

FROM THE UMCA TO THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN MALAWI: ATTEMPTS TO TRANSFORM THE MISSION INTO THE CHURCH IN MALAWI 1860-2001

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Abstract

The article traces the transformation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) from 1885 into the modern Anglican Church in Malawi. The article shows that sociopolitical factors as they developed in Malawi, rather than the individual efforts of the missionaries, were the principal forces that influenced the changes. In the aftermath of the First World War, an attitude of mistrust between the Africans and the Europeans was manifested in the church in Cathrew Fisher's reluctance to ordain African priests for the next fifteen years. In the context of change ushered in by the Second World War, from 1936 Thorne began to initiate some changes, encouraging African responsibility and African leadership. Overtaken by political developments of the Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland, Thorne resigned in 1961. In post-independent Malawi (1964-1980), Donald Arden sought to transform the UMCA structure, image and ethos. In the spirit of nationalism and Africanism, Arden accelerated the process of Africanisation in the church. During this period the diocese of Malawi split into four others, Lake Malawi and Southern Malawi in 1971, Northern Malawi in 1995 and Upper Shire in 2005.

1 INTRODUCTION

In this article, I will trace the history by which the Anglican mission in Malawi, known as the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), transformed into the modern Anglican Church from 1860 to 2001. Hence I will highlight some of the opportunities and the challenges – or struggles – that this process gave rise to, and then show how the

missionary bishops, in particular, responded to them. Underlying this essay is the argument that the constraints within the process of transformation were inherently structural – as they were part of the system of the Anglican Church in England. I will argue that in the process of transformation the missionaries were not always willing agents of change, rather the process towards change was largely forced upon them by socio-political circumstances.

2 THE UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA 1859-1860

When the Universities Mission to Central Africa was formed in England in 1859, the founders of the mission set their objective as “to evangelise the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the Shire of Central Africa”.¹ They insisted that their main objective was to establish not a sect but a church, hence they commissioned a bishop to lead the mission.² They understood themselves to be merely a missionary agency, which must soon yield to the establishment of an indigenous church.³ At this stage, the mission was very much European missionary oriented, emphasising missionary agency rather than African agency.

3 INITIAL ATTEMPTS TO RAISE AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH

3.1 Magomero 1860-1861

The arrival in 1861 of the English missionaries in the Shire Highlands of Southern Malawi coincided with the slave trade, which was wreaking havoc in the lives of the people of the region.⁴ It was a factor that inadvertently subverted the agenda of the missionaries. Instead of settling down to engage in evangelisation, the missionaries found themselves embroiled in arbitrating conflicts between tribes that had been victims of slavery, and in the rescue of slaves. There were times when their role was misconstrued by others.⁵

It was under these circumstances that the missionaries established their first mission at Magomero, and immediately started a school. A regular rhythm of prayer and learning was soon established.⁶ Twenty-five boys, all of whom were former slaves, constituted a core Christian community. Training included drill and the alphabet.

Students included Chimwala, described as “most hopeful” and a “bright, energetic lad”. It was thought that, if encouraged to do so, Chimwala might return to the Shire Highlands later on, after completing his training in Zululand.⁷ Others students included Sambani and Chinsoro. Finally there was Chirumba, baptised as Mark Augustine Mackenzie Meller in England.⁸ It was thought that he, too, would return to the Shire Highlands as a missionary but he was then sent to Mauritius.⁹ However, continued slave trade brought about increased instability which, together with unhealthy living conditions, contributed to the loss of almost all missionary personnel, consequently forcing the Mission to abandon the region at least in the meantime.¹⁰ These initial attempts to establish an African Church, then, were not very successful, essentially because of the unstable conditions which prevailed at the time.

The disaster experienced at Magomero, rather than consideration for the need to have Africans as the primary agents of evangelism, appeared to compel the missionaries to review their missionary policy.¹¹ Hitherto it had been more or less taken for granted that the white missionary was *the* agency of mission with an African merely playing a supportive role. The Magomero experience, however, turned this round: henceforth the missionaries underscored the primacy of the African agent in the entire mission enterprise. Thus George William Tozer, the second bishop, asserted that they were “determined to train up some Africans to be missionaries to their own people”.¹² Tozer’s close colleague, Edward Steere, expressed the new vision of the mission thus: “We thought to train up young Africans to be the leaders of their own countrymen.”¹³

Because of the urgency of the situation when Tozer arrived in Zanzibar in 1863, he opened a school of the “prophets” to train African evangelists who would then be sent to the interior of Africa where they, rather than the Europeans, could cope better with the conditions.¹⁴ In other words, the mission now became African-centred rather than European-centred. This was a turning point in the history of the UMCA – because Africans rather than Europeans became recognised as the primary agents of evangelisation.

Yet what authority did the African agents have in practice? Despite his progressive outlook, Tozer was essentially conservative. To

define the role and the social position of an African clergyman vis-à-vis the missionary, Tozer devised a subordinate role for the African clergy. Thus, in 1869, he revived the office of sub-deacon. In 1870, he justified his position by asserting that the Africans had recently emerged from heathenism. In other words, for Tozer, the “heathen” background of Africans disqualified them from being granted full authority within the ministry. During the episcopate of Tozer’s successors, Edward Steere and Charles Smythies, the ministry of the African evangelists was diversified further into the roles of catechist and reader. All this was an attempt to define a subordinate social position of an African minister in relation to the missionary.

3.2 Likoma Mission via Zanzibar

William Perceval Johnson was a missionary who trained at Kiungani Theological College and worked with evangelists like Yohana Abdallah, Augustine Ambali, Eustace Malisawa, and Petro Kilekwa. In 1885 Johnson established Likoma Island in Malawi, as a permanent station of the Tanzanian-based UMCA situated on the Island of Zanzibar.¹⁵

Background and training distinguished the ministry of these former freed slaves. These men in Malawi, nearly all of them former freed slaves, believed themselves to be missionaries similar to their European colleagues; consequently they sacrificially gave themselves to their work.¹⁶ Perhaps as a result of the hard, rough conditions under which they trained, the evangelists developed a strong and forceful character. With the exception of Yohana Abdallah, who followed the UMCA tradition of celibacy, all of them were married.¹⁷ Together with the unmarried African clergy, Abdallah, and later on Leonard Mattiya Kamungu, these early African clergymen closely embraced UMCA spirituality and ethos with its accent on simplicity, sacrifice and the regular celebration of the liturgy.¹⁸ The fact that Abdallah and Kamungu chose to remain unmarried suggests the influence of the UMCA principles on African clergy who, under ordinary circumstances, would perhaps have married.

