration that reminds us of the European thuggery in Mashonaland, is a clear demonstration that Christian values were absent in the face of capitalism. Of course, the Anglicans had blessed the flag on the first occasion. To say that the Bishop had higher values in mind is to be economic with the truth. We also need to be reminded that such celebrations continued to be private functions at the Anglican Cathedral in Harare long after independence,¹²⁷⁴ an indication that Europeans in this part of the world never really repented of the sins their ancestors committed. Such celebrations also constituted an insult to those who had sacrificed everything to bring about an equitable Zimbabwe that had every reason to celebrate democratic principles and equality.

6.5.7. Paget's prophetic voice and the love of empire

White Anglicans in Rhodesia did not want to give back what their ancestors had stolen and defended such practices in the name of God.¹²⁷⁵ In this context, we are simply pointing to the fact that the Anglican Church under Paget was not making significant attempts to remind the whites that what they had come to take for granted as their God-given privileges, would cause considerable suffering one day within the country and beyond. *"Mombe yekuronzerwa igama waka ringe nzira,"* so the Shona maintain. The nearest translation could be summed up as follows: you cannot afford complacency when milking a cow that has been loaned to you. The best you could do is to milk it while expecting the lender to come at the hour you least expect. Failure to be vigilant could cost you a great deal of embarrassment. It was, therefore, compromising the prophetic voice of the Anglican Church for Paget to see harmony where it did not exist, that is, in Mashonaland, under European domination

¹²⁷³. AB1219/10-15, op.cit.

¹²⁷⁴. This researcher was involved in a standoff in AD2000 with some white members of the clergy who had organised a similar service that did not materialise after objections had been raised against it. Not many white members of the Cathedral congregation behind the event took note of the fact that it was a mockery to continue celebrating something that had led to the loss of much blood in the then Rhodesia.

¹²⁷⁵. Another episode that brought this researcher into a direct confrontation with the white Anglican congregants at the Cathedral was when he signed a petition that advocated the removal of all offensive memorial plaques within the Anglican Cathedral's precincts in Harare. There was even a protracted campaign against this researcher. When some white members failed to get their pound of flesh, they chose to leave the Cathedral and joined other parishes.

Failure to remind the white farmers in Rhodesia that they were living on borrowed time in terms of their privileged agricultural activities, could mean that the Church lied to them. It was an unfortunate error that could have been avoided had the Church acted wisely and with foresight and had spoken prophetically against the illegitimate establishment that side-lined the indigenous in their land of birth.¹²⁷⁶ The white constituency of the Anglican Church was supposed to be reminded that, by virtue of being faithful followers of Christ, what they were entertaining and had inherited from their ancestors, needed to be given back in the name of the same Jesus Christ whom they claimed to follow. We know that this did not happen and so the Rhodesia they preferred became a battleground in which not many people could come out well.¹²⁷⁷

Missionaries and colonisers had lied about Jesus by identifying him with commercial thuggery. The gospel imperatives seemed to have been given a distorted meaning. Exactly who should take the blame in this connection remains an extremely critical question. Was the Church really standing up for the values on which it should have been anchored? Perhaps we are raising a question beyond our scope, but it helps us to stress a point that could easily escape us when it comes to narrating the history pertaining to this context. The land question could indeed be linked to the missionary compromises in Mashonaland. Consequently, missiological mistakes could be seen as having agrarian repercussions! The Mashonaland context we are looking at is a good example and the Anglican Church under the leadership of Paget did not make any attempts to address this problem! The urgency in this context was simply to sympathise with the most powerful whites at the expense of the indigenous people's livelihoods. When Church history is narrated in this connection, the challenge is to expose such compromises.

¹²⁷⁶. Sometime in AD2001, a white Anglican farmer from the Mvurwi area in Zimbabwe attending one of the Diocesan meetings at the Anglican Cathedral in Harare challenged the Bishop to speak out against land invasions since failure to do so would result in many whites being unable to support the Church financially. It was clear that monetary contributions were seen in this case as more important than the yearning for land by Africans.

¹²⁷⁷. Between 2002 and 2003, this researcher had the sad experience of coming into contact with some white farmers who had been forcibly evicted from their establishments throughout the country by land-hungry natives. It was not easy to give them a word of comfort but we notice that lies were the culprit. I am convinced that had Christian principles dictated the pace from 1890 onwards, such sad developments could have been avoided. We could not blame the Zimbabwean government for being unchristian when the Christians themselves had failed to show the way!

6.6. Archbishop Paget's allegiance to the Queen of England

On 9 May 1955, the Headquarters of the Central Africa Command sent their congratulatory message on the occasion of Paget becoming the first Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Central Africa¹²⁷⁸ (CPCA). The letter was signed by Major-General S. Garlake in his capacity as General Officer Commanding,¹²⁷⁹ hence, on behalf of all ranks of the armed forces in Rhodesia. It is probably the same period during which the bishops of the new province wrote a letter to the Queen of England that affirmed their allegiance to her. The document is undated and entitled, "Message of Loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen from the Bishops of Central Africa."¹²⁸⁰ The concern here is that we do not find any other such letter stating commitment to God and inclusive of indigenous leaders! Its contents are worth citing in full in order for us to make the relevant critique. So it reads:

We, the Bishops of Central Africa, being in full Communion with the See of Canterbury, and on behalf of the Members of all races of the Anglican Communion in these parts, with humble duty send our Loyal Greeting to your Majesty.

On the occasion of the Inauguration of the Church of the Province of Central Africa by His Grace the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and His Grace the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Cape Town, we assure Your Majesty of our continued loyalty and constant prayer for the Persons of your Majesty and all the Royal Family that God's richest Blessings in matters both spiritual and temporal may rest upon Your Majesty.

The duty and privilege to which God has called us as Bishops, Priests and people of the Church in Central Africa separates us in geographical distance from the Person of your Majesty in this part of Your Majesty's domains; nevertheless our love and allegiance to Your Majesty and our gratitude for the inspiration of Your Majesty's devotion and leadership are deep indeed.

We joyfully and respectfully acknowledge our common allegiance with Your Majesty to Almighty God as Members of the Anglican Communion of Christ's Church.

+Edward F. Mashonaland

+Frank Nyasaland

+James Matabele

+Oliver N. Rhodesia"¹²⁸¹

We are arguing that the theology of empire gets its boost from the fact that if the Church is forced to be subservient to the state, it loses its prophetic voice. Instead of serving the interests of the universal God, the Church becomes an instrument of imperialism in all its manifestations, if we are to be faithful to this context. The

¹²⁷⁸. AB1219/10-15, op.cit

¹²⁷⁹. Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰. Ibid.

¹²⁸¹. Ibid.

letter we have cited in full could have been written in exactly the same spirit during Eusebius of Caesarea's time to Emperor Constantine. The Bishops of Central Africa claim to be representing "all races of the Anglican Communion in these parts."¹²⁸²

Critical observations could be made in the above connection: For example, whether the indigenous people were aware that they were part of the Queen of England at that time or whether they were really free agents, who could subscribe to this letter, is an urgent concern. We do not know whether the indigenous who became Anglicans in large numbers, were aware that they were obliged to pay allegiance to the Queen in the same breath because the same monarch could be acknowledged by all races within the province.

In the above connection, becoming Anglican seems to entail surrendering people's indigenous identities to be loyal subjects of the Crown of England. The people in Mashonaland would have a dual identity, therefore. We tried to deal with this problem in the chapter that focused on definitions. The relationship between religious affiliations and political allegiances in this context is skewed. More precisely, the problem in this context is the relationship between the English Monarch and God. Does an allegiance to one automatically mean allegiance to both? This allegiance in question was not a voluntary gesture, but one that was prompted by fear of the wrath of the powerful. We tried to grapple with the definition of Anglicanism at the beginning of this work, and it is clear that the issue of identity is still urgent, given the contexts that were compromised. What makes one an Anglican, to begin with, is a question that already needed to be addressed in the 1950s. It seems to be the case that when one is conquered by the British, the latter's religion could by that virtue become relevant.

Our concern in line with the above is that indigenous people in Mashonaland, who became Anglicans by hook or by crook, were quick to be offered to the British Crown as subjects, while their socio-economic and political rights were being denied. It is clear that they were being offered a god who was out to exploit them.

¹²⁸². AB1219/10-15, op.cit

This God did not believe in equality as the 1903 Anglican Synod in Mashonaland had resolved. The indigenous people of Mashonaland had been made subjects of the Crown, who, however, had no rights over them by virtue of being independent entities only answerable to *Musiki*, their Creator. We will find this state of affairs obtaining throughout the period that Mashonaland was under colonial rule: - native Africans came to be seen as answerable to the British first before they could be answerable to their Creator. Such oppression was unfounded because of being based on principles that made it impossible for people to see the bigger picture.

In line with the above, was the State the same as the Kingdom of God? We are concerned that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland did not remind the Europeans that the situation was untenable. By not exposing the truth and living the gospel imperatives, any talk about God in this context was a hollow show, for those faithful to the mental faculties granted to them by God. The racial configuration of the bishops involved in signing the letter to the Queen of England, demonstrates to us that it was a British love affair, exaggerated of course, but advanced in the dioceses of Central Africa then in the name of all races. How could a critical mind see a holistic understanding of the Church of God when one race had perfected the art of dominating others?

6.6.0. The David Livingstone connection to Mashonaland

Another good example of natives being abused could be realised on the inscription included on the statue of David Livingstone in Victoria Falls, Rhodesia. When celebrating 100 years of the so-called discovery of the Falls by this British explorer-cum-missionary, the authorities responsible saw it fitting to write the following,

16-November 1865-16 November 1965: On the occasion of the Centenary of David Livingstone's discovery of the Victoria Falls men and women of all Races and from all parts of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland assembled solemnly to dedicate themselves and their Country to carry on the high Christian aims and ideals which inspired David Livingstone in his mission here. Unveiled by His Excellency the Right Honourable the Lord Llewellyn G.B.E., M.C., T.D., D.L., Governor General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and

dedicated by His Grace The Lord Archbishop of Central Africa, Edward Francis Paget on 16 November 1958.¹²⁸³

Again, and in line with the above, the idea of “all races” coming to dedicate themselves in honour of Livingstone could not be said to be a true reflection of the situation on the ground. The assumption is that even the indigenous people were not aware of the problems that could be cited in connection with people who are said to have discovered this natural wonder.¹²⁸⁴ Those said to be responsible for discovering the falls were actually taken to the scene by the natives of the country and who were, we could safely assume, excited to show newcomers what their country had in store for them in terms of wonder.¹²⁸⁵ The fact that the falls could have been referred to by natives using their own languages¹²⁸⁶ is suppressed while the Queen of England’s name is preferred to be emphatic about the spread of the British Empire.¹²⁸⁷ Things, it seems, begin to mean something only when the British become involved. To this extent, the British were more important than God.

The above might appear to be an innocent appreciation of events, but deep down it was an assertion of power. These are the “high Christian aims and ideals” that Europe was ready to share with Africa, using missionaries to boost the point. The idea of Christian aims and ideals being used to exploit the indigenous people seems to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that it would become very difficult for any critical thinker to take the God involved in this context, seriously. It looks like the Anglican Church was always to be found where white civil servants converged to celebrate their achievements and such related matters. In this way, it would be extremely difficult to separate imperial ideals from those that are

¹²⁸³. AB1219/20, op.cit

¹²⁸⁴. "Livingstone Discovers Victoria Falls, 1855," EyeWitness to History, www.eyewitnesstohistory.com (2000). Accessed on 15 July 2015

¹²⁸⁵. To The Victoria Falls discovery of the Victoria Falls Return to the Zambezi”, Zambezi Book Company. Available online at: <http://www.tothevictoriafalls.com/vfpages/discovery/discfalls.htm>. Accessed on 15 July 2015

¹²⁸⁶. The ‘discovery’ of Victoria Falls. Available online at: <http://zambezitraveller.com/livingstone/history/%E2%80%98discovery%E2%80%99-victoria-falls>. Accessed on 15 July 2015. The article is introduced as follows, “On 17 November 1855, David Livingstone arrived at the Falls the locals called ‘Mosi O Tunya’ and was presented with the sight that has taken many-a-breath away”

¹²⁸⁷. Dr. Livingstone's great gift to the Queen of England, Available online at: <https://www.rhinoafrica.com/en/victoria-falls/history>. Accessed on 15 July 2015

supposed to be Christian and, therefore, based on God as lived by the Anglican Church in Mashonaland during Paget's time..

6.6.1. The identity of the indigenous people under the spotlight

We are raising critical questions in the foregoing connection about why the European Bishops of the Anglican Church could submit Africans as subjects of the British Crown with confidence. The narratives that celebrate Anglican achievements in this context do not question the *status quo* because the theology of empire is relevant to their narratives. Where the powerful are in control, it seems to be the case that no questions could be raised. To help us gain some insight, the responses to our questionnaires provide information in this connection:

6.6.2. The nature of indigenous people's awareness of identity

One response to a questionnaire meant for former trainees of the Bishop Gaul College in Harare is revealing in line with the above. This question wanted to establish the critical awareness of the role of England as perceived by some Zimbabwean priests in their ministry. Here we present the simple dialogue:

Questionnaire: By virtue of being Anglican, do you consider yourself a British subject or someone essentially linked to the English?

Respondent: No, I am not a British subject in any way, but maybe I would consider myself linked to the English by virtue of having gone through an educational system that was designed to serve the interests of British imperialism.¹²⁸⁸

The response left us curious, therefore, we raised the question of identity again to include the clergy and laity in the diocese of Harare who were willing to participate in this exercise. The main concern was to find out how comfortable, in general, they are with the idea of being British property so to speak, or more precisely, British subjects by virtue of being Christian as the Catholic Encyclopaedia spells it out. Rev Gusha points out: "There is a strong anti-English campaign in Zimbabwe today, hence, the Anglican clergy is still seen as an agent of British interests."¹²⁸⁹ It should be clear in this connection that numbers are not our concern here.

¹²⁸⁸. Fr. Milford Mazula's responses: See Appendix 3 questions. See also Fr Cleophas Marandu's response to the same question.

¹²⁸⁹. Fr. Gusha's responses: See Appendix 3.

“Agents of British interests in the form of indigenous clergy” could be an indicting statement. Yet, F. Pswarayi, given the same question in another version did not see this as an issue because now Africans are free to make a choice between English and the indigenous languages. It then boils down to preferences.¹²⁹⁰ It is the conviction of a select few that matters as it gives us an insight into what could amount to the bigger picture! If the British aggressiveness in political and religious terms is not acknowledged by indigenous Zimbabweans, then the entire talk about the theology of empire would not make sense at all. Some people may not admit that the British, through the systems and processes they left in place, could still assert their influence.

6.6.2.i. The legacy of ideological domination

Our curiosity is further piqued by some who see things from an ideological perspective more than from the point of view of faith when we look at how Anglicanism impacts on the lives of its adherents far away from the British Isles.

Fr Machingauta makes the following point in line with the preceding connection:

Through the link system, it makes us have a special relationship with them (the British) and having to do things the way they think is right -almost accounting to them! This applies not only to Africa but to all those parts of the world where the local churches feel they are not able to run their own development. Be it in capacity building or building infrastructures. They will workshop you to do things in a certain way and run some theological schools for you because you claim you cannot afford.¹²⁹¹

Fr Machingauta is an Anglican leader and extremely alert to the pastoral challenges of his church. Therefore, he speaks as an insider who is directly affected. The link system on the spotlight is designed to keep Anglican from different parts of the world together. Experience shows that in reality, a one sided approach prevails since those who are better placed in terms of resources will find it easier to dictate such relations. The response raises issues of religious independence from a historical perspective and within the Mashonaland context. How much freedom did the indigenous Anglicans in Mashonaland have? We will continue to raise this question. Anglicanism in Zimbabwe is still answerable to the

¹²⁹⁰. Felicitas Pswarayi's response to questionnaire: See Appendix 2 questions

¹²⁹¹. Interview with Fr Barnabas Machingauta, on the 18th of September 2012, at Parish of the Resurrection, Mabatho, Mahikeng, South Africa.

mother Church in England directly or indirectly, and so, Paget could have been right. We have already pointed out that those who have made recent attempts to break away from the canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) found themselves unable to come up with a unique indigenous identity in terms of naming their respective rebel churches. They still want to be known as “Anglicans” though not in agreement with the Anglican Communion.¹²⁹² It is a clear demonstration of the fact that due to the colonial matrix, many indigenous leaders have no idea of what Anglicanism entails. We have tried to interrogate this problem in our own unique fashion using the theology of empire as our foundation.

6.6.2. ii. The quandary of being Anglican but not English

In line with the above, how could one then claim the designation “Anglican” while not being in agreement with what is commonly termed “Anglicanism?” Could one insist on being indigenous people and then fail to dispense with the designation “Anglicanism”? We have been tracing the development of the indigenous systematic assimilation into the Anglican tradition of the Christian faith. History may find it difficult to account for people who belong and do not belong at the same time. The Zimbabwean Anglican context born out of the Mashonaland state of affairs has many issues with which to deal. The quandary we encountered earlier on continues to wreak havoc among some Zimbabweans even today. We must still wait for an indigenous articulation of the Anglican faith, which could be direct products of missionaries such as Cripps. We know that he wanted to see the indigenous people being accorded room to engage in systematic reflections about their Christian faith. This could involve using categories and thought patterns in accordance with the traditional understanding of God by the indigenous people of Mashonaland. The mere mastering of the English traditions does not seem to help the indigenous in asserting or affirming their God-given identities.

6.6.2. iii. The call for the indigenous Anglican Leadership to wake up

From the foregoing observations, it is clear that the Anglican Church leadership has not done much since the time of Paget (1925 to 1957) to free itself from the historical quandary in which it finds itself. Again, it seems to be the case that what

¹²⁹². The point has already been emphasised and referenced in this narrative.

it means to be Anglican remains elusive among the blacks. An indigenous person within the Mashonaland context who may not be able to distinguish between Anglicanism and a belief in God might be entertaining some delusions. Accordingly, to be Anglican and to be Christian might not be one and the same thing. Anglicanism could be a mere designation of how things are connected to the English people. It might not tell us much about how the people of Mashonaland are connected to Christianity. The concern we have here is whether ordinary people are aware of this problem. Christianity is unique in that it refers to following Jesus Christ, the son of God, who has no racial or national limitations. Anglicanism, therefore, could be understood differently.

The above reference to Anglicanism is a problematic development and shows the existence of tensions in the way some Christians influenced by the English tradition, would like to understand themselves. They want independence, but they are conscious of the fact that it cannot come so easily because most of their followers would like to be understood as Anglicans in the first place. If an indigenous leader is not able to articulate and to distinguish their links to the Church of England from a belief in God, problems of authenticity might arise. Are the indigenous people who have affinities to the Diocese of Mashonaland aware that they have a mammoth task in articulating the distinction between Christianity and the English culture?

6.6.2. iv. Enslaved in the name of God

In addition to the above section, why a different name is not preferred by the indigenous who have churches to lead, is puzzling. This is why Fr Machingauta cited above is bold when he points out that:

Liturgically and in principle, you cannot do without them (the British) because you have to consent to the Book of Common Prayer and to the 39 articles of faith.¹²⁹³ You are only allowed to use the forms of liturgy that are approved by your synod and those in authority over you. Basically, this is your bishop. So as for how far you can manoeuvre, that depends on how much your bishop understands inculturation...¹²⁹⁴

¹²⁹³. See Appendix 19, Articles of Religion.

¹²⁹⁴. Fr Barnabas Machingauta on the 18th of September 2012

We are talking about a theological process that characterised a sincere yearning for authenticity and emancipation from an indigenous people's perspective. We are also envisaging a situation that could see English missionary ideals, within this Mashonaland context, dialoguing with indigenous people's religious values and, therefore, moving away from the mistaken notion that the Shona had no religion as mistakenly observed by Knight-Bruce and those who followed after him. But how much inculturation do indigenous priests and Bishops command within the Anglican context? This question is urgent but we cannot pretend to be able to attempt it here. It is important to only acknowledge its weight.

Being part of the Anglican Communion is seen as more important than being part of the kingdom of God or being an African for that matter. This distinction needs to be understood in order to give the indigenous people an upper hand also when it comes to doing theology within a Mashonaland context. We know that the leadership of this World Wide Anglican Communion have always been British Archbishops from the beginning, whose official residence must always be the Lambeth Palace in London, neither in Mashonaland nor anywhere else outside the British Isles. This makes it imperative to distinguish between the kingdom of God and the Anglican Communion. One is limited by geography and polity while the other is transcendental. In Mashonaland, this raises many eyebrows especially after everything else about British colonialism and paternalism has been said and dismissed. Fighting for independence by many African countries happens to be a clear statement that things foreign did not make much sense if the indigenous people were not allowed space to freely interrogate and assimilate as they saw fit, even in liturgical matters.

6.6.2.v. The status of white Bishops in the Province of Central Africa

We have seen above that the racial configuration of the bishops involved in drafting the letter we have cited in full, speaks volumes as well. It is clear that they are all of European, if not all from British descent. They could all look upon the Queen and address her in the most eulogistic terms they could imagine. No alienation was involved. The imperial protocol is seen as more important than doing the right thing before God. It is important to emphasise the fact that the right thing in this context should have been to respect indigenous sovereignty instead

of surrendering them to the British Crown in the name of Christianity. It should have been an opportunity to demonstrate some religious sensibilities of the indigenous people and, therefore, to respect them. Our problem continues to be critical in this connection.

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that the story of African natives within the same British imperial context is a different story. Accepting the spirit in which the letter was drafted could say a lot about their personal identities and the way they relate to God. Such questions regarding whether Africa needed Europe to get closer to God arise. How Africans could be made to understand that paying allegiance to the Queen of England endeared them to God, challenges belief. The political tensions among Africans in this context were soaring. Within a few years, two countries that had been forced to accept the Federation broke away to become the first independent states in Southern Africa. We are here talking about Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia and Nyasaland, now Malawi. It is clear that these countries, were not ready to endure the European paternalism, for long, that compromised their livelihood in many ways. To think that such people could be seen dedicating themselves in the name of Livingstone or the Queen of England is to underestimate their intelligence. It could be a clear demonstration that no one wanted to take the indigenous people's sentiments seriously, that is, if they understood them at all.

6.6.2.vi. Dealing with distorted historical facts

We are compelled to raise concerns within a theological-historical context because such distortions we are questioning here continue to haunt the memories of many Zimbabweans who became suspicious of the British people, especially regarding their claims of serving God. We have already tried to argue that both historically and theologically, God could not be understood to be biased – by favouring one race at the expense of another. There was a real sense of betrayal in the name of God when British Anglican Bishops working in Africa annexed the Christian Church to England without the explicit consent of the indigenous. It is clear that indigenous Rhodesians had no say in this theological-political equation. Yet, they could be used as servants to boost the morale and socio-economic status of the Europeans. Therefore, politico-economic issues were more important than God to

this end. The issue of Anglican identity becomes critical in this connection once again. Sometimes it is difficult to understand whether we are really talking about people under God or under the emperor. The following paragraphs will help us state this latter problem.

We must be aware of the fact that when all the talk about the new Province of the Church of Central Africa gained momentum, on the political scene, the idea of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had already made significant inroads. The province was an ecclesiastical undertaking while the federation was a political experiment. We could rightly call the federation, a gamble in so far as it was conceived to pacify and win the hearts and minds of the indigenous people in the name of partnership. The facts we include here indicate to us that even among the Europeans, consensus was not always to be taken for granted.

The understanding that all was not well in the formation of the federation and its impact on the Anglican Church led a certain Canon R. White to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury on 29 September 1953, objecting to the timing of the inauguration of the Province of the Church of Central Africa.¹²⁹⁵ The Canon's concern was that for many critics, it would appear as if the province was just a reflection of the Federation, and, therefore, there was urgent need to distinguish political boundaries from ecclesiastical boundaries.¹²⁹⁶ We could argue that Canon White had captured the complete truth of what was at stake. His was a reminder on the need to separate God and Caesar should the need arise. This was true in Southern Africa where the Anglican Church is a significant player.

To the concern raised above, the Archbishop of Canterbury responded in a letter dated 1 October 1953 and pointed out that, "To the best of my belief, ecclesiastical boundaries have always followed political boundaries so far as can conveniently be done."¹²⁹⁷ It is clear that the Archbishop made no distinction between Europe and Africa. What obtained in Europe could easily be adopted as the norm in Africa, hence, denying the indigenous their unique identity in matters

¹²⁹⁵. AB1085: CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF CENTRAL AFRICA, Records, 1952-1977. Historical Research Papers (of the Anglican Church) in William Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁹⁶. *ibid.*

¹²⁹⁷. *Ibid*

ecclesiastical. The issue of convenience also seems to have been one-sided because there is no way such a development could be said to have been beneficial for the indigenous people. Their space was not being respected, and so everything British could easily be imposed on the indigenous people. That this is the truth is supported by the fact that later on in 1955, the Archbishop of Canterbury rejected the use of any local liturgies during the inauguration of the province, while insisting on the liturgy officially sanctioned by the Church of England in the United Kingdom.¹²⁹⁸ The fact that there was no indigenous objection to the Archbishop's preferences could be seen as a clear demonstration of the fact that the Anglican Church in Africa was never meant to command any uniqueness or independence at all. It would remain an Anglican Church and would never be an indigenous Church modelled along the Church of England. Again, from the point of view of the theme of the theology of empire, this makes a great deal of sense. Even the religious convictions of the powerful must be seen to dictate the pace. This new province was therefore African in so far as geography could dictate, but not so much in theological and political essence.

6.7. The African political consciousness

In addition to the foregoing section, that things were not moving in the right direction is something that history could attest to in the Diocese of Mashonaland. In a letter dated 11 March 1953, we get an indication that there were some Church bishops who opposed the inauguration of the province as well. These were British bishops who were extremely aware that some Africans, outside the Church influence, were no longer to be looked upon as docile in terms of their socio-economic as well as political awareness. The bishops' fear of African nationalism was expressed as follows,

The Congress agents who are everywhere active and are stirring up anti-European feeling would almost certainly use the opportunity to suggest to our Christians that the Anglican Church is in league with the State to bring them into subjection to Southern Rhodesia and this might well lead to a schism.¹²⁹⁹

The fears expressed in the quote were real and must continue to be understood as such. If the Church had been doing its work above board, the alarm would not

¹²⁹⁸. AB1085. The communication is dated 29th January 1953 and was dispatched from Lambeth Palace.

¹²⁹⁹. Ibid.

have meant anything. History was to prove such prophecies right as many Africans stood up and challenged foreign rule that had shown many hostilities towards their personhood and authenticity. In Southern Rhodesia, Europeans were known to be extremely influential.¹³⁰⁰ Their influence was detrimental to the wishes and aspirations of the indigenous people. Even though the Europeans were outnumbered by Africans, the configuration of Church leadership told a different story. It was, therefore, possible that the architects of the federation also had the upper hand in influencing the formation of the province to reflect the political dispensation of the day. Clearly, it was a European entity on African soil. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as we have seen, had no quibbles with the federal political boundaries that the Anglican Church was going to follow in this part of Africa. Natives would emerge as losers in every possible way. The Christianity envisaged here, did not provide for opportunities to be radical in the name of God. That Christianity was designed to militate against the profound hopes and aspirations of the natives. It was part of the oppressive system since it was not able to distinguish itself in this regard. The prophetic voices were again silenced in the name of the empire.

The correspondence between Church personnel and state functionaries during this period of federation implies some level of cooperation as we have already suspected. Perhaps these could be cited as having a direct impact on how the Anglican Church under Paget was perceived by those critical of the contemporary church-state relations in the eyes of growing anti-European sentiments. It is difficult to argue for a radical conflict between European missionaries and settlers in this context as it turned out to be a matter between kith and kin.

For example and in line with the foregoing, on 16 November 1956, Sir Roy Welensky acknowledged receiving a letter of congratulations from Archbishop Paget.¹³⁰¹ In this reply, the prime minister of the federation indicated that his political leadership would be made “easier by the support of people like Paget.”¹³⁰² It is clear that a political functionary saw many opportunities in linking his career to

¹³⁰⁰. AB1085.op.cit.

¹³⁰¹. AB1219/10-15, op.cit

¹³⁰². *ibid*

the Anglican Church and its leadership. In which case, the Church was not seen as being critical of the state but an advocate of it. When such advocacy comes at the expense of a significant portion of the population, we become curious because the claims that refer to God cease to carry any weight. The context, in which the cry of the indigenous people was the loudest, was being ignored. Even the Governor of Kenya, who was also of British descent showered the archbishop with accolades to the effect that Paget “was fearless and straightforward.”¹³⁰³ Again, we are not clear whether this praise was not another example of the bias we are concerned with here. We are worried because natives are not being accorded their rights in this context and yet “fearless and straightforward” bishops are in office. Writing the history of Mashonaland without reference to this problematic state of affairs could mean a serious misrepresentation of facts and, hence, downplay the plight of the indigenous in this volatile context.

On 29 December 1956, Sir John and Lady Kennedy added that “when the history of Central Africa comes to be written, the name of Archbishop Paget will have a prominent place for all he has done to spread the good news of God’s Word and to promote goodwill between the different races of the Federation.”¹³⁰⁴ Again, we wonder whether the reference to different races included Africans. The issue of good news in this context is elusive. We have already argued that the available facts do not seem to support the fact that God was being taken seriously in ways that we could afford to generalise. Of course, to have a prominent status in history is not the same as being a great Christian in that context. The “goodwill between the different races” was never realised until bloodshed was allowed to dictate the pace in Rhodesia. We know that of the many individuals of whom history has taken note; it has not always been about highlighting their greatness.

In addition to the above, sometimes history takes the liberty to demonstrate the shortcomings of people. Therefore, history is not only about prominence but also about obscurity and misdemeanours. It could, therefore, be misguided to celebrate failure as though it were a success. We have already tried to argue from the available facts that the issue of race relations was never given its due urgency

¹³⁰³. AB1219/10-15, op.cit. The letter in question is dated 28th December 1956.

¹³⁰⁴. Ibid.

from the onset of colonialism in 1890 and in the country that came to be called Rhodesia by its colonisers. So the scores against racial discrimination attributed to Paget in this context seem to be elusive as well.

The *Link* of December 1956 took note of the work done by Lord Malvern who was now retiring and was being succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky. Both were seen as critical to the Church and the state.¹³⁰⁵ Note how the history of Mashonaland is being presented here. Who the Church is and who the state is, are questions that could be of interest to all those who have some curious concerns about the theology of empire in this context. To Lord Malvern, the tribute reads as follows: “The country and Church owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the generous service he has rendered and for his outstanding qualities of leadership and moral courage.”¹³⁰⁶ The Church being referred to does not seem to include the indigenous who continued to be compromised in terms of their religious and political aspirations. To Roy Welensky, the Church was able to say,

...we send the assurance of our prayers for him in the great responsibilities that now fall upon him and also the assurance of our desire that the close cooperation between the Church and State, which has been so marked in the country, both in political and municipal affairs may continue.¹³⁰⁷

The Church-state relations of Eusebius’ time seem to be replicated here in Mashonaland. It is a relationship that is exclusive as we have already tried to argue. That cooperation in the Church-state relations obtaining in Mashonaland could have been beneficial only to the white race because no indigenous could be said to have benefitted in any unconditional way at this point in time. The indigenous were reduced to spectators in a match that was desperately in need of their active participation. Again, we notice that there are many distortions in the way the history of the Church-state relations is narrated. To say that there was noteworthy cooperation between the Church and the state in this context should always be qualified.

6.7.0. European triumphalism and the indigenous people’s plight

¹³⁰⁵. AB1219/10-15, op.cit

¹³⁰⁶. AB1219/16-18, op.cit. (p.5 of the *Link* cited).

¹³⁰⁶. Ibid.

¹³⁰⁷. Ibid.

We have insisted on the foregoing fact to the effect that the Church-state cooperation celebrated in this context does not seem to take the indigenous people seriously. As long as the Europeans were satisfied, all seemed well in this context. It was, therefore, a European victory that mattered most in Mashonaland and not so much the blessings of God on the indigenous people. Theologically, we have maintained that the God who is understood to be universal could not be interpreted in exclusive terms and categories without rendering them nihilistic.

It is also interesting to note at this point, that on the occasion of Paget's enthronement as Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, the issue of race seemed to dominate the reflections shared through the sermons on that day.¹³⁰⁸ We are therefore reflecting on a subject that no critical mind could afford to ignore. Why it had to come out as an urgent matter, even in the liturgy of the day, seems to suggest that there was a general awareness of what the problem was. What was missing was goodwill and action to demonstrate how serious the Church was about resolving issues that had far-reaching consequences on the livelihood of the indigenous people. We seem to be faced with a Christian context that was only so from an artificial point of view. Those who elected to write narratives about this Church in favourable terms such as Bill Arnolds and those sympathetic to him do not help us see the bigger picture or the Christian blunders involved here.