In their ministry, they followed the practice of the missionaries and attacked the local traditions and customs as evil;¹⁹ however, very little

changed in terms of the traditional habits of the Africans. It was to be a long struggle for the entire period of their settlement. More significantly, the African clergy themselves taught and trained other Africans as teacher-evangelists on the job.²⁰ Compared with their successors, it appears that this clergy belonged in a special category of their own: they had basically been trained as evangelists, with seemingly little prospect of being elevated for a higher form of leadership. Working largely independently of missionary supervision for the first thirty years, however, these evangelists laid a firm foundation for the Anglican Church in the expansive region surrounding Lake Malawi.²¹

4 THE MISSION IN TRANSITION 1914-1930s

In various respects, the First World War marked a turning point in world history. Among other factors, the adverse consequences of the war raised a crucial question that now confronted humanity: the meaning or purpose of life. In addition, a spirit of pessimism seemed to manifest itself in many institutions, including the church. In Malawi, the John Chilembwe Rising against the colonial settlers in 1915 was symptomatic of this change.²² More significantly, as a result of the Rising, European mistrust of African education and independence led to kind of a pessimistic attitude towards the future of the Africans in Malawi.²³ Among other factors, this gave rise to a stricter European supervision of African education and training as the degree of mistrust between the European and the African widened.²⁴

In some respects, the dealings of the episcopate of Cathrew Fisher with the African ministry appear to characterise this pessimistic spirit. In spite of his very good administrative and legal skills, so Weller and Linden observed, "Fisher was very much a bishop of the colonial period" who was unwilling "to place African clergy in charge of missions, preferring to keep them as assistants to European missionaries."²⁵ Why? This attitude was in tune with the prevailing view that Africans were "children" who needed a long training period before they could be entrusted with the kind of responsibilities that their European counterparts held.

Fisher's attitude to African ordination was no better: after ordaining Tawe, Kilekwa and Chisui at the very beginning of his ministry, Fisher

did not ordain an African for the next 15 years.²⁶ However, it took the extraordinary character and quality of Augustine Ambali to convince Fisher in 1922 that an African could be raised to the position of Canon of Likoma Cathedral. Certainly, to Fisher, Ambali was a model of an African priest who matched up to the missionary image of a typical African priest. This is what Fisher remarked about Ambali's personality: "A delightful man – I like him better each time I stay with him."²⁷ Largely because of his inability and unwillingness to speak the local language,²⁸ Fisher did not discharge his pastoral duties effectively.²⁹ Thus, Fisher's eighteen-year episcopate seemed to have been a period of very slow progress with regard to transformation.

4.1 Thorne and the church in transition

Following the sudden death of Fisher in 1929, it would appear that the UMCA head office in London set about accelerating the pace of change in the UMCA in Malawi. Considering the pastoral weakness of Fisher and the too short-lived episcopate of Gerald Douglas (1930-36), the UMCA now resolved that an appropriate man for the job should not come from outside the UMCA in Africa, but should be an "insider"; somebody who knew African life better than Fisher.³⁰

Frank Oswald Thorne, who had been teaching in a theological college in Tanzania, succeeded Fisher in 1938. Unlike Fisher who had come to Malawi with an immediate European background, Thorne had come with his African experience in Tanzania. The episcopate of Thorne coincided with the Second World War, a period that introduced various important changes which affected the church in Malawi as well. For instance, A G Blood, a UMCA missionary working in Africa in the 1930s, noted that the spirit of materialism was accompanied by a loss of feeling for things sacred as well as an African desire to rule itself.³¹

With the episcopate of Thorne, the UMCA entered another important phase in its history. Thorne began introducing the changes that started to transform the UMCA from a missionary body into a modern Anglican Church. One of the first things he did was to move his headquarters from Likoma, which had been a missionary settlement for the previous fifty-one years, to Mpondas, 120 kilometres nearer

the colonial seat of Zomba. Thus, Likoma Island, which had hitherto been a dominant feature of the Anglican Church in Malawi, began to wane in importance.

Meanwhile, the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* of 1947 stated that Bishop Thorne was conscious that the church in Nyasaland was “in the process of evolution from a purely missionary venture organised, staffed, directed and financed by the African Christians of the country”.³² More importantly, Frank Thorne further noted that, while it was making good progress towards the first three, it had failed to achieve the last objective.³³ “In finance”, he further noted, “they had lamentably failed”.³⁴ Writing in the 1970s, Masauko Chipembere, a politician and the son of a senior priest, observed that years of the UMCA funding missionary work had created in the Africans a spirit of dependence to the extent that it tended to undermine their sense of responsibility.³⁵

This weakness must be viewed within the broader perspective of a general European attitude that Africans had to wait for a long time before they could be trusted with responsibility. Indeed, four years previously, the *Nyasaland Diocesan Newsletter* had carried a letter by Thorne in which he had reported that the bishop of Madagascar had regretted that his diocese had attained financial independence too soon – before it had learnt responsibility – and then cautioned him about the same happening in Nyasaland.³⁶ No matter how Thorne reacted to the advice, what is certain is that missionary paternalism continued in the UMCA in Malawi. Nonetheless, during his episcopate, Thorne’s ability to interact more effectively with the Africans strengthened the church in Malawi.³⁷ Today it is almost unanimously agreed that it was due to Thorne’s abilities as a pastor that the church in Malawi developed.³⁸

Meanwhile, around 1947, the bishops in Central Africa started debating the challenges and confronting the training of the African clergy through traditional diocesan training schemes like that of St Andrew’s College.³⁹ Even more importantly, there was a willingness to address the problem. Hence, from that year, the bishops of the dioceses of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe started discussing the subject with a view to establishing a centralised theological college for a higher standard of training of the African clergy than Andrews

College and others had until then provided.⁴⁰ These discussions were to culminate in the establishment of a provincial seminary in Lusaka, Zambia in 1954. In this way the missionaries sought to raise a better-educated, modern leadership for the Anglican Church in Central Africa.

Missionary paternalism was one of the challenges that the African clergy faced – and this issue was to be highlighted in another context two years later. Thus, in 1949 during a clergy refresher course, Edward Maycock reported that “the Africans increase in desire for counsel from the white priests which they sought ... could be given in a ‘helpful’ way”.⁴¹ He went on to assert that the “African priests (were) aware of their own ‘unreadiness’ to stand on their feet and, incidentally, asked for counsel as how best to get rid of those impediments to mutual co-operation which they realised exist only too strongly within themselves”.⁴² The claim to speak or represent the “other” was described by Edward Said as orientalism. He argued that in justifying control of the non-Europeans, the Europeans had, for years, and in various ways, inculcated a spirit of dependence in the Africans⁴³ through paternalism. In this particular respect, Maycock claimed to speak on “behalf” of the “powerless” African clergy, as the latter were reported to continue believing themselves as incapable.

This suggests that the Africans were very conscious of their deficient leadership skills and, consequently, their dependence on missionary assistance. It is a tacit admission on the part of the missionary that the missionary church in Malawi had failed to raise an African clergy to the stage of self-reliance. Through a process of socialisation with the whites a spirit of dependence had been inculcated in the Africans. This spirit acted as a deterrent to Africans to take full responsibility in church affairs. As noted above, it was a weakness that manifested itself in many aspects of the church’s life, including finance.

Meanwhile, in 1952, the diocese of Nyasaland was divided, giving way to the formation of the new diocese of South West Tanganyika and the current territory of Nyasaland.⁴⁴ In the same year the Constitution of the Diocese of Nyasaland was put in place.⁴⁵ This was a milestone in the history of the UMCA: from now on the church in Malawi would no longer operate under the Church of England, as it had assumed an independent status and, in addition, the Archbishop

of Canterbury would have no jurisdiction over its affairs. Accordingly, a system for the election of the bishop of the diocese of Malawi was laid down in the constitution. While in the past the bishop had to be appointed in England with the consent of the archbishop of Canterbury, now it was the prerogative of the church in Malawi.

The creation of the diocese of South West Tanganyika, part of the German-ruled territory of Tanganyika, out of the diocese of Nyasaland as a British-ruled territory, was significant. The move was meant to pave the way for the Anglican diocese in Nyasaland to enter into a union with the other Anglican dioceses in the British-ruled territories of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in a structure called Province.⁴⁶ This development has to be viewed in the light of the political changes that were affecting East, Central and Southern Africa in the 1950s.

Since 1949, and culminating in 1953, colonial officials in the British-ruled territories of Central Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had set a course to bring together those territories in economic and political co-operation. It is significant that, when the issue of the formation of the province of the dioceses was put to the Africans in Malawi, they became suspicious because they linked it to the issue of the political federation of those territories.⁴⁷

While Thorne was bishop, socioeconomic and political changes in Malawi accelerated and impacted considerably on the UMCA as well. In education, unlike their counterparts' training between 1885 and mid-20th century, Africans training at St Michael's and St Andrew's College from the 1930s and 1940s had the advantage of enjoying a relatively higher standard of education than that of their predecessors. Important future Malawian leaders, notably Chipembere, Mtekateka, Chisa, Mattiya Msekawanthu and Barthlemew Msonthi, were emerging trained for the ministry during this time at St Andrew's on Likoma Island.

Meanwhile, the year 1957 was very significant for the UMCA in Malawi because it was the year when the mission celebrated its anniversary.⁴⁸ Seemingly responding to pressure to groom Africans for leadership in society and church, the UMCA in Malawi sent African clergymen Habil Chipembere and Josiah Mtekateka to

represent the church in Malawi and Tanzania respectively at the anniversary celebrations in London.⁴⁹ It was an attempt by the church to affirm African leadership as a way of preparing it for possible independence in future.

Meanwhile, in Central Africa, the year from 1959 to 1960 marked yet another turning point in the political affairs of Malawi. African resistance to the federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and the desire for political emancipation, reached a climax.⁵⁰ In the Anglican Church in Malawi, church leaders, notably Habi Chipembere and Oswald Chisa, took the lead. Chisa hailed from Nkhotakota which was a hotbed of nationalist politics in Malawi. Before joining the ministry he had been a hospital orderly. Chipembere, on the other hand, hailed from Malindi, another hotbed of nationalist politics in Malawi. Moreover, his son Masauko was to become one of the leading figures in the nationalist movement long before Dr H Banda arrived on the scene.

Just like 1954, the year 1960 turned out to be a very significant landmark in the history of both Malawi and the Anglican Church. First, constitutional talks were held in London between the Malawi Congress Party and other parties with the British government to pave the way for self-rule in Malawi. To a great degree these political developments had a bearing on what was happening in the church. In 1960 Thorne announced that he would retire. He stated that, "If I live until the end of February, I shall have been bishop for twenty-five years, at least five years too long, and it will by then be full time for me to make way for a younger man with a more nimble mind."⁵¹

Besides the fact that Thorne had reached an advanced age for retirement, there was also another more pressing matter that he did not declare. His decision to retire had been influenced to a great extent by his unpopularity with the African people, who perceived him to be unsupportive of their aspirations to political emancipation.⁵² The UMCA head office in London had, in fact, put pressure on him to resign largely because they knew the situation and also considered him openly unsympathetic to the political emancipation⁵³ of the African people. In the perception of the UMCA officials in London, Thorne was not the right man to lead the African church in its transition to independence since he was seen as being too strongly

aligned to the waning colonial order.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, symptomatic of changes taking place in society in the 1960 Synod, Thorne noted that there was a large African majority in the Houses of both Laity and Clergy.⁵⁵

The period around the 1960s, meanwhile, saw the UMCA in Malawi face critical financial challenges similar to the ones that the church experienced in 1947. In his pastoral letter of 8 March of that year, Thorne regretted that the UMCA had not done enough to teach Africans the concept and understanding of church giving.⁵⁶ According to Thorne, this was reflected in the Africans' inability to support the work of the church adequately.⁵⁷ Commenting on this state of affairs in the 1970s, Masauko Chipembere, son of the prominent UMCA priest, Habil Chipembere who was Thorne's colleague and friend, suggested that the weakness could have risen from the pioneer missionaries having "bribed" the Africans too much in the early days of missionary Christianity.⁵⁸

This weakness had the effect of retarding progress towards self-reliance – a shortcoming similar to the one noted in the 1920s by Thorne's predecessor, Fisher, that the inability of the African to express themselves appeared to hamper their advancement in assuming leadership. African dependency on missionary funds tended to retard the spirit of independence in Africans. Yet there was another aspect to the issue of money. Masauko Chipembere noted that around the 1960s the UMCA missionaries had argued that the mission funds from England were raised precisely to support the work of the English missionaries rather than that of the African clergy.⁵⁹ Chipembere argued against this view, asserting that the mission's claim that the mission funds had been raised specially for white missionaries was not correct – rather, in his view, it was the missionaries' unwillingness to share with the African clergy that had made them advance that view.⁶⁰

In the interim, recognising the shortcomings of education and the training background of the existing African clergy, the UMCA office in London put pressure on bishops in Malawi and other dioceses of the UMCA to "send some specially chosen African ordinands and/or priests... to England for further training and experience".⁶¹ The urgent tone of the letter suggests that the UMCA was under intense

pressure to make up for lost time. With the present African clergy at a lower standard of training, the church, though operating in modern times, was nevertheless living in the past. Hence, the church needed a new type of leadership, one which was better educated than the existing one and that would lead the church into the emerging era.