6.7.1. Participants misled within Paget's context

In his sermon, Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr Clayton pointed out that since the federation and the province shared the same boundaries, "the Church would be the conscience."¹³⁰⁹ He went on to state that,

You are a multi-racial province. Christ came to break barriers. In His name, it is for you to create a union of hearts. This cannot be done by force or by regulation. It is for you to show the truth that as men come closer to our Lord, they inevitably come closer to each other.¹³¹⁰

¹³⁰⁸. AB1219/16-18, "Press Cuttings", Historical research Papers, Witts, op.cit. The particular cutting is from The Times, London, dated May 9, 1955.

¹³⁰⁹. *ibid*

¹³¹⁰. *Ibid*.

It is clear that Clayton was touching on the core of the Mashonaland racial problem with which we are concerned in this work in so far as the moral principles of Rhodesia took centre-stage. That problem seemed to have been swept under the carpet to accommodate the benefits that only the whites enjoyed. To maintain that country is multiracial does not automatically translate into racial harmony. It is a reminder of what needs to be done to challenge people to work together and not to promote polarisation.

We need to emphasise, in the above connection, regarding the fact that after everything about Rhodesia and its successes have been said, the indigenous people could still ask genuine questions about where they belonged or fitted in. If neither force nor regulations could be appealed to in order to bring about racial harmony within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and within the Church of the Province of Central Africa, only the practical Christian witness could be a source of hope. What that practical Christian witness could involve, could be found in Cripps and those of his persuasion. However, Cripps was no longer there and being the conscience of the general populace was not a given in the Anglican Church of the day. Given the claims to Christianity and civilisation, the Archbishop was addressing the much celebrated Christian principle that could boast of a God who knows no distinction based on race. However, words that are not accompanied by action could only go so far in Mashonaland. We have already seen how civil and church leaders concurred that they were working together for the good of the country. In fact, they seem to have been working together for the good of the European constituency in Mashonaland and the indigenous were neglected. The future in this context could only bring more racial problems than solutions, to begin with.

6.7.2. 'Mutual trust,' 'partnership,' and 'faith'

Dr Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in turn, preached during evensong about the need for the Rhodesian races to have "trust and confidence" in each other.¹³¹¹ The Archbishop sounded extremely optimistic as he went on to observe that the people in Rhodesia had begun their "federal life with a declaration of faith in

¹³¹¹. AB1219/16-18, "Press Cuttings", Historical Research Papers, op.cit

partnership” as the point of departure and “fuller partnership” as the “distant goal.”¹³¹² The Archbishop of Canterbury further stated, “You begin, African and European, on the basis of mutual respect, friendship and trust, and I have rejoiced to see many grand evidences of its fruitful application in the fields of administration, education, and industrial organisation.”¹³¹³

Was the archbishop, in the preceding connection, being accurate or had he been misled to tell a big lie in the name of Christ? Mutual respect is the direct opposite of exclusivity. It is alien to discrimination of any sort, and yet this was the cornerstone of the Rhodesia that prevailed in Mashonaland. It is curious to note that against such a profound appreciation of race relations in Southern Rhodesia then, there were hardly any indigenous among the high ranking officials in both the Church and the state.¹³¹⁴ To speak of “mutual respect, friendship and trust” could be seen as a simple public relations exercise and nothing more. The indigenous were still second best. They counted for nothing, to say the least if the spirit prevailing during this time could be captured in full.

Therefore, in line with the above, to say that there had been educational opportunities celebrated in this context, is nullified by the fact that not many indigenous were significant even on that occasion showing that the education in question had not managed to uplift them in the years gone by. We have already been alerted to the fact that indigenous education was more industrial than academic. Therefore, it could be the case that what the Archbishop of Canterbury had been shown were stage-managed events and not processes. The indigenous and Europeans in this context were not being treated equally. The Archbishop of Canterbury, although treating a relevant theme, seemed to focus more on the principle of equality within a Christian context but the reality on the ground was quite different. Such misrepresentations could challenge us to take note of how the need to correct historical narratives within the Mashonaland context is urgent.

¹³¹². AB1219/16-18, “Press Cuttings”, Historical Research Papers, op.cit

¹³¹³. Ibid.

¹³¹⁴. See the list of bishops who signed the letter to the Queen of England.

The above exposition that we have taken the liberty to criticise, seems to advance an extremely positive picture of what was happening in the country that had come to be known as Southern Rhodesia. The language utilised by the Church leadership does not help us understand the racial and political dynamics at play then. There is covert attention to the fact that humanity within this Mashonaland context was not being taken seriously if the principles of Christianity and western civilisation were to be pursued to the letter.

Again, we are extremely apprehensive about how history could be written from the theology of empire perspective: it is always one-sided and always favours those who wield the sceptre of power within the Mashonaland context. Why do we make this point at this stage? We have cited the *Link* of December 1956 that includes eulogies for state functionaries. We have heard some of them being described as people of “moral courage” as in the case of Lord Malvern. Within the Mashonaland matrix, at which we are looking, the issue of ethical engagements when it came to the harmonisation of races was not an urgent matter because of the prejudices that had been allowed to exist.

Clearly and in line with the above, even the Church leadership appears to be careless in their choice of words. To have moral courage is to command the ability to be radical for the right cause, for the right values defined contextually, all the time; to be able to choose the extraordinary in terms of emphasising the universal good even when the tide is against you. Those who violate the conventions of society and the norms of a cliché because they subscribe to higher values are people who follow their consciences rather than the mob. These are the radical leaders we have in mind in this context. To think that Mashonaland in this period had such a significant number of people of European origin who commanded the moral courage we could envisage is an exaggeration of facts. We have already implicated Anglican Church leadership in the conspiracy against the indigenous when loyalty to the Queen of England was affirmed in their absence. We are also trying to argue that no African of whatever Christian persuasion could freely trade their birth right in the name of a church. It is unfortunate that short-sightedness sometimes wreaks havoc among the people of Africa. We have no time to analyse this statement, but we need to take up further issues with Paget who has been our

major subject throughout this chapter. Our intention is to be emphatic on the prevalence of the theology of empire in Mashonaland.

6.7.3. Some indigenous people's reactions in Paget's context

In the issue of the *Link* of December 1956, an African priest's article helps us to support the views that we have preferred above against the Anglican Church leadership that supported the political dispensation of the day. Our charges about the lack of ethical considerations are augmented by what we read from those who were first-hand observers in the 1950s. This article needs to be read in conjunction with all the successes that Paget is said to have initiated especially in the area of race relations. The article also gives us some insight into how the indigenous were being treated by their colonial masters and missionaries. It is clear that we are implicating bishops such as Paget, to have been experts in defending the *status quo*, thereby creating an inimical environment for the indigenous people in Mashonaland. A history written from the point of view of this article and from the critical points we have been raising could be different from those so far published that narrate developments within the same context.

In the foregoing connection, an article authored by Canon Chipunza, the Priest-in-Charge of St Michael's, Harare, Salisbury, helps us to call a spade by its proper name. We note here the fact that unlike Mzeki and Mhlanga, we are getting indigenous leaders who are able to commit their ideas on paper. "The goal of the town African: Responsible citizenship" is a 1956 Anglican masterpiece that could be used against all that Paget has been cited to have said or supported directly or indirectly in this period and in Southern Rhodesia. Chipunza argues that the African in Southern Rhodesia during this period in question needs to be accorded an opportunity "to live a full, normal life."¹³¹⁵ This is, by any reasonable standards, an extremely powerful Christian statement loaded with serious concerns. It declares all claims of Anglican Church successes null and void, which we could meet with during this period in question. We are talking about success from the point of view of the good that is inspired by faith in God and not in human beings. Within the Mashonaland colonial context, it seems to be the case that faith in

¹³¹⁵. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

Europeans, civil or religious, took centre-stage and this should explain why racial prejudices carried the day.

6.7.4. Africans still under subjugation

Why is it important for Chipunza, in line with the above, to raise this issue at all in a country led by politicians of great moral courage? In a country where there were mutual respect and trust and racial partnership; would it be a relevant question? In a context where Church leaders who were fearless and there to represent the interests of all races, Chipunza's article happens to invoke critical concerns for those interested in the subject at which he looks. The language utilised by Chipunza indicates to us that African life was not lived to the full and was, therefore, abnormal.¹³¹⁶ It was a life that had been severely compromised in the name of Christianity and civilisation.

We would have liked to hear this kind of language, being referenced above in connection with Chipunza, coming from those self-proclaimed masters of civilisation and those with high moral values and courage, challenging the evils that obtained then. Then we would be in a position to credit both European missionaries and politicians, in general, for having demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that they were truly servants of God and sincere in their conduct. Then, the so much talked about civilisation and Christianity could make much sense. In a context where racial prejudices had already taken root, this could have been seen as really belonging to the genre of radicalism. The absence of such a noble stance, on behalf of the indigenous and by Europeans, shows us that all the accolades for missionaries and politicians in this Mashonaland context could be extremely misleading if advanced in a wholesome fashion. Those who read the history of Church-state relations in this context should be warned to tread with care for certain facts about success could have been highly inflated. The critical dimensions of the indigenous peoples' welfare are excluded by histories that narrate Anglican successes in this context.

6.7.5. Civilisation and Christianity in Mashonaland

¹³¹⁶. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

In 1956, Mashonaland had been under colonial rule for 66 years. That rule was supposed to be underpinned by a sustainable desire to improve the livelihood of the indigenous in the name of Christianity and western civilisation. It was supposed to have been the best that Africa could have dreamt of at that time. However, Chipunza helps us to appreciate the fact that Africans who saw Europeans as a panacea for their socio-economic, as well as religious and political woes, were actually entertaining some wishful if not dangerous thinking. Europeans were not in Mashonaland for the good of the natives but for their own fortunes. The indigenous were simply expendable forces in this politico-economic enterprise characterised by wanton greedy and careless profiteering. To assume that Rhodesia would be a welfare state for the indigenous people was almost similar to an extremely dangerous and compromising conviction if we are to reflect seriously on what we are encountering in this context.

Chipunza, in the above connection, points out that in the cities where natives went, expecting to improve their livelihoods, many were “being forced to live an unnatural life –sometimes two or three families have to share one little house, living on the level of animals through circumstances over which they have no control.”¹³¹⁷ Such a statement happens to be a drastic charge against European arrogance. How whites could boast of civilising Africans, while at the same time, denigrating their livelihood, is a question that calls for the resolution of a contradiction. Here are God’s people trying to make ends meet but their options are extremely limited by the European systems in place. How such compromised people could be expected to overcome their socio-economic challenges with all these odds against them, puzzles our imagination. To this extent and according to Chipunza, the African “is not considered by the authorities as a fellow human being.”¹³¹⁸ We could sense a great deal of decorum in Chipunza’s language.

Where Chipunza, in the foregoing connection, could have talked about an illegitimate regime or blood-suckers and such fitting adjectives, is extremely mindful to call the European leadership in a compromised context, “authorities of the day” without any sinister qualifications. However, his reference to the inhuman

¹³¹⁷. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

¹³¹⁸. *ibid*

conditions that the indigenous people were exposed to is a critical indictment on all those who could turn a blind eye to the state of affairs.

6.7.6. The Anglian Church's silence problematic

Earlier on in this chapter, we saw that Paget denied the existence of any racial disharmony in Southern Rhodesia as far back as 1925. In short, there was no racial conflict in Mashonaland. Whether the bishop was being honest in terms of understanding the situation before him, is a question we have been trying to answer in this regard. Chipunza helps us to appreciate the fact that they were some indigenous priests who saw things as they were and not as they wished them to be. Africans were relegated to the level of animals and the Church was silent about it. Therefore, it is difficult to associate such level of silence with gospel imperatives. How masters of civilisation could afford to walk with their heads high in a context they had created to allow a significant part of humanity to live in such deplorable conditions is something that does not make much sense. Yet there were claims of mutual respect, trust and such positive racial encounters. If Church history was to ignore such observations, the Rhodesia known to us in this connection could have been the envy of the whole world in terms of racial harmony, freedoms, liberties and the celebration of universal humanhood. We are worried that attempts have been made to present a distorted history in this connection. The information we are faced with here does not allow us to see Rhodesia as a country in which the indigenous people's dignity was respected in any meaningful way.

6.7.7. Skin colour as the criterion of humanity

Chipunza points out that the wages were not fair at all since they were worked out according to the skin colour of the labourer. It was not the "ability and qualifications for the job"¹³¹⁹ that mattered after all and yet, the Church did business as usual. That the Church was condoning this state of affairs while claiming to be emphasising equality among the races demonstrates some serious misrepresentation of gospel imperatives to us. We have already heard that the Archbishop of Cape Town was emphatic about the closeness of people once their

¹³¹⁹. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

focus is on Jesus Christ. In other words, it is a contradiction to be both a Christian and a racist; both a Christian and partial in terms of human relations; both a Christian and an advocate of socio-economic and political inequalities. This could be cited as the dilemma in Southern Rhodesia where people paid lip service to the harmonisation of races, which were polarised from the beginning. We are looking at the same situation through the lens of our preferred interpretation of the Constantinean establishment that was celebrated by Eusebius when it actually contradicted the gospel norms.

6.7.8. Didymus Mutasa's testimony on the colour issue

On the disparities on wages that were worked out along racial lines, as observed by Chipunza, Didymus Mutasa, one of the most seasoned nationalists in Zimbabwe helps us with figures in the above connection a few years later than the article we are referring to above. From him we hear this:

...I joined the Civil Service of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and worked as an Administrative and Executive Officer in the training branch of the Department of Conservation and Expansion in the Ministry of Agriculture. There were problems there which had to be put right. When I joined I was offered and accepted, a wage of £15 a month. European boys of inferior education to myself were receiving £45 per month. On drawing this to the Authority's attention, my wage was raised to £27.10 a month. This problem did not affect me alone.¹³²⁰

We note that even after complaining, Mutasa's salary was not doubled though it was three times lower than that of white boys who were under qualified. This testimony is included here for its relevance to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in which the Diocese of Mashonaland was situated. It also proves our point that the Church was not being prophetic within this context.

It is clear that to listen to the recollections of black people's experiences during the times of Rhodesia is to be reminded of a state of affairs in disarray. It is to be plunged into a world that had lost its head in the name of Christianity and western civilisation. Mutasa goes on to note in the foregoing connection:

In 1961 we formed the Southern Region Association, and I became its secretary up to 1965. Through it, we battled for our salaries and conditions of service. Our case was straightforward, and we put it clearly to the Federal Public Service Commission. African State Registered Nurses working at Harare Hospital

¹³²⁰. Mutasa, op.cit. p.20f.

received a wage of £27 a month when European nurses of the same qualifications were receiving £56 a month. The difference in wages was due to the colour of the nurses' skin.¹³²¹

This testimony by Mutasa reflects a situation that was still obtaining several years after Chipunza's observations above. It is important for us to appreciate how far spread the colour problem impacted on the indigenous people.

The question we are constantly raising in the above connection is how Church business could proceed as though everything was normal? The history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland that falls short of insisting on how the indigenous people were being short-changed could be seen as promoting the problems we are highlighting here.

Those who have nostalgic memories of the Rhodesia that had imposed itself on the indigenous people of Mashonaland should be dismissed as people of extremely limited cultural horizons and ambitions. The Rhodesia they miss is one that militated against black people. It is a Rhodesia that others would like to think of in terms of civilisation and progress but suppress the fact that the indigenous people were engaged in a struggle for emancipation when odds were against them. We make this point, bearing in mind the fact that the Anglican Church was not able to institutionalise principles that departed radically from the culture of racial discrimination and dominance. This Church was, therefore, an accomplice in a system that discriminated against the people of God on the ground of colour. It was, therefore, a racist Church if we are to be honest, but it was not ready to admit that missionaries such as Cripps were extremely radical and exceptional.

In the African Townships of the day, Chipunza pointed out that "the municipalities present us with beer hall upon beer hall, in which most of our troubles are started."¹³²² What is cited as lacking in this context includes such amenities as "adult education, cinemas, lectures, and instruction in useful trades,"¹³²³ and not the beer halls that are in abundance. Clearly, there was this endemic malevolence

¹³²¹. Mutasa, *op.cit.* p.21

¹³²². AB1219/16-18, *op.cit.*

¹³²³. *Ibid.*

characterised by the will to frustrate and, at the same time, pacify the black people's aspirations in Rhodesia. In addition, the political landscape did not encompass the natives, However, politics remained an area that was off bounds from the Church's point of view,¹³²⁴ This observation was premised on the fact that most of the "laws and by-laws" passed with the understanding that they would safeguard Africans' interests, were actually militating against the indigenous themselves, and yet the Church maintained its shameful silence. These laws and by-laws included among many others, "pass laws and liquor laws and the Land Apportionment Act."¹³²⁵ Then Chipunza concludes by citing the "colour bar" issue that Paget believed was non-existent. His point is simply that the Church could not challenge civil society to rid itself of this problem when Christians themselves did not practise what they preached.¹³²⁶

Racism, according to Chipunza and in line with the above contention, was also entrenched in the Church's administrative structures, yet this institution was supposed to follow the gospel principle of being non-racist. We know very well that authors such as Arnold would not allow us to make this observation. In his work, Arnold is extremely bold in favour of an Anglican Church in Mashonaland that was putting up a brave fight against racism. Accordingly, he remarks that:

It is not going too far to say that the Churches led the way in trying to break down the colour bar in Rhodesia and that the Anglicans, led by their bishop, were in the van of these endeavours, however long the struggle was to last.¹³²⁷

It is clear that we are making observations that are contrary to Arnold's position on the same subject of racial dominance in the Anglican Church. Here we could also cite what Gibbon notes before giving an account of Paget's response to a pastoral call for a Christmas Eucharist service in the eastern part of the diocese. He refers to this extremely critical position of a Christianity that knows no compromise:

So the strong man, if he is a true Christian, will use his power to assist the needy and to relieve the oppressed, to combat poverty and injustice and, if he is a priest, to bring God's word and sacraments to those who need it at whatever cost to himself. Edward Paget was a very strong man, and he used his strength in that kind of way.¹³²⁸

¹³²⁴. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

¹³²⁵. Ibid.

¹³²⁶. Ibid.

¹³²⁷. Arnold, op.cit.p.75

¹³²⁸. Gibbon, op.cit. p.54.

Again, Gibbon and Arnold help us to see how a different picture of the Anglican Church could be given a face contrary to what Canon Chipunza highlights in his article. The latter seems to be deliberately downplayed.

How the characterisation of Paget above is contrary to the spirit of Chipunza's reflections above, should come as a surprise to us. Paget is said to have been a bishop who "was quick to see the need for new ways of social service and to detect the real causes of social unrest."¹³²⁹ He also described the towns as providing "the unnatural location life" for Africans. We could see that with regard to the latter he was in agreement with Chipunza about how Africans were being alienated by town life that had been imposed upon them. The question that continues to vex our minds is whether acknowledging the existence of the problem amounts to offering a solution to it. Talking and doing are not one and the same thing, especially in contexts where the call for action could be urgent as was the case in Mashonaland under colonial rule.

6.7.9. Continued imperial support in Mashonaland

One observation that could be critical for us as we submit a sustainable argument in favour of the theology of empire in Mashonaland is the fact that there was a point beyond which Paget could not go if he were to be faithful to gospel imperatives over and above the colonial government and its supporters. This becomes urgent when we are reminded that in times of need, the white population was often appealed to and often responded in favourable terms and gestures. For example, when there was a "need for a home of unmarried mothers and for girls in need of care and protection," the government agreed to settle for a grant of £400 per year.¹³³⁰ At the same time, the Beit Trustees agreed to settle for £600 per year for two years.¹³³¹ When there was a need to expand the facilities of the foregoing project, again, the government gave £1000; the Beit Trustees gave £800, and a private donation of £500 was also received.¹³³² Around 1936, when there was a need for a home to rehabilitate the juvenile social misfits, a farmer in Bulawayo

¹³²⁹. Gibbon, *op.cit.* p.55

¹³³⁰. *Ibid.* p.56

¹³³¹. *Ibid.*

¹³³². *Ibid.* p.57

donated 1150 acres of land and a house to the Church.¹³³³ In terms of relationships, it is clear that Paget had no axe to grind with his European sponsors who included the government and private individuals. He could be seen as a very good public relations officer in so far as the Church-state relations in his context were concerned.

6.7.10. Attempts at racial harmonisation

Still in line with Paget's position, the following speaks volumes in terms of his attempts at racial harmonisation. To begin with, the first Holy Communion service that brought 500 black people and 60 Europeans together, was in 1936 at the Bernard Mizeki shrine.¹³³⁴ The first sermon by an indigenous priest to a multi-racial audience was preached only in 1943.¹³³⁵ Gibson Nyabako who was the first indigenous canon before this year and, hence, a member of the Bishop's Senate was not allowed to preach in the Cathedral.¹³³⁶ We could go on citing examples that help us to put an argument together that could rebuff the view that Paget was doing everything possible to remove racial segregation in Southern Rhodesia. We are also mindful of the argument that indigenisation in Mashonaland could be traced back to the time of Knight-Bruce. Historical facts and wishful thinking may not always be in congruence.

In the foregoing paragraphs, we have deliberately gone back to the 1930s and 1940s just to show that when Chipunza wrote his article in the 1950s, we could safely assume that he should have been aware of what had been happening before 1956. The reflections could demonstrate the fact to us that indigenous people felt agitated by the developments that were obtaining in Mashonaland regarding race relations and the socio-economic and political policies that were allowed.

It is unfortunate that Chipunza did not have the moral courage to label the Anglican Church he served in Southern Rhodesia, a hypocrite although his paper makes a strong case in this direction. We could absolve him of this shortcoming

¹³³³. Gibbon, op.cit.p.57f

¹³³⁴. Ibid.p.66

¹³³⁵. Ibid. p.67.

¹³³⁶. Ibid.

given the fact that at this point in time, the African voice counted for nothing. Africans were second-class citizens in their motherland as we have already encountered above. Such open confrontation could have had negative consequences if the spirit of this period has to be taken seriously. We have heard Chipunza maintaining that for the Church, politics was a “no-go” area, and yet the people of God were being impacted negatively by these. We have maintained that narratives that prefer to focus on the successes of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland tend to ignore such critical facts, hence, presenting only the positive developments within the Church.

We have decided to refer to the preceding article by Chipunza for a very special reason. The article has been cited at length so that we can demonstrate the fact that whatever the relations between the Church and the state obtained in the period of Paget’s episcopate and arch-episcopate, they were tilted in favour of Europeans. The indigenous people were side-lined and yet what we get from some writers such as Arnold and Gibbon sounds like a balanced development for Church business to proceed without any moral concerns. It is unfortunate that unless history is allowed to be critical as the challenge of the theology of empire in our context allows, future generations will never understand how certain developments came to be. The Church could be deprived of opportunities to do some serious introspection.

6.8. Critical remarks

One major question that could be raised in connection with our handling of Paget in this chapter is whether we have done justice to the ministry of this bishop. We need to remind ourselves that we are not just attempting a general narrative of the work of the Anglican Church and their bishops in our research. The theology of empire is our main historical lens, and so our approach to facts and the materials being consulted are extremely selective in order to put a narrative together that could do justice to the theme. It should, therefore, be clear that others could have the liberty to look at bishops such as Paget from a general perspective that is excluded by our theme. We have made some reference to Gibbon’s work that details Bishop Paget’s work in Mashonaland. It is important to note that our

anxiety in Gibbon's approach is that the theme of the theology of empire is not anticipated as is true of other historians in this context.

Another question could be raised on the issue of bias about which we are worried, while adopting it for our narrative. Here there is a need to bear in mind that our position is declared openly: the theology of empire within the Anglican Church in Southern Rhodesia and how we could link it to the Eusebian position of the fourth century in terms of how history could be narrated! There is no pretence here that other narratives are not critical. Where possible in this narrative, we have acknowledged other observations that are favourable to Paget, but do not think of them as being able to give us a balanced picture of what was happening then. A declared biased position is better than a narrative that seems to say it all while ignoring the critical facts.

Both directly and indirectly, we have been taking writers such as Bill Arnold, Gibbon and Pugh and others to task, just to demonstrate that their narratives could mislead us into thinking that the Anglican Church and its leadership were doing excellent work with only a few challenges here and there. The theology of empire we prefer in this context brings us face-to-face with such figures as Paget to demonstrate that the Church's agenda was compromised significantly although other positive aspects could be cited.

Perhaps, and in line with the above, the difference that is obvious from our perspective is that we are scrutinising the principle of race relations and not the details. To this end, simple gestures of goodwill could not be mistaken for the grand policies to the same effect. We know that what was generally presented to the outside world as the positive aspects in Southern Rhodesia were not a true reflection of what was on the ground given the imposed subservience on the indigenous people by the Europeans. The compromise could be appreciated if we take into consideration the fact that the Anglican Church was seen as a key partner of the colonial state. It did not challenge the civil authorities of the day using Christian principles that could have promoted racial harmony within Rhodesia during the time in question. We are envisaging a situation in which Christian principles could have been insisted upon to lobby for policies that were

inclusive and not discriminatory. The absence of such policies to benefit the indigenous people leads us to interrogate the role of the Anglican Church within the compromised context of Mashonaland.

It is curious to note, in line with the foregoing points, that in 1960, Paget was assured in a letter from the High Commissioner for Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Cape Town that he and his wife were “life citizens of the Federation...”¹³³⁷ The major reason for this privilege had nothing to do with his long service as the bishop of Rhodesia. Rather, it was because “Archbishop Paget served in the Armed Forces of the Crown in time of war, and, as a result of this,” he was never going to “lose his status as a Federal citizen.”¹³³⁸ Clearly, it could be argued that Paget was more of a civil servant than an ecclesiastical champion in the eyes of the politicians in Southern Rhodesia. At his retirement, the Rhodesian authorities of the day, had to reward him for his excellent services that could be seen more in the military sector. All things being equal, it is clear that the argument for the theology of empire is not far-fetched in this connection. It highlights the realities for us of a Church captured by politicians who had their own agenda to pursue but at the expense of the indigenous people whom they used as cheap labourers and such activities beneficial to the Europeans.

6.9. Conclusion

Highlights in the long episcopate of Edward Francis Paget include the fact that he was more of a civil servant than a purely ecclesiastical functionary cum-bishop. We also encountered his attempts to ignore the racial problems in Rhodesia while pointing fingers at the South African apartheid system. In this connection, he was an apologist for the Rhodesian whites who were notorious for passing racist legislation on education, land distribution and even on clergy stipends.

We saw how Bishop Paget attempted to silence Francis Nyabadza and yet, was telling the world that the indigenous people needed to be allowed space to express their unique Christian faith as they understood it. Such double standards

¹³³⁷. AB1219/16-18, op.cit.

¹³³⁸. Ibid.

could be seen as detrimental to the Anglican Church in Rhodesia that saw saintliness where it did not exist. The very fact that an indigenous priest, Chipunza was able to write openly, in 1956, about the problems faced by black people in Southern Rhodesia indicates to us that the Church was failing to challenge the government of the day to treat the indigenous people with respect.

At least, we are able to point out that one major reason for the Church's failure had to do with the way it was being treated by the state. It was more of a partner than an institution that could insist on higher values for all people in Rhodesia. The Church was failing to be the conscience of the Rhodesian society. That it constituted the conscience of the nation does not get any substantiation from what was happening on the ground. The absence of significant moral protests against the Rhodesian authorities during this period under Paget's regnum indicates to us that there was no moral courage to count on from the Church. The Anglican Church, therefore, adopted the Eusebian stance within the Roman Empire where the civil authorities were given the mandate even to dictate Christian matters that should have been the prerogative of bishops and priests.

In the next chapter, we will continue to scrutinise the Anglican Church in Rhodesia after the retirement of Paget in order to determine whether there was any shift in the way it related to the indigenous people and the state. Could we still find justification in advancing the theme of the theology of empire beyond Paget's episcopate?

CHAPTER 7: FROM CECIL ALDERSON'S EPISCOPATE TO PAUL BURROUGH'S (1957-1979)

7.0. Introduction

In our pursuance of the theme of the theology of empire in this chapter, we look at two bishops of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland who also happen to be the last from a European background. They are Cecil Alderson and Paul Burrough. The major aim is to find out whether their approach to the ministry, as narrated by some church historians, could justify any links to the Eusebian Church under Constantine. Their terms of office coincided with the height of African nationalism in Rhodesia leading to the armed struggle that brought in many more moral issues for the Church to address. These issues included the deaths of innocent people and the continued polarisation between blacks and whites. Our major objectives are to find out whether these Anglican bishops were radical or consistence in terms of their approach to the Church-State relations that obtained during their terms of office. We also like to interrogate their leadership styles in terms of making strides towards reconciling indigenous Africans and Europeans. This is a critical factor given the gospel imperatives that are key to our understanding of what the Christian Church stands for. It is also important to remind ourselves that the Eusebian compromise during the fourth century is the major source of inspiration in connection with this narrative.

We are more than eight decades into the colonisation of the country that came to be called Rhodesia. The Church's position on such matters as colonial obsesses should have been fully established by then. The main concern that the developments raise is that there seems to be no radical shift in terms of how missionaries continued to do their work in Mashonaland. "Radicalism" is a noun from which the word "radical," an adjective, comes from. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary informs us that the word radical, as an adjective, should conjure in our imaginations, conditions of thoroughness, completeness, "far reaching" and "new," "different and likely to have great impact".¹³³⁹ Also implied in these descriptions, and for our purposes here, is the sense of uniqueness and, therefore, distinct. We appeal to the term "radicalism" in this connection with the

¹³³⁹. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2010

idea of the positive aggressiveness of the Anglican Church, in terms of asserting their Christian values in ways that are original and, therefore, not merely English derivatives, in mind. We have preferred the term “radical” to describe the approach to church leadership so that it could be easier to judge what really was at stake in the face of all the rhetoric about Anglican successes we could encounter in this context.

7.1. Aim and methods for this chapter

The talk about Eusebius of Caesarea during the fourth century Roman Empire and the position of Arthur Shearly Cripps within the twentieth century Rhodesian context happen to be our foundations for judging how far Christian prophets could go in compromised contexts. Our method of investigation in this connection will include consulting primary and secondary materials from libraries, the internet and archives that could help us advance critical narratives of the theology of empire obtaining during the period Alderson and Burrough were in office respectively. The method adopted to work the narratives out in this chapter is mainly documentary due to the availability of and easy access to the materials. Where fitting, responses from interviews and questionnaires will also be alluded to.

7.2. Old problems but new challenges

It is important to note that after Paget, the political tensions that were becoming manifested, testified to the fact that the problems of the 1890s had not been resolved. Again, the Anglican Church in Mashonaland found itself being challenged to insist on the gospel imperatives that could see it being more than sensitive to the plight of the indigenous people. The big question is whether history had been allowed to teach a few lessons that could have helped to boost the Anglican Church’s attempts to minister to the people of God without compromise. We are looking at a period during which racial tensions had been blown out of proportion by those who wielded power in the area of economics and politics of the Rhodesia of the 1960s onwards. Clearly, the atmosphere created was not favourable for a Christianity or Church ministry that was critical. To this end, all those who succeeded as Christians or simply as a Church in Mashonaland under colonial rule need to account for that success in convincing ways. Below we will proceed to include some details of the two bishops earmarked for this chapter.

7.2.0. Cecil Alderson's background

Cecil William Alderson served his episcopate in three Southern Africa Anglican dioceses, namely of Damaraland (Namibia), Bloemfontein, and Mashonaland.¹³⁴⁰ 11 March 1900 is given as his birthday, and he went on to acquire his education “at Merchant Taylors’ and St John’s College, Oxford.”¹³⁴¹ His ordination came “in 1926 after a period of study at Ely Theological College”.¹³⁴² Alderson served his curacy at St Matthew, Westminster.¹³⁴³ “From 1925 to 1930 he was the vice-principal of his old theological college then a missionary in Likoma.”¹³⁴⁴ We learn that in Grahamstown, South Africa, “he became Warden of St Paul’s College” in 1938, and “then Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth.”¹³⁴⁵

7.2.1. Alderson's episcopacies

His episcopal profile gives the following details: “Bishop of Damaraland from 1949 to 1951.”¹³⁴⁶ We could safely assume that his translation to the Diocese of Bloemfontein¹³⁴⁷ was between 1951 and 1957, since Arnold tells us that, in the latter year, he arrived in Mashonaland to be consecrated the sixth bishop¹³⁴⁸ and happened to be his “last post”¹³⁴⁹ Also, he was “Sub-Prelate of the Order of St John of Jerusalem”, and “died on 12 February 1968.”¹³⁵⁰ The significance of this background information may not be so obvious until we remind ourselves that it is the Mashonaland context that is our focus. There is no reason for us to stop insisting on the fact that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland had to understand its context properly and respond to it accordingly. From the point of view of the theology of empire, we need to review how Alderson’s history in this context has been narrated so far.

7.2.2. A “wise choice for Mashonaland” according to Arnold

¹³⁴⁰. Cecil Alderson Explained. Available online at: Url: http://everything.explained.today/Cecil_Alderson. Accessed on 14 February 2014

¹³⁴¹. Cecil Alderson Explained”

¹³⁴². Ibid.

¹³⁴³. Ibid.

¹³⁴⁴. Ibid.

¹³⁴⁵. Ibid

¹³⁴⁶. Ibid.

¹³⁴⁷. Ibid.

¹³⁴⁸. Arnold, op.cit.p.97

¹³⁴⁹. “Cecil Alderson Explained”, op.cit.