Meanwhile it appears that, from 1960, Thorne accelerated the pace of Africanisation with African priests like Fr Nathan Ntaya replacing white priests like H A M Cox.⁶² In 1961, Thorne appointed Chipembere as the first Malawian Archdeacon of the Lake Shore Area and Mpondas, Malindi and Nkope Hill;⁶³ later that same year he was made Canon. In 1960, Thorne remarked that “the departure of white priests ... brought a long and honourable partnership of church and state ... to an end”⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Likoma, an island that had been administered by the UMCA on behalf of the colonial government since 1895, was handed back to the government because, as the missionary Gerald Hadow asserted, “the integrity of the Mission was at stake”.⁶⁵ Hadow went on to state that “it was important that we should act in accordance with Bishop Gores’s dictum: ‘By all means bring religion into your politics, but never take politics into your religion’.”⁶⁶

The handover had been prompted by political expedience rather than a genuine concern for the African people. As Hadow suggested, the continued administration of Likoma Island had made the Anglican Church look like an ally of the oppressive colonial government. This had turned out to be an embarrassment to the mission authorities as it seemed to portray the mission as a collaborator with an increasingly unpopular regime. Even the government seemed embarrassed to continue running the territory and this, in turn, resulted in a decision by Sir Harry Johnson that direct government administration of Likoma and Chizumulu Islands was impractical; the islands were therefore handed over to the Native Trust Land.

5 THE TRANSITION FROM COLONIAL NYASALAND TO POST-INDEPENDENT MALAWI 1960-1980

5.1 Donald Seymour Arden – a bishop for an independent Malawi

When Thorne initially resigned in 1961 it was suggested that a black bishop be appointed to succeed him. Father Trevor Huddlestone of South Africa was approached in this respect,⁶⁷ and he recommended a priest by the name of Fr Rakale.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, for reasons yet to be uncovered by the author, Rakale never became bishop of Malawi. Had the proposition been carried out, it would perhaps have changed the perspective of mission in Central Africa to accept the concept of an African priest from one African country becoming a bishop in another African country.

In the context of the nationalist politics of the 1960s, African Anglicans in Malawi, among others, sought to assert their right to govern their own church. Mattiya Msekawanthu, a priest from Soche Parish in Blantyre represented this vocal group. He wrote a letter to the Bishops of Central Africa requesting them not to “impose” a bishop, but rather to “consult” with the people.⁶⁹ The bishops ignored this plea and, instead, appointed Donald Seymour Arden to succeed Frank Thorne. To a degree, this was a setback to the process of Africanisation within the church and suggests that even as late as 1962 – after almost a century of mission in Malawi – the Anglican Church was not yet ready to appoint or elect an African bishop.

6 ARDEN AND THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICANISATION

6.1 Transforming the mission into a church

On the surface, the modern history of the Anglican Church in Malawi – particularly during the period between 1962 and 1980 – seems to suggest that Donald Arden was a willing agent, even a facilitator, of transformation of the UMCA to the modern Anglican Church. However, probing deeper into this phase of history seems to suggest that there were more formidable forces that were to determine the course of events within the church.

Arden started his work as bishop of the diocese of Nyasaland (later Malawi) after his installation in September 1962. His marriage to Jane Riddle at the beginning of his episcopate in 1963⁷⁰ fundamentally transformed the celibate image and character of the UMCA bishops who, for the past hundred years, had faithfully

maintained the celibate tradition. Within this context, there, it is understandable, that a few UMCA missionaries who were themselves celibate, including Gerald Hadow, and some local Malawians initially resented Arden's move. For years people in Malawi had been used to the idea that a bishop does not marry.

On the other hand, Arden arrived in a Nyasaland that was going through tremendous socio-economic and political changes. Politically, Nyasaland as a colonial state was on its way out – and in the process of yielding to a new nation of Malawi. Within the broader context of nationalism and Africanism, Africanisation – the promotion of things African as opposed to things European – became key on the agenda of national advancement by which the loyalty of national institutions, like the church, would be determined by the political leaders of the new, emerging state.

In 1961 Malawi attained self-rule under then Prime Minister, Hastings Kamuzu Banda and, in 1964, the country attained its independence from England. The new Banda government's policy insisted that Africanisation in all spheres of public life affected all churches, not least the UMCA mission.⁷¹ During his first diocesan synod on 23rd August 1964 Arden announced that, with the country changing its name from Nyasaland to Malawi, the Diocese of Nyasaland would follow suit and change its name to the Diocese of Malawi.⁷² Meanwhile, indicative of the changes that were taking place in society, it was recorded that during the previous year distinctions between "European" and "African" staff houses had been officially obliterated.⁷³

More interestingly, in the synod that assembled in 1964, the use of Chichewa, the local national language, was encouraged.⁷⁴ In justifying this development, Arden stated that the church must be seen to be supporting the policy of the new government.⁷⁵ In the following year Arden moved the mission headquarters from Mpondas in Mangochi, where Thorne had once been based, to Malosa, 60 kilometres from the colonial seat of Zomba.⁷⁶ Now, unlike the case of the insular Island of Likoma, the bishop and the church administrative centre were closer to the government seat of power, the town centres and other churches.

Undoubtedly responsive to the prevailing spirit of nationalism and Africanisation, Arden sought to accelerate the pace of Africanisation in many aspects of the church's life such as worship. Up to this time, the UMCA in Malawi used *ChiLikoma* hymns, the UMCA hymns with a dialect spoken on Likoma Island. Between 1962 and 1963 Arden commissioned Guy Carleton to compile a new prayer book and a hymn book to fit in with Chinyanja and the ethos of the new nation.⁷⁷ The principle was to encourage Malawian hymns and tunes. Meanwhile, at the synod that assembled in 1966, it was resolved that the diocese "adopt the union Chinyanja", as Arden put it, to support the President's policy to have one language for Malawi.⁷⁸

However, the immediate challenge facing Arden with regard to his administration in the diocese was the assertion of his authority over the Christians of Likoma, an island which, since 1895, had been closely ruled by the UMCA missionaries as a quasi-independent political entity. Since the time of Thorne, some Likoma Island Christian leaders and others were critical or even defiant towards authority, including that of Thorne.⁷⁹ At the beginning of his episcopate, Arden faced resistance to some of the staff changes he was introducing on the Island. In a letter to John Parslow, priest in charge of Likoma Island in 1965, Arden sought to transform the UMCA's way of running the affairs of Likoma Island. He put forward the following suggestions,

- (a) Every possible attempt must be made to build up a strong public opinion of people from the Island. I feel that in the past discipline has been accepted so to speak from the outside, submitted to rather than accepted, and that the Church has relied too much on pronouncements by the Bishop, rather than a genuine concern of people's consciences.
- (b) As an aid to this, the formation of a Church Council (which has been asked for other reasons by the Standing Committee) representing various departments and villages is necessary. This will be a requirement of the new constitution, which is in gestation, for I think we must do much more in giving local congregations responsibility for finance and many other matters.⁸⁰

Arden faced a struggle to win the hearts of the Likoma Christians who were very influential in the life of the entire diocese. To a great degree Arden was right to assert that the UMCA had ruled Likoma Christians by rules and censure. Certainly, the missionaries' position acting as political functionaries on behalf of the colonial government in Zomba also had a bearing on this. He started to change this by introducing a church council where the local congregation would have the power to make decisions affecting their lives. On the other hand, reading between the lines, Arden's counsel to Parslow suggests that the people of Likoma were resisting Arden's authority. The apparent resistance of the people of Likoma could have been influenced by nationalist politics of the mass movement in Malawi.

Arden sought to promote Africans in nearly all aspects of the church's administration. In some cases this meant pushing out white clergy – such as Gerald Hadow, a priest on Likoma Island who openly defied his authority or Banda government's policies – to give way to Malawian clergy. In other cases, Arden took advantage of the gap created by the Banda government's deportations of missionaries critical to its rule, to fill in with Malawian clergy. For instance, on 19th November 1963,⁸¹ he appointed Sheldon Jalasi, a Malawian based in Zambia, as Archdeacon of Nkhotakota. Jalasi was a replacement for Guy Carleton, a missionary who was very critical of Banda's government policies. When Christopher Lacey retired in 1962, he appointed Chipembere as his Vicar General. In addition, he appointed Mr Mauwa as the first Malawian diocesan secretary to succeed Mr Billy Towers, who was to be followed by Justice Kishindo.⁸²

7 AN AFRICAN CLERGY AND MINISTRY

In general the process of transforming the African Church entailed the evolution of the church structures and ethos; this process of Africanisation of the church also involved the adaptation of the African ministry. A large body of catechists/teachers, existing alongside the ministry of the seminary-trained clergy, had always been a very important feature of the ministry in the UMCA. Now the danger arose that, in the emerging era with a tendency to stress the importance of a professional priesthood, this body of catechists

would be left out. Yet from the beginning of Arden's ministry in Malawi, efforts to promote Africanisation tended to be hampered by the lack of finance. In his a letter to John Leake on 13 June 1962, Arden wrote,

We are in the throes of appalling financial crisis, and I hardly have the money for the stamp on this a letter, let alone to start new work ... a scheme that is very near my heart is starting a training centre where we could train all or any of older clergy for whom we cannot find room in the theological college, for whom the four year course would be rather a waste of time; catechists and lay helpers of one sort and another in short courses ... and yet if this diocese is ever going to survive africanisation and independence, something like this has to be done ...⁸³

Government policy favouring the promotion of Africans to leadership positions in government and the public sector, as opposed to Europeans, put pressure on Arden to consider moving fast on the issue of African leadership. The idea caught on and was implemented from 1968 onwards.

After six months of training in what was called the Chilema training programme, these catechists and teachers were ordained to a ministry in which they received half the stipend of their seminary-trained colleagues.⁸⁴ This suggests that this form of clergy was inferior to seminary-trained clergy. According to a longstanding theological tutor in Malawi, Rodney Hunter, this "was a defeatist strategy based on the mistaken idea that young men of ability would not offer themselves for the ministry and that there would be no money to pay them".⁸⁵ To a degree Arden's view of the church was not entirely misplaced.

In the 1960s, the Anglican Church seemed to carry two somewhat conflicting images. The first was its missionary image with its strong connection to Britain, which projected the picture of a powerful church endowed with better resources. The second was the image of ageing clergy, with a low standard of education, poor stipend, poor living and working conditions and a rapid rapidly phasing out of ministry. All this gave the impression of a struggling church, a church

that was not very attractive, perhaps even repulsive, to ambitious young men keen on pursuing the priesthood as a career.⁸⁶

Yet despite their exceptional dedication to pastoral work and their capacity to serve under hard conditions, one of the fundamental weaknesses of the UMCA-trained African clergy in Malawi was their low standard of education. In a post-independent Malawi, the widening gap between the African clergy and the laity who were based in emerging towns, became more obvious and was sometimes quite an embarrassment to the church authorities. The question facing the church was: How does a clergy with a low standard of education attained during the previous years, minister effectively to a better-educated African laity with a tendency to despise the low level of education of these ministers?

To a degree this challenge was addressed at the 1964 Diocesan Synod meeting which paved the way for the introduction of another form of ministry called auxiliary or voluntary priesthood. Thus, in this same year, Synod Archdeacon Christopher Lacey moved,

That this Synod considers that the time has come for the establishment of an auxiliary voluntary clergy and begs for the appointment of a commission to report on ways and means for its establishment.⁸⁷

A year later, in 1965, a voluntary clergy was introduced. This category of clergy was meant to support the ministry of the seminary-trained clergy, who were far fewer in number. A longstanding tutor, Rodney Hunter, suggested that Arden's "fear that the clergy could not be adequately remunerated was probably behind his support" for this programme.⁸⁸ However, the programme raised its own problems. In 1966 the regular clergy resented it so much that it led to unrest, as they saw it as "an easy way to ordination".⁸⁹ It fell to Maycock, the one responsible for the implementation of this programme, to explain to the clergy the reasons behind the scheme.⁹⁰

On the other hand, to solve the problem of the missionary-educated African clergy, Arden intended to raise a "graduate priest" as a model for the Malawian clergy. Thus, between 1964 and the 1970s, with the support of the newly established diocesan Ordination Selection

Board and the Anglo-Catholic Fund, Arden embarked on a recruiting drive for prospective young ordinands to be sent to St John's College in Lusaka.⁹¹ The Fund was intended to assist promising students who were still studying at school to finish their studies with the prospect of being able to go on to the theological college for training. This, in turn, had its own problems as some students exploited it for their own personal interests.⁹² However, the Fund was also a success in that it enabled many students to undergo training at St John's Theological College. Amongst those whom Arden tried to educate on a higher level and whose experience he tried to broaden, were Emmanuel Karima, Bernard Malango and James Amanze.⁹³ He anticipated that young men like these would achieve a higher level of education as graduates, to lead the church in Malawi in the very near future. Indeed the last two men fulfilled Arden's dreams when they finally attained their doctoral degrees between the 1980s and 1990s.