¹³⁵⁰. Ibid.

Bill Arnold tells us that “the elective assembly” of the Diocese of Mashonaland “had made a wise choice in their new bishop,”¹³⁵¹ Cecil Alderson who replaced Paget on his retirement in 1957. Earlier accounts should help us to appreciate the fact that the indigenous voice within the Church in Mashonaland could not have been significant. We could safely assume that the Diocese that made the choice was mainly the European constituency. We have now entered the era between 1957 and 1968. Cecil’s more than ten years as bishop in Rhodesia is said to have been characterised by severe turbulence, and yet he managed to apply “a clear mind and a wise head, informed by a profound love of God and deep knowledge.”¹³⁵²

Such eulogistic appraisals, in the above connection, are problematic within the Mashonaland context we are reviewing from the point of view of the theology of empire. Arnold’s characterisation of European Church leaders has already been shown to be flawed in one way or another especially as he tends to ignore the impact of European dominance on the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous people in Mashonaland. The socio-economic and political developments within Alderson’s context continue to give us a picture of a European constituency that was determined to dominate on the one hand and on the other, a growing discontent among the indigenous people. From the point of view of gospel imperatives, the context was ripe for a mature and resolute Christian evangelisation but only by those who were radical in the sense that has been defined above.

7.2.3. The Federation and UDI

Alderson’s episcopate was to be exercised during the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and also during the rebellious era of UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). The Anglican Church in Mashonaland during these periods does not demonstrate to us that it was a prophetic institution at all. What it simply qualifies for in this context is to be found in the miscalculated propaganda that advanced Europeans as masters over blacks. Alderson had opportunities to tell the world that the Anglican Church could

¹³⁵¹. Arnold, *op.cit.*,p.97

¹³⁵². *Ibid.*

not be identified with these evils of racial domination and other oppressive policies put in place against the indigenous. Yet there is no radical response to what was happening. We do not hear of a Church that raised its voice loudly and clearly. Perhaps the issue of the distinction between the Church and its membership could be urgent here.

7.2.4. The white people no longer foreigners in Mashonaland

In 1963, Bishop Alderson authored a paper entitled “The Church in Central Africa.”¹³⁵³ Although this is a historical outline of the origin and growth of the Church in this part of the world, what is of interest to us here is the observation he makes to the effect that the whites in Rhodesia, at the time he was writing, could no longer be regarded as “settlers” because they had become an “integral part of Southern Rhodesia’s population.”¹³⁵⁴ It is this understanding, perhaps, that ended up compromising his neutrality in the Mashonaland context. He could not see that being neutral in such a context was the same as antagonising the indigenous whose rights had been curtailed violently by the settlers.¹³⁵⁵

It is generally agreed that when evil takes place, and the good people keep quiet, they by that very token, become accomplices. Even though the whites had become an integral part of the Rhodesian population, they did not cease to be racist and domineering and by this token, they could not actually fit into the indigenous way of life. They remained a separate racial grouping whose allegiances could be located somewhere else outside the context in which they found themselves. For the Church to remain quiet in such a context is something that raises more questions than answers.

7.3. Cecil Alderson’s ambiguity

In line with the foregoing sections, we need to highlight the fact that prophecy cannot afford to be lukewarm; being neither here nor there in a context where the battleground for the war between blacks and whites in Rhodesia had been clearly mapped out by the political tensions in the country. For the Church to remain silent

¹³⁵³. AB1219/1-9: Historical research Papers, Wits. “The Church in Central Africa” by The Rt Rev. Cecil Alderson (Bishop of Mashonaland), East and West Review, January 1963.

¹³⁵⁴. Ibid. p.6

¹³⁵⁵. Ibid. Alderson thought that the word “settlers” was derogatory

in such an evil context, we are left at a loss in terms of what the Christian God could sanction when such developments become the order of the day.

7.3.0. Contradictions from the Bishop of Mashonaland's office

Michael Lapsley helps us to appreciate the fact that when UDI was initiated by Ian Douglas Smith in 1965, Alderson called it “an illegal act.”¹³⁵⁶ Clearly, the urgent question is whether he vocalised his concerns as a bishop of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, representing both blacks and whites, or did he do so from another angle that excluded the blacks.¹³⁵⁷ According to Lapsley, “Throughout the UDI period, it would be a mistake to equate opposition to the Smith Government with support for majority rule”.¹³⁵⁸ What seems to be the case is that his concerns were exclusive of the black people's predicament in Mashonaland.¹³⁵⁹ Smith had done something illegal but could not be forced through military engagements by the British to recant his position.¹³⁶⁰ The bishop preferred charity over justice in this compromised context, hence, allowing the white politicians of the Rhodesian Front to get away with murder. One could rob or kill and in the name of Christian charity be absolved!¹³⁶¹ Nevertheless, one needed only one qualification for this charity: Whiteness!

7.3.1. The history of the indigenous people's plight

On the issue of the urgent matter of Christian charity, we have been made aware that in the past, indigenous leaders, with the likes of Nehanda, Kaguvi, Makoni, Mashayamombe and the rest, were never absolved in the name of that Christian virtue once convicted in the white courts of law in Southern Rhodesia at that time. Justice and not charity had to prevail. Importantly, it is quite an enlightening development if all the facts are considered.

Here was a bishop of the Anglican Church contradicting the very norms he seemed to have been advancing. To the outside world, his rhetoric sounded

¹³⁵⁶. Lapsley, 1986, op.cit.p.15

¹³⁵⁷. Ibid. p.16

¹³⁵⁸. Ibid.

¹³⁵⁹. Ibid.

¹³⁶⁰. Ibid. p.18

¹³⁶¹. Ibid. The Bishop was supporting the very principle he had earlier on labelled as “illegal”. This is why the theme of imperial theology becomes very relevant to the Zimbabwean situation.

Christian; however, it was not the case at all. The black people did not have a place in his heart. The UDI had been advanced to ensure that the white minority had the upper hand in the Rhodesian socio-economic and political landscape over and against the indigenous people.¹³⁶² This phenomenon extended into the Church.

7.3.2. Alderson's reluctance to call UDI racist

The UDI was, therefore, a system conceived and implemented along racial lines. This was clearly just a mere sealing of convictions that we have seen gaining momentum from the time Europeans entered Mashonaland. The fact that Alderson was being too general and, was therefore, compromising the oppressed could be supported by the fact that his stance on the UDI did not show clearly where the problem was. He just talked about everybody being divided over the proclamation along "racial, national, professional, political, religious" lines in much generalised terms.¹³⁶³ He went on to say the following about these divisions:

...among these people on both sides of the Divide, are regular worshipping and praying Christians from every Church. I imagine that every one of the then lawful Ministers of State is a baptised and confirmed Christian like you and me, committed to the service of Jesus Christ, many, too, communicants with us in the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.¹³⁶⁴



¹³⁶². Lapsley, op.cit. p.15

¹³⁶³. AB1085, C.P.C.A. "UDI SERMON 1965 BY BP C.W. ALDERSON", Historical research Papers.

¹³⁶⁴. AB1085, C.P.C.A., op.cit.

Figure 7.1. The Prime Minister Ian Douglas Smith signs the Declaration of Independence¹³⁶⁵

It is critical to note here that the emphasis on being a Christian takes centre stage as though the principles of this genre were the only ones allowed to dictate the pace of human engagements in Rhodesia. That an insistence could be made in the name of Jesus Christ who laid down His life for humanity is a clear indication that not much theological reflection had been done in terms of understanding liberation in this connection. Charity could not be understood in terms of compromising issues that call for absolute justice. In Rhodesia, accordingly, we can safely maintain that here was a country under people who insisted on Christianity and civilisation while, at the same time, they consistently engaged in racism and, this consequently, contradicted any claims to Christian charity.

7.3.3. The UDI and the British Empire

If we are to be faithful to the discourse of the theology of empire on which we are focusing, we could come to terms with the fact that all these Christian references are being invoked simply because it is the British Empire being challenged by its own offspring. One wonders what the reaction could have been if the rebellion was initiated by the indigenous people against the British at this moment in time. This is not a speculative concern for we have already identified precedents in this connection. We are aware that in 1896 to 1897 there was no sermon to try and understand the sentiments of the indigenous people or to listen to both sides of the divide then. Therefore, Alderson was suppressing a history that should have helped many white people to understand the dynamics of contradictions at play in Mashonaland.

7.3.4. The spirit of Cripps replicated in Matabeleland

One would need to look to the sister diocese of Matabeleland to hear something prophetic and pro-indigenous within the Rhodesian Anglican context of Mashonaland where Alderson's episcopate was being exercised. There in

¹³⁶⁵ .RHODESIA PSYOP 1965-1980: The Prime Minister Ian Douglas Smith signs the Declaration of Independence. Available online at: Url: <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>. (Reproduced with permission) Accessed 26 February 2014. Note that there is no black person present in the signing of the UDI. Our theme of the theology of empire helps us to be curious of such cases and to critique the way the Anglican Church in Mashonaland responded to such racist developments.

Matabeleland, a near replica of Arthur Shearly Cripps was inspired to challenge the *status quo* that had been imposed by the white government of the day. We are faced with Bishop Kenneth Skelton. His views on the God versus Caesar position are attractive to us in this connection. God is above Caesar, and, therefore, when it comes to making critical choices, the emperor must be subservient to Christ.¹³⁶⁶

Again, and in this foregoing connection, in which Bishop Skelton took the lead, Africans were to be understood as people created in the image of God¹³⁶⁷ and, therefore, to be respected on this principle. It is clear that those compromised the most were the indigenous people and none could be justified to speak about it in general or neutral terms. This is the reason why Skelton's position could not be mistaken for something else not Christian. His theology did not support those in power but the poor and underprivileged who happened to be the indigenous people in Rhodesia. Alderson's failure to challenge this *status quo* in direct terms meant that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland did not care much about the socio-economic as well as the religio-political aspirations of the black people, while at the same time telling the world that church business was under way. It is clear that this failure by the Church to be critical of white dominance was more pronounced in Mashonaland and not in Matabeleland.

7.3.5. African nationalism and Alderson

The year 1957 in which Alderson succeeded Paget had seen nearly four years of the Federation we talked about in the previous chapter. It is our main contention that when politicians become so gullible, and Church leaders do not take a radical stance against this attitude, then we suspect both of foul play as could also be said about Rhodesia. True, Alderson's episcopate came at an extremely difficult time. African nationalist sentiments were on the rise, and the political heat and dust of the 1960s were becoming acute by the day. However, we know very well that a significant portion of those who complicated matters in Rhodesia was white and many of them members of the Anglican Church.¹³⁶⁸ These are the kind that could afford to walk out of the Cathedral when a sermon that challenged their ill-

¹³⁶⁶. Lapsley, op.cit.12-13.

¹³⁶⁷. Ibid. p.13

¹³⁶⁸. Ibid.p.18

gotten privileges was preached, and the truth laid bare before them.¹³⁶⁹ These are the people, we could safely assume, who could not see the indigenous people as their Christian brothers and sisters and, hence, their support for oppressive structures. We could safely conclude that their attitudes and political preferences helped fuel both the Federation and the UDI which amounted to institutionalised militancy against the hopes and aspiration of the indigenous people. We are talking about a period that still did not take the indigenous people seriously and yet Alderson was not really interested in addressing such urgent problems the way Skelton did.

7.4. Church and State in Alderson's context

In the following sections we raise the question of the nature of Church-State relations in Alderson's context. There is urgent need to look at who was actually calling the tune between the Church and the State. This is critical if we were to understand how a prophetic leadership should conduct itself.

7.4.0. The nature of missionary work under Alderson in Mashonaland

We have been raising questions about how Anglican Bishops performed in their respective episcopates in Mashonaland. In connection with Alderson's episcopate, the silence that obtains, against the background of relations marred by racial discriminations and such related vices, challenge us to question what pastoral work amounted to. We are curious to find out why the Anglican Church in Mashonaland under Alderson did not demonstrate that it took its directives from God but from Europeans. Lapsley observes that even in 1967, reports of rampant segregation were being received. For example,

Private schools had been forbidden from admitting more African children. There was a proposal to restrict residential areas to one race. Racially mixed school sports were discontinued except when stringent conditions had been fulfilled.¹³⁷⁰

¹³⁶⁹. Lapsley, 1986, op.cit.p.17.

¹³⁷⁰. Ibid p.21.

Therefore, we have issues with the Christian civilisation, on which the UDI was premised. Why no pastoral reaction to challenge this blatant racist law is a curious question here.

7.4.1. UDI as a blasphemous stance

In the foregoing connection, the UDI was, therefore, not only an illegal act of rebellion against the British but something in the category of blasphemy from a Christian perspective. How people insist on Christian principles and still harbour the profound racist sentiments that they were so eager to practise challenges the understanding of common human engagements. The fact that there was a great deal of moral outrage from Matabeleland indicates to us that no common Anglican or Christian values were being consulted in this Rhodesian context. A European agenda was being imposed to the extent that the aspirations of the indigenous in the same context were overshadowed. Nevertheless, Europeans are not God in the ultimate analysis. They are mere creatures. To get directives from creatures and to equate the same to the divine injunctions of interest to us here is to confuse issues. It is to impose the will of Caesar on God. Only a position similar to that of Eusebius could see Christianity in such a compromised context.

7.4.2. Alderson and the indigenous clergy's educational aspirations

Here it is fitting to include the fact that when Fr Webster Nechironga's thesis we have already encountered above, was being reviewed, what obtained then has some fascinating facets. Firstly, Alderson's silence speaks volumes, given that Nechironga was his priest, during his episcopate. It looks as if others outside the Diocese, and the retired Paget took an interest in the thesis. However, the conversation that it attracted could also be of interest to us within the context of the theology of empire.

The year is 1959, and those who read the thesis had mixed opinions. A letter from Fr J.A.I Agar Hamilton, dated 11 May 1959, indicated that the thesis was being written by one who was "floundering without assistance and" needed "someone to assist".¹³⁷¹ Earlier on 22nd April 1959, the same had written to the effect that "I

¹³⁷¹. AB913f, Historical research Papers, Wits University Archives.

should not myself worry too much about spelling mistakes or lapses of style – wasn't it said that Winston Churchill could not spell? Though personally I value both good spelling and good style".¹³⁷²

The writer of the letter appreciated the fact that the thesis was "breaking entirely new ground."¹³⁷³ Going back further, on 19 March 1959, the Bishop of Pretoria was in a conversation with the Bishop of George on the matter.¹³⁷⁴ The latter's contention was that Nechironga's work was to be looked at from the point of view of race.¹³⁷⁵ On 1 March 1959, Bishop Edward Paget, now retired, also commented on the thesis to the effect that, "I do not know what standard is accepted –but I should say that this thesis represents very considerable reading research, and painstaking work."¹³⁷⁶ We have noted the absence of Alderson in the group of commentators. Nechironga was floundering without help. Not even one indigenous people could be regarded to have a keen interest in the work. This does not give us a good picture of caring people within the Diocese of Mashonaland at all. It challenges us to ask important questions about the kind of indigenous priests whom bishops such as Alderson envisaged. Here is someone trying to improve himself through academic learning and getting no support from his own bishop. We have already seen that Alderson is highly recommended by Arnold. In the same context, Michael Lapsley has some misgivings about this bishop as we have noted.

7.4.3. The UDI as a pastoral case

In this section we look at what pastoral opportunities were created by the UDI. Anthony Verrier, in his work,¹³⁷⁷ captures for us the facts we would want to continue dialoguing with in this work under the auspices of the theology of empire and within Alderson's episcopate. We have been worried about the whiteness of Europeans that made such an imposing racist impression in Rhodesia and many other parts of Africa. The UDI seems to have succeeded in challenging the Europeans in Rhodesia to show their true colours. Colour became the one thing of

¹³⁷². AB913f, Historical papers, op.cit.

¹³⁷³. Ibid.

¹³⁷⁴. Ibid.

¹³⁷⁵. Ibid.

¹³⁷⁶. Ibid.

¹³⁷⁷. Verrier, A., 1986: The Road To Zimbabwe, Jonathan Cape Ltd, London, UK.

paramount importance. Racial prejudice had been gaining momentum ever since the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890. Of course, we have already seen that Knight-Bruce who had been to the country before the invasion by Rhodes' people could not hide his feelings of superiority in the face of the natives he encountered. The colour black seemed to impose the fact on him that to be white was to be privileged and, therefore, to be superior. Our work is interrogating the concept of 'associating racial supremacy with God.' The UDI was seen by others as "insensitive" to the indigenous people when it proclaimed that it represented Christianity.¹³⁷⁸

We have already implied that a racist God should not be taken seriously by those interested in understanding humanity as a unity rather than a racial hierarchy. Had European people who came to Rhodesia, with racist tendencies, desisted from associating themselves with Christianity, it would have been a different story altogether. To appeal to Christianity is to insist on principles that could be associated with the unqualified benevolence of God. The God with which we are comfortable is always the one who has no quibbles with colour and especially blackness within the Rhodesian context. We cited Gibbon's position on Paget about the amount of sacrifice Christianity could call for although we went on to qualify this.

7.4.4. Alderson's real position towards racism

By his own admission and in line with the above reflections, Alderson, in one of his popular sermons, indicated that it was in God that he and Ian Smith met.¹³⁷⁹ This is a sound theological affirmation as long as it does not tie itself to racial preferences. Why he could not work out a sermon to the effect that it was in God that the indigenous people and the whites met, baffles any mind that is attentive to detail in this context.

By implication, and consistent with the above observation, Alderson could not be seen or even afford to challenge a Christian brother in any significant and prophetic manner. It seems to be the case that as long as Smith could please all

¹³⁷⁸. Lapsley, 1986, op.cit.p.17

¹³⁷⁹. Arnold, op.cit.p.111

the members of the white constituency in Rhodesia, he was guaranteed the valuable support he so much needed. The indigenous people were not part of the equation. Since it was God who was in charge of the situation obtaining in Rhodesia, according to the white convictions of the day, there was nothing to fear then.¹³⁸⁰ This is where our problem lies: appealing to God only selectively and when it is in favour of white people, does not give us a full picture of who God is.

We should be reminded that one of the major assumptions that fuel the theology of empire is that God even blesses the tyranny, hence, sanctioning their oppressive tendencies. Given that this was the prevailing attitude in line with the foregoing Rhodesian context: how could the Anglican Bishop in Mashonaland during this time be expected to challenge the racial arrogance of his white colleagues when it involved turning a blind eye on the bigger picture? We are talking about racial harmony and the way the Anglican Church was to promote it. A neutral approach could not challenge those who were eager to play the racial superiority card.

7.4.5. Alderson and white supremacy

Verrier, whom we introduced above, observes that

The Rhodesian imperial ethos was based exclusively on assumed racial superiority. Whites went to Rhodesia to feel superior; the feeling, over generations, bred racials, many who were personally decent in their handling of Africans, but very few of whom had any real working or personal relationship with them.¹³⁸¹

In addition to the above, and according to Verrier, whites, by supporting the Federation, envisaged a situation whereby Africans would, “docilely accept denial of political rights in return for a slowly rising standard of living”.¹³⁸² Europeans were, therefore, gambling with the lives of the indigenous people in Rhodesia.¹³⁸³

¹³⁸⁰. Verrier, op.cit.p.76

¹³⁸¹. Ibid

¹³⁸². Ibid,

¹³⁸³. Here I am tempted to include something that I experienced first-hand between 1979 and 1980. The war of liberation in Mhondoro-Ngezi had reached its peak around 1979 and so it was no longer safe for me, even at 11 to remain at home near Nehanda School. My father who was working at Mr Thomas Lambert (Junior) just beyond the Manhize mountain range called me to stay with him because it seemed safe there. (This was not true because the farm was attacked by liberation fighters although no life was lost). Within that short space of time I learnt how to ride horses, dipping cattle, looking after goats, hunting, driving a tractor, gardening and what it meant to enjoy life. Surprisingly, I was not treated like any of the workers. It was like I was white. Especially after the attack at the farm – a traumatic experience for me to

There are many indigenous people, especially among the old generations who continue to express some nostalgia about the good old days when the white people were in control.¹³⁸⁴ The fact that the whites were generally oppressive and racists are overlooked. Our assumption is that Church leaders such as Alderson should have been aware of such attitudes and, therefore, expected to denounce them instead. We are challenging the behaviour of a leadership that based its ultimate moral claims on God and yet, could afford to be discriminatory and racist. It is difficult to understand how, in the name of God, the Rhodesian whites could continue to insist on Christian principles while they were celebrating evils such as economic and political exclusions of the indigenous, racism and other discriminatory policies. That a historian could write about such a dispensation without highlighting these anomalies could be ample evidence that the Eusebian spirit was prevalent in the twentieth-century context of Mashonaland.

7.5. Alderson's challenge from Skelton

In the above connection, it is important to make a comparison between two bishops exposed to the same context. How they responded gives some justification to the concerns we are raising in our narratives. Whether there was something that Alderson could have done differently from a Christian perspective in a corrupted Rhodesia is our challenge here

7.5.0. A case of courageous prophetic ministry

this day when the Rhodesian forces told me that my father and all the other farm workers had been butchered by the "terrorists". As I have indicated above, no one was killed. It was just a scare tactic! For 6 months I thought my father was dead because there was no communication between me and him. I stayed at the Farm and he was at Nehanda but we could not meet. So how do you erase from your memory an experience imposed on you and each day being reminded that your father was dead, just like that? When these lies were exposed by Mr Lambert himself who visited my village during one of his patrols as a member of the Rhodesian forces' reservists, you could imagine how I celebrated. Unfortunately, in 1980, I told Mr Lambert that I had to finish school and get on with life. It was like touching live wire because he was not ready to release me. I had become so much attached to the farm that he could not allow me to go home. I left in protest! I met him once again on the day of my ordination (January 1994) to the priesthood at St Michael's Mission, Mhondoro-Ngezi and he confessed to me that he was very proud that I had made it this far. I am being reminded that I was very good as long as I remained at the farm with very little education. Advancing myself was a threatening move. I wanted to remember only the good times I enjoyed at Mr Lambert's farm but it seems to be the case that an indigenous person could be considered good as long as they did not dream of improving themselves in life. Throughout this work, it might sound like I undertake this research as a racist but my references to white people such as Cripps and Skelton and others cited in the positive is ample proof that I hate racism but I don't hate white people! I have a lot of respect to the good white people have done to Africa but I hate the arrogance that some of them might have allowed. In God we are one and this is why the theology of empire attracts me.

¹³⁸⁴. Mr Dharu Gangandaza always makes reference to the good old days when he used to work for white bosses. My own testimony is that they did not reward him in any decent fashion for his faithfulness. He even risked his own life for a white man during the war and he only received a verbal appreciation.

In connection with the above, Arnold does well to include Bishop Kenneth Skelton of Matabeleland, as we have already noted, whose condemnation of the system obtaining under UDI was unequivocal.¹³⁸⁵ However, it is problematic when bishops do not appear to share the same moral outrage on an issue that is surrounded by severe controversy. They are leaders and their role is so unique that compromise could not be an option in terms of the Church's public relations. We are informed that Skelton was always ready to speak out on matters that others were reluctant to challenge.¹³⁸⁶ Why Church leaders would be reluctant to challenge systems, which contradicted gospel imperatives, is of much concern in the context of this research. In addition, we have been trying to find out whether historians interested in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could help us highlight this problem in ways that are consistent with what could have been the case.

7.5.1. Opportunities to insist on racial harmony under Alderson

Bishop Skelton was therefore viewed as a shepherd who feared nothing when it came to defending God's cause within the Rhodesian Anglican context.¹³⁸⁷ The fact that Skelton and Alderson differed radically could only prove that we have Christian bishops who, however, did not interpret the values of their Church using the same theological categories and ethical norms. Another opportunity to unite people within the Diocese of Mashonaland and beyond was lost. This is an indication that not everyone who appeals to God knows exactly what that amounts to, given the compromised atmosphere in Rhodesia during this time. Perhaps it is relevant to suggest that an appeal to God should not be confused with wishful thinking or personal preferences. What God desires contradicts the devil's logic. It is unthinkable to insist that God's work could be done comfortably in a context that saw blacks and whites at loggerheads especially on the grounds of racial as well as politico-economic issues. That inequality could be given support by the Church is mind-boggling. It seems to contradict even the whole idea of Jesus Christ as a universal saviour.

7.5.2. Bishop Alderson and the accolades preferred on him

¹³⁸⁵. Arnold, *op.cit.* pp.106ff

¹³⁸⁶. *Ibid.* p.131

¹³⁸⁷. *Ibid.*

Arnold concludes the episcopate of Alderson by indicating that the bishop did achieve much in the difficult times of UDI.¹³⁸⁸ Given the fact of censorship and other restrictions imposed on those opposed to the UDI, we could safely assume that those who survived and continued to succeed in their ministry were subservient to the illegal regime and all that it stood for. If whites were still running the affairs of the Church without any quibbles of conscience in 1979, then there was something that helped them to cling on to their racist attitudes. The State felt at home under docile bishops who did not condemn its vices in any radical terms but rather blessed them unreservedly. This was the kind of Christian legitimacy the white people needed to perpetuate their racist and oppressive systems. It was this same kind of legitimacy that was exposed as flawed by the indigenous people who were patriotic but condemned as terrorists by Alderson.¹³⁸⁹

The foregoing makes a great deal of sense if we take Michael Lapsley's¹³⁹⁰ observations, on the same subject, into consideration. When UDI was declared, there was one school of thought that advocated for British military intervention to call Smith to order. Another was opposed to such a move. The two Anglican bishops: Skelton of Matabeleland and Alderson of Mashonaland could be advanced as examples of these two contradicting schools of thought. While, Skelton supported the punishment of the rebellious UDI, Alderson was opposed to it.¹³⁹¹ What makes Alderson a curious character in this connection is that he had indicated that he was opposed to the declaration of the illicit UDI.¹³⁹² How an illicit political gamble could be treated with soft gloves by those who were supposed to defend gospel imperatives is an urgent question here. Later on, Alderson is said to have gone as far as maintaining that it was an expression of charity to avoid making critical references to the UDI that called it an "illegal regime."¹³⁹³ Here again, we are given a bishop who entertains contradictions when it comes to asserting moral principles. Like a pendulum, his theological preferences and moral norms swing from one extreme to the other. A moral prophet cannot afford such

¹³⁸⁸. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.117

¹³⁸⁹. Lapsley, 1986, *op.cit.*p.24

¹³⁹⁰. Lapsley, M. 1988:, *Anglican Church and State from UDI in 1965 until the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 in Church and State in Zimbabwe*, eds. Carl Hallencreutz and Ambrose Mwoyo, Mambo Press, Gweru, Zimbabwe.

¹³⁹¹. Lapsley, 1988, *op.cit.*, p.115

¹³⁹². *ibid*

¹³⁹³. *Ibid*, p.116

intellectual swings and expect to convince others of his/her Christian position. Church leaders who say one thing today and say something contrary to it the next morning, hardly deserve any serious attention from those who earnestly seek moral and spiritual guidance. Here we challenge Arnold's position on bishop Cecil Alderson directly. Again, we see that the readiness to talk about this bishop as one who knew exactly how to advance gospel imperatives is problematic and from the point of view of the theology of empire.

7.5.3. Alderson and the Eusebian theology of empire

The forgoing observations are critical in our context in which we are attempting to make a strong case for the theology of empire within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. We have seen that Arnold, the historian is always quick to absolve the bishops of the Anglican Church. Bishop Alderson, in turn, was quick to absolve even the UDI and its leadership.

We are made to understand that when the indigenous people in Rhodesia began to appeal to military means to demand their socio-economic as well as political rights, Alderson joined the UDI bandwagon in demonstrating his disapproval. Here was a case of moral discontent being expressed militarily by the indigenous. Our urgent concern here is that it was a representative of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland who went out of his way to declare it null and void as a cause, and also criminal in its execution. We are again reminded of Bishop Gaul, during the 1896 to 1897 uprising, whom we saw praising the settlers' forces for their resilience and capabilities to vanquish the Shona and Ndebele people and bring them to ultimate subjugation.

To see God in all these developments, that reduced the existence of indigenous activism in the name of freedom and humanhood to acts of criminality, seems like exaggerating what God could do as a loving and caring father. Here was justice denied and it was the person who claimed to be a representative of Jesus Christ who condemned those who were innocent since their struggle was for justice to prevail. They simply wanted their country back, but some Christian leaders did not support them. To this end, Alderson condemned such military endeavours by

natives, going as far as calling them “terrorists”¹³⁹⁴ and “armed marauders.”¹³⁹⁵ We are assuming that any seasoned bishop could not afford to be so careless when it comes to the things of God. Therefore to say that Alderson was the right bishop for Mashonaland during these troubled years does not correspond with the compromises we have identified. Again, the question is why some historians could write about these problems as though they were simple occurrences that could be glossed over without attracting any condemnatory responses. This remains a perplexing question in the Mashonaland context.

In addition to the above, Alderson praised the Rhodesian security forces, giving the impression that they were heroes in their efforts to thwart freedom fighters that he described in derogatory terms as people bent on causing terror for its sake.¹³⁹⁶ History again had to prove such leadership wrong. Those who were prophetic within the same context, such as the then dean of the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury, Sam Wood, lamented the whole enterprise that saw white people consciously and systematically subscribing to a futile cause.¹³⁹⁷ The whites that called themselves Christian were few in number and yet commanded the arrogance of an invincible race.¹³⁹⁸

The very fact that a white prophet, just as was true of the most revered Cripps, championed the indigenous’ cause, is a clear demonstration that we need to be unconditionally absolved from peddling a racist cause within such a compromised context. This is not a racist observation but one that is complicated by claims of equality and fairness in the name of Christianity, but applied in a partial manner and thereby, contradicts itself. It is also an attempt to challenge the way historians in this context have been narrating the Anglican Church history in Mashonaland. A perennial concern is that there is the other side of the story that normally does not get due attention. That side of the story happens to include the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous people who were being short-changed. If bishops, in such a volatile context, could not stand up and defend the cause of the oppressed

¹³⁹⁴. Lapsley, 1988, op.cit p. 120

¹³⁹⁵. Ibid, p.124

¹³⁹⁶. Ibid, p.117

¹³⁹⁷. Ibid.

¹³⁹⁸. Ibid

and still claim legitimacy, we are faced with a serious moral dilemma. This, we should insist, is what makes the theology of empire even more problematic.

Nevertheless, it is clear that we are concerned about Christian principles from the very beginning of the colonial era in Mashonaland. It is also clear that insisting on Christian principles within the racist atmosphere in Rhodesia is our primary point of departure. We are launching radical criticisms, through narratives in this context, on those who plunged the Christian cause into disrepute. We are emphatic on the point that Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century set a precedence for the Christian Church that is easy to overlook but could be seen as permeating its influence over the centuries. The theology of empire that we are using as our corrective lens could help us out here.

The ideas of the powerful were imposed to carry the day. To this extent, UDI could be imposed as though it was the norm and yet it took advantage of the indigenous people who by this time had not yet organised themselves in any serious fashion to take over on behalf of the majority in Rhodesia. Perhaps our case against a Christian leadership that missed the point within the Rhodesian context is a challenge to those who would like to be seen doing God's work within the same context without falling prey to compromise. Such miscalculations as those on which we have focused and in connection with Bishop Alderson, caused considerable damage not only to the white people's cause and arrogance but to their history that has taken so long to amend within the context in question in which their superiority had been exaggerated.

7.6. Compromised prophecy in Mashonaland

What we have been saying requires us to say something more about the nature of prophecy obtaining in Mashonaland under Alderson. Reasons why we should be emphatic on these observations will soon become apparent.

7.6.0. Alderson and compromised prophecy

The fact that there was no real objection from the Anglican Church in Mashonaland on behalf of the blacks who were being short-changed by the UDI in the 1960s has been insisted upon in the foregoing sections. Alderson was,

therefore, another Anglican bishop who failed in his duties as the shepherd of the black people of Rhodesia as a whole. We could rightly list Alderson among the line of pro-imperial bishops who included Knight-Bruce, Gaul, Powell, Beaven and Paget. It is always a challenge for those who respond to God's call as priests to remain focused to subscribe to the Constantinean establishment.

The theme of the theology of empire we are pursuing gives us many opportunities to argue to the effect that God's business is not only an invitation to do something noble for humanity but to rise above the very limitations imposed by race, colour, cultural realities, politics, economics and such similar preferences. God's business could not be done properly by those who are not prepared to open their eyes to see realities beyond mere appearances such as worldly power and colour. To view God from the point of view of whiteness meant that black people would have no obligation to subscribe to such a pre-supposed divine injunction in any serious fashion. Both black and white were supposed to view each other as brothers and sisters of the human race and not as slaves and masters on the basis of colour, power, privileges and such accidents. Lapsley, notes that it was only the courageous Skelton who exposed the "double-talk and ugliness of white supremacy in its true form"¹³⁹⁹ within the Rhodesian context. This says a lot about Alderson's position and, hence, the appeal of the theology of empire to the context.