8 THE APPOINTMENT OF AN AFRICAN BISHOP

However, the greatest challenge yet confronting the church in Central Africa and, in this case, Malawi, was to elevate the first Malawian priest to the position of bishop. Perhaps it was the fact that the office of bishop was being introduced in Central Africa and Malawi that made the bishops in Central Africa seem too cautious to transfer all authority to an African bishop at once: as a consequence, they put into place a mechanism that would facilitate the transitional process. This mechanism was the introduction of suffragan bishop, a subordinate office by means of which an African bishop would work with a white diocesan bishop, learning from him the ropes of administration.⁹⁴ Mtekateka was elected to this office in December 1965.

On the basis of an arrangement made by Arden, Nkhotakota in Central Malawi now operated as the centre of Mtekateka's administration, with a view to it becoming the headquarters of a new diocese in 1971.⁹⁵ Just like Thorne's action in moving his headquarters from Likoma to Mpondas in Mangochi, so now Mtekateka's move, inspired by Arden, further marginalised the position of Likoma Island as a stronghold of Anglicanism in Malawi.⁹⁶ Mtekateka was to serve the position of suffragan bishop as a way of training on the job before the central and northern parts of the

diocese were divided to give way to the diocese of Lake Malawi in 1971.

Josiah Mtekateka, born and bred on Likoma Island, was a priest who had trained at St Andrew's College on Likoma Island but had mostly worked in South West Tanganyika before being elected in Malawi to this position on 6th December 1964.⁹⁷ However, the office of an Anglican bishop was largely understood as an administrative position, and this presented a further challenge to the African bishops in Central Africa who, because of their training background, lacked such skills. Mtekateka's lack of administrative skills provided a reason for Arden to appoint a white priest to support him as chaplain. This had created its own problems, which have been discussed in detail in preceding pages.⁹⁸

Even though the church had three Malawian bishops in succession during the period from 1965 to 1980, to a large extent it was Arden in his capacity as archbishop of Central Africa and bishop of Southern Malawi who was more influential in their administration. For instance, Peter Nyanaja of Lake Malawi diocese consulted Arden for advice from the start of his episcopate in 1978, even in minor issues of conflict with some of his defiant Likoma Island clergy.⁹⁹ Arden arranged for plans to relocate the diocesan headquarters from Nkhotakota to Lilongwe in 1983, a move that provoked violent opposition to Nyanja's administration from the people of Nkhotakota in alliance with the people of Likoma.¹⁰⁰

In the interim period from 1965 and 1970 there were signs that the missionary transition to the church was on a steady course. Attending a conference and synod on a visit to Malawi in 1968, former UMCA missionary, Edward Maycock, noted how "the old 'mission' [had] become the 'church' and [was] especially delighted to see how the African clergy [had] developed in accepting their new responsibilities. Even more delightful he [was] to see the way the laity were realising their responsibilities".¹⁰¹

9 JOSIAH MTEKATEKA ELEVATED TO THE POSITION OF DIOCESAN BISHOP

Of similar importance is the degree to which Malawians had assumed responsibility for their own affairs and, in 1971, this was reflected by their confidence in electing Josiah Mtekateka as the first Malawian diocesan bishop. In some respects, Mtekateka's appointment was experimental: the first appointment was very important in that it created a model that could be emulated by his successors. In his letter to Bernard Sharp on 21 June 1971, immediately after Mtekateka's appointment, Arden remarked that he was "a great man and my only worry is where we shall find someone of equal stature to follow him".¹⁰² According to Rodney Hunter, however, Mtekateka had no forward vision.¹⁰³ Hunter's assessment of Mtekateka also applied to many other UMCA-trained clergy. For instance, in 1963, Arden had observed in Johnson Mwenda a certain rigidity with regard to applying his mind to an issue that concerned the discipline of parishioners.¹⁰⁴

Mtekateka was a very good pastor, a hard worker, and a good counsellor.¹⁰⁵ To a certain extent, Mtekateka's election as a diocesan bishop showed that the Anglican Church had come of age. Yet another notable change took place in 1971: a decline in the number of colonial-type lay Anglicans in the church in Malawi.¹⁰⁶ While they had been a financial backbone of the diocese,¹⁰⁷ their departure was important as it now opened up an opportunity for Malawians to assume responsibility.

More importantly, the election of Mtekateka in 1971 with full powers of a diocesan bishop led to the creation of the diocese of Lake Malawi, based in Nkhotakota and comprising the Central and Northern Regions of Malawi, while Arden became bishop of the diocese of Southern Malawi, his area overlapping with the southern region of Malawi.

10 THE TRANSITION FROM MTEKATEKA TO HIS SUCCESSORS

By the time Mtekateka retired in 1977, the conditions that prevailed when he was elected twelve years previously had altered. There was now a small number of better-educated, young, outspoken clergy who had been trained at St John's College in Lusaka, which made competition stiffer.

In spite of his successful episcopate, when it came to the issue of electing his successor, Mtekateka showed a weakness: despite the views of others, he himself openly revealed that he preferred to be succeeded by James Lunda, a close friend.¹⁰⁸ Partly because of this, the election held in 1977 ended in a logjam, a result which then gave the bishops of the Province an opportunity to appoint a candidate of their choice. In 1978¹⁰⁹ they appointed Peter Nyanja.¹¹⁰ Nyanja had been one of the fruits of Arden's efforts to obtain a better-trained clergy for Malawi than those trained at St Andrew's College.

Unlike Mtekateka, who had started as a suffragan bishop, when Nyanja was appointed he became a diocesan bishop, a position that gave him full powers. It is possible that Arden thought it unnecessary for Nyanja to start as a suffragan bishop because, with his higher level of education, he was better equipped than Mtekateka was to be a diocesan bishop. However, while Mtekateka hailed from Likoma, a missionary stronghold of the Anglican Church, Nyanja came from Ntchisi, a missionary field developed much later and strongly regarded by the Likoma and Nkhotakota Christians as marginal.