7.6.1. The partisan God of Eusebius and Alderson

Reducing God's business to the detail of the colour, white, meant imposing accidents on the divine and, hence, advocating a finite God within the Rhodesian Anglican context. To engage in a sinister matter, in terms of the orthodox rules of theology meant a serious epistemological deficiency on how the same discipline could serve humanity. We are thinking in terms of a theology that could be emphatic on the providential God and not a theology that is exploitative. The latter, however, is not acceptable in terms of the way God came to be understood among humans in general and among the indigenous people of Mashonaland, in particular.

¹³⁹⁹. Lapsley, 1986, op.cit.p.25

How it could be possible for the indigenous people in Mashonaland to subscribe to a God who was presented as one who sided with oppressors to the extent of giving them the strength and audacity to defend that which they had stolen, thereby, compromising the welfare of the indigenous, is an important question. Only habitual thieves could defend their right to stolen property. The Church could not be taken seriously when it was compromised by those who claimed to lead it. Those who acted as its major bankrollers by way of being so exclusively white without reference to the bigger picture of humanity also short-changed its mission. When being white was exaggerated to mean being closer to God, the indigenous people, by that very token, were condemned.

The foregoing points are extremely critical in our context. A tradition of perpetual mistrust between blacks and whites was being fomented within the Rhodesian context because the Christian leadership we are reviewing did nothing to curtail such racist attitudes. We are not even so sure whether this leadership was fully aware of this problem. Our major examples are none other than the Christian leadership that chose partisan politics instead of that which could withstand the test of time as prophetic and, therefore, neutral and liberating. We have the political contributions of Church people in mind that insisted on justice and the equitable distribution of resources. What was supported in the Rhodesian context was a situation in terms of which the wealth of the country would flow to Europe, while natives were left with empty holes in which one day they would be buried collectively.¹⁴⁰⁰ In the name of the God who created the heavens and the earth, such plunder and looting needed to be resisted. Africans who stood up against a partisan god constituted a wake-up call to Anglican missionaries in Rhodesia who had misrepresented the God of Jesus Christ.

7.7. A prayer for Mashonaland

In line with the foregoing, we need to look at the prayer that Edward Paterson, a white priest within the Rhodesian context of the 1950s and 60s, composed for Rhodesia: It reads,

¹⁴⁰⁰ Mazrui, A. 1986: *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, Program 4: Tools of Exploitation, BBC, UK. Available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fNnN63hXLfo> . Accessed on 28 March 2014

Give unto us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, a vision of this our homeland, fair as she may be through Thy continuing grace; where none may suffer hunger of body and distress of spirit; where rich life and full opportunity is offered to all its peoples, so that we may weave our lives into a close tapestry of mutual interdependence and regard; where care is taken of those in need –of little children, of the aged, of the incurably sick. Where its creative individuals; its architects and artists, its musicians and poets, and all those to whom is entrusted the planning of its future, may work to the pattern of the City of God, perfect in the heavens. Where our natural resources; our wide lands –their trees and water, their domestic and wild life are wisely conserved and carefully used. AND give Thy grace we beseech Thee, to all those who are set in authority over us. Replenish them with Holy Wisdom, quick understanding and great compassion, that, being conscious of Thy fatherly love and illimitable power, they may by Thy grace confidently lay before Thee the good things they have accomplished through Thy ready, help and guidance; through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.¹⁴⁰¹

The foregoing prayer is extremely powerful, optimistic and idealistic. It came from Canon Peterson. The following could be said about it within the Anglo-Rhodesian context that was compromised:

Firstly and from a Christian perspective, Peterson rightly calls Rhodesia “our homeland.”¹⁴⁰² We take critical note of this point knowing that he is not an indigenous person but feels at home in this beautiful country. As long as he does not call it a white homeland, questions need not be raised. As long as white people know that their African brothers and sisters are just as human as they are, no one in their right senses could advocate separate homelands. However, we already know that the context was severely compromised to the extent that the “our homeland” could be rightly seen as exclusive of the black majority. Here we should call all legislation on land ever since the country was colonised to mind. It ceased to be for all races, but specifically for the whites, while the majority of the indigenous people were alienated. We have already seen that critical areas such as education were approached along racial lines. Other socio-economic and political activities were also configured and implemented along racial lines. Worse still, even among Anglican administrative structures in Mashonaland, racism was allowed too much space.

¹⁴⁰¹. AB1085, PRAYER FOR RHODESIA, Historical research Papers, Wits University Library Archives

¹⁴⁰². Ibid.

Secondly, Paterson envisages a country where there is an equitable distribution of wealth and, therefore, a place where all work and enjoy life together without the deliberate imposition of poverty on anyone.¹⁴⁰³ The prayer excludes the idea of exploitation of human beings by their own kind, yet does not claim to be communist or Marxist. We know very well that the reality on the ground within the Rhodesian context militated against the aspirations reflected in the prayer. The resources ended up being a monopoly of a few over and against the majority.

Thirdly, it is clear therefore that Paterson has in mind a united Rhodesia that could boast of perfection and command great respect for its leaders, its resources and everything else critical to its survival in the name of God. The indigenous people in Rhodesia, it should be emphasised, did not hate the white people. What they found abominable was the white people's readiness to exploit native Africans in the name of Commerce and Christianity from 1890 onwards. The indigenous found themselves being side-lined or short-changed. We are insisting that the theology of empire require us to highlight this other side to advance a balanced narrative of the history of Anglicanism in Mashonaland.

The points we are noting here are just reminders of the fact that words may not always comply with deeds. Had the prayer been part of the Rhodesian constitution of the day, the country could have been a different story even now. The Rhodesia known to us was riddled with racism and socio-economic as well as religious and political discriminations. It was therefore not fair, not caring and a shame in the eyes of God. Our wish in this context is simply that there should have been decisive Christians like Paterson who could challenge others to see things and implement them in the fashion of God. Then Rhodesia could have been spared of the many contradictions and confrontations we are making critical references to in this work.

7.8. Eulogy for Alderson

We have already met with the unfortunate fact that those who offered the Anglican Church opportunities to live its prophetic vocation, such as Arthur Shearly Cripps,

¹⁴⁰³. AB1085, Historical research Papers op.cit.

were never taken seriously in this connection. It could be also pointed out that the aspirations revealed in Paterson's prayer remained words which white people never took to heart as they continued to violate the spirit of love envisaged. Those who came to entertain the gross misrepresentation of a Christian cause got the recognition that backfired in the long run.

We need to acknowledge the foregoing point given the fact that when Alderson died, some of the eulogies at his funeral advanced him, according to Arnold, as "A faithful and good shepherd, scholar and man of prayer".¹⁴⁰⁴ The foregoing sections have already implicated the fact that if this is a true reflection of Alderson, it was very much tied to racial prejudice and excluded the natives who were already demonstrating beyond reasonable doubt that whites were not to be trusted even from a Christian point of view. So we have a Bishop who was not serious about racial harmony in the practical sense. He sided with oppressors in the name of Christianity and western civilisation. He paid lip-service to Christian charity while the indigenous people continued to be short-changed in their own country. He, like Knight-Bruce, Gaul, Powell, Beaven and Paget, never dealt with the Mashonaland question in a decisive fashion.

The white people, in the foregoing connection, continued to cement their imposed privileges at the expense of the indigenous. It was like God was telling the Church to leave the status quo intact. We contend that this was a serious contradiction for Christ did not come into this world to take sides but to unite people.¹⁴⁰⁵ Hence there is a need to appreciate the Church as the body of Christ. This model does not allow Christians to discriminate or to support such a system. The body of Christ model requires blacks and whites to co-exist in harmony and to share all the good things God provides. If this unity had been insisted upon by bishops such as Alderson and all his predecessors, Rhodesia would have been saved from the bitter pains of many unwarranted confrontations. Rhodesia would have been understood as a country where the mystery of God's love could be realised to the full especially in terms of bringing together, in harmony, people of different racial backgrounds.

¹⁴⁰⁴. Arnold, *op.cit.*p.121.

¹⁴⁰⁵. See John 17: 21

We could do well to end the narratives about Alderson by quoting again from his 1963 article perhaps to highlight some of his unfortunate convictions. He writes,

For the Church to be in the heart of Africa is to be in the heart of trouble and danger. There will be more martyrs for Africa before we are finished. However, it is to be also in the heart of opportunity, and the heart of the challenge.¹⁴⁰⁶

If we put everything together that has been said about Alderson in the foregoing sections, perhaps we could be in a position to interpret the above observation. He talks of martyrdom and opportunities without having demonstrated how these could be possible in a compromised context such as Mashonaland. What opportunities were there for a Church that was biased and was not taking the plight of the indigenous people seriously? Perhaps the section that follows below could help us understand how these opportunities were often manufactured to give the white people in Mashonaland an upper hand.

7.9. E.D.K. Wood's reflections

The foregoing narratives continue to challenge us to find out whether there were other consistent views that could be isolated outside Alderson's office. Fortunately, there is an article that needs analysis in this regard. It was authored by Wood.

7.9.0. Wood's theology of empire

Wood, Archdeacon of Mashonaland at one time, helps us to capture the spirit that seems to have been prevalent throughout the period European missionaries dominated the scene in Rhodesia. We have maintained up to now that based on the available evidence, the white Anglican missionaries in general, always preferred to think of themselves as superior to the indigenous people. The article from Wood is commended by none other than Cecil William Alderson, the sixth Bishop of Mashonaland, enthroned in 1957,¹⁴⁰⁷ as a "pamphlet for the serious study of all who are concerned in the advancement of God's Kingdom anywhere in the world."¹⁴⁰⁸ Generally, its focus is on giving information to prospective

¹⁴⁰⁶. AB1219/1-9: The Church in Central Africa, Historical research Papers, op.cit.p.9

¹⁴⁰⁷. Arnold, op.cit. p.97

¹⁴⁰⁸. Wood, E.D.K., 2008: The 'New Look' in African Missions (The Society For the Propagation of the Gospel, London, UK) undated, (transcribed by Wayne Kempton, Diocese of New York), Project Canterbury UK., p.1/2. Available online at: <http://anglicanhistory.org>. Accessed 11 March 2011.

missionaries who may want to come out to Africa from overseas. However, generalisations have the obvious disadvantage of obscuring the particular. Since Wood worked in the diocese of Mashonaland, we could safely assume that much of what is in the article derives from his experiences there.

7.9.1. Indigenous leadership as seen by Wood

From the fourth section of the article introduced above, Wood begins to highlight relevant views that are of interest to this research that is inspired by the theme of the theology of empire. He makes it clear that missionaries need to be wary of semi-educated Africans who, out of misguided zeal have a tendency to bite more than what they could reasonably chew.¹⁴⁰⁹ This view must be understood as coming to us after six decades of the so-called “successful evangelism” in Mashonaland. Of course, this is already the period that some would like to talk about in eulogistic terms; implicating a successful indigenisation programme. In fact, what is happening is an assertion that is logically aimed at domesticating the African sense of authenticity and emancipation and stifling any theological aspirations peculiar to them. The Africans are not really mature if we are to take the spirit of this observation seriously.

The Africans Wood has in mind in the above connection, are described as “perched precariously between ignorance and knowledge, wider horizons and narrow confinement, theoretical opportunity but (too often) practical dead-ends.”¹⁴¹⁰ These are European standards being allowed to linger too much on the Africans’ hopes and aspirations. We need to acknowledge the fact that this observation assumes that Africans, from a cultural perspective, are *tabula rasa*. They have nothing to give from this perspective and can, therefore, only make sense when others (Europeans of course) make indelible imprints onto their blank minds. We are concerned that such a view could not support the indigenisation that takes the African people seriously as major contributors to a process that would see them celebrating their own initiatives in making Christianity relevant to their context. In this connection, we could not expect much cooking of theology in African pots by such wayward indigenous people, if we are to take Wood’s

¹⁴⁰⁹. Wood, op.cit. 4/5

¹⁴¹⁰. Ibid.,p.4/5

observations seriously. We are also being confronted by a European ecclesiastical leader who seems to set Christian principles aside when it means saying something about an African to an interested European audience.

7.9.2. Wood's view of European missionaries

Wood makes it clear to prospective missionaries that one of their major roles is to create an enabling environment for the advancement of African people, taking their aspirations seriously in the new politico-economic matrix unravelling itself in Africa.¹⁴¹¹ Although the tone is that of practical advice, to the would-be missionaries, in the background is another clear tone lingering, to the effect that the missionary must come to play the role of leader and, therefore, dictates the pace for the Anglican Church's progress in Mashonaland. The new dispensation Africans must be helped to adjust to is European of course. This becomes apparent when the issue of an, "indigenous ministry"¹⁴¹² is introduced. The old generation of African priests is praised for a job well-done, but warning bells sounded in connection with the young African priests.

At the time of writing his article Wood points out that,

...there are now all the temptations of a materialistic age and civilisation to be endured and overcome, besides the lurking remnants of old beliefs and of the ever-present moral weaknesses to which the African is in some respect particularly prone.¹⁴¹³

The old generation of priests is described as one that was "content to work under the guidance of a European priest."¹⁴¹⁴ These were content with European food imported and served in an African kitchen. The young African priests are seen as rather on the radical side: claiming their independence and therefore more responsibilities. They were not content with European foodstuffs in this context. Here the would-be missionary is advised to anticipate this new self-awareness among young African priests.¹⁴¹⁵ The fact that a European missionary is worried about the indigenous clergy's self-awareness makes his position tenuous. If the indigenous people in Rhodesia had been encouraged to deal with Anglican

¹⁴¹¹. Wood, op.cit. p.5/6

¹⁴¹². Ibid. p.9/10

¹⁴¹³. Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁴. Ibid

¹⁴¹⁵. Ibid

matters from their own unique perspective, it would be difficult for the young generation of priests to be rebellious.

7.9.3. Indigenous people in the late 1950s into the 1960s

Wood advises the would-be missionary to be ready to “hand over privileges and responsibilities which have hitherto been exclusively” European.¹⁴¹⁶ Here is an open admission that the entire talk about indigenisation is still to result in actions being taken after more than sixty years of successful Anglican missionary endeavours. Wood points out that the Europeans must supervise and influence the Africanisation of the Church while allowing it to remain “One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic.”¹⁴¹⁷ The European precedence is advanced further in the summary where Wood points out that,

While indigenous priests and teachers and other leaders are increasing both in numbers and ability, there are not, it must be admitted, yet signs of any great advance in mental and moral stability and responsibility.¹⁴¹⁸

This, by any reasonable standards, is an indictment against the African sense of authenticity, maturity, personhood and emancipation. Africans are still not on par with their European counterparts. The African must still master a little bit more European culture to be counted as a competent Anglican companion. Hence, Wood proceeds, confidently, to advise Africans the following:

Firstly, they must trust European missionaries because their coming to Africa is beneficial and is not a selfish enterprise.¹⁴¹⁹ Secondly, they (Africans) must be trustworthy because most of them “lack moral stamina,” are extremely economical with the truth (meaning that they are habitual liars), and unable to challenge their own kith and kin¹⁴²⁰ (implying a degree of cowardice or tribal partiality). Thirdly, the African Church can only become a reality,

...slowly and somewhat painfully, through African leadership, which is prepared, even when given greater responsibility, to continue to accept guidance at any rate for years to come.¹⁴²¹

¹⁴¹⁶. Wood, op.cit. p.11

¹⁴¹⁷. *ibid*

¹⁴¹⁸. *Ibid*.p.13/14

¹⁴¹⁹. *Ibid*, p.15/16

¹⁴²⁰. *Ibid*.p.15/16

¹⁴²¹. *Ibid*.

Of course, guidance must always come from the Europeans. Here Africans are challenged to be humble.¹⁴²² Fourthly, Africans must develop moral courage, for they are easily influenced by those in an important position and are therefore unable to be prophetic.¹⁴²³ From the foregoing, it can be seen that Wood's observations are partisan and partisan with regard to pro-European dominance.

7.9.4. The rationale of Wood's article

The article by Wood should be appreciated as it provides insight into what African and European relationships were like, especially in colonial times and within the Rhodesian Anglican context. It enables us to read the European mental construction imposed on the person of the African, hence depriving us of the opportunity to understand the latter's contextual response to this new faith. It also boosts our argument for the theology of empire within an African context with special reference to the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. In fact, Wood's article is ideological: it is a theoretical justification of European dominance within the Anglican Church in Mashonaland during colonial times. It is premised on the prejudicial understanding prevalent among many whites who sincerely believed that they had a God-given mandate to dominate the indigenous.

By referring to Wood's article, we are also trying to demonstrate the fact that these are some facts which historians of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could easily ignore in order to highlight the bright side of the institution's progress. However, all things being equal, such facts could not be excluded if we are to understand more about the relationships that obtained between the white people and the indigenous people. Such prejudicial attitudes among Europeans that led to them to have a prejudiced view of the indigenous people and resulted in curtailing their hopes and aspirations, do not allow us to see God in their position.

We will now proceed to introduce the last white bishop who succeeded Alderson after his death in office in order to conclude our theme of the theology of empire within the Mashonaland context up to 1979. The main facet of our interrogation will continue to lead us, namely, to find out whether there was any radical shift in

¹⁴²². Wood, *op.cit.* p.15/16 .

¹⁴²³. *Ibid.*

the mind-set of the British missionaries who led the operations in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

7.10. BISHOP PAUL BURROUGH

As we come towards the end of our narratives that have tried to trace the influence of Eusebius' theology of empire on the Mashonaland context, it is critical to maintain our focus on consistence. We have been looking for bishops within the Mashonaland context which could help us understand what prophetic leadership could entail.

7.10.0. The last white Bishop of Mashonaland

Paul Burrough succeeded Alderson in 1968 as the seventh Bishop of Mashonaland. One source sums the biography of this bishop up as follows: "Paul Burrough's life began and ended in Oxford."¹⁴²⁴ We are also informed that he travelled widely throughout the world,¹⁴²⁵ but in our context, we will limit our critique of him to activities that have relevance to his missionary incursions in Mashonaland. Burrough "was born on May 5, 1916. He died on January 27, 2003, aged 86."¹⁴²⁶ Of major significance in our research is the fact that he was involved in the Second World War, of course fighting for the British Crown, and we are informed that "he was commissioned in the Royal Signals and captured in Malaya in 1942, suffering severe deprivation while held prisoner. He was awarded an MBE for his leadership at that time."¹⁴²⁷ It was only after his release from a war prison that he went on to do some theological studies back in England and then went to Korea as a missionary.¹⁴²⁸ In 1959, he was back in the UK appointed as "Chaplain to Overseas People in Birmingham."¹⁴²⁹ There are indications that he was successful in his pastoral duties there and:

In 1968, having recently become a Residentiary Canon of Birmingham Cathedral, he was elected Bishop of Mashonaland. His consecration took place in Birmingham Cathedral just before the 1968 Lambeth Conference, with most of the

¹⁴²⁴. Bishop Paul Burrough, Rhodesians Worldwide, Arizona, USA. Available online at: Url: <http://www.rhodesiansworldwide.com/rwmagazines1/vol183/files/assets/downloads/page0005.pdf>. Accessed 22 December 2015

¹⁴²⁵. Ibid.

¹⁴²⁶. <http://www.rhodesiansworldwide>, op.cit

¹⁴²⁷. Ibid.

¹⁴²⁸. Ibid

¹⁴²⁹. Ibid.

Central African bishops taking part. This was a turbulent time to be in Rhodesia.¹⁴³⁰

7.10.1. Burrough's Mashonaland Episcopacy

We made critical references above to the work of Kenneth Skelton, the Bishop of Matabeleland to the effect that he was prophetic and, was therefore, able to call the malevolent political leadership of his day to order. Skelton was a bishop who was critical of the Caesar within the Mashonaland context. He may not have been able to bring about a complete change among the whites of Rhodesia, but his stance was clear from a Christian perspective. Burrough came into the same context that Skelton was interrogating using a Christian discourse as his springboard. Unfortunately, Bishop Burrough was not up to the challenges of the intricacies at play in the Rhodesia that confronted him. So we are informed that:

...while Skelton resisted racism at every turn, Burrough never really came to understand Africans, and was seen to be rather paternalistic. The Rhodesian Christian Council, with a black majority, supported the World Council of Churches' programme to combat racism, but Burrough denounced it. He had arrived announcing that he would make no judgments on the political situation during his first year, and when he did; it was from a position on the fence. He found it very difficult to face opposition, especially from African clergy, and many thought that his judgment of people was not good. Mashonaland needed a strong bishop.¹⁴³¹

7.10.2. The nature of Bishop Burrough's episcopacy

The above quote provides us with the following understanding of Burrough: Firstly, the Bishop could not stand up to the socio-economic and political challenges Rhodesia was facing around this time. The indigenous wanted someone who could assist them advance their campaign for liberation, not someone who could continue to dominate and control them. We know that this plight of the indigenous people dates back to the days when colonisers entered Mashonaland.

The fact that up to Burrough's time, the *status quo* had not changed simply proves to us that the indigenous people had been condemned to servitude and not much could be done for their liberation, especially from the European point of view. Secondly, his condemning the World Council of Churches, a programme to combat racism provides further proof that the indigenous people's concerns were

¹⁴³⁰. <http://www.rhodesiansworldwide>, op.cit

¹⁴³¹. Ibid.

of secondary significance to him. Thirdly, the fact that he could not understand the African clergy under him meant his leadership was almost exclusive. The plight of the indigenous clergy within Mashonaland has already been touched on above. We are, therefore, compelled to conclude that Burrough was not the right bishop for Mashonaland if the above facts could be insisted upon. Meanwhile, the article in question goes on to express that, for the Diocese of Mashonaland:

What it got in Burrough was a kind, courteous and gentle man. He did not want to upset anyone, not least those running the country. He protested against individual injustices and attacks on villages, but did not have the sort of political vision to see what was really needed. Nevertheless, he stuck to his job (in spite of threats to his life) and stayed long enough to see the regime change.¹⁴³²

We note with curiosity, in the foregoing connection that the writer talks about a “job” that Burrough had to stick to and not so much the vocation he was expected to follow. One cannot afford to take God’s service as a job and still be faithful to the gospel imperatives. That he was careful not to offend those who were running the country reminds us of what the prophet Amos pronounces in one of his observations:

You people hate anyone who challenges injustice and speaks the whole truth in court. You have oppressed the poor and robbed them of their grain. And so you will not live in the fine houses you build or drink wine from the beautiful vineyards you plant. I know how terrible your sins are and how many crimes you have committed. You persecute good people, take bribes, and prevent the poor from getting justice in the courts. And so keeping quiet in such evil times is the clever thing to do (Amos 5:10-13).

The above is quite a powerful prophetic message that could be applied to the Mashonaland context in which Burrough presided as an Anglican Bishop. Surely the prophet is concerned with a leadership that is quick to hide behind pragmatism at the expense of doing the right thing.

In line with the preceding prophetic stance by Amos, Daniel Bitrus who contributes a commentary written from an African perspective about the prophet observes that:

Seeking the Lord will involve a total transformation of their worship (the people) and of their private and public lives. Once again, God speaks out against their perversion of justice, which leaves a foul taste in one’s mouth, their discarding of

¹⁴³². <http://www.rhodesians-worldwide.com...op.cit>.

righteousness, their contempt for those who tell the truth, their oppression of the poor, and their willingness to take and give bribes...Because the courts failed to deliver proper justice, the poor, the weak and those who did not have wealth or influence enjoyed no protection from their oppressors.¹⁴³³

The people addressed by the prophet Amos could not be seen as different from those who were part of the leadership within the Mashonaland context. We are worried about the privileges of the rich and powerful who claimed to be in the service of God and, yet, could not lift a finger to alleviate the suffering of the indigenous people. Again, we remind ourselves that these are some of the problems we encounter in Eusebius' exposition of the history of the Roman Empire under Constantine.

7.10.3. Burrough of Mashonaland and Eusebius of Caesarea

In line with the quotation from "Rhodesians-worldwide," the article helps us to understand that in Rhodesia, "anyone" could be understood exclusively to be referring to white people who could not afford to be offended. What we have already noted about the leadership of Burrough as a bishop was offensive to the indigenous people who wanted a courageous and uncompromising bishop. Perhaps we could also understand the reason why there were "threats to his life."¹⁴³⁴

We realise what the crux of our problem is within the Rhodesian Anglican context. From 1890, the country had been compromised by the imposition of British rule that claimed a significant Christian allegiance but never had time to enter into dialogue with the requirements of such a far-reaching claim. The indigenous people were on the receiving end, and it took the courage of individual missionaries in the likes of Cripps and his friends to challenge the British sponsored atrocities committed in the name of God. It is clear that when Burrough assumed the episcopate in Mashonaland, very few lessons had been learnt from the past.

¹⁴³³. Bitrus, D., "Amos", in Africa Bible Commentary, op.cit.p.1036

¹⁴³⁴. <http://www.rhodesians-worldwide.com> op.cit

The Rhodesia of the late 1960s needed responsible and prophetic leadership in the mould of Skelton who was in Matabeleland. What Mashonaland got after Alderson's failure seems to have been yet another disaster as we have already seen above. It is clear, therefore, that Burrough's episcopate did not depart from the tradition of compromise. The indigenous could look to the Anglican Church of Mashonaland for emancipation but they did so in vain. A culture of blundering by the British bishops in Mashonaland seems to have existed from 1890 to 1979. We have been trying to trace their style of leadership to find out whether they understood their mission in Mashonaland and we seem to be at a loss up to this point. What has overwhelmed us is that histories have been submitted in favourable narratives about their work.

This work we are undertaking pertains to the style of Church leadership within the context of protracted and evil socio-economic and political systems as they relate to Rhodesia. Earlier we referred to the Constantinean establishment that was seen as holy by Eusebius of Caesarea while many compromises could be cited. In the name of a religion that purports to unite people in love and in God, we have reason to continue the interrogation of its functionaries to establish whether they lived up to this expectation, especially within the Rhodesian Anglican context and under the auspices of the theology of empire.

We have already encountered the negative developments imposed by the UDI from the socio-economic and political scene in Rhodesia. Alderson had demonstrated that there was a point beyond which he could not go in terms of being prophetic and in so far as the criticism of his white kith and kin was concerned. Paul Burrough was initially a bishop to reckon with, but lost his moral compass along the way.

We will allow Arnold's exposition to lead us in the foregoing connection in terms of the initial responses by Burrough to the context he entered as a bishop in Mashonaland. There are several points we could prefer in this connection. For example, Burrough initially made it clear that he was anti-UDI.¹⁴³⁵ He also

¹⁴³⁵. Arnold,op.cit.p.122

advocated a prophetic voice in the context obtaining then.¹⁴³⁶ He challenged the rich Europeans who wanted to silence the Anglican Church's prophetic voice with threats to withdraw financial contributions.¹⁴³⁷ Burrough was aware of the racial tensions between blacks and whites and indicated that it was not a healthy state of affairs at all.¹⁴³⁸ He wanted the Church to lead by example so that the outside world could follow suit.¹⁴³⁹ He advocated reconciliation citing the Gospel imperatives.¹⁴⁴⁰ All these seem to be convictions befitting a bishop in the Church of God.

7.10.4. Burrough and the UDI quandary

It is clear that the episcopate of Burrough introduced above, was oblivious to the fact that anyone who dares to take up the cause of God could not, by that very token, afford a partisan or even a mere neutral approach. If Jesus had come to us to sit on the fence, his mission could have had no significant impact on this world at all. The situation obtaining in the Rhodesia of Burrough's time was characterised by continued unrest among the indigenous and the subsequent attempts by the Europeans to silence them. That discontent among the indigenous of Rhodesia was the zenith of a long history of exclusion by the whites who did not want to accept the fact that individualism in its capitalist mode was not the ideal for humanity. Of major interest to us is the kind of leadership Burrough provided within the volatile context in which he found himself in Rhodesia.

It is clear from the above that Bishop Burrough could be taken seriously as a leader in the Church of God when he advocated the stated norms and attitudes within the Rhodesian Anglican context at the initial stages of his ministry. However, our reading of Lapsley gives us a different Burrough. The picture drawn by Arnold of Burrough is that he is non-partisan and is focused on God and is not a fan of the political kingpins of his day. On the other hand, the version given by Lapsley depicts Burrough as a UDI fanatic. Lapsley's Burrough is one who was

¹⁴³⁶. Arnold,op.cit.p.121

¹⁴³⁷. Ibid, p122

¹⁴³⁸. Ibid

¹⁴³⁹. Ibid

¹⁴⁴⁰. Ibid.p.123

sympathetic to Smith.¹⁴⁴¹ Within the framework of the theology of empire, we are able to bring this bishop of Mashonaland to book. In effect, he was far removed from the hopes and profound aspirations of the indigenous who were suffering under Smith's regime.¹⁴⁴² If a leader within the Christian tradition is found wanting in terms of responding to the plight of the poor and underprivileged, we have a serious case of compromise. Lapsley makes it clear that Burrough, as a bishop of God's Church, entertained religio-political contradictions.

In the above connection Lapsley notes:

On the one hand, Bishop Burrough made it clear that he supported the Smith Government. On the other hand, he claimed to represent the African majority in the Church. It is difficult to believe that the Bishop did represent the true aspirations of the majority of the black Anglican –it is conceivable that the black Anglican told their bishop what he wanted to hear. White opinion up until independence was that most blacks supported the government despite a war which grew daily in intensity and suggested the contrary.¹⁴⁴³

In the above quote, we are faced with a context in which pragmatism overshadowed the truth, especially among the indigenous people. Lies were allowed too much latitude. How a bishop in this context could claim to represent the indigenous people while not taking their socio-economic and political sentiments seriously, is an urgent question in this regard. Whether he was concerned about the plight of the black people under the UDI regime, is not clear. Whether he was contented with their status as underdogs in their motherland, is also another puzzle.

Lapsley, whose observations seem to be accurate, is, therefore, an important observer within our context of the theology of empire. Whites never understood the hopes and aspirations of the Rhodesian indigenous populace, or they could simply not afford to take them seriously because of the prevailing attitudes that were generally biased. It seems obvious that the Rhodesians did not make any serious attempts to understand the religio-political tempo of the day. One of the major reasons we could cite is that Africans were not taken seriously as human beings from the beginning as we saw dating back to the 1890s.

¹⁴⁴¹. Lapsley, 1988, op.cit.p.119

¹⁴⁴². Ibid.

¹⁴⁴³. Ibid

Granted that the above was true, the Anglican Christianity to which they claimed to be adherents did not make sense, because it did not live up to the expectations of the gospel imperatives. If the whites could afford to boast about their own attitudes in this regard, it means that they did not respect the indigenous people and, therefore, the Christianity they represented was very superficial if not hypocritical at best. As a general rule, regarding the Europeans who commanded with arrogance in the Mashonaland context, there is one critical observation to make. Undoubtedly, they regarded natives as sub-humans.

Nevertheless, for those who claimed to be God's ambassadors, the failure to understand what the natives were yearning for demonstrates to us to what extent the rift between missionary Christianity and the local sentiments had grown. Our worry is that such missionary Christianity created more problems in Mashonaland than solutions. The leadership we have looked at lacked the moral stamina to challenge evil and so continued the legacy of Eusebius of Caesarea who supported the Constantinean establishment unreservedly. To account for such developments in favourable terms that do not seem to be critical of the compromises marring this context, could be viewed as a catastrophic error of omission within history narratives that we are referencing.

7.10.5. Another appeal to Shona semantics for Burrough's context

In line with the above blunders by Burrough, when, the Shona people perceive an impossible audience, they appeal to the *ndomene haichemedzi* principle, or the *zano ndega akasiya jira mumasese* philosophy. For purposes of doing justice to Shona semantics, we cannot pretend that a precise translation is possible. What we could only attempt to do is determine the gist of the philosophy behind the quoted phrases. To this end, we are prepared to give a number of possible meanings: One option is that experience is the best teacher as whites in Rhodesia came to realise. The second option could be; It is pointless to argue with one who is not prepared to listen to the advice of the experts; the third option could be; a selfish approach always runs the risk of losing sympathy especially among those who could have advised one to the contrary. Many other versions could be cited in this connection to capture the spirit of how missionary blunders in

Mashonaland could be explained. We are talking about a context in which no one listened to the indigenous people. The unrest of the 1960s and the subsequent war of liberation would not have happened if, close attention had been paid to the plight of the indigenous people from the 1890s.

Ultimately, the whites in Rhodesia were to experience the rude awakening that reminded them that they were unrepentant and hard-hearted. The indigenous people whom they took for granted as second-rate human beings demonstrated to them that they had entertained a much-compromised understanding of what humanity is all about. God was not only for the whites in Rhodesia but for all humans.

The white Rhodesians had concentrated on accidents instead of on essences. Humanity is not measured in terms of colour, height, language or geographical locale. Rather, its essence needs to be appreciated for what it is. It is clear that this philosophy was not entertained by the Anglican leadership we are discussing in this context. Those who claim to be civilised, and yet fail to understand the anthropological significance of black Africa, could run the risk of being amateurish in their approach to humanity. We have already insisted upon the logic that essences are not the same as accidents. Blackness in this connection does not imply any limitations on being human. Neither does whiteness point to the presence of a superior human existence.

We need to appreciate the fact that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could not be understood in isolation. This requires us to acknowledge, in general, the prevailing atmosphere of discontent among the indigenous people under the Rhodesian administration

Throughout the colonial era, one of the observations that could be made accurately is the fact that the whites in Rhodesia lived in a fool's paradise. If no one has any claims to this observation up to this point, it must be now put on record. There is a Shona saying that sums up the attitudes of white people in Rhodesia during colonial times to the effect that: "*Mhandu yakange yatambarara; ikaisa muswe nekoko; ndokukanganwa kwayakabva; ikafumura zvinoyera,*

*munyika yedu yeZimbabwe.*¹⁴⁴⁴ Again, we could not claim to distil the meaning of this Shona saying by attempting a translation. However, simply stated, the Shona make a mockery of the Europeans' attitude during the colonial era to the effect that *the enemy had become so relaxed and complacent, to say the least, to the extent of forgetting the boundaries of its illegitimate expansionist ambitions; forgetting where it came from; and even violated all the sacred things in Zimbabwe!*

We are now referring to the responses by those whose lives had been made miserable by the greed of the white people who had made Rhodesia their home. This point becomes urgent given the fact that Christianity was always appealed to throughout the colonial saga. That Church leaders could wait for local musicians to remind those who were entertaining evil that they were living on borrowed time, is a clear indication of how such a subject was side-lined in the critical sermons of the day. Song and even dance could now be invoked to assert the fact that the indigenous had been affected adversely. The whites failed to respect the fact that they were mere foreigners in Mashonaland and needed to be cautious in their approach. Any claims that did not take this fact into consideration were bound to backfire. It is extremely difficult to sympathise with those who imposed their will on others to the detriment of humanity.

The theme of the theology of empire challenges us to be very careful when trying to link the schemes of God and those of humanity. God must be respected all the time and it must be kept in mind that God may not always do things according to human designs. When the indigenous people in Mashonaland reflect seriously about what the whites did to them, it is difficult to convince them to adopt a reconciliatory attitude even though it still remains the golden rule. We are maintaining the fact that the Christian leadership in question should have insisted on the equal treatment of natives. Since they failed dismally, the indigenous were forced to take up arms.

¹⁴⁴⁴. Oliver Mtukudzi- Zimbabwe. on YOUTUBE Available online at: Url: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=15X_18s1UVs. Accessed 11 March 2011. Oliver Mutukudzi, one of the veteran Shona musicians composed some excellent lyrics to this effect.

Africans, created in God's image, were out to prove those wrong who ostensibly appealed to the divine as manifested in Jesus Christ. The Missionary Christianity that denigrated Africans was false, to begin with. The Africans played the fool but only so that the whites could assimilate that complacency that eventually led to their downfall in the end. It was tactful foolishness that led Europeans into the trap that saw them losing much of the wealth they had sweated for on the African soil.¹⁴⁴⁵ Had the white people maintained the wisdom that propelled Christianity to the end, perhaps a different story could be told. Unfortunately, they took the docility of the Africans for granted, not knowing that God made them humble for their security. In Mashonaland, Europeans came to regret because what hit them was what they least expected.

Robert Mugabe, the former president of Zimbabwe, and his likes could not be sufficient to explain why the majority rose to claim the land that Rhodes' Pioneers found at their disposal in 1890. Even if Mugabe and his supporters were not there today, the fact that the indigenous people could rise to claim what is rightfully theirs, could stand the test of time. Unfortunately, those white people were short-sighted in this regard and they wanted to think that just a few "terrorists" could be held responsible for the perceived "communism"¹⁴⁴⁶ among the indigenous people of Mashonaland. The collective dissent of the indigenous people of Mashonaland should never be interpreted as the work of a few radical people whose humanity could easily be denied (depersonalized) by virtue of being labelled terrorists or communists.¹⁴⁴⁷ Of course, we allow charismatic individuals to articulate the grievances of the group! Individual African nationalists were to prove this to the Europeans.

¹⁴⁴⁵. Although it is not the task of this work to condone political stand-offs and related tensions, the invasion and seizure of white-owned properties in Zimbabwe was something that resulted from the system that had been allowed a freehand over the colonial period.

¹⁴⁴⁶. Rhodesia PSYOP 1965-1980: Available online at: <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>.. Accessed on 18 April 2012. This source about the Rhodesian propaganda is important to listen to as it points out that, "As always, the best methods of communicating the government's message was face-to-face communication, radio, loudspeakers and printed material. Their leaflets were mass-produced for distribution by hand and from the air in the African Tribal Trust Lands during the late 70s. Many feature a crude line drawing conveying a simple message, which is then expanded in the text (written in both English and Shona). It is important to note that while the insurgents called themselves patriots and nationalists, the Rhodesians called them communists and terrorists. The same tack had been taken in South Africa where the African National Congress was regularly attacked as communist thugs by the white apartheid government. This helped to depersonify the enemy and the threat of a communist takeover might help to strengthen loyalty to the government both within and outside of Rhodesia. This tactic did not work in South Africa, and it failed in Rhodesia too."

¹⁴⁴⁷. Ibid.

7.10.6. The UDI versus the indigenous majority

To bring Smith's UDI under scrutiny is to invoke sentiments that are informed by racial discrepancies as defined by humanity and not by God. It is to insist on human ingenuity at the expense of God who is supposed to be taken seriously as the force behind human existence. Why Burrough could not take this as a given Christian imperative is one of the reasons for taking him to task in his context. If God is deliberately excluded from human affairs under whatever pretext, then the insanity of humanity is exposed if not exaggerated. Rhodesia was a human project and not God's. The reason we could safely rely on this premise is that everything human must come to pass. What humanity consciously introduces without a sincere reference to God suffers the very limitations on which it is premised.

What history has not been able to offer us within the Mashonaland Anglican context we are scrutinising is how the indigenous people came out well against the odds imposed upon them. One leading churchman, concerned about the scenario advanced by the whole of colonial Southern Africa in 1968, expressed his dismay at that time as follows:

Non-whites cannot develop to the full stature of personhood because of the environment in which they live. This conditioning environment is maintained by the use of spiritual force backed up by the use of physical force wherever and whenever the white-dominated governments think it is needed.¹⁴⁴⁸

The idea of both spiritual and physical forces being mobilised against the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations seems to boost our theme of the theology of empire. We continue to highlight the fact that the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland that ignores the plight of the indigenous people is incomplete.

Rev. Dodge, in line with the foregoing quotation, is talking about the extreme violence that was done to the authenticity and humanhood of the general black populace, as a rule, by Europeans in Southern Africa. The concern we have here is based on the fact that humanity is derived from God: it is divinity plagiarised in the positive sense, as it were. Ultimately, to tamper with humanity is to contradict

¹⁴⁴⁸. Dodge, op.cit. p.12

God's initiative and indeed, the very being of the divine. The colonial situation with which we are concerned here, was doing just that although it preferred to premise itself on the Christian philosophy and civilisation. That the comprise by Anglican missionaries in this context has not been insisted upon continues to be our major anxiety. This is the context in which the Mashonaland Anglicanism seemed to be prevailing. We assume that any European Anglican missionary who did not see this wanton violence then was part of it or simply out of touch with the realities of the day. Any serious prophetic stance could not afford to be anachronistic in this context. It was a dual assault that took the form of "spiritual" as well as "physical" violence that was imposed on the natives, hence, the relevance of our interrogation of how people so compromised could be expected to succeed.

Smith and all those who supported him seemed to have mastered the art of systematically excluding the very God they claimed they were serving. They tried hard to suppress their sinister motives. *Rine manyanga hariputirwi!*, as the Shona people came to realise in time. The nearest translation to this phrase could be the very fact that the truth happens to be based on facts. Now the facts are so pervasive that anyone who attempts to suppress them undertakes a futile mission. Africans counted for nothing, as the European popular opinion proclaimed. This was a radical lie and once the Africans resolved to make their point on the international arena clear, those who had entertained lies got the shock of their lives.

What makes Zimbabwe (Rhodesia then) a very interesting subject at the moment, is that it is an African country that has managed to tell Europe, in no uncertain terms, that whites should be mindful of what humanity entails, especially those who think that they are more superior than other beings of their kind on the basis of colour or such accidents. What missionaries should have done so many years ago, politicians of a disgruntled Mashonaland were now doing violently in the 1970s.. European capitalism, underpinned by wanton egocentricity, had no room in Mashonaland from the beginning.

7.10.7. Burrough and arrogance

The Burrough we have decided to bring into the spotlight in this section had sufficiently mastered European arrogance in keeping with the foregoing criticisms such that he was ready to condemn those who advocated the downfall of colonialism. For example, Burrough objected to the support given by the World Council of Churches (WCC) to liberation movements;¹⁴⁴⁹ a point we have already referred to above. Combating racism had been identified as a worthwhile undertaking from a global approach, and yet a local Anglican bishop in Mashonaland objected to such a noble initiative. This raises the stakes for the theology of empire to the loftiest of heights. Who, in their right senses, in the name of God could object to the initiatives ear-marked for racial equality? If Anglican leadership in Mashonaland actively opposed this move, then we could rest assured that God was being side-lined.

We contend that those who actively attempt to side-line God do so at their own peril. The Good News, when premised on lies, ceases to be appealing. White Christians in Mashonaland, who were convinced that defending their ill-gotten wealth was a noble cause, received a rude awakening. What they experienced in the late sixties and the seventies came to them as a shock because they had taken God for granted. They mistook God's patience for complacency. Sometimes God allows time for people to repent. When humanity fails to see the light, God always challenges them to come to their senses in ways that may not always be appealing. We prefer this argument here because many whites failed to heed God's warnings within the Rhodesian-Anglican context. They preferred the suppression of facts above common prudence. It is unfortunate that the results were not so pleasing.

Burrough could be viewed as one who attempted to side-line God by supporting racist attitudes. He saw Africans as "second-rate" citizens in their motherland.¹⁴⁵⁰ Black majority rule had no place in his imagination!¹⁴⁵¹ The fact that a pro-Smith political organisation was launched by Anglican priests in his diocese is a clear

¹⁴⁴⁹. Lapsley, 1988, op.cit.p.120.

¹⁴⁵⁰. Ibid.p.121.

¹⁴⁵¹. Ibid

testimony that Burrough had no sympathy for the indigenous people's situation and he subscribed to white popular opinion in Rhodesia.

7.11. Fr Arthur Lewis' theology of empire

In keeping with the foregoing narratives, it is important to give another highlight of the theology of empire that was championed by a priest who operated within the period of Burrough's episcopate. The inclusion here of this priest is justified by the fact that he was not able to hide his prejudice against the indigenous people's politico-economic as well as social aspirations that now were the cause of a bitter war in Rhodesia. The unfortunate thing is that he premised his convictions on Christianity and sounded as though the indigenous people were in his heart.

7.11.0. A strange political priest

The story of the Rhodesian Christian Group under Fr. Lewis that was funded by the South African apartheid government is referred to by Lapsley.¹⁴⁵² It is a movement that took root within the Diocese of Mashonaland where Burrough was the Bishop. It also happens to be critical to our appreciation of the theology of empire within the Mashonaland Anglican context. One of its major propagandist stances was the claim it made to the effect that it was defending "Western Christian Civilisation," "against the Marxist threat."¹⁴⁵³ To augment his campaign against liberation fighters in and outside Rhodesia, Lewis wrote his work, *Christian Terror*.¹⁴⁵⁴

7.11.1. Lewis and the UDI propaganda machinery

In both detailed words and graphic pictures, Lewis narrates to the world what he wanted to call "terrorism." This is set against the civilisation that white people brought. We prefer to look at Lewis' views as being pro-Eusebius of Caesarea, and, therefore, we could insist on the prevalence of the theology of empire within a Rhodesian context.

¹⁴⁵². Lapsley, 1988, op.cit.p.122

¹⁴⁵³. Ibid.

¹⁴⁵⁴. Lewis, A.1978: *Christian Terror*, Mardon Printers, Salisbury, Rhodesia

It is clear that we have allowed our narrative to bear on the fact that colonialism in Rhodesia was a major problem that Church historians of the Anglican Church in this context should have dealt with objectively, but were found wanting. They seem to have been protecting individuals such as Burrough and Lewis by not exposing the double standards at play in this context. For now, it suffices to point out that Lewis is another good example of a prejudiced authority when we look at the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and the way he presented his views. His emphasis was on justifying the suppression of indigenous aspirations in the name of God, although he does not admit this openly.

We have already noted that Eusebius wrote about Constantine as though everything the Emperor did was dictated by God. In a country that was struggling for independence from colonial domination, Lewis' tone betrays his bias against those who had resorted to militancy for liberation purposes. We saw that these radical indigenous people of Mashonaland (inclusive of Matabeleland) were out to insist on their independence and had to use all the possible means to challenge the oppressive systems the Europeans had put in place. Lewis refers to these freedom fighters as "terrorists," "the new barbarian invaders" who "belonged to the old Dark Ages", save for the "Soviet rockets, rifles and mortars" they had.¹⁴⁵⁵

The reference by an Anglican clergy person to "terrorism" and "barbarism" in a context where there were "security forces," celebrated as heroes, already shows the one-sidedness of the narrative. It is important to note that in May 1974, the Rhodesian government had compiled a list of the atrocities they alleged were being committed by the so-called terrorists.¹⁴⁵⁶ It is clear from other sources, that, to the international community, the pro-Rhodesian views were not always convincing.

7.11.2. Some observations contrary to those of Lewis

¹⁴⁵⁵. Lewis, op.cit. pp.7-8

¹⁴⁵⁶. Anatomy of terror, 1974: Ministry of Information, Immigration and Tourism, Government Printer, Salisbury, Rhodesia. Available online at: Url: www.rhodesia.nl. Accessed on 10 December 2011

When writing about the same context that Lewis was exposing to the world, Antony Wilkinson shows that he is cautious and would like to clear the air about his use of certain prevalent terms. He clarifies his position as follows:

Words like *terrorist* and *freedom-fighter* are inevitably contentious; in this Paper *insurgent* and *counter-insurgent* are used simply in a generic sense with no intended value-judgement. Other terms used are: *guerrilla* - an insurgent more or less firmly and permanently based inside the territory controlled by the regime he aims to overthrow; and *security forces* - the counterinsurgent equivalent of *guerrillas*, including the army, air force, police and civilian reserves based in, and operating in, the territory in support of the incumbent regime.¹⁴⁵⁷

Such a usage of terms that are neutral is in keeping with the kind of scholarship we could envisage in this context.

Lewis was a priest ready to sing eulogies on behalf of the state machinery without reference to the morality and legality of colonial rule in Rhodesia. The use of value-charged terms in his narratives, therefore, must be approached with caution. He was almost like the incarnation of Eusebius of Caesarea in a Rhodesian context and, was therefore, not worried about treating the opposition with sympathy. Instead of a simple balanced historical narrative, an ideological stance is preferred by Lewis. This then calls for a critical appreciation of how the history of the indigenous people in Mashonaland was being presented during the 1970s by those with sinister agendas within the Anglican Church.

7.11.3. Lewis' drastic charge against Africans

In the above connection, Lewis describes the indigenous people of the rest of Africa as emerging "from one darkness... only to succumb to another."¹⁴⁵⁸ The reason for this sad state of affairs in some parts of Africa, one could guess from Lewis' narratives, was because no white people were being allowed to dictate the pace of development and related matters. In most of these countries, according to Lewis, "signs of development are few."¹⁴⁵⁹ The Rhodesia Lewis contrasted with the rest of the sub-Saharan African countries was one in which:

¹⁴⁵⁷. Wilkinson, A., 1973. *Insurgency in Rhodesia, 1957-1973: An account and assessment. Adelphi papers number one hundred, the international institute for strategic studies*, London, UK. Available online at: URL: <http://www.rhodesia.nl/wilkinson.html>. Accessed on 16 June 2014

¹⁴⁵⁸. Lewis, op.cit.p.8

¹⁴⁵⁹. Ibid.

Towns, cities, settlements, roads, man-made lakes and huge farming and development projects have transformed primeval Africa into what might be twentieth-century Europe. An island of civilisation built by white and black in eighty-seven years –a single lifetime.¹⁴⁶⁰

These statements and similar ones are very much appealing in terms of making reference to blacks and whites working together. Lewis goes on to note that Rhodesia is,

A land where more than a decade of international ostracism and boycotts have not destroyed good race-relations and twelve years of attack have failed to wreck the civilisation which white people brought, and black people gladly accepted.¹⁴⁶¹

In line with the above, whether Lewis was narrating the truth in this context remains problematic if everything else was to be considered. After all, we have encountered in this work, writings such as those of Lewis seem to be out of sync with the reality that was obtaining then. To understand that the context in which Lewis was writing happened to be the scene of a bitter war helps us to see how some Anglican Church leaders were bent on distorting facts.

In line with the foregoing references to Lewis' line of thinking within the Rhodesian Anglican context, the romantic sentiments that permeated his mind are extremely clear. Throughout this narrative, we have been appealing to facts that prove to us that the Rhodesia that the white people were busy developing from the first day of occupation was one in which no indigenous people could come out well. That it was resilient because of black and white cooperation does not help us answer why nationalism was gaining ground at all and why the "terrorists" were getting support from the villagers and some significant sections of the international community. That romanticism is what could be seen in Lewis' narrative is demonstrated when he goes on to say that Rhodesia is:

A country, in fact, where Christianity and the initiative it brings have done something more than merely take root. The whites, after all, did not follow the example of the Americans, Canadians and Australians: so far from exterminating the 'indigenous' peoples –who in fact were merely earlier immigrants, the stronger tribes slaughtering the weaker –they provided such facilities as enabled the blacks to multiply from some 400000 to over six million.¹⁴⁶²

¹⁴⁶⁰. Lewis, op.cit.p.8

¹⁴⁶¹. Ibid.

¹⁴⁶². Ibid.p.8f.

Rhodesia in the above connection was there for the welfare of the indigenous people after all. In short, the whites in Rhodesia are supposed to be celebrated as people who made life for the blacks possible.

It is critical, in line with the foregoing, to note that Lewis adds the fact that Zambia, at one time a British colony, was now “run-down” by its nationalists.¹⁴⁶³ Angola and Mozambique, both former Portuguese colonies, “once-prosperous food-exporting lands, but now Marxist tyrannies slipping back into starvation and savagery –a savagery well-armed by the Soviets” were good casualties of black people’s incompetency in the east and west for Rhodesia with which to be compared and contrasted.¹⁴⁶⁴ The argument by Lewis could thus be simplified to the effect that wherever the white people were no longer in control, things were just retreating backwards. This degeneration of Africans is given as the justification for continued colonial dominance although it is interpreted, as we have seen above, as cooperation. We must remember that Wood’s article we cited under Alderson’s episcopacy, expressed similar sentiments about the blacks not being ready to take over positions of executive leadership.

7.11.4. Lewis’ indictment of the West

Lewis goes on to attack the countries of the West and goes to the extent of accusing them of being “infiltrated and indeed riddled with communist and quasi-communist influences.”¹⁴⁶⁵ He gives the reasons for such a drastic charge when he observes that the countries of the West:

...have largely lost their sense of purpose and mission. In their pitiful and often vindictive weakness they are, however, at least united in one determination: to bring down in ruin the white minorities of Southern African who have transplanted Christianity and Western civilisation to the soil of Africa and shared them with the black population.¹⁴⁶⁶

Clearly, Lewis gives us a very confusing picture of what was at stake. The blacks are always seen as beneficiaries of white benevolence. This really could make any action against the whites by the blacks and the international community

¹⁴⁶³. Lewis, op.cit. p.9

¹⁴⁶⁴. Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁵. Ibid.p.16

¹⁴⁶⁶. Ibid.

unwarranted if not barbaric. Lewis therefore, writes about the Rhodesian empire in very much exaggerated terms when it comes to the welfare of the black people.

Lewis seems, in line with the preceding, to entertain justifiable moral outrage given his claim that the Christianity and civilisation shared with the Africans, were under threat. Our narrative has already argued that this is precisely the claim that is problematic given the injustices that came to obtain in the same context. That Lewis is intractably oblivious to the concerns of the indigenous in Rhodesia, some of whom had taken up arms to assert their grievances, is clear when he goes on to accuse the West of complacency. In this connection, he notes:

It matters nothing that millions perish and the achievements of generations crumble, provided only that the hated white man in Africa (with countless black friends) is destroyed to make way for the African tyrant manipulated from Moscow –and the shadowy financiers without whom Moscow could not survive.¹⁴⁶⁷

Here again, we encounter some high levels of bigotry based on the fact that the whites in Rhodesia were always right.

7.11.5. Lewis and pro-racist attitudes

Clearly and in line with the above, Lewis gives us some shocking narratives about the situation obtaining in Rhodesia during his time. The concerns of the indigenous people do not seem to be urgent while their welfare controlled by the whites, is highlighted. His discourse favours the whites who already had dominion over the indigenous and who were the reason for the rise in what he saw as “terrorism” bank-rolled by Marxists from Moscow. Lewis complicates matters by asserting that even the churches were busy destroying Christianity and Christian civilisation.¹⁴⁶⁸ Perhaps anyone who saw things otherwise was considered a threat in terms of Lewis’ interpretation of events.

For Africa as a whole, and in line with Lewis’ convictions referred to above, the future looked gloomy. To this end, he writes,

¹⁴⁶⁷. Lewis, op.cit p.16f

¹⁴⁶⁸. *ibid.* p.17

The states of Africa are marked for Marxist takeover, and effective punishments await any priest or minister who dares to raise his voice against the exponents of the new Christian death-wish.¹⁴⁶⁹

Lewis does not only lament the sad developments of a possible Marxist takeover. He thinks that a solution could be found,

...but only if the Christian laity will whenever necessary resist the leadership of high jacked Churches and work with the secular authorities (faulty though they may be) for the preservation of Christianity, civilisation and ordered government.¹⁴⁷⁰

The hurdle that Lewis' position imposes is obvious: he would rather absolve the "faulty" government authorities than to allow Church leaders to do the same. He would rather support a faulty government than the good cause championed by the blacks themselves. Our concern is that anything that does not fit into the schemes of Lewis' imagination that favours white supremacy is evil by that very token. To him, we could deduce from his reasoning, anything that questions white supremacy, is evil.

7.11.6. Lewis' non-reconciliatory attitude

In line with the foregoing, it does not come to us as a surprise that Lewis condemned the Cold Comfort Farm at Rusape, St Faith Mission, as a cover-up for nationalist activities.¹⁴⁷¹ Didymus Mutasa, whom we referred to earlier seems at loggerheads with Lewis on this matter. Mutasa states that the Cold Comfort Farm project through the leadership of Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock, "the gospels began to bear something."¹⁴⁷² Both of them stayed at the Mission together, and Didymus gives an account of how Lewis tried to stop his marriage, citing that the former was not a practising Christian.¹⁴⁷³ However, we have already cited the fact that Mutasa understood himself as an Anglican: he had been baptised and confirmed in this Church. It was only through the intervention of Bishop Alderson that the marriage went ahead.¹⁴⁷⁴

¹⁴⁶⁹. Lewis, op.cit.p.17

¹⁴⁷⁰. Ibid.

¹⁴⁷¹. Ibid.

¹⁴⁷². Mutasa, op.cit.p.20

¹⁴⁷³. Ibid. p.23ff.

¹⁴⁷⁴. Ibid.p.24

Could the tension between Mutasa and Lewis have contributed to the latter's hatred for nationalists? Apart from this admission by Lewis, there was also tension between him and the Diocese of Mashonaland and he appealed directly to the laity not to support the church leadership that was sympathetic to Marxism.¹⁴⁷⁵ It is clear that by sympathy, Lewis simply meant that the Diocese of Mashonaland might not have been vocal enough to condemn what he termed "terrorism" of a Marxist nature. Our position is that there was not much that could be called support for nationalism that came from the Diocese.

Lewis' hatred of Marxism meant that he could refer to the freedom fighters using the most drastic and morally charged terms that he could conceive in his mind against them. This is obvious from the appeal he makes against Marxist-sponsored "terrorists" when he writes that, "Cost what it may, it is better to defend now the hard-won fruits of civilisation than face the collapse of order and the onset of starvation and barbarism."¹⁴⁷⁶ As though the preceding point was not stated strongly enough, Lewis goes on to point out that:

South Africa and Rhodesia are striving to maintain ordered society in the face of systematically manufactured communist agitation, disguised, of course, as popular discontent about a host of grievances. Far worse grievances in neighbouring countries are ignored by the communists and therefore by the rest of the world. It is of course, the communists who set a match to the grievances, real or imagined. We in Southern Africa are not in the least surprised by Russian-backed terrorism aimed at our destruction.¹⁴⁷⁷

Again, "ordered society", for Lewis means the white people being in control, as was true in Rhodesia and South Africa. Anything that challenged this *status quo* was to be resisted by way of calling it terrorism and barbarism. Using the Eusebian approach, we notice that anything that was against Constantine was automatically against God and therefore evil. The theology of empire continues to make appeals in this connection.

7.11.7. Lewis and his moral authority

¹⁴⁷⁵. Lewis, op.cit.p.18

¹⁴⁷⁶. Ibid.p.20

¹⁴⁷⁷. Ibid.p.20f

Lewis, it is clear, would like his readers to understand that he is arguing in support of moral leadership,¹⁴⁷⁸ which this research has found to be problematic, especially if it is in support of the Rhodesian authorities who paid lip-service to civilisation and Christianity. Again, we could be reminded of a Eusebius who saw the emperor Constantine as one ordained to defeat all his enemies in the name of God. Indeed, Lewis makes reference to Emperor Constantine, and we could highlight some of the points that come out clearly in this connection: Firstly, Lewis acknowledges the fact that the Roman empire in question was “harsh and oppressive, but it more or less kept the peace”.¹⁴⁷⁹ Secondly, “If Christians could only regard it as evil, having been so bitterly persecuted by it, it was nevertheless better than anarchy.”¹⁴⁸⁰ Thirdly, “established authority, even when...oppressive” could be seen as “a lesser evil than chaos.”¹⁴⁸¹ Fourthly, and this seems to be the main point in the foregoing connection:

Any government (even a Christian one) has to deal with fallen and unregenerate human nature. Selfless converted Christians are relatively few in any age, and even they are not free from the human weaknesses which make government necessary. In all governments duress is unavoidable, and the contemporary fashion of describing it as ‘violence’ (or ‘police brutality’) is nonsense.¹⁴⁸²

Here again, we see his Eusebian appreciation of empire! Anything done by those in power must always be understood as good no matter how crude and unjust it could prove to be. If this is not similar to Eusebius’ approach, then nothing else can be regarded as being so close in resemblance.

It is clear that Lewis has no problems with the way any empire could deal with its subjects as long as the result is, peace, order and not chaos or anarchy. Any means to such ends could, therefore, be justifiable. The question of whose peace or order seems to be irrelevant in the discourse that favours the empire. After all, according to Lewis, no amount of horrors committed in the name of Christianity could compare with the values of “self-control and self-sacrifice” that it gave rise to over the ages.¹⁴⁸³ According to Lewis, the end does justify the means, and

¹⁴⁷⁸. Lewis, *op.cit.*p.20f

¹⁴⁷⁹. *Ibid.*p.23

¹⁴⁸⁰. *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸¹. *Ibid.*p.23f

¹⁴⁸². *Ibid.*p.24

¹⁴⁸³. *Ibid.*

therefore even the colonisation of other nations that we have been discrediting is something he could bless. Nevertheless, it could also be seen as an argument aimed at justifying the “excesses” the Rhodesian government adopted, when dealing with indigenous discontent as it was responsible “for keeping the peace”.¹⁴⁸⁴

In line with the above, that Lewis was insensitive to the indigenous people’s concerns becomes clear when he refers to the attacks on camps in Mozambique that were used by both freedom fighters and refugees. As usual, he coats his observations with moral appeals to make them cogent. He states that meanwhile “hundreds of innocent black and white people have been savagely murdered by terrorists” there was hardly any meaningful responses “from many of the Churches.”¹⁴⁸⁵ However, when the Rhodesian forces attacked the ‘terrorists’ camps:

...pinpointing their targets precisely –wails of horror rose to the heavens, days of mourning were declared, statements of condemnation issued, special services were held and press pictures appeared showing black faces raised in supplication. In fact the usual leftist ecclesiastical protest was put into top gear, almost by reflex action.¹⁴⁸⁶

Lewis goes on to admit that “some women and children were killed” but is quick to point out that these “were being trained in terrorist warfare.”¹⁴⁸⁷

In other words, the Rhodesians had the right to kill both women and children as long as they could justify it. The indigenes were supposed to have no say in the affairs that impacted negatively on them and were generally expected to be passive or docile. Again, his contention that women and children were being trained to be “terrorists” shows how disconnected he was with the hopes and aspiration of the indigenous people in Rhodesia.

In line with the foregoing, the Nyadzonia massacre, that Lewis justifies, is given a different dimension in one source that seems to capture information that could have been classified at that time... It refers to the Selous Scouts, a Rhodesian

¹⁴⁸⁴. Lewis, op.cit.p.27

¹⁴⁸⁵. Ibid..

¹⁴⁸⁶. Ibid

¹⁴⁸⁷. Ibid.p.28

counter-insurgency unit whose dirty operations call the whole argument of civilisation among the whites into question within this context.¹⁴⁸⁸ We are further told that:

The success of the most spectacular pseudo-operation mounted by the Scouts was largely due to a captured guerrilla named Morrison Nyathi. He rode in the lead vehicle when the Scouts drove into the Nyadzonja camp near the Pungwe river in Mozambique dressed as Frelimo soldiers. The camp contained several thousand Zimbabweans who had fled to join the nationalist cause. They were unarmed, and about 1,000 died in the raid.¹⁴⁸⁹

This contradicts Lewis' claims. The information comes from inside sources who could be trusted more than Lewis himself. Our concern again is that this Lewis who elects to appeal to propagandist methods, is a Christian leader who should have been guided by the gospel principles to which he pays lip-service. He does not demonstrate that his conscience also had to accommodate the indigenous people.

Lewis, therefore, advances to us narratives that could distort the history of what was obtaining in Rhodesia during the seventies. He is pre-occupied with justifying colonial domination to the extent of making the indigenous people redundant in terms of their hopes and aspirations as free human beings. The things he says about the indigenous in a context in which their voices counted for nothing, affirm his supremacist convictions. At the end of the day, Lewis' narratives lead us nowhere in terms of understanding the racial tensions that obtained in Rhodesia and that called for a bitter war for the liberation of the indigenous.

7.12. The programme to combat racism

¹⁴⁸⁸. MacManus, J., 1989: Secrets of the Rhodesian War. In the Spectator, UK. Available online at: <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/11th-november-1989/12/secrets-of-the-rhodesian-war>. Accessed on 28 October 2016. The article shades more light on atrocities that church people such as Lewis took for granted as terrorist inspired when in actual fact the Rhodesian government could have been equally responsible. For example the following information is quite revealing: "Mr Ellert is also able to throw new light on one of the worst atrocities of the war, the Elim mission massacre in the Eastern Highlands in June 1978. On a cold winter's night six armed men wearing balaclavas entered the students' dormitory at the mission which lies high up in the Vumba Mountains on the Mozambique border. They identified themselves as guerrillas loyal to Robert Mugabe and told the students that the school was closed. They then woke the nine British missionaries and their four children, bound them, and herded them into the freezing night. The women were raped, the men beaten and all were finally hacked to death and chopped into pieces. No single incident during a 15-year war led to such international condemnation of the guerrillas. The white community was revolted and the internal settlement involving Bishop Muzorewa given fresh impetus".

¹⁴⁸⁹. MacManus, op.cit.

By the 1970s, the Christian world had become alert to the distasteful problem of racism and resolved to deal with it. Our Anglican Church in Mashonaland becomes a curious respondent to the initiatives under the banner of the programme meant to neutralise racism worldwide. In our context, the focus is on Southern Africa, and on Rhodesia to be precise.

7.12.0. Lewis and Burrough versus pro-indigenous initiative

It is important at this point to say something about the Programme to Combat Racism as it was interpreted by the leadership of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Both Burrough and Lewis, referred to above, were hostile to the programme for the obvious reasons that have been outlined.

One writer who prepared a paper about the World Council of Churches (WCC) for the 1975 Synod of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) included comments on the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) as he understood it.¹⁴⁹⁰ He admits that controversy surrounded the establishment by the WCC, of the Special Fund under the auspices of the PCR.¹⁴⁹¹ What made the establishment of the Special Fund controversial was that it was aimed at bank-rolling liberation movements in Southern Africa inclusive of those who were fighting in Rhodesia.¹⁴⁹²

The above was in line with the WCC's support to reduce the gap between the rich and poor, compounded by the link to white racism and white political dominance of this phenomenon.¹⁴⁹³ Understood globally, the problem of white socio-economic and political dominance, aggravated by white racism was already meeting with radical opposition from both the First World and Third World powers.¹⁴⁹⁴ It is clear that the WCC and whatever else it did on this matter was in solidarity with a much wider constituency of the world and not just a result of communist or Marxist

¹⁴⁹⁰. AB1085: "For the 8th. Synod, 1975, C.P.C.A.", p.1, (74).11.D). Historical research Papers, Wits, op.cit

¹⁴⁹¹. Ibid.

¹⁴⁹². Ibid.

¹⁴⁹³. Ibid.p.4

¹⁴⁹⁴. Ibid.

infiltration.¹⁴⁹⁵ Lewis' position included above seems to be oblivious of this critical fact.