The presence of a vocal and influential group within the Likoma clergy, such as Augustine Chande, Mattiya Msekawanthu and Aidan Misi, presented daunting challenges to the episcopate of Peter Nyanja, who occasionally suffered abuse from them.¹¹¹ For the first six years, the persistent opposition by the dominant Likoma clergy to Nyanja's authority and administration seemed to drive Nyanja to isolation. As Hunter observed, in spite of this, in the end Nyanja won the loyalty of his clergy.¹¹²

Meanwhile, the retirement of Arden as bishop of Southern Malawi and archbishop of Central Africa provided another opportunity for a Malawian to succeed. Dunstan Ainani had been elected suffragan bishop in 1979 – again as a step towards assuming the full powers of a diocesan bishop.¹¹³ However, the case of Dunstan Ainani provides striking parallels with Mtekateka and Nyanja. With a Muslim background, Dunstan Ainani came from Nkhotakota.¹¹⁴ He was no longer a young man when he came into the ministry through the short training programme of "catechist priest"¹¹⁵ which had been initiated by Arden.

According to a number of sources, one outstanding trait of Ainani's personality that endeared him to Arden and the others was his courage, his ability to speak his mind on controversial issues affecting the life of the church even to the extent of daring to challenge Arden himself.¹¹⁶

This is significant because, according to former missionary Stewart Lane, Arden's relationship with most Malawians was an odd one. According to Lane, Malawians did not understand Arden well, and Arden did not understand Malawians, hence there was always a gap between the two.¹¹⁷ Lane attributed this to Arden's different intellectual, social and cultural upbringing which, in his view, tended to conflict with the Malawian intellectual, social and cultural milieu.¹¹⁸ According to Lane, this disadvantaged most Malawians – especially where it affected public decisions of the church, when Malawians sometimes agreed to issues they had not fully grasped. Conversely, in such instances, Arden believed that the Malawians had understood his point of view.¹¹⁹

Prior to his election in the diocese of Southern Malawi, Ainani had played an important role, which earned him prominence. His ability to compose church music with Malawian melodies – an ability which Arden strongly encouraged in an attempt to modernise the Anglican Church – undoubtedly raised Ainani's profile.¹²⁰ Perhaps even more importantly, during his ministry Ainani, more than any other priest, earned a reputation for his ability to withstand hardships. As a result, he enjoyed a fairly successful ministry.¹²¹

Being a suffragan bishop put Ainani in a position where he had to work very closely with Arden. This had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Undoubtedly Ainani benefited from Arden's strong administrative skills. The letters that Ainani left behind after his death show that he was dealing with similar issues to those of Arden. Just like Arden, he continued to put up church, school and clinic structures.¹²² However, this was also a weakness, since it shows that Ainani, just like Mtekateka, had very little vision beyond Arden's programme of putting up church structures. Because Ainani had already served as a suffragan bishop for a year, when the time came

to elect a diocesan bishop in 1980 it was not very difficult to elect him.¹²³

Like Peter Nyanja, Benson Nathaniel Aipa, who succeeded Ainani in 1986, came from a teaching background; also like Nyanja, Aipa became a diocesan bishop. Growing up at Malindi in Mangochi, Aipa was at an early age influenced to a certain extent by the missionaries and by African clergy such as Chipembere.¹²⁴ Perhaps because of this he favoured traditional liturgy and ethos.¹²⁵ Unlike both Ainani and Arden, however, but much like Mtekateka, Aipa was not an office man.¹²⁶ He was more at home meeting with ordinary people, more comfortable with lay people than with his clergy.¹²⁷ Because of this he seemed more popular than his predecessor, Ainani.¹²⁸

In 2001 Bernard Malango became bishop of the diocese of Upper Shire, formerly known as Southern Malawi. Like Aipa and Nyanja, Bernard Malango was a product of Arden's efforts between 1965 and the late 1970s to raise a better-educated clergy for the church in Malawi. Yet the story of Malango is extraordinary. In 1988, at the time of his appointment as bishop of Northern Zambia,¹²⁹ he was serving as a priest in Southern Malawi.¹³⁰ In 1998, while still serving in Northern Zambia, he became archbishop of Central Africa.¹³¹ Ultimately, in 2001, he was elected bishop of Upper Shire in Malawi, while continuing as archbishop of Central Africa.¹³²

10.1 Diocese of Northern Malawi

The reasons advanced for creating the diocese of Northern Malawi out of the diocese of Lake Malawi in 1995 are significant in light of the age-old UMCA missionary legacy of the country. The idea of creating the Northern Malawi diocese was not so much due to the fact that the diocese of Malawi was too large to be run by one bishop, as people from Likoma argued,¹³³ but rather to the ethnic pride of the people of Island of Likoma.

Thorne's transfer of his headquarters from Likoma to Mpondas in Southern Malawi had left the people of Likoma bitter, and this was manifested in part in 1960 when they asked the archbishop of York to "sack" Thorne.¹³⁴ The people of Likoma Island, it appeared, had felt sidelined.¹³⁵ Arden did not improve the situation either when, at the

beginning of his episcopate, he did not revert to Likoma; similarly, Mtekateka did not make Likoma his base in 1971. The appointment in 1978 of the Ntchisi-born Nyanja as the bishop of Lake Malawi, strengthened the perception that the clergy from Likoma were being sidelined.¹³⁶ It is significant, however, that the Likoma clergy only intensified their struggle to have their own diocese once Nyanja was appointed bishop, and had not done so when Mtekateka, who was a Likoman, was bishop.¹³⁷ It is thus clear that pride was one of the underlying reasons for the creation of the diocese of Northern Malawi, rather than resistance to being led by a bishop from a place other than Likoma.

There was, however, an even more deep-seated reason behind the yearning of the people of Likoma for the restoration of the old UMCA rule, and this was for the material benefits closely associated with it. It is significant that, when the issue of electing a bishop came up in 1995, one of the electorate, Clement Marama, was advised by the people of Likoma (ironically through Bishop Josiah Mtekateka) to approach the most recent of the missionaries, Bernard Sharp,¹³⁸ who was by now retired. Sharp's response to the request was to decline the offer: instead he advised that a senior Malawian priest be appointed. His advice, however, was never taken up.¹³⁹ The people of Likoma then approached Jackson Biggers, who accepted the offer.¹⁴⁰ The approach to Jackson Biggers was ironic in that he had been the one with whom Bishop Mtekateka had had problems around the 1970s when Biggers was his chaplain. During his episcopate, the Likomans loved Biggers very much for his generosity in giving money.¹⁴¹

10.2 Diocese of Upper Shire

Finally, in 2001, the diocese of Southern Malawi gave way to the creation of the diocese of Upper Shire, which was then based in Malosa, while Southern Malawi was to be situated in Blantyre. Archbishop Malango, a Malawian based in Zambia, was elected bishop of Upper Shire, while James Tengatenga became bishop of Southern Malawi.