According to Arnolds, the Diocese of Mashonaland, under the leadership of Burrough could not be part of the WCC because of its stance and methods with regard to racism¹⁴⁹⁶ and related matters as we have outlined above. Meanwhile, the Diocese of Matabeleland was reluctant to make any resolution on the same subject.¹⁴⁹⁷ However, if racism was being widely condemned and challenged by the global community, what made the Diocese of Mashonaland reject the programme?

It is clear that Lewis got much inspiration from the position of the Diocese of Mashonaland for he takes up the cause against the Programme to Combat Racism almost to its logical conclusions. In his efforts to discredit the PCR, Lewis cites the state of affairs in Mozambique and Angola where they had been Marxist takeovers and laments the deplorable conditions that obtained after that.¹⁴⁹⁸ In connection with the war that was raging in Rhodesia, Lewis includes graphic and highly sensitive photos¹⁴⁹⁹ just to demonstrate how evil "terrorism" was and perhaps to expose the fact that the Special Fund under the PCR was responsible for fuelling such atrocities.

The foregoing is narrated by Lewis under the topic "The Tally of Terror."¹⁵⁰⁰ Meanwhile, some of the atrocities could not be disputed; it remains a mystery that while such brutality carried the day some sections of the international community could find a reason to support the perpetrators of such violence, financially or otherwise without attracting worldwide moral outrage. There must have been something that they saw acceptable among those who were fighting for their freedom. After all, racism, white domination of the blacks and economic inequalities were spelt out as evils, which the Christians had to resist through the WCC initiatives.

¹⁴⁹⁵. AB1085: "For the 8th. Synod, 1975, C.P.C.A.", p.4, (74).11.D). Historical research Papers, Wits op.cit

¹⁴⁹⁶. Arnolds, op.cit.pp.133 and p.135.

¹⁴⁹⁷. Ibid.p.133

¹⁴⁹⁸. Lewis, op.cit.pp.52ff

¹⁴⁹⁹. Ibid. See for example pp.55, 56 and 65.

¹⁵⁰⁰. Ibid.pp.51-66

7.12.1. Burrough, Lewis and white supremacy

We know that any reference to the ‘Marxist threat’ was meant to discredit the indigenous people’s political aspirations in Rhodesia. Some in the western world knew very well that they had betrayed the African cause and so progressive blacks were looking to the East for sympathy, which they got from friendly nations such as Russia and China,¹⁵⁰¹ to name a few major powers. Instead of admitting that Africans had genuine concerns that needed to be addressed, Europeans generally adopted a defensive approach, and Bishop Burrough’s and Lewis’ sympathies could be seen in this connection. We are not worried about the bishop’s private convictions in this connection, but our critique is based on the fact that the public office he occupied, calls for such a scrutiny. For the Bishop to adopt a partisan stance, it meant compromising many indigenous people’s hopes and aspirations.

7.12.2. Burrough’s hypocritical stance

In line with the foregoing, we hear Burrough, in solidarity with his brother, Bishop Wood of Matabeleland, encouraging the people of Rhodesia to seek reconciliation as the way forward.¹⁵⁰² Yet even in this connection, the language used gives Burrough away. Where Bishop Wood spoke categorically about the need to dissolve racial segregation in its entirety and within Rhodesia; Burrough referred to wanton violence that obtained at that time.¹⁵⁰³

Burrough, in the above connection, was able to make a distinction between a “tougher government” and “bloodier” opposition.¹⁵⁰⁴ It is clear that he was against the bloodier opposition that he had qualified as engaging in “aggressive violence, indiscriminate, cruel, hideous...” and such horrendous activities.¹⁵⁰⁵ His language

¹⁵⁰¹. The Role of the People’s Republic of China in South Africa’s Liberation Struggle and MK, 2015: SAHO, RSA. Available online at: Url:

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/role-people%E2%80%99s-republic-china-south-africa%E2%80%99s-liberation-struggle-and-mk>. Accessed 26 June 2016. The article indicates that as early as the 1960s, China and Russia were already competing to sponsor liberation movements in Southern Africa. To this day, China has continued to be a critical player in Zimbabwe and, hence an important ally during socio-political as well as economic uncertainties. ,

¹⁵⁰². Arnold,op.cit.p.139

¹⁵⁰³. ibid

¹⁵⁰⁴. ibid

¹⁵⁰⁵. ibid

in this connection could not be distinguished from that of Fr Lewis that favoured those who were in power in Rhodesia. It is always curious within the Rhodesian context to note that the history of colonial dominance was being accepted as the norm by those who saw the indigenous people's responses as terrorism. Another fascinating complacency in this context lies in the fact not many missionaries were ready to accept the negative impact of colonialism on the indigenous people in Rhodesia.

7.12.3. Church leadership and lies

In the mid-seventies, the reference to terrorists and their alleged cruelty had become part of Smith's propaganda strategy.¹⁵⁰⁶ Why would there be the need to use money to entice people to report the presence of terrorists when the latter's actions, if all the claims were true, could give them away? People do not need any incentives to fight against terrorism. Any evil act tends to destroy itself and so could any form of terrorism. That money was being used without emphasis on the morality of colonial dominance and exploitation seems to suggest that the indigenous did not have many values informing their lives. That conviction is extremely hard to believe even now. Something was grossly amiss in terms of how the Rhodesian government understood itself and the challenges facing it.

The attitude towards the Rhodesian war by Anglican Church leaders, who tended to adopt a partisan position in their approaches, meant they could afford to blunder and therefore, lose touch with the reality on the ground. A source that reflects on what was obtaining in Rhodesia towards the end of the 1970s, observes the following developments:

British Intelligence had a brilliant record in Rhodesia. The MI6 reports crossing Carrington's desk that autumn told him what Ian Smith also knew, but could never accept: the war had been lost and South Africa, distracted by the conflict of Angola, was not about to step in and pick up the pieces. The rival guerrilla forces of Nkomo and Mugabe were gathering men and material along Rhodesia's borders for a final offensive during the 1979-80, November to March, rainy season. For the first time large-scale urban terrorism in Salisbury was being

¹⁵⁰⁶. See the campaign poster below on it was meant to attract villagers into supporting Smith's war efforts. Looking at it, money would be more urgent than the cause. Had this succeeded in bringing "terrorism" to an end, one wonders whether the indigenous people were going to be respected for betraying their own cause in favour of the white establishment.

planned. Many areas of the countryside had fallen under nationalist control, allowing guerrillas to move large numbers of men by daylight.¹⁵⁰⁷

Such information, in line with the above, gives us an indication that Rhodesian history was even distorted by the ecclesiastical authorities who suppressed the truth on the ground. The above-cited source goes on to note that the Rhodesian security forces' morale was sinking fast¹⁵⁰⁸ and, yet, when we refer to Lewis' work, this Anglican churchman may be seen to have been distorting facts. The reality of many uncertainties bedeviling the Rhodesian authorities is highlighted by MacManus as he goes on to note that:

It was against this fearful background that Ian Smith played for time at Lancaster House, hoping for a nationalist walk-out But Carrington kept Nkomo and Mugabe in play. As the conference dragged into December, Smith was forced to accept a return to legality under British rule and new elections. The white minority avoided the indignity of outright military defeat but it was the imminence of a guerrilla victory in the field that allowed the British to negotiate the transfer of power.¹⁵⁰⁹

The Rhodesian history is therefore interesting in that some white Anglican Church leaders were lured into believing falsified information about which they became so passionate.

¹⁵⁰⁷. MacManus, *op.cit.*

¹⁵⁰⁸. *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰⁹. MacManus, *op.cit.*

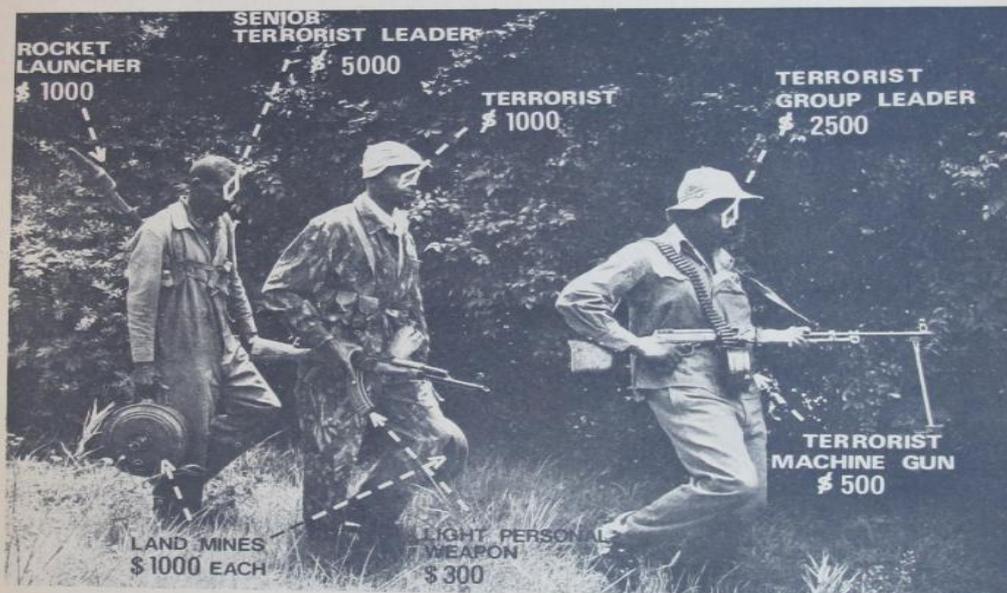


REWARDS

You are reminded that large rewards continue to be paid to those persons who give information leading directly to the death or capture of terrorists and their weapons.

Do not be afraid to report all you know about the whereabouts of terrorists and their weapons because your identity will be kept secret and the reward you earn will be paid to you privately. You can choose to be paid in cash or the money can be put into a Post Office or Building Society savings account in your name.

Look at the amounts shown against the terrorists and their weapons in the photograph below.



Other terrorist weapons not shown in the photograph above also qualify for the payment of a reward. The amounts vary according to the type of weapon and the quantity thereof.

REPORT QUICKLY!

3rd February, 1975.

Printed by the Government Printer

Figure 7.2: Rhodesian propaganda against freedom fighters¹⁵¹⁰

¹⁵¹⁰. REWARDS, 1975: Available online at Url: <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>. Accessed on 11 February 2016. Rhodesian propaganda that Burrough could have been supportive of. The message reads as follows: "You are reminded that large rewards continue to be paid to those persons who give information leading directly to the death or capture of terrorists and their weapons. Do not be afraid to report all you know about the whereabouts of terrorists and their weapons because your identity will be kept secret and the reward you earn will be paid to you privately. You can choose to be paid in cash or the money can be put into a Post Office or Building Society savings account in your name. Look at the amounts shown against the terrorists and their weapons in the photograph below". Below the photograph the message is "Other terrorist weapons not shown in the photograph above also qualify for the payment of a reward. The amounts vary according to the type of weapon and the amounts thereof. REPORT QUICKLY!" Dated 3rd February 1975.

It is not surprising that Burrough could refer to “bloodier opposition” in 1974.¹⁵¹¹ Two years later, in 1976, Burrough again caused his Suffragan Bishop, Patrick Murindagomo, to oppose him after preaching what could have been interpreted as a biased sermon while he was at St Paul’s Cathedral, London.¹⁵¹²

7.12.4. Why Burrough was challenged by Murindagomo

From what Arnold captures for us in connection with the sermon, Bishop Burrough’s position could be highlighted as follows: Firstly, the Bishop did not believe that Africans needed to be given political independence as soon as possible and, therefore; their appeal to militancy to achieve this could not be tolerated.¹⁵¹³ Here again, the bishop was being very paternalistic and, thereby demonstrating that the indigenous people were mere children. Secondly, the bishop believed that he was a better champion of the Africans’ rights than most of the African clergy in his diocese.¹⁵¹⁴ Thirdly, he feared the economic collapse of the country and, was hence, reluctant to support any change that could be brought about through violence.¹⁵¹⁵

In line with the preceding, we have already seen how Lewis takes the trouble to highlight the economic collapse in Mozambique and Angola after the Marxist takeover. Fourthly, the bishop looked forward to a gradual initiation of the Africans into the system of government that would be inclusive.¹⁵¹⁶ Both Lewis and Burrough failed to alert us to the fact that the optimism they had was one sided, favouring the socio-political and economic dominance of the white people in Rhodesia, over and against the indigenous people. The gradual transition they hoped for could be seen as just a way of buying time since decades had already passed with very little or no advancement among the indigenous people. After all, the indigenous had no say over what could be done for them making such claims of their progress almost like empty promises. Such a critical analysis by historians of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland is still to be advanced in an in-depth fashion as not much has been done in this regard.

¹⁵¹¹. Arnold, op.cit.p.139

¹⁵¹². Ibid,

¹⁵¹³. Ibid.p.143

¹⁵¹⁴. Ibid.p.143

¹⁵¹⁵. Ibid.pp.143f.

¹⁵¹⁶. Ibid, p.144

7.12.5. Chennells' response to Burrough's blunders

A.J. Chennells when observing what Burrough was saying in line with the foregoing, comments that:

Burrough responded to reports of the war in the local media which were expressions of a sophisticated propaganda exercise. Nationalist guerrillas were invariably represented as murderous thugs who had no support from the people. Atrocities by the security forces were never mentioned and the impression of a peaceful land turned into a shambles by nationalist savagery was conveyed by press and radio day after day.¹⁵¹⁷

We have already talked about prophecy in compromised contexts. Prophecy is not about popular sentiments but about what should be the case. To follow propagandist claims is not one of the qualifications of true prophecy and therefore Burrough and Lewis failed this criterion. Their failure meant that they could easily sing eulogies on behalf of the Rhodesian Empire and not of the truth as the gospels imperatives dictate.

In connection with the foregoing, Chennells goes on to add that,

This was the way White Rhodesians saw the war and it is hardly surprising that most of them should have regarded any claim that there was a defensible morality in the nationalists' methods and motives as wickedly perverse.¹⁵¹⁸

Clearly, if we are going to be faithful to our narrative of the Rhodesian history and how morality could be called in, the nationalists' methods were nothing to write home about. This is a country that had been invaded and its people brought under colonial rule forcibly. That after so many years, of oppression and blatant racism, an appeal to morality could be made on behalf of the colonisers and their descendants becomes extremely problematic during the late sixties and seventies. It could continue to be a cause for controversy for many years to come. Chennells, therefore, proceeds in connection with the foregoing:

But that Burrough should have given the impression of sharing the limited understanding of his fellow Whites of how the war was being conducted is difficult even now to explain and defend, except that he shared with White members of his

¹⁵¹⁷Chennells, A.J., 2005: ANGLICANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE, Michigan State University, USA. p.78. Available online at: <https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Journal%20of%20the%20University%20of%20Zimbabwe/vol15n1/juz015001006.pdf> . Accessed on 30 March 2012

¹⁵¹⁸ibid.

flock an understanding of the events leading up to the war and of how the war was being conducted.¹⁵¹⁹

The above, therefore, had nothing to do with the indigenous people Burrough was supposed to represent as well. That he knew them well and had their welfare at heart flies in the face of common prudence if we are to go by the facts encountered in this connection. This is the kind of bigotry that is difficult to accommodate in a context that could qualify to be Christian and civilised.

The Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland was, therefore, playing into the hands of the very people he was supposed to call to order. By failing to see what was wrong with the white establishment in Rhodesia, he also forfeited the right to be a true shepherd of the indigenous Anglicans. He identified with those who had the power and not with those who stood in need of being defended. The indigenous radical nationalists were, therefore, doing for themselves what the missionaries had collectively failed to do.

It is clear that Burrough was a bishop who was not only controversial but self-contradictory if the African spirit is to be appealed to here. The fact that he did not see Africans as being equal to the Europeans is clear from his view of the native clergy whom he expected to be vocal and yet, had not been sufficiently prepared for a prophetic ministry. This we could rightly maintain, given the fact that the reason why violence had been chosen by blacks was precisely because of the oppressive systems in place. We met Canon Chipunza in 1956 who pointed out that there was racism within the Church, making it difficult for the latter to challenge the government to desist from such evil practices. There is a saying to the effect that no mother crab could teach its young ones to move straight and not sideways. If the Church was compromised, how could it teach the State to do its business from informed moral standpoints?

We should be able to support the fact that Burrough contradicted his own principles by claiming to speak on behalf of the Africans and yet, did not support their methods of asserting grievances within the Rhodesian context. In this

¹⁵¹⁹. Chennells, op.cit.

connection, we meet him in 1977 very much in support of Ian Smith's programme of protected villages in areas into which freedom fighters had infiltrated.¹⁵²⁰ It was Burrough's conviction that this method was going to make it difficult for the freedom fighters to make any significant breakthroughs.¹⁵²¹ This clearly was not a measure to protect the indigenous people concerned from terrorism, but a strategy to win the war that the Rhodesian forces were losing.

7.12.6. Burrough's ignorance of the so-called protected villages

There are many sources that tell us sad stories about the protected villages that Burrough supported. For example, we learn that the Rhodesian government lied to the world that these protected villages consisted of modern brick houses with running water, schools and clinics.¹⁵²² Some curious observers who visited these villages noted the following: In 1974, there were no brick houses that had been provided by the government at all; basic hygiene was compromised; many deaths occurred especially among the children and the elderly due to exposure of these difficult conditions.¹⁵²³ Perhaps people such as Bishop Burrough relied too much on sources that highlighted the fact that protected villages were almost like towns because they "were well illuminated, had adequate clean water, schooling and medical care. Each village even had its own radio station."¹⁵²⁴ We have seen that this was part of the Rhodesian government's propaganda strategy to win sympathisers at home and abroad.

Recently, some interested investigators who went to the Chiweshe area to interview people about the protected were told that,

The herding of people into these fenced villages was hated by the rural folk. For a start they loathed being moved away from close to their fields, with their animals left to roam before being impounded and slaughtered by the regime's soldiers. Life inside the Keeps was hell on earth. The promised provisions were non-existent. Men, women and children were crammed into the Keeps with no ablution facilities. With the overcrowding, disease outbreaks like typhoid and diarrhoea were a common feature.¹⁵²⁵

¹⁵²⁰. AB1085: "Church of the Province of Central Africa: General Collection: 1969-1978". Historical Research Papers Wits, op.cit

¹⁵²¹. Ibid.

¹⁵²². <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>, op.cit.

¹⁵²³. Ibid.

¹⁵²⁴. The Start of the Protected Village Programme, in THE RHODESIAN FORCES WEB SITE. Available online at: Url: <http://rhodesianforces.org/Intafprotectedvillageprogramme.htm>. Accessed on 31 October 2016

¹⁵²⁵. Protected Villages a total failure, 2016: in The Patriot, Zimbabwe. Available online at: Url:

We are worried that the Bishop of Mashonaland was not aware of all these problems being cited. We therefore find it easier to agree with Chennells' observation noted earlier on to the effect that the Bishop relied on what the propaganda of Ian Smith was peddling.

We must remember that Bishop Burrough opposed violence, but only that initiated by the blacks and not so much the violence perpetrated by the whites. Of course, the whites when armed were called security forces, while the indigenous who got arms to liberate themselves, were called terrorists. Perhaps that negative terminology with regard to the freedom fighters, caused the bishop and many others in his context, to get things wrong. It was also an indication that not many white missionaries were ready to look at the truth within the Rhodesian context. That truth had to do with the suppression of the indigenous people's hopes and aspirations in their entirety. In this context, we are insisting that gospel imperatives do not make sense when they do not address such evils.

7.12.7. Garfield Todd's critical observations about Rhodesia

We are therefore able to contrast Burrough's views with those of Garfield Todd. As quoted in the Sunday Mail of 10 July 1977, Todd criticised the reluctance of the whites to grant independence to the blacks.¹⁵²⁶ This reluctance had no doubt made black people so impatient that an appeal to a violent struggle was the only way left for them.¹⁵²⁷ The war that the country was enduring was, therefore, the result of the white people's obstinacy to grant the Africans their socio-political and economic rights.¹⁵²⁸ This was not a war based on unleashing terror as the Rhodesian propaganda machinery was upbeat about.¹⁵²⁹ It could be rightly argued that Burrough took the white people's self-imposed supremacy for granted in Rhodesia and, hence, neutralised his own prophetic voice. Going back to the issue of gospel imperatives, we see that the Bishop of Mashonaland was nowhere near the goal, as he had directly or indirectly chosen to be part of the problem instead of the solution.

https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/protected-villages-a-total-failure/. Accessed on 18 April 2016

¹⁵²⁶. AB1085, op.cit

¹⁵²⁷. ibid

¹⁵²⁸. AB1085, op.cit.

¹⁵²⁹. Anatomy of Terror, op.cit.

Burrough, therefore, supported any developments that seemed to side-line those who were fighting to liberate Rhodesia from the white supremacists as was demonstrated by his approval of the internal settlement signed by Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau.¹⁵³⁰ The general understanding among patriotic Zimbabweans during this period was that this settlement was a futile undertaking and this is why the Patriotic Front did not recognise it.¹⁵³¹ The war continued unabated while the Anglican Church under Burrough did not speak prophetically against such a compromise. This is clear from the bishop's letter to the then Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher. The letter is captured here in full (see image below).

7.12.8. Burrough and the Patriotic Front

The contents of the letter are conspiratorial as usual. In it, the Bishop of Mashonaland tried to persuade Thatcher to recognise the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government basing his argument on the fact that he was on the ground and knew how the majority of Zimbabweans felt.¹⁵³² Facts we have included above seem to indicate that the Bishop was lying about the Rhodesian situation. In the letter to Thatcher, he saw the freedom fighters as "intimidators" and, therefore, people who could not win free and fair elections.¹⁵³³ We are already faced with a political commissar in the guise of a bishop. Burrough was not ready to allow blacks to map their destiny and, hence, his insistence on the fact that they were being dictated to by communists and nothing more.¹⁵³⁴ Again, Burrough's exaggerated paternalism manifests itself. It would have been curious if this Bishop were still alive and able to comment on the developments within an independent Zimbabwe. For all the evils obtaining in Zimbabwe today in terms of race relations, Anglican leadership that did not depart from Burrough's arrogance should be held responsible as well.

¹⁵³⁰. Lapsley, op.cit. p.122

¹⁵³¹. <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>, op.cit.

¹⁵³². AB1085: "Church of the Province of Central Africa: General Collection...op.cit.

¹⁵³³. Ibid.

¹⁵³⁴. Lapsley, op.cit.p.124



BISHOP'S MOUNT
P.O. BOX 7
PHONE 44113

CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF CENTRAL AFRICA
The Diocese of Mashonaland

TEL. 702233

FROM THE BISHOP OF MASHONALAND

DIOCESAN OFFICE,
P.O. BOX 147,
PAGET HOUSE,
UNION AVENUE,
SALISBURY, RHODESIA

The Rt; Honourable, the Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

22 Aug 79

Dear Prime Minister,

You kindly received and replied to a letter of mine a few weeks ago. This has encouraged me to set down for you a sequence of thoughts about this country at the present time. I travel the country very widely, and have just returned from taking Services in a Protected Village close to the Mozambique border. I therefore listen to very many and varied opinions. In the light of these, I believe the following to be true:-

1. Unless strong reassurance for the future comes by next November, very many European and African farmers will not plant for the 1980 season, and, from this, grave economic collapse would begin throughout the nation.
2. An immediate consequence of this would be that very many Europeans would leave this country under their "contingency plans", and the situation would worsen rapidly.
3. Many risked their lives to produce with infinite labour a basically fair and free Election last April. They would not do this again, so that another Election would merely give power to the strongest intimidator.
4. Shona people vote for the strongest man, not the most suitable man when they are fearful. This is the sensible logic of expediency if one cannot defend oneself.
5. The present Security Forces can contain the military situation, but cannot prevent what has already largely happened - the collapse of the fabric of community living and law and order.
6. The present course of affairs and the postponement of the lifting of Sanctions would mean a continual erosion until a Marxist take-over of a totally ruined society and economy. Only recognition of the present Government can de-escalate the war. Recognition would produce not a bang, but a deflated whimper from the Front Line States.

I am, Madam, yours sincerely,

+ Paul Mashonaland

Figure 7.3 Letter sent by Burrough to the British Prime Minister¹⁵³⁵

¹⁵³⁵ Zimbabwe: Bishop of Mashonaland letter to MT (need for recognition of Muzorewa-led government) [declassified 2009]. Margaret Thatcher Foundation, UK. Available online at: Url: <https://www.margarethatcher.org/document/117079>. Accessed on 14 March 2011.

In the letter we have included above, the Prime Minister of Britain, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, is being given misleading information. Several points could be isolated and scrutinised. Firstly, the very fact that elections had been held bringing about Zimbabwe-Rhodesia into existence and the war continued unabated, is a clear indication that the indigenous people were not satisfied and that the whole of the nationalist spectrum had not been consulted. That war was being waged by the very indigenous who had been forced into collective subservience by the whites and who were expected to be passive. The fear that force by the freedom fighters was going to carry the day could be seen as being in line with Burrough's pursuance of an anti-communist agenda as he had already shown by disapproving the Programme to Combat Racism. It is also an indirect admission that the "terrorists" had gained the upper hand in Rhodesia over the years, raising the whole question of what the security forces were doing in the bush.

Secondly, and in line with Burrough, freedom fighters were terrorists and accordingly, people who thrived on intimidation. Thirdly, only the whites could farm and not the indigenous, and, therefore, the bishop did not appreciate the potential of the indigenous farmer that colonialism was busy destroying. The appeal to Britain seemed humanitarian, but underneath it, were racist sentiments just as was the case with UDI. This is extremely confusing, especially as it came from a man of God who, seemed to be ignorant of what was really happening in the country to which he was ministering. That he had the courage to write such misleading narratives of the Rhodesian saga in 1979 leaves us with no other option except to conclude, that for this Anglican leadership, the empire had become more important than God. To be a leader in the Church and to ignore the prophetic voice of Jesus Christ happens to be a serious contradiction that only the most naive could entertain. Below we continue to look at the Rhodesian problems by introducing the Dean of the Cathedral in Harare and his moral outrage.

7.13. John Da Costa's appeal to the international community

When an aeroplane from Kariba was shot down by ZIPRA forces sometime in 1978, Burrough's dean, John Da Costa preached his famous sermon that was

given the title “Deafening silence” at the Memorial Service in the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury.¹⁵³⁶ For our purposes, this sermon needs to be analysed against the theme of the theology of empire.

7.13.0. An ambiguous Da Costa

Firstly Da Costa makes reference to the idea that clergymen may not represent partisan politics.¹⁵³⁷ To this end, he pointed out,

A minister of religion who has well-known political views, and allows them to come to the fore, cannot reconcile, but will alienate others, and fail in the chief part of his ministry.¹⁵³⁸

Here it seems the dean was applying a general principle that may have been oblivious to the particular context in which he found himself. We are talking about a Rhodesian situation that had been imposed since 1890 by the settlers.

The appeal to general moral norms in this particular context could be seen as the recipe for neutralising its impact. In 1978, to ignore what had gone before and had impacted on the developments he was trying to address was really off the mark. What we have narrated up to this point in time proves to us that Rhodesia had disqualified itself from being a beneficiary of general moral norms among all its inhabitants. The situation obtaining was compromised, and one group mistakenly thought it owned the other and this blunder complicated matters. To anticipate good behaviour in a context where so many decades of oppression had contradicted such attitudes among the indigenous does not help us understand the impact of the alienation involved. For the Anglican Church in Mashonaland to be led by leaders who paid lip-service to gospel imperatives at this point was itself a disturbing development.

On the occasion of this disaster, Da Costa saw it fitting “to speak out, and in direct and forthright terms, like trumpets with unmistakable notes” about “the kingdom of God” and not about a “political kingdom” as had been envisaged by Kwame

¹⁵³⁶. Lapsley, op.cit.p.123

¹⁵³⁷. The Silence is Deafening, Sermon by Very Rev. John da Costa, Anglican Dean of Salisbury in Rhodesia and South Africa: Military History, Available online at: Url: <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>. Accessed on 18 June 2012

¹⁵³⁸. Ibid.

Nkrumah of Ghana.¹⁵³⁹ The moral tone is raised to the highest level when he maintained that:

Nobody who holds sacred the dignity of human life can be anything but sickened at the events attending the crash of the Viscount Hunyani. Survivors have the greatest call on the sympathy and assistance of every other human being. The horror of the crash was bad enough, but that this should have been compounded by murder of the most savage and treacherous sort leaves us stunned with disbelief and brings revulsion in the minds of anyone deserving the name 'human'.¹⁵⁴⁰

Again, here is an Anglican leader within the Rhodesian context who seemed to have been oblivious to the fact that the indigenous people were being subjected to some of the most heinous attacks ever recorded. MacManus again comes to our rescue, contrary to Da Costa's position, as he points out that:

...the Scouts distributed poisoned clothing to guerrillas in a number of eastern districts in 1976, causing hundreds of deaths. It took about six days for the poison to be absorbed. The death throes that followed were akin to extreme symptoms of malaria so that it took the guerrillas some time to uncover the deadly deception. The operation was finally called off when the regular police began investigating the widespread deaths of innocent villagers who had somehow got their hands on the toxic clothing.¹⁵⁴¹

The use of chemical or biological warfare was also common during the Rhodesian war, but our Da Costa seems to have been extremely selective about what to condemn. This time, whites were at the receiving end, and so the horrors could be highlighted. This critical narrative is prompted by the strong position envisaged by Da Costa in his sermon. We stand reminded that this has always been highlighted in our work as the real challenge: that of double standards and the Anglican Church in Mashonaland failing from the beginning to reconcile blacks and white. Propaganda was allowed too much space and the Church leadership was found wanting in terms of being able to be prophetic in the context. This table below is informative if we were to add a dimension of which Da Costa could have been oblivious.

Dr Watt discusses his views of the propaganda books and torture:

¹⁵³⁹. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>.

¹⁵⁴⁰. Ibid

¹⁵⁴¹. MacManus, op.cit.

I agree that most whites had a very low estimate of the African psyche, not surprising as every immigrant (including myself) was given a book called "The Man and His Ways." The gist of this book was that as long as the African had his tobacco, his beer and his woman, he was happy. The people who produced these ridiculous publications had, indeed, no idea of what was going on the ground.

The guerrillas committed atrocities in our area, cutting off the lips of a supposed informer with a pair of pliers and bayoneting another. Photographers recorded the first lady, but did not know of another patient, just a few beds away in Karanda Hospital, who had his fingers shot off one-by-one by the troops. There were atrocities on both sides. Had the troops been under better discipline, had they not been given blanket amnesty by Ian Smith, they might have been seen in a better light.

Torture by anti-insurgency forces continued at the police camp (Chombira) and near the police station (Concession). This consisted of electrical shocks, beatings and partial drowning in a 44-gallon drum of water followed by resuscitation. One headman who survived this was also flown over his village, suspended by a rope tied to his legs. The object, in the words of a member of the forces, was to show that "the terrorists may be tough, but we can be tougher."



Figure 7.4

Dead Terrorist Leaflet

The three young men depicted in this 1973 government leaflet were shot and refused burial, a horrific desecration in the Shona culture. The message on the back of the leaflet mentions that the closure of schools, clinics, stores, grinding mills and beer halls is so that the troops and police can do a good job catching the terrorists and those who help them, and saying that if people give information to the police, the schools and stores will reopen. The psychological effect of the posters coming at this time was, however, to elicit disgust with the government and sympathy for those who had died fighting it.

The local people's response to the psychological warfare campaign was quite the opposite of that intended. A cartoon of a woman about to be raped (disgusting in the eyes of the villagers) brought memories of the raping by security forces. Pictures of rotting, unburied guerrilla bodies brought sympathy. Talk of "mad-dog communists" (the workers had never heard of communists before -- the subject was forbidden in schools) who wanted to beat and enslave them only made them think of government torture and being locked up in "protected villages." When a government has compassion, truth and justice on its side, there is no need for "psychological warfare".¹⁵⁴²

7.13.1. The wrong pulpit for an important sermon

Given that there was a dismal failure in the appeal to propaganda tactics by the white authorities in Rhodesia during the 1970s, the crimes that Da Costa was condemning were simply a culmination of moral decadence that the white settlers had promoted directly and indirectly. Meanwhile, there is no doubt that such a sermon was needed in this context, it came from the wrong pulpit, and it complicates matters for us, given the facts that we are constantly appealing to here. The theology of empire was taking its toll, unabatedly.

In this work, what we have been documenting in terms of brutality or barbarism from 1890 in Mashonaland should be brought to bear on what Da Costa was saying. This time, the majority who have died are whites, and so the world must be challenged to sympathise. Two years prior to this event, the Nyadzonia massacre

¹⁵⁴². <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>? (Reproduced with permission).op.cit.

in Mozambique had taken place, and more than a thousand of blacks had lost their lives.¹⁵⁴³ In 1977, more than three thousand Zimbabweans were also massacred at Chimoio and Tembwe in Mozambique.¹⁵⁴⁴ We will search for a sermon that was preached within the same context to condemn such brutality by Smith's regime to no avail. A consistent prophetic stance could not approach such horrendous acts in a selective manner or nauseating racial prejudice. The Cathedral in Salisbury did not have plaques in memory of the innocent indigenous people who had been massacred, and neither was a special service held there.

7.13.2. Da Costa's ignorance of the history of Mashonaland

In line with the foregoing, for these 57 white souls (plus one black) the dean was able to charge: "This bestiality, worse than anything in recent history, stinks in the nostrils of Heaven."¹⁵⁴⁵ His knowledge of history, especially the history of the Rhodesia we are scrutinising seems to have been very selective if not limited. That heaven could only react with horror and shock to the disaster, as the only one of its kind within this context of the Rhodesian war seems to be a blatant exaggeration of the nature of God. Brutal confrontations between blacks and whites became the order of the day from the moment of colonisation up to the time of independence. In the majority of these confrontations, the whites were always on the offensive and the blacks on the receiving end. We cited the attitudes of people such as Selous during the 1896-7 revolution who made it clear that the blacks needed a thorough beating into submission. Why such facts were not taken into consideration by Anglican missionaries could baffle our minds.

The evidence that Da Costa did not want to face or was not aware of is presented here in the table below. We refer to this evidence because the sermon we are analysing would like us to understand that the freedom fighters (who were terrorists in the eyes of the Rhodesians) demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that their actions were inhuman. We allow this evidence to speak for itself:

¹⁵⁴³. Baxter, Peter, 2012: Selous Scouts Operation Eland. Available online at: Url: <http://peterbaxterafrica.com/index.php/2012/10/12/selous-scouts-operation-eland/>. Accessed on 26 March 2013. This source gives the following endnote: "...1028 killed, 309 wounded and in hospital and upwards of 1000 missing.

¹⁵⁴⁴. Survivors recall Chimoio massacre, 2010: ZBC, Harare, Zimbabwe. Available online at: Url: http://www.zbc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4459:survivors-recall-chimoio-massacre&catid=41:top-stories&Itemid=86 . Accessed 26 March 2013

¹⁵⁴⁵. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>.

There were rumoured to be even worse operations. According to an article in the New York Amsterdam News dated 31 July 1993, a Rhodesian ex-officer claimed that Ian Smith's government used chemical and biological weapons in Rhodesian war. It must be noted that atrocity propaganda is very common during time of war so the reader must judge the veracity of the report. Some of the comments are as follows:

Anthrax and cholera, both banned biological warfare weapons, were used by the Rhodesian authorities during the liberation struggle, a former member of the Rhodesian forces has admitted. Anthrax spoor was used in an experimental role in the Gutu, Chilimanzi, Masvingo and Mberengwa areas, and the anthrax idea came from army PSYOP [Psychological Operations] the former Rhodesian officer says.

I suspected that the story was bogus, very much like the various Communist propaganda disinformation claims of the United States using biological and chemical warfare in Cuba and the wars in Korea and Vietnam. Dr. Watt feels quite differently. He has little doubt that some biological weapons were used in Rhodesia.

There actually is a lot of substantiation, such as an entire chapter in "Plague Wars -- the terrifying reality of Biological Warfare" by Tom Mangold and Jeff Goldberg, as well as testimony by South African and former Rhodesian troops at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. At the time, I was acting Provincial Community Health Officer for north-central Rhodesia, receiving unusual reports of whole communities in the border regions affected by cholera, as well as a peculiar outbreak of Plague southeast of Victoria Falls. There was also a sudden, massive outbreak of anthrax in my immediate area that, strangely, affected humans first and cattle later.

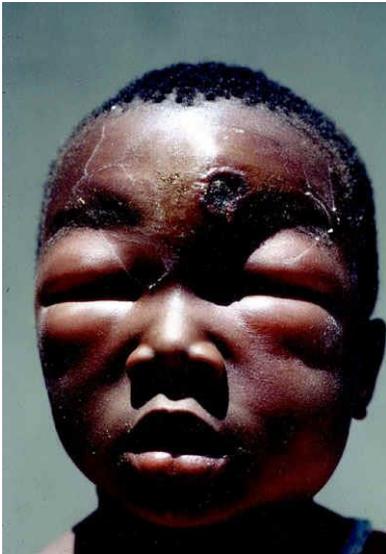


Figure 7.4,

Clandestine Photograph of Child Suffering from Anthrax

(The Taking of Such Photos was Illegal in the "War Zone")

In late 1979 to early 1980, we had an outbreak of a strange skin disease that was shown in our lab to be anthrax. Again, we had never seen cutaneous anthrax before in our area, thanks to a vaccination program, though there had been sporadic cases of no more than a score annually in other parts of the country. This outbreak became the largest in recorded history, with 10,000 human cases and 82 deaths over a very short time, then vanishing with only sporadic

cases since. It also only occurred in African areas. Another peculiarity was that the first patients had lesions on their forehead and shoulders. Most cutaneous anthrax is on hands and forearms, from handling infected hides. Local leaders spoke of a light plane flying over the area prior to the outbreak, and claimed the anthrax had been dropped by government forces. I did see an ordinary light plane flying dangerously low past the hospital around this time, surprised as planes never over flew our area (because of guerrilla anti-aircraft missiles), but dismissed the idea of bacterial warfare as improbable. After the human cases, cattle began to die. We warned against eating animals that had died, but it took a lecture by the coffins of two young men who had apparently died of intestinal anthrax to halt the sale of contaminated meat.

We heard of unusual outbreaks of cholera in villages beyond our reach, at the borders, where whole villages were infected and scores of people died. Rhodesia had almost no prior history of cholera. I spoke with a Catholic doctor in an isolated area in the north-west who was stunned when the bacteriology report of a mysterious illness came back as "Plague." Again, we had never before seen this, and a mass treatment with sulphur drugs stopped it in its tracks. There was also a peculiar case of Marburg Fever with two deaths in a game area.

A report entitled "A Short History of Biological Warfare and Weapons" by Mark Wheelis of the University of California explains that in some cases such as the anthrax epidemic other explanations are possible. He says in part:

The worst outbreak of human anthrax ever recorded occurred in 1979-80 in Rhodesia. The outbreak was largely confined to the Black-held Tribal Trust Lands, and caused over 10,700 human cases and 182 deaths from anthrax. For the previous half century anthrax had been rare in Rhodesia. The magnitude of the outbreak, its unusual geography (widespread, but confined to Tribal Trust Lands), suggested that this was a deliberately instigated outbreak...However, it now seems unlikely that this was the case. Most anthrax and veterinary experts think that the breakdown of vaccination practices in the Tribal lands is a sufficient explanation...

I read the chapters on Rhodesia in *Plague Wars* and find that the authors consider that the nation was used as a laboratory by South Africa. The authors claim that in 1970 South African military intelligence agents spread anthrax spores among cattle and seeded cholera into the rivers. They imply that the agents may have also experimentally spread black plague and Ebola. Rhodesian Health Minister Dr. Henry Stamps accused South Africa of germ warfare against Rhodesian Africans, but admitted at the time that there is no proof, just circumstantial evidence.

The authors also mention chemical plots such as the use of the parathion (a carcinogen placed on clothes) a nerve poison called paraoxon (placed in underwear), and thallium (a heavy metal toxin similar to rat poison placed in food).

Dr Watt adds:

I started to link the above observations with testimony given at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998) and the trial of Dr. Wouter Basson (1997) in South Africa, indicating that chemical and bacterial weapons material had been developed in South Africa and sent to Rhodesia in the late 1970's. Further, the chemical weapon Paraoxon had been manufactured and tested by the then

Professor of anatomy, Professor Robert Symington at the University of Rhodesia, a toxin so powerful that it could kill by skin contact.¹⁵⁴⁶

7.13.3. Exposing the barbarism of the whites in Mashonaland

We must reiterate the fact that Arthur Shearly Cripps saw the drastic treatment of the indigenous by the whites as the most abominable thing done by those who called themselves masters of civilisation.¹⁵⁴⁷ We are appealing to this evidence because our context is Christian. We could not pretend that these developments are normal. However, the foregoing evidence goes beyond even the worst form of barbarism. We also must remind ourselves that the indigenous people were often accused of being base in their behaviour, and the Ndebele even worse, as we saw earlier.

Da Costa would have liked to hear condemnation coming from all over the world, from presidents, popes, rabbis and all, but he heard none.¹⁵⁴⁸ Hence, his preferred title for his sermon “deafening silence”! Da Costa was trying to create his Rhodesia that however did not relate to the one that had been compromised by European domination. This comes out clearly when he pointed out that:

I do not believe in white supremacy. I do not believe in black supremacy either. I do not believe that anyone is better than another, until he has proved himself to be so. I believe that those who govern or who seek to govern must prove themselves worthy of the trust that will be placed in them.¹⁵⁴⁹

To deliver such a sermon, as Da Costa’s, in a war situation that had been imposed on the majority of the black people by a white minority seems to simplify issues. One would have liked to hear such sermons from the day the country was occupied, but there is also a “deafening silence” in this regard. Blacks and whites in Rhodesia could not be talked about as though a level playing ground existed in whatever sphere of life we could think of. Economically the indigenous were excluded, they laboured day and night; socially they were segregated; their colour was seen as a symbol of inferiority, and even in the churches, the indigenous received a raw deal. We have seen that even educational standards for the

¹⁵⁴⁶. <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html?>

¹⁵⁴⁷. Cripps, op.cit.

¹⁵⁴⁸. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>.

¹⁵⁴⁹. Ibid.

indigenous were kept very low and yet they were supposed to prove themselves by competing with those who were favoured by the system. We are left stunned here if this priest was not aware of all this and yet purporting to be prophetic. Therefore, how could we be in a position to apply moral rules that could make sense to all?

7.13.4. Da Costa's sermon and the indigenous people

Meanwhile Da Costa wanted to appear extremely neutral and Christian; he failed to hide his prejudice against Africans. This comes out clearly from his question to the effect that if there was not much "real leadership...in the Western world" could anything more be expected from Africa?¹⁵⁵⁰ In addition, he goes on to lambast the guerrillas who had shot down the plane as:

Youths and men who, as likely as not, were, until recently, in church schools. This is the first terrible fact. Men who went over to the other side in a few months were so indoctrinated that all they had previously learned was obliterated. How could this happen if they had been given a truly Christian education and treated humanely in their motherland?¹⁵⁵¹

It is not clear what he meant exactly. Could we understand him as saying that the Christian education known to him was meant to pacify the indigenous in Rhodesia to the point where they could not stand and take up arms to liberate themselves? What is indoctrination in this context? Da Costa does not seem to be able to tell us that the indigenous people felt betrayed and to that extent, could not be held morally responsible in any absolute terms since there were extenuating circumstances. Whatever atrocities were committed in this context, the indigenous felt justified to commit them.

Where Da Costa was supposed to castigate the western world for compromising moral principles through commercialisation of the media, he prefers a general observation to the effect that,

it is common knowledge that in large parts of the world, violence is paraded on TV and cinema screens as entertainment. Films about war, murder, violence, rape devil-possession and the like are 'good box-office'. Peak viewing time is set aside for murderers from Belfast, Palestine, Europe, Africa and the rest, to speak before

¹⁵⁵⁰. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>

¹⁵⁵¹. *Ibid.*

an audience of tens of millions. Thugs are given full treatment, as if deserving of respect.¹⁵⁵²

Da Costa is not in touch with the indigenous people. To call people who were struggling for freedom, thugs, is a sign that he did not understand the sentiments that were dictating the course of events then. A plane shot down, civilian or not, during a war situation could not be our standard for determining whether those responsible were evil or not. They were making a point to the world to the effect that if civilised people could oppress others and get away with it, those perceived to be barbarians could be expected to do worse. That was Rhodesia then. It had been allowed to degenerate into that state of barbarity by those who claimed to be Christians and yet failed to live up to expectations. Our theme of the theology of empire takes such developments seriously. Those with mundane aspirations might not be able to talk about a universal God who is out to reconcile the world through Jesus Christ.

In line with the foregoing, we would not be far from the truth if we were to maintain the fact that the majority of the media institutions in question were not owned by Africans at all. The countries Da Costa referred to were those that were experiencing civil wars not because of wanton thuggery, but because there was a significant population in many of them that wanted justice and liberation. Again to refer to them as “murderers” simply did not make sense, but misleading at best. Those Africans who took up arms to fight for their freedom could not be rightly categorised as thugs. Colonialism was thuggery, but Da Costa does not seem to be aware of this in his sermon, hence, calling into question his mastery of ethics in general and the Christian moral philosophy in particular. We, therefore, have a big problem caused by a Christian leadership that could not rise above colonial prejudices in Rhodesia.

7.13.5. Da Costa’s equivocal indictment of the UN and the WCC

In line with the foregoing, Da Costa goes on to castigate “The United Nations and their church equivalent, the WCC”.¹⁵⁵³ Regarding these two, he observes that

¹⁵⁵². <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>

¹⁵⁵³. *Ibid*

Each parade a pseudo-morality which, like all half-truths, is more dangerous than the lie direct. From the safety and comfort of New York and Geneva, high moral attitudes can safely be struck. For us in the sweat, the blood, the suffering, it is somewhat different.¹⁵⁵⁴

Again, this dean would like us to forget about the Rhodesian context where this war could have been avoided had the Anglican Church played its prophetic role well from the beginning. Had those high moral principles that he referred to been practised by white people in Rhodesia, no one in their right senses would have found it necessary to take up arms and fight for liberation. The disaster in question had not been caused by people who had nothing else to do. Freedom fighters wanted the whole world to understand how Rhodesia had become a war zone because of white dominance and racial segregation together with all the exploitation of the indigenous that went with them.

7.13.6. Da Costa's indictment of the Churches

As though the above-generalised blame on the UN and WCC was not enough, Da Costa turned his attention to "The churches."¹⁵⁵⁵ It is clear that the churches he was faced with did not meet the general expectations. The churches, according to Da Costa, were not committed and were, therefore, producing compromised followers: members who could not allow their actions to dialogue with their faith. According to Da Costa, "Belief must bring about action".¹⁵⁵⁶ To this, the dean goes on to add that,

There are tens of millions of all races who call themselves believers, who never enter any house of prayer and praise. Many are folk who scream loudest against communism, yet do not themselves help to defeat these Satanic forces using prayer, and praise and religious witness.¹⁵⁵⁷

Perhaps here we could agree with Da Costa, since this view could be applied to the very Europeans who colonised the country and still maintained that they were Christian despite all the atrocities that could be documented. However, how could evil defeat evil? It is clear that Da Costa had rushed his reflections on this matter because a sermon in this context needed to expose the intricacies he seemed to

¹⁵⁵⁴. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>, op.cit.

¹⁵⁵⁵. Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁶. Ibid

¹⁵⁵⁷. Ibid.

gloss over. Rhodesia was at war not because the indigenous were prone to barbarism. We have laboured this point enough: The indigenous wanted to be free and the only means available to them had been reduced to a violent confrontation against the oppressors. Missionaries had not played their part in promoting peaceful co-existence among the two races in Rhodesia.

7.13.7. Da Costa's indictment of politicians

The dean castigated politicians as well for inciting people through propagandist speeches that could make reconciliation impossible.¹⁵⁵⁸ However, as to which politicians he was addressing himself, this is not made clear. We assume that he was attacking those on the left. The Kariba disaster for him was something that was going to hound people's memories for many years to come and not some mere intellectual matter.¹⁵⁵⁹ Again, there is no reference to the memories of the indigenous people who were affected by the Nyadzonja, Chimoio, Tembwe and many other massacres that took place in and out of Rhodesia during this time. We have not even included the cross-border raids into Zambia by the Rhodesian forces against ZIPRA forces. Was he attempting to divert the focus of the world from the evils of the Rhodesian army so that only the freedom fighters could take all the blame? However, why would a Christian find solace in such a prejudiced stance?

7.13.8. Da Costa's indictment of Marxism

Da Costa went on to criticise Marxism as a doctrine that reduces the dignity of human life to a mere function of the state and pointed out that even some Christians shared the same view.¹⁵⁶⁰ He went on to add that:

Had we, who claim to love God, shown more real love and understanding, more patience, more trust of others, the churches would not be vilified as they are today. I have nothing but sympathy with those who are here today and whose grief we share. I have nothing but revulsion for the less-than-human act of murder which has so horrified us all.¹⁵⁶¹

¹⁵⁵⁸. <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>, op.cit

¹⁵⁵⁹. Ibid.

¹⁵⁶⁰. Ibid.

¹⁵⁶¹. Ibid.

The sermon concludes by reiterating the fact that world leaders had maintained silence when he expected them to speak out; churches had failed to match words with deeds and therefore the need to beg God for forgiveness and to bring the souls of the victims of the Kariba disaster “into the light of His glorious presence”.¹⁵⁶² A fitting conclusion should have referred to all the innocent victims of the war: black, white, and others. Here we, therefore, encounter a sermon that was meant to have a wider appeal and yet limited in its treatment of the problems bedevilling Rhodesia during this time.

7.13.9. Da Costa’s partiality on the Rhodesian war situation

In a war situation, such extremes that result in civilian casualties are not easy to avoid but, all the same, are morally lamentable. In our context, we draw attention to the fact that the contradictions that riddle Da Costa’s sermon are not apparent until a critical reading such as the one we are applying here is appealed to. The sermon is preached from the point of view of the powerful whites who could not afford to be massacred in the way the indigenous had been before this one incident. We, therefore, have in this sermon good material to support the theology of empire on which we are focusing.

In connection with the foregoing we saw that Da Costa’s appeal to Christian principles seemed to ignore the fact that the white community in Rhodesia had not adhered to them to the full and, hence, the brutal war could rightly be attributed to their careless handling of race relations and all that resulted from them. If we are to follow Lapsley’s lead in the same connection, the death of about 57 whites¹⁵⁶³ caused so much furore when thousands of blacks had already been massacred by Smith in Zambia and Mozambique without the Anglican Church expressing a similar moral outrage.¹⁵⁶⁴ Why Da Costa was ready to cite the fact that blacks only had the courage to fight after being “indoctrinated” by outside forces, is suspect in our context. We also looked at the fact that young men who were now fighting in the bush had been educated at mission schools where they were supposed to

¹⁵⁶². <http://www.rhodesia.nl/silence.htm>, op.cit

¹⁵⁶³. According to the Memorial plaque in the Harare Cathedral cloisters, the total number of people who died was 58 and among these was one black woman.

¹⁵⁶⁴. Lapsley, op.cit.p.123

have been trained in Christian values and discipline. These values should have kept them away from committing such heinous murders.

By maintaining the foregoing position, Da Costa unconsciously raises the stakes to the highest levels. This indeed was an indictment on the nature of Christian education in Rhodesia. It seems to be the case that there was something that education was failing to do to the hearts and minds of those who got it. It is clear that the sermon in question could be cited as an example of materials that feeds well into the discourse of the theology of empire within the Anglo-Mashonaland context. Again, one who is oblivious to how Rhodesia came into existence would be bound to react in ways similar to Da Costa's. We have tried, from the beginning to ask whether the behaviour of the whites in terms of their handling of the indigenous in Mashonaland was not bound to backfire one day. Would the indigenous remain passive and subdued forever? The Rhodesian war of the 1970s seems to have been advancing challenges that could remind people to ask questions about what had gone wrong before. The Anglican Church needed to also carry out a serious introspection on the matter.

We have already maintained that the theology of empire is premised on prejudice. It is one-sided and normally favours the more powerful in any context. Da Costa proves to us that this was the position he adopted in the name of the Church. Whites were more important than blacks, and yet he introduces his sermon as though he were a neutral observer. Smith's forces were on the rampage; massacring black civilians¹⁵⁶⁵ and no Anglican priest ever exhibited the moral courage to call upon the world to condemn such acts as Da Costa was forced to do in this context. Whites in Rhodesia continued to fill the churches, and yet they were racists and caused much suffering among the black people. Why was the Church not challenging them to convert? If we are to pursue Da Costa's position to its logical conclusion, we should be able to maintain that it was only the black person in Rhodesia who needed conversion. The whites were already doing the

¹⁵⁶⁵. I can recall that as far back as 1978 when the war came to Mhondoro-Ngezi in Zimbabwe, now also known as the Kadoma East Constituency, the first casualties were civilians in the Manhize area. Nobody ever made any noise about these civilian casualties! We are concerned that the Anglican Church got concerned at this level only when whites became casualties also.

right thing, in our case, the systematic denial of socio-economic as well as religious and political rights of the blacks.

One of the sources we have already cited in this section informs us that it was part of the strategy of the Rhodesian forces propaganda to expose terrorist atrocities while covering up theirs.¹⁵⁶⁶ What makes this point even more critical to us is that the so-called security forces wanted to show the civilians in warzones that they could do far worse things than the terrorists.¹⁵⁶⁷ This was to ensure that the civilians feared the security forces more than the terrorists.¹⁵⁶⁸ Indeed the people came to have more fear of the security forces and hence affirming that the terrorists were freedom fighters instead of what the government propaganda peddled.¹⁵⁶⁹ The real terrorists were, therefore, the Rhodesian forces, and people came to have more sympathy for the freedom fighters.¹⁵⁷⁰ If we compare this observation with what Da Costa was preaching in his sermon, we could see that he was not in touch with what was happening in the country due to prejudice. For ministers in the Church of God to be so blind in such a volatile context puts the whole question of missionary leadership into disrepute.

To submit the foregoing observations could give the impression that we are also racist and prejudicial in turn. Nevertheless, we should stand reminded that we are looking at documented facts and are making a relevant analysis and are drawing conclusions based on them. Christianity does not need racists, and none who rightly call themselves by that name could afford to contradict this principle. We have already, in this research come across the fact that the only Anglican priest known to have been faithful to his vocation was Fr Cripps in the Chivhu area in Southern Rhodesia.¹⁵⁷¹ Anglicans, as well as non-Anglicans, talk about him as though he were a saint. The truth is that he was white, an Oxford graduate and missionary. He was liked for being principled, and the indigenous people of Mashonaland are extremely good at giving due recognition to those who deserve it. We could safely conclude that it was the white race that brought confusion in

¹⁵⁶⁶. <http://www.psywarrior.com/RhodesiaPSYOP.html>

¹⁵⁶⁷. Ibid

¹⁵⁶⁸. Ibid.

¹⁵⁶⁹. Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁰. Ibid.

¹⁵⁷¹. We are mindful of Bishop Skelton's stance but Mashonaland was now separate from Matabeleland.

this regard. They preached the very things that they were not ready to practise. To this end, the majority of them became suspect and could not be taken seriously by the black people. We are worried, as we rightly saw Lapsley pointing out, as cited above, that black Anglicans could even afford to mislead their bishop, pretending to be happy when they were busy supporting those who were fighting the white supremacist's socio-political and economic structures through the barrel of the gun and by word of mouth. To reduce the whole engagement into terrorism and counter-terrorism could be forced into our history narratives and those distant from the scene, through time and space, could get the whole picture wrong. We are worried that a Christian leadership could elect to be part of this mischief of misrepresenting historical facts. The guardians of the truth seem to have been caught off guard in Mashonaland. The results were therefore sad in that many innocent lives were lost. This could have been avoided if the gospel imperatives had been allowed to inform all the stakeholders in this context.

7.13.10. An evaluation of Da Costa's partial sermon

So what then becomes of Da Costa's sermon that challenged the world to react in highly-charged moral terms against the massacre of white civilians? In the name of the scholarship we are entertaining, the sermon should be dismissed with the uttermost contempt we could coin in this regard because it makes a mockery of history. It reduces history to a single event and therefore robs it of its affinity to processes and contexts. It was a racist sermon that pretended to be neutral in a context that could be accounted for by what the white people had done to the indigenous. Not many blacks felt sorry that such a sad event had happened.¹⁵⁷² The majority of blacks still mourn the victims of Nyadzonja, Chimoio¹⁵⁷³ and many other refugee Camps in Zambia and Mozambique that were attacked by Smith's forces. To make a noise about a few whites¹⁵⁷⁴ killed during this period meant that

¹⁵⁷². In this liberation war we are making reference to, the death of any white person was a victory to the Zimbabwean cause. By making this point, we are not condoning the death of anyone white. The context should be respected and the blacks were simply demonstrating that retaliation was possible. We have already indicated that Christianity does not need this kind of confrontation but the whites in Rhodesia allowed it by creating a situation ripe for war with the black people.

¹⁵⁷³. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4M_hQ9SXRE&list=PLB3E96F807E4B9C15&index=4. Edison Zvobgo is featured in this video clip saying that the death of black people does not seem to move the world the way the death of Europeans and Americans would under the same circumstances.

¹⁵⁷⁴. Morally speaking, the death of any human being is one too many. It should be clear that our work is a direct attack on those who created the situation in the first place.

the black people counted for nothing. This is problematic because all life, black or white, should be considered sacred.

The Da Costas of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia and their Burroughs could be viewed as people who brought the Christian position into disrepute by failing to be consistent in their condemnation of brutality. The stance by Da Costa was racist, and yet he appeared to be doing business in the name of God. In the Rhodesian context that had invited the attention of the whole world; we are at a loss if history is not given the opportunity to take serious note of how life had been so organised around the colonial matrix that was obtaining then. Those who are not interested in this question should be seen as people who do not want to take the indigenous people of Rhodesia seriously, especially those who witnessed the shortfalls of Europeans.

7.13.11. Da Costa contradicted by Skelton

We are, therefore, in a position to conclude that Burrough, his dean John Da Costa and Fr Arthur Lewis were bad ambassadors for Christ, choosing to support the *status quo* instead of questioning it. We are able to say this because Bishop Skelton of Matabeleland had experienced what was happening and had come to a different conclusion in the early 1970s. Arnold quotes Skelton, in his capacity as president of the Rhodesia Christian Council, on one occasion as follows:

We live ... in a land where people talk glibly of 'Christianity', 'Christian standards', 'Christian civilisation' and so on. If you have thought at all about Christ and who He is, it is impossible to use such phrases lightly. They obscure meaning rather than reveal it –perhaps that is why politicians here tend to use them so happily...¹⁵⁷⁵

The warning is clear. Skelton was aware of how the term "Christian" was being abused in Rhodesia. Serious Christians for him would not take it lightly in such a way that even those who did not practice it were quick to claim its credit. Could this not remind us of the Roman empire context where Eusebius saw holiness on the side of the emperor whose Christianity was suspect?

¹⁵⁷⁵. Arnold, op.cit.p.127

Skelton is a bishop who was prophetic, and it is clear that he saw things differently. He did not pretend that things were the way white people wished them to be. He even went on to say in the above connection:

The tragedy of our society is that it is built on fear, fear of one section being dominated by another. This fear lies behind our latest Constitution and the recent Land Tenure Act. But how can we find security there? How can security be based on gross injustice, on the whim of a Minister, on racial solidarity? ...¹⁵⁷⁶

Nobody could rightfully pretend that the Rhodesian situation was a normal state of affairs as Bishop Skelton reminds us. The Rhodesians had managed to create a compromised state and yet bragged about it being Christian and civilised. Our concern here is that the Church that is supposed to be prophetic, saw a significant part of its leadership baptising evil. Lapsley informs us that it was Da Costa who went all the way to write a prayer for the blessing of Zimbabwe–Rhodesia’s flag and was there in person to lead the proceedings.¹⁵⁷⁷ Certainly Skelton could not have gone that far! That we are dealing with a Rhodesian Anglican leadership that was partisan is attested to by the fact that Burrough was cynical about the Lancaster House agreement that included the Patriotic Front. He is quoted as saying that Britain, by allowing the Patriotic Front to be given a say in the finalisation of the agreement, was following a “policy of appeasement” rather than a “policy of strength.”¹⁵⁷⁸

For Burrough, in the foregoing connection, all hopes were supposed to be placed on the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia constitution, and any progressive negotiation was supposed to recognise this internal arrangement.¹⁵⁷⁹ Again, Burrough demonstrated that he was not in touch with reality –he was not connected with the sentiments of the indigenous people, who, a few months later voted the Patriotic Front into power.¹⁵⁸⁰ Burrough had shown that he was a defender of British paternalism in Rhodesia to the end.

¹⁵⁷⁶. Arnold, op.cit.p.127

¹⁵⁷⁷. Lapsley, op.cit.p.124

¹⁵⁷⁸. Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁹. Lapsley, op.cit. p.123

¹⁵⁸⁰. Zimbabwe - TV Eye - How free How fair? – 1980, on YOUTUBE. Available online at: <https://youtu.be/j2wm2qycrqQ> . Accessed 18 April 2013, In this video, a British Television crew went on to interview various eye-witnesses who testified to the fact that Zimbabwe-Rhodesia was not favourable to them. For Burrough to insist and even recommend its Constitution is a clear sign that this Anglican Bishop was quick to provide the kind of propaganda favourable to the Europeans over and against the black people.

7.14. The end of Burrough

According to Musodza, and in line with the above, Burrough rushed his resignation once he realised that the very people he had resisted ,were the ones who came into power in 1980 and he would have found it difficult to work with them.¹⁵⁸¹ It is curious to note that Arnold is silent about why Burrough resigned in 1980. He treats it like a normal logical development that saw the bishop bidding farewell to his former diocese and only the positive aspects of his ministry were appreciated.¹⁵⁸² A resignation tendered essentially as a protest against majority rule was disguised as a gesture of goodwill. Our project that calls for a critical look at how those in advantageous positions could manipulate facts for their own purposes becomes even more urgent. A history that is not critical to such detail could, therefore, be misleading

7.15. Evaluation of this chapter

In this chapter, we focused mainly on two Anglican bishops of Harare, namely Cecil Alderson and Paul Burrough respectively. Other priests such as Fr Lewis and Fr Da Costa were also brought into the spotlight. Our observations had a bearing on attitudes and activities that obtained in their respective episcopates which qualify to support the discourse of the theology of empire. It is clear that our selectivity dictated the sections as we did not concentrate on the general thrust of their pastoral work as shepherds of God's people in Mashonaland.

Two major reasons advance themselves in this connection. The first is that the materials that have been brought under scrutiny are those that focus mainly on pastoral developments, while glossing over related matters such as the cry and fight for liberation by the indigenous we brought in to have a bearing in this context. Pastoral work could be a general undertaking by any Church from a sectarian point of view. The sources that we have cited that are in line with Arnold's presentation are full of materials that cover the pastoral successes of the clergy we have analysed. It would have been repetitious to focus on these activities. Nevertheless, working on sensitive matters such as race relations and

¹⁵⁸¹. Musodza, op.cit.p.232

¹⁵⁸². See Arnold, op.cit.pp154-155.

economic inequalities could require a much more resolute approach. These are matters that required more than sensational sermons. Hence we made our calculated references to Cripps and Skelton as constituting the criterion of adequacy within the Rhodesian Anglican context and from the point of view of the theology of empire. These two Anglican leaders were advanced so that our claims that Alderson and Burrough were compromised could be substantiated.

In line with the above, it is clear that we could not measure the sincerity of pastoral intent by merely focusing on the number of church buildings; baptism and confirmation entries; the number of sermons and such related church activities. By focusing on national grievances that called for international attention, it becomes imperative to argue that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland during the struggle for Zimbabwe could be evaluated on a much broader scale using the theme of the theology of empire as our foundation.

The second reason why pastoral developments were not detailed in our narrative is my arbitrary decision to create more latitude for discussing the theology of empire in a given Mashonaland context. This decision could boost the justification for undertaking such research, given the scarcity of works that try to rediscover the theology of empire within settings outside the fourth century, that we took as our point of departure. A focus on the weaknesses of the Church from the point of view of the theology of empire could contribute urgent issues especially within a postcolonial setting such as the one now obtaining in Zimbabwe.

In line with the above, the relevance of Christianity in contexts that have been liberated from colonialism continues to be a question that could not be side-lined. Whether the Anglican Church could make a significant contribution without reminding people of its compromised past, will continue to be a question that needs attention. This position is important given the fact that if colonial structures and liturgies are not revised to reflect a new dispensation, two obvious problems might arise: The first one has to do with the identity that we tried to talk about at the beginning of this work. The second one has to do with the impact of the same Church on national as well as international matters that have a bearing on indigenous people.

On the issue of identity, if the Anglicans in Zimbabwe today could not account for their own unique identity within a postcolonial setup, then we could not expect any prophetic contributions from them to the nation. The tradition of compromise that we saw obtaining seems to need some attention from conscious Anglicans in this context. This then could come back to whet our curiosity as to the relevance of such a Church given its distinctive indigenous majority that must still appeal to England in matters that could be better addressed by them locally. We have seen how the Book Of Common Prayer still dictates the way liturgies should be worked out and that limits the amount of inculturation that could be allowed. To this end, the theology of empire will continue to be our standard to understand the dynamics at play here.

On the issue of the kind of impact that the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe could have nationally and internationally, we need to understand how the indigenous leadership will continue to deal with church-state relations. Michael Lapsley's work will need to be revisited on the issue of neutrality or co-option. Our envisaged position seems to have been spelt out through this narrative to the effect that the position of the Church needs to be distanced from that of politicians so that in Zimbabwe, all people, of all races and political persuasions could find comfort in any congregation of their choice. Sermons must, therefore, appeal to these general Christian norms so as not to be partisan, racist or exploitative. In the spirit of nation-building, the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe could make significant inroads –something that could help atone for the past mistakes highlighted in this work.