11 CONCLUSION

The transformation of the UMCA into the modern Anglican Church in Malawi during the period 1860 to 2001 was a long process, and one that had many setbacks. To a larger degree, the forces that influenced changes in the church had their origins in the socio-economical and political order in society, rather than in the church itself. Responding to the political developments in Nyasaland between the 1940s and 1960s, Thorne gradually set the UMCA on the course of transformation. Overtaken himself by these events in 1961, Thorne had no choice but to give in to the new forces of change and subsequently resigned in that year. Nationalistic forces and the forces of independence that prevailed in the post-independent era from 1962 to 1980 then prevailed on Arden to initiate the major changes that transformed the UMCA into the Anglican Church.¹⁴²

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- 65 Ibid, 17
66 Ibid.
67 Broomfield, A letter to Thorne, 7 April 1960, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
68 Ibid.
69 Father Mattiya Msekawanthu, A letter to the Lord Bishops of Nyasaland and Rhodesia (undated). ADSM, Zomba; File marked N-0.
70 Arden, A letter to Gerald Hadow, 17/5/62. ADSM; File L-1.
71 See *Nyasaland Times*, 14/6/66, National Archives, Zomba.
72 Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi, Chilema, Malosa, Malawi, 4-7/8/64. ADSM, Malosa, Zomba; File marked PU-9.
73 Arden, A letter to Jalasi, 1963, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
74 Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi, Chilema, Malosa, Malawi, 4-7/8/64., ADSM, Malosa, Zomba; File marked PU-9.
75 Ibid.
76 AL/1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
77 RE-25/A AADSM
78 Minute 1.8 of the Diocesan Synod, 22-28 August, 1966. ADSM.
79 When the Archbishop of York visited Likoma Island in 1960 they presented him with a petition of grievances against Thorne so as to have him dismissed.
80 Arden, a letter to John Parslow, 1965, ADSM.
81 Arden, a letter to Mr. M. Harris, 10/10/79, RE-25/A; K-1. ADSM. Guy Carleton was deported by the Banda government because of his political activities critical of the government, see also Rotbberg, *op. cit.*, 253.
82 AI/-1/2. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
83 Arden, A letter to John Leake, WP/R/A, 13/6/62. ADSM.
84 Weller and Linden, *op. cit.*, 138
85 A letter to the author, 13/7/99
86 Letters from many young men and adults written to the missionaries available at the headquarters of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi projects this picture. For instance, see contents of File P-TR/3. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
87 Minute xiv of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Malawi held at Chilema, Malosa, 16-17 August 1964. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi; File PU1.
88 A letter to the author, 13/7/99
89 WP-51, a letter, Maycock to DSA, 12/11/66. Aarchives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
90 Ibid.
91 See Mbaya, *op. cit.*, 343.
92 Ibid., 346-347.
93 Ibid., 382.
94 Minutes of the Commission on the role of the Suffragan Bishop held on 23/4/64 in Salisbury, Rhodesia. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, File P-10, 68.

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- 95 Arden, A letter to Jalasi, 25 February 1964. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 96 Interview, the author with Mr. Nkambula, Kanjedza, 26/5/01.
 - 97 Minutes of the Provincial Synod held in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 6/12/64. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 98 See Henry Mbaya, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10.
 - 99 P Nyanja, A letter to Arden, 10/7/1980. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 100 Personal reminiscences: interview, the author with R S Hunter, Matamangwe, Nkhotakota, July 1999.
 - 101 WP-51, a letter to DSA, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa. File 8/68.
 - 102 WP-63, Arden, A letter to Bernard Sharp, 21/6/71. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 103 Correspondence, Hunter to the author, 7/99.
 - 104 Arden, A letter to Gerald Hadow, 6/7/63. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 105 Interview, the author with Jackson Biggers, Likoma, 24/10/99; with G S Mbaya, Nkhotakota, 30/7/98.
 - 106 RE-25/A., June 1971. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 107 Ibid.
 - 108 Interview, the author with GS Mbaya, 2000, Nkhotakota.
 - 109 Interview, the author with J.B. Sauli, Likoma, 25/10/99.
 - 110 Same interview.
 - 111 See WP-N, Nyanja, A letter to Arden, 10 July 1980. ADSM.
 - 112 Correspondence, Hunter to the author, 7/99.
 - 113 Document OR1, personal file of Dunstan Ainani, dated 23/4/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
 - 114 Interviews, Benedict Binali with D Ainani, Nkhotakota, 7/7/98.
 - 115 Same interview.
 - 116 See interview, the author with E Ngoma, Bangwe, 24/7/99; Binali with E Mphaya, Katema, 26/7/98.
 - 117 Interview, the author with S Lane, Mpingwe, 7/3/99.
 - 118 Same interview.
 - 119 Same interview.
 - 120 Interview, Benedict Binali with Ernest Mphaya, Katema, 26/7/98; Binali with D. Mzikomera, Malosa, 7/2/99.
 - 121 Same interviews.
 - 122 Same interviews; personal recollections.
 - 123 Being already a bishop there was a widespread feeling that he had to be given a chance to become a diocesan bishop, See interview, Benedict Binali and John Parslow, Limbe, 27/8/98.
 - 124 See interview, the author with F. Mkomawanthu, Mangochi, 12/11/99.
 - 125 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.
 - 126 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.

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- 127 See interview, Benedict Binali with B. Salaka, Malosa, 12/5/98; Benedict Binali with Maurice Malasa, Mpilisi, 23/1/98.
- 128 See interviews, Benedict Binali with D. Mzokomera, Malosa, 7/2/99; with Maurice Malasa, Mpilisi, 23/1/98.
- 129 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.
- 130 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.
- 131 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.
- 132 Personal Recollections, 1987-1996.
- 133 See interview, the author with C. Nkambula and M. Chinkhota, Kanjedza, 26/5/01.
- 134 Same interview; See Patrick Azizi, *The Formation of the New Anglican Diocese of Northern Malawi: Idea to Reality*. B.A. (Theology) dissertation, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, 1997.
- 135 See interview, the author with C. Nkambula and M. Chinkhota, Kanjedza, 26/5/01.
- 136 Same interview.
- 137 See for instance, Nyanja's letter addressed to Donald Arden, 10/7/80. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa.
- 138 Correspondence, Clement Marama, a letter Bernard Sharp, 24/2/95 (in the possession of the author).
- 139 Same correspondence.
- 140 Personal Recollections, 1994-1996.
- 141 Personal Recollections, 1995-2001.
- 142 The issues covered in this article have been treated in a greater detail in my doctoral thesis: *The Making of an African Clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi with special focus on the Election of Bishops 1898 -1996*. PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2005.