7.16. Conclusion

Having looked at the last two British bishops within the Anglican context in connection with the Diocese of Mashonaland, it is clear that the 1890 colonial undertakings were never challenged at episcopal level up to the time majority rule was realised in 1980. The reflections on the impact of dominance using theological viewpoints as the standard were appealed to in order to demonstrate how British socio-economic, as well as political preferences, were consistent with the colonisation of the country that came to be called Rhodesia.

The fact that the British dominance in Rhodesia, that came to an end when indigenous leadership took over, was always preferred and insisted upon, requires a discourse that takes the indigenous aspirations throughout that period seriously. We have seen that for almost a century, such indigenous leadership was not given sufficient latitude to express itself. Given this background, we needed to look at issues that could help us to make sense of procedures and outcomes of a leadership that had been compromised from the very beginning. Our reference to the theme of the theology of empire in an African pot could be viewed as an alternative way of introducing a vantage point of narrating the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland in a postcolonial context.

CHAPTER 8 GENERAL CONCLUSION

Seven chapters have been written in this narrative that treated the theology of empire and its impact today using the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland (1890-1979) as our referral case. It is clear that the analysis of documentary sources took precedence throughout our narrative. The main trends of the narrative dwelt on could be delimited as follows:

Firstly, the issue of theological dominance that reminds us of how ideas of the powerful could be imposed on the weak and underprivileged. We allowed the view that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland proceeded along the lines that did not take the indigenous people seriously from day one of colonisation in 1890 to the last day in 1980. The emphatic position attested to by authors such as Michael's Lapsley help us to see that throughout the Rhodesian days, the Church's leadership was almost a replica of the civil structures, as far as race was concerned and the ecclesiastical policies that were promoted directly or indirectly. Not much was being done to address the racial imbalances, even within the Anglican Church until 1979. This could be cited as one of the reasons why the issue of Anglican identity was treated at the very beginning of this investigation. The Englishness of the Church seemed to overshadow cultural thought-patterns and expressions that could be peculiar to Mashonaland (inclusive of Matabeleland).

Secondly, from our theme, we emphasised the fact that it seems to be the case that Eusebius of Caesarea's understanding of Church-State relations could easily be our point of reference when the Mashonaland Anglican scenario is our focus. We attempted to boost this point making some critical analysis of Eusebius' appreciation of the emperor's role within Church circles. In this connection, what was found appealing was that the Emperor was seen by Eusebius as holy and therefore his close links with the Church very plausible. Our position was to find evidence that challenge Eusebius' position. It should be borne in mind that two dimensions of Eusebius were found to be key in our narrative. Firstly, Eusebius as a Christian leader was found wanting in terms of his application of gospel

imperatives as they tend to favour the Emperor Constantine. Secondly, as a historian, he allowed his appreciation of the Emperor to take precedence over facts that could generally be agreed upon by other observers. Throughout our narrative, historians and Church leaders of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland were weighed against these two dimensions of Eusebius.

Another critical trend that we adopted leads us to the conclusion that within the Mashonaland Anglican context, it looks like the indigenous people who became members of this Church, in line with the theme of Anglican identity, could only make an impact not on the quality of leadership and liturgies they could command but in terms of quantities. This is clear from the fact that if we read accounts such as those from Arnold, Musodza (dissertation), Welch and others, we get the impression of a Church that was on course from the beginning, if statistics were to be our only guide. This work was not so much interested in this kind of development, but asked why issues such as racial domination and economic inequalities were not treated in ways that could expose how, overall; they militated against the hopes and aspirations of the indigenous people and in the name of God. Churches might have been built or founded throughout Mashonaland but did the quality of life among the indigenous change at all? The latter was treated as a persistent question throughout this narrative informed by our appreciation of the theology of empire.

In the foregoing connection, it would appear to be the case that being Anglican in Mashonaland was almost the same as being owned by the British if you happened to be indigenous. Hence, we highlighted this problem by addressing the question of what it means to be Anglican if you are an indigenous in Mashonaland and in the spirit of the theology of empire. Could mere translation of liturgies into the indigenous languages be taken as a yardstick of indigenisation when the Englishness is not challenged by local cultural norms and spirit? Our narrative appealed to facts that allow us to see English dominance in the Diocese of Mashonaland such that any success story in this connection should be understood as accepting the fact that the indigenous were always underdogs between 1890 and 1979. The white people led their Church to the end of the colonial era.

In this work, to support our narrative that is informed by the theology of empire, we went on to give a general understanding of Eusebius of Caesarea's views that were favourable to the emperor Constantine. The way Eusebius wrote about the empire in his context seems to have been exclusive to the extent that the weaknesses of the emperor were not exposed. We took this kind of writing history as the one that several authors and other players within the Mashonaland Anglican context felt attracted to. To this end, narratives could be identified that highlight only the successes of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland and not so much its failures. We attempted to find evidence to support the fact that the failure of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland could be understood as the grand result of its close links with the State. Throughout our narrative, we questioned an approach to this piece of history that seems to absolve the unhealthy Church-State relations that existed between the Anglican missionaries and Rhodesia. We saw that history that is exclusive runs the risk of failing to give a comprehensive picture of what could have been at stake in the given context.

We went on to look at bishops of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland who include Knight-Bruce, Gaul, Powell, Beaven, Paget, Alderson and Burrough. Each of these bishops was given some attention from the point of view of the theology of empire. It is clear that we were interested in finding out whether in their various pastoral approaches they were mindful of a number of challenges such as the socio-economic inequalities, racial discrimination, and brutal force by Europeans against the indigenous people, political exclusions and educational limitations. It is clear from the information we gathered that in the main, these Anglican bishops, in spite of other documented successes, were not able to work towards policies that took the indigenous people seriously. They still allowed the indigenous people to be treated as second-rate citizens in their motherland. We even encountered situations whereby bishops such as Paget could pay lip-service to indigenous upliftment but in practice were very inhibiting. Some of them such as Gaul, Beaven, Alderson and Burrough were open supporters of the exploitative systems put in place by Europeans in Mashonaland.

As we looked at the foregoing compromised developments, we were helped by several sources to prove to some extent that histories in this context also seemed

to favour the *status quo*. Everything that is termed success from the Anglican Church's side, within the Rhodesian context, tended to be presented from a Eurocentric perspective and hence missing out on the sentiments of the indigenous people. In this connection, we saw how Cripps and those sympathetic to him were vocal and therefore highlighting the neglected plight of the indigenous people.

We saw Canon Chipunza maintaining that the Anglican Church in Mashonaland was racist. We saw Fr Nechironga being accorded no significant support as he tried to further his education. His thesis was critical of how the white missionaries tended to ignore the indigenous spirit. We heard that Paget also paid lip-service to this by telling the world that indigenous expression of Anglicanism was urgent. We cited Lapsley's observations that talked about co-option of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland into the colonial schemes and, hence, oppressive. To this end, even the brutal war that Rhodesia was faced with in the late 1960s and the 1970s could be looked at from a biased perspective by Church people who showed little sympathy to the indigenous.

A white clergyman, Lewis, went as far as distorting all the facts obtaining then so that he could narrate a history that favoured Europeans. In this connection, he could afford to speak in eulogistic terms about the civilisation brought to Africa by the white people. In the same breath, he has no kind words for those Africans who took up arms to liberate themselves from European colonial rule. He called them all sorts of demeaning names such as terrorists and barbarians. We asked the critical question of how a priest could be so insensitive. Da Costa's sermon that was analysed seems to tell us that the deaths of so many thousands of black people in Rhodesia during the war did not matter much. When 58 (or 57) whites die, he does not address the problem but is quick to blame those who had shot down the plane. A responsible preacher could have taken this opportunity to remind, the whites especially, that this was the result of treating one's neighbours with contempt. Had the whites practised charity, surely all the blood that was spilt during the war years in Rhodesia could have been spared. There is no other reasonable suggestion we could give in this connection. Evil was given too much latitude by those who claimed to be masters of civilisation and Christian. They

were proud of it but created a situation that could only be dissolved by armed confrontation. This research tried to indicate to us that such protracted confrontation was uncalled for given the Christian dimension that could be documented from 1890.

Up to 1979, we see that there were no significant attempts to make the indigenous priests in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland masters of their destiny. We only hear of Patrick Murindagomo who was a suffragan bishop, but only for pragmatic reasons as dictated by the war that was being waged in Rhodesia, making it dangerous for European priests to work in rural areas. In other words, the indigenous priests could not be promoted on merit but only as an emergency measure. Where inequalities could be so protracted, it is difficult to see how gospel imperatives could be said to have been at play. Jesus Christ was reduced to the fancies and whims of the British missionaries and their colonial functionaries. Just as Constantine managed to rob Christianity of its principles of love, humility, catholicity, and inclusiveness, the Mashonaland context presents us with a similar development, stage-managed by a consortium of British capitalists and missionaries.

Our narrative throughout this work is submitted to be in keeping with the theme of the theology of empire that inspired this research. The issues of power and dominance even within the Church were highlighted not only from the point of view of the hierarchical configurations but also from the way the history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland is told by many authors we were able to identify. At the time we conclude this research, there is still a dearth in terms of scholarship on the theme of the theology of empire that focuses on the Diocese of Mashonaland. What we have included here are ideas that have the potential to provoke more scholarship on this theme. It is clear that such similar contributions could help the Anglican Church in terms of coming up with policies that may not be a replica of past mistakes in the name of God.

Finally, though this work sounded more judgemental, its focus should not be confused with narratives that tend to have an urgent moral agenda. Rather, as argued in many stages of this narrative, the way history facts are presented was

our main focus. Given contexts such as the Mashonaland one and from an Anglican perspective, there is need to try to be inclusive in terms of our handling of facts. We challenged the seemingly insensitive way of handling facts: trying to impose nobility where it is absent and therefore giving an upper hand to missionaries of the Anglican tradition in Mashonaland. It is clear that this narrative highlighted the fact that observations that are presented from the European perspective about the Anglican Church in Mashonaland have been dominating the scene. This tends to reduce the rich history of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland to an ideology sympathetic to the British missionaries. In the process, the indigenous people are left out or the injustices done to them sidelined. It is my sincere hope that more researches will uncover other specific dimensions of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland which could be treated from the point of view of the theology of empire. Obviously, we would like to find out what happened to the Church that was handed over to the indigenous in 1980 after so many years of compromise. Hence this work is submitted as an alternative challenge to other scholarly expositions that have already been submitted and those that might follow in this connection.

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F) Respondents

Mrs Gertrude Mutasa, Harare

Mr Lovemore Matsika, Harare

Rev Isheanesu Gusha, Harare

Rev Milford Mazula, Harare

Rev Shearsby Mupfudzapake, Polokwane, South Africa

Mr Luke Mandizvidza, Chivhu, Zimbabwe (RIP)

Mr Albert Nhamoyebonde, Harare, Zimbabwe

Ms Forcina Chiganze, Harare, Zimbabwe

Mr Robert Kudakwashe Chiganze, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Fr Gabriel Mashingaidze, Harare, Zimbabwe (RIP)

Mr Dharu Gangandaza, Mhondoro-Ngezi, Zimbabwe

Fr Barnabas Machingauta, Mafeking, South Africa

Ms Felicistas Pswarayi, Harare, Zimbabwe.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire for the Clergy in the Diocese of Harare

Thank you Rev for giving your time to this questionnaire I have designed to get some opinions on the Anglican Church in Harare. The information sought here is meant to assist in the writing of a doctoral thesis at UNISA being undertaken by Canon Thomas Mhuriro of the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman. Thank you for accepting the invitation to participate in this academic project. Please use a separate sheet of paper to give brief responses to the questions.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Why did you become an Anglican Priest?
4. Do you have any senior priests who influenced you and could you please name them?
5. When were you at Bishop Gaul for your training?
6. What were the challenges you met with during your training?
7. How did the Diocese of Harare help in your formation?
8. What did you think about Church leadership in Harare then?
9. How did you respond to the problems that were experienced by the Diocese between 2000 and 2012 AD?
10. What are some of the blunders that you could attribute to missionaries in the above connection?
11. By virtue of being Anglican, do you consider yourself a British subject or someone essentially linked to the English?
12. Do you think many priests you trained with understand the dynamics of power within the Anglican Church in Harare?
13. Do you think it is fair to attribute some of the problems in the Anglican Church in Harare to the issues of power, wealth and such related matters?
14. In your opinion, has the history of the Anglican Church in Harare been clearly and critically documented?
15. Who are some of the indigenous scholars you could cite in this connection?

16. What are some of the critical issues that you feel should be focused on when writing about the Anglican Church in Harare from a historical perspective?
17. Are you satisfied with the way theological training has been handled in Harare by the Anglican Church?
18. Is the theology that guides the Anglican Church in Harare liberating or oppressive?
19. What role have the indigenous bishops played so far in terms of giving the Anglican Church in Harare a unique Zimbabwean face?
20. If you were to become a Bishop in Harare today, what would you prioritise in terms of giving Anglicanism in this region a unique face?
21. What are some of the regrets you have about the Anglican Church in Harare today?
22. Do you think the ordinary people understand what is at stake in their Church?
23. What is the ONE critical lesson that you think the Kunonga saga taught the Anglican Church in Harare?

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire to the Laity in the Diocese of Harare

This questionnaire aims at establishing your awareness of the dynamics of Anglican Church leadership within the socio-economic and political landscape of Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Please make references to as far back as you could remember when responding to the questions. This survey is going to be used for a purely academic research work meant for a doctoral thesis at UNISA being undertaken by Canon Thomas Mhuriro of the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman in South Africa. Thank you for accepting to participate in this research exercise. Please feel free to give permission for your name to be revealed or withheld during the processing of your responses. As the work aims at contributing to the history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, your thoughtful responses will go a long way in helping with the achievement of that goal. Please use the spaces provided but if you so wish, you could add some of your responses on a separate sheet with the numbers of the relevant questions you will be responding to clearly marked. The envisaged date for the reception of your responses is 31st August 2013. Stay blessed.

1. What is your name and how old are you?
2. How long have you been an Anglican
3. Which Parish do you now belong?
4. Please could you name all your previous Parishes?
5. Which Bishop(s), among all those you know, made an impact in your life and why?
6. Which Priest (s) do you think demonstrated their commitment to ministry in your life?
7. Do you think issues of race were handled positively by your Church leaders in the Diocese of Harare from the beginning?
8. Was this a critical factor in terms of your understanding of evangelism?
9. Could you name any Church leaders (all clergy), in your opinion, who handled political and religious matters in a reconciliatory manner within the Diocese of Harare from the beginning?
10. Are there any problem clergy who went off the mark in line with (9) above?
11. Were you ever served by indigenous black clergymen in any Parish before 1980 or after?
12. In your opinion, do you think these priests were adequately prepared for the ministry?
13. In your opinion, what were they good at and what did they lack?
14. Are you aware of any indigenous black priest who could be viewed as a scholar in his own right?
15. What are some of the noticeable differences between indigenous black priests and their European counterparts in the way they ministered to people in the Diocese?
16. Do you think the issue of power among the clergy was/is significant in the Diocese?
17. What would you advise the current generation of indigenous black clergy serving in the Diocese in terms of their ministry?
18. Do you believe that African priests should do anything to make the Anglican Church in Harare comply with African culture in terms of worship and governance?
19. What could be some of the things in (18) that you would be comfortable with if they were to be changed to reflect African culture?

20. Do you think there are any blunders by missionaries that are being reflected by the current Anglican clergy known to you within the Diocese?
21. What is your opinion on the Church-State relations in your country before and after independence?
22. Could the Anglican Church leaders afford to be apolitical in a country such as Zimbabwe?
23. What are some of the issues you strongly feel must be addressed in the training of African priests in your Diocese?
24. Is there anything that has to do with Church leadership that has made you regret being an Anglican in the Diocese of Harare?
25. What do you think the future has in store for black and white Anglicans within the Diocese of Harare?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire to individual priests

This questionnaire aims at establishing the extent to which the events in the Anglican Church in Harare, 2000-2012 AD, affected your life as a priest in the Diocese. The information sought is meant for a doctoral thesis at UNISA being undertaken by Canon Thomas Mhuriro of the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman in South Africa. Your permission to use your real name in the processing of this material is required. There is an option to withhold your name. Since this information aims at contributing to the history of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, your responses will be valuable in this regard. Please use the spaces made available against each question. However, if you so wish, you could use a separate sheet but making sure that the numbering corresponds to the one on the questionnaire. Thank you for accepting to participate in this academic exercise. Stay blessed.

1. How old are you?
2. How long have you been an Anglican?
3. Which Parish groomed you?
4. How long have you been in the ministry as a priest?
5. Which Bishop(s) and Priest(s) made an impact in your life?
6. Between 2000 and 2012 AD, there were controversies within the Diocese of Harare, briefly state how you were affected by them?
7. What do you think led to all this?

8. There is information to the effect that you participated in demonstrating against some leadership in the Church in Harare, could you give highlights?
9. Would you consider yourself as an activist?
10. What do you think is the difference between a political and religious activist?
11. Where would you see yourself between the two and why?
12. Do you think the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe needs more activists and of which persuasion?
13. What would be the justification for their existence?
14. Did the training you receive as a priest prepare you to be an activist in any way?
15. Do you see the relevance of such training at all?
16. What do you think about issues of power and control of resources in the Diocese of Harare?
17. Do you think there are problems that could be linked to tribalism, racism or regionalism within the Anglican Church in Harare?
18. If there are such problems as outlined in (17) how, do you think, they should be dealt with?
19. What is your opinion on the Church-State relations in Zimbabwe and as they affect the Anglican Church in Harare?
20. What do you think were the blunders by missionaries in establishing the Anglican Church in Harare?

Appendix 4: Questionnaire about challenges faced by indigenous clergy

This questionnaire aims at establishing your awareness of the challenges that face the indigenous clergy within the Diocese of Harare from as far back as you could remember to the present in the area of their training and their understanding of leadership amongst themselves and the people they minister to. Thank you for accepting my invitation to participate in this exercise meant to boost my research for a doctoral thesis at UNISA. Please bear in mind that it is your personal reflections on the questions that is critical when responding. You may use the spaces provided to write your responses.

1. How long have you been an Anglican?

2. Which Parish did you originate from and which one are you currently a member of?
3. Who was the first Anglican Priest who ministered to you?
4. Who was the Bishop then?
5. Which other Bishops are known to you who served the Diocese of Harare?
6. Were there any noticeable differences between European/White clergy and their African/Black counterparts?
7. What do you know about the way the two groups were trained?
8. Could you briefly state your views of the way education was handled during the colonial days even within missionary institutions?
9. In your view, was it a fair approach to ministry in the African context?
10. Do you know some of the academic qualifications of the Anglican priests who have ministered to you ever since?
11. Are you aware of any tensions between European and African priests within the Diocese of Harare that you could attribute to differences in the training and education they received?
12. Could you give any examples of notable inequalities between African and European priests within the Diocese?
13. Are there notable differences between the ways the African priests were trained during the colonial era and after independence?
14. Are there cases of open racism that you could cite and in which period?
15. Have you ever been elected to the position of leadership in the Church and at what level?
16. How did you approach the issue of clergy education and were there many lay people who were equally concerned?
17. Do you think your African clergy were adequately prepared to engage with issues that affect the indigenous Anglicans?
18. Are there notable examples of developments within the Anglican Church in Harare that indicate theological maturity and originality among the African priests?
19. Do you think the Anglican Church should be Africanised?
20. Do you know of any European Bishop who was eager to promote the Africanisation of the Anglican Church in Harare?

21. As an indigenous Anglican within the Diocese of Harare, what are some of the urgent issues you think your priests must address?
22. Do you think there have been problems in the Diocese of Harare that you could link to how the exercise of leadership has been understood over the years?
23. How many African priests within the Diocese of Harare who are known to you and have done some research that could help the Church to move forward?
24. Could you cite some of the research works known to you?
25. Do you know of any priests who are domineering in terms of the way they deal with their parishioners?
26. How would you advise such priests?
27. What kind of priests would you like to see in the Anglican Church of the future?
28. What one thing could you say the missionaries blundered on in terms of preparing the indigenous priests in the Diocese of Harare?
29. What good thing could you cite in line with (28) above?
30. Where do you think the Diocese of Harare is heading to now?
31. How serious do you think the training of priests is being taken?
32. What competencies would you like to see in your new priests?

Appendix 5: Questionnaire to indigenous clergy

This questionnaire aims at establishing your awareness of the challenges that face the indigenous clergy within the Diocese of Harare from as far back as you could remember to the present in the area of their training and their understanding of leadership amongst themselves and the people they minister to. Thank you for accepting my invitation to participate in this exercise meant to boost my research for a doctoral thesis at UNISA. Please bear in mind that it is your personal reflections on the questions that is critical when responding. You may use the spaces provided to write your responses.

1. How long have you been an Anglican?
2. Which Parish did you originate from and which one are you currently a member of?

3. Who was the first Anglican Priest who ministered to you?
4. Who was the Bishop then?
5. Which other Bishops are known to you who served the Diocese of Harare?
6. Were there any noticeable differences between European/White clergy and their African/Black counterparts?
7. What do you know about the way the two groups were trained?
8. Could you briefly state your views of the way education was handled during the colonial days even within missionary institutions?
9. In your view, was it a fair approach to ministry in the African context?
10. Do you know some of the academic qualifications of the Anglican priests who have ministered to you ever since?
11. Are you aware of any tensions between European and African priests within the Diocese of Harare that you could attribute to differences in the training and education they received?
12. Could you give any examples of notable inequalities between African and European priests within the Diocese?
13. Are there notable differences between the ways the African priests were trained during the colonial era and after independence?
14. Are there cases of open racism that you could cite and in which period?
15. Have you ever been elected to the position of leadership in the Church and at what level?
16. How did you approach the issue of clergy education and were there many lay people who were equally concerned?
17. Do you think your African clergy were adequately prepared to engage with issues that affect the indigenous Anglicans?
18. Are there notable examples of developments within the Anglican Church in Harare that indicate theological maturity and originality among the African priests?
19. Do you think the Anglican Church should be Africanised?
20. Do you know of any European Bishop who was eager to promote the Africanisation of the Anglican Church in Harare?
21. As an indigenous Anglican within the Diocese of Harare, what are some of the urgent issues you think your priests must address?

22. Do you think there have been problems in the Diocese of Harare that you could link to how the exercise of leadership has been understood over the years?
23. How many African priests within the Diocese of Harare who are known to you and have done some research that could help the Church to move forward?
24. Could you cite some of the research works known to you?
25. Do you know of any priests who are domineering in terms of the way they deal with their parishioners?
26. How would you advise such priests?
27. What kind of priests would you like to see in the Anglican Church of the future?
28. What one thing could you say the missionaries blundered on in terms of preparing the indigenous priests in the Diocese of Harare?
29. What good thing could you cite in line with (26) above?
30. Where do you think the Diocese of Harare is heading to now?
31. How serious do you think the training of priests is being taken?
32. What competencies would you like to see in your new priests?

Appendix 6: Questionnaire to individual Priests

Thank you Rev for giving your time to this questionnaire I have designed to get some opinions on the Anglican Church in Harare. Please use a separate sheet of paper to give brief responses to the questions.

1. Why did you become an Anglican Priest?
2. Do you have any senior priests who influenced you and could you please name them?
3. Where did you do your priestly training?
4. What were the challenges you met with during your training?
5. Did you enjoy working in the Diocese of Harare?
6. What made you to leave that Diocese?
7. What do you think went wrong from the beginning?
8. What are some of the blunders that you could attribute to missionaries?
9. By virtue of being Anglican, do you consider yourself a British subject or someone essentially linked to the English?

10. Do you think many priests you trained with understand the dynamics of power within the Anglican Church in Harare?
11. Do you think it is fair to attribute some of the problems in the Anglican Church in Harare to the issues of power, wealth and such related matters?
12. In your opinion, has the history of the Anglican Church in Harare been clearly documented?
13. Who are some of the indigenous scholars you could cite in this connection?
14. What are some of the critical issues that you feel should be focused on when writing about the Anglican Church in Harare from a historical perspective?
15. Are you satisfied with the way theological training has been handled in Harare by the Anglican Church?
16. Is the theology that guides the Anglican Church in Harare liberating or oppressive?
17. What role have the indigenous bishops played so far in terms of giving the Anglican Church in Harare a unique Zimbabwean face?
18. If you were to become a Bishop in Harare today, what would you prioritise in terms of giving Anglicanism in this region a unique face?
19. What are some of the regrets you have about the Anglican Church in Harare today?
20. Do you think the ordinary people understand what is at stake in their Church?
21. What is the ONE critical lesson that you think the Kunonga saga taught the Anglican Church in Harare?

Appendix 7: Questionnaire to individual laity/clergy

This questionnaire aims at establishing your awareness of the challenges that face the indigenous clergy within the Diocese of Harare from as far back as you could remember to the present in the area of their training and their understanding of leadership amongst themselves and the people they minister to. Thank you for accepting my invitation to participate in this exercise meant to boost my research for a doctoral thesis at UNISA. Please bear in mind that your personal reflections on the questions are critical when responding. You may use the spaces provided to write your responses.

1. How long have you been an Anglican?
2. Which Parish did you originate from and which one are you currently a member of?
3. Who was the first Anglican Priest who ministered to you?
4. Who was the Bishop then?
5. Which other Bishops are known to you who served the Diocese of Harare?
6. Were there any noticeable differences between European/White clergy and their African/Black counterparts?
7. What do you know about the way the two groups were trained?
8. Could you briefly state your views of the way education was handled during the colonial days even within missionary institutions?
9. In your view, was it a fair approach to ministry in the African context?
10. Do you know some of the academic qualifications of the Anglican priests who have ministered to you ever since?
11. Are you aware of any tensions between European and African priests within the Diocese of Harare that you could attribute to differences in the training and education they received?
12. Could you give any examples of notable inequalities between African and European priests within the Diocese?
13. Are there notable differences between the ways the African priests were trained during the colonial era and after independence?
14. Are there cases of open racism that you could cite and in which period?
15. Have you ever been elected to the position of leadership in the Church and at what level?
16. How did you approach the issue of clergy education and were there many lay people who were equally concerned?
17. Do you think your African clergy were adequately prepared to engage with issues that affect the indigenous Anglicans?
18. Are there notable examples of developments within the Anglican Church in Harare that indicate theological maturity and originality among the African priests?
19. Do you think the Anglican Church should be Africanised?

20. Do you know of any European Bishop who was eager to promote the Africanisation of the Anglican Church in Harare?
21. As an indigenous Anglican within the Diocese of Harare, what are some of the urgent issues you think your priests must address?
22. Do you think there have been problems in the Diocese of Harare that you could link to how the exercise of leadership has been understood over the years?
23. How many African priests within the Diocese of Harare who are known to you and have done some research that could help the Church to move forward?
24. Could you cite some of the research works known to you?
25. Do you know of any priests who are domineering in terms of the way they deal with their parishioners?
26. How would you advise such priests?
27. What kind of priests would you like to see in the Anglican Church of the future?
28. What one thing could you say the missionaries blundered on in terms of preparing the indigenous priests in the Diocese of Harare?
29. What good thing could you cite in line with (28) above?
30. Where do you think the Diocese of Harare is heading to now?
31. How serious do you think the training of priests is being taken?
32. What competencies would you like to see in your new priests?

Appendix 8: Questionnaire to Fr Barnabas Machingauta

Dear Fr Barnabas, thank you for accepting my invitation to take part in this research that aims at highlighting some significant historical developments within the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe with special reference to the Diocese of Harare.

1. How old are you and how long have you been in the ministry?
2. What is your highest academic qualification?
3. What other professional qualifications do you have?
4. When did you join the Anglican Church and what were the major drives for this move?
5. How did you come to connect with the Diocese of Harare and when?

6. Which Parishes did you serve in?
7. At one time you were the Diocesan Secretary in Harare, when was that?
8. Could you briefly describe your terms of reference then?
9. Your time in Harare coincided with the troubled times of the Anglican Church there, any immediate culprits in this connection?
10. Were you at any time forced to think seriously about the distinction between the work of God and that of mere humans?
11. Are there any significant positive things that you would like to highlight in the Diocese of Harare you served?
12. What are some of the negative things that challenged your conscience?
13. What do you think went wrong within the Anglican system of leadership as far as you could tell?
14. What are some of the mistakes that could have been avoided?
15. What do you think could be a better way of handling Church issues that could guarantee a bright future for the Anglican Church in Harare?
16. How did the Anglican Church in Harare know to you deal with politicians?
17. Are there leaders of the Anglican Church in Harare who you think should be praised or held accountable for any of the notable developments during your time?
18. Could you identify anything that you are aware of that could help one understand the dynamics of Church stewardship and corruption within the Anglican Church in Harare?
19. Are there cases that you could directly link to wanton abuse of power or privileges in the Diocese of Harare?
20. What is your opinion on the recruitment, training and deployment of Anglican priests in Harare during your time there?
21. Looking at the future of the Anglican Church in Harare, what are the things that you feel were imposed by history and will have a significant impact on its identity as a local Church?
22. Any other comments you would like to make in connection with the questions you have answered?

Appendix 9: Questionnaire to the Chiganze family

This questionnaire is meant to help us understand some issues pertaining to the history of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Harare, past and present, in terms of Church-State relations and other related issues. The Diocese of Harare today has a different geographical configuration. Because my research has a historical bias, the initial understanding will take the whole of Zimbabwe into consideration but will eventually be limited to the current state of affairs, given the divisions which took place over time.

1. What are your name, gender and age? (provide only the information you are comfortable with)?
2. Do you want your name to be cited when this data is being utilised in my research report?
3. What year(s) were you at St Augustine Penhalonga?
4. What do you think was the impact of Anglicanism on your Christianity during the years you were at St Augustine?
5. Did you know that Cecil John Rhodes had something to do with the founding of St Augustine?
6. Any comments on question 5 above?
7. How long have you been an Anglican?
8. What is your highest level of education?
9. How do you rate the Anglican missionary education you received?
10. What are some of the things that you could cite as critical to your affiliation to the Anglican Church through St Augustine?
11. How did St Augustine help you to minister in your Church today?
12. Are there names of missionaries that you know or have heard of who could have influenced your affiliation with Anglican Church directly or indirectly?
13. Anything you know about the relationship between pioneer settlers and the Anglican Church?
14. Do you think it is correct to view the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe as a British enterprise?
15. What do you know about indigenising the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe?
16. In terms of power and the history of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe known to you, do you think there are any major problems in this regard?

17. Any examples that come to mind in connection with (16) above?
18. If ever you were served in the past by both white and black clergy, what would you say were notable differences in the way they did their work?
19. Any important names in the above connection?
20. From your own observation, do you think the issue of colour among the clergy should have been a critical factor in doing God's work?
21. Can you name your current Anglican Parish?
22. What do you think of your Priest in terms of leadership and his understanding of Church governance?
23. If you have experienced both the pre-independence and post-independence Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, are there any notable changes that you could highlight for us in terms of clergy leadership?
24. Why do you think these changes exist at all, if there are any?
25. What do you think were the immediate challenges facing both European and African Anglican clergy in 1980?
26. Today there is talk about political interference in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Harare, why do you think there is such a development?
27. Do you think there are politicians or the police who are involved in harassing some Anglicans and do they have a solid basis for doing so?
28. From what you know, how has the life of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe been affected by political in or government interference?
29. Are there any members of the Anglican clergy who have been involved in criticising the ZANU (PF) government in Zimbabwe from a principled position?
30. Can you name some?
31. Do you think their criticisms reflect the general theological position of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe?
32. Could Anglican Clergy afford to be partisan?
33. As a member of the laity, do you think your political affiliation should influence your Church membership?
34. In general, do you think the Anglican clergy in the diocese of Harare are prophetic in terms of their approach to Church business in society?
35. Do you also think that they are impartial in terms of their approach to politicians?

36. What calibre of priests would you like to see serving your Anglican Church?
37. In a Zimbabwe that still has outstanding issues with the British from a politico-economic perspective; do you see this as having any bearing on the Anglican Church?
38. Do you think it is fair to view some indigenous Anglican clergy as mere British stooges?
39. Any comments about such characterisation?
40. How much of British support is coming to the Anglican Church in Harare that you know of?
41. Do you think the British are in any way controlling the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe?
42. What is your opinion about how the worldwide Anglican Communion is governed?
43. What do you think about homosexuality within the Anglican Church?
44. Is the theme of Gay and Lesbian Rights an African agenda at all?
45. What benefits does the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe enjoy by being a member of the Anglican Communion?
46. The Church of England has been vocal against the Zimbabwean government; do you think there is something that could be done differently in this regard?
47. Going back to the Church of the fourth century and Eusebius of Caesarea, Church and State came to share a lot in common; are you aware of this historical development?
48. Do you think this could help the Anglican Church in terms of understanding itself within the Zimbabwean context?
49. Can you identify some of the benefits the Anglican Church could enjoy if it were to join hands with the government of Zimbabwe today and in future?
50. What would be the major problems in such a cordial relationship?
51. Do you have any general comments on the questions that you have just answered?
52. Are you proud to be Anglican in the Diocese of Harare?
53. Give one reason to support (52) above.

54. Where do you think the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Harare is heading to?