

**The Anglican Church and the challenges related to the training
of the African clergy in post-independent Malawi:
the case of St John the Baptist College, Lusaka 1962-1972¹**

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Abstract

In this article I outline the challenges that the Anglican Church in Malawi faced relating to the recruitment, selection of the ordinands and their training at St John the Baptist in Lusaka, Zambia in the period between 1962 and 1972. I show that the process of training the Malawian clergy had several challenges.

The presence of a rapidly retiring clergy with a low standard of education and a legacy of the missionary church, put the church in Malawi under pressure to recruit much younger and better-educated men. On the other hand, the increasing number of young men fleeing into exile as a result of repressive political policies of the Banda government increased the pressure for the church to recruit young men for the ministry of the church.

Faced with this, the church went on a recruitment drive which attracted some unsuitable Malawian ordinands who were able to escape the system, or whose unsuitability was sometimes deliberately ignored by some missionaries who believed that, with the dire shortage of clergy, the church had no choice but to take them, regardless of their unsuitability.

The final phase – the process of training itself at St John’s – presented further challenges. African nationalism, sometimes manifested in the spirit of African consciousness, negatively affected relations with the largely European staff members of the seminary.

In various ways, the European staff perceived that their position of authority was challenged or threatened. The white staff interpreted black student’s criticisms as insubordination to their authority. Amongst other factors the climax was the closure of the college in 1972.

Introduction

In this article, I will outline the factors that affected the process of training the African Anglican Clergy for ministry between 1962 and 1972 in Malawi. I will show that the rise of African nationalism and African consciousness, in challenging to the waning Western political power in Central Africa constituted the major factor that affected the training of the African clergy at St John’s College, Lusaka. In particular, I will argue that relationships between the missionaries and the Africans at St John’s College considerably affected the training of the prospective African Clergy in Malawi for the next generation.

Arden and the struggle for the recruitment of ordinands

The Anglican Church in Malawi traces its origins to the work of the English missionaries of the Universities Mission to Central Africa who initially started a mission at Magomero in Southern Malawi in 1859 but subsequently settled more permanently at Likoma Island from 1885.ⁱ Donald Seynour Arden succeeded Bishop Frank Thorne (1938-1961) in 1962 as bishop of the diocese of Malawi.

When Arden became bishop, the Anglican Church in Malawi faced three major problems. First, there was a lack of adequate financial resources to consolidate the work of the church achieved in the previous years that now was rapidly expanding.ⁱⁱ More critically, the church experienced a serious shortage of clergy – as a good number of those still in service then were rapidly going out on retirement.ⁱⁱⁱ Moreover, the standard of education of this group of clergy were very low.^{iv} Thus, with the current clergy ageing fast, Arden urged that the church needed younger and better-educated clergy

¹ I developed this essay from a chapter of my doctoral thesis entitled: “The making of an African clergy in the Anglican Church in Malawi with special focus on the election of Bishops 1898-1996”, under the supervision of Prof Philippe Denis, School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

– who now had to match the rapidly increasing numbers of better-educated laity.^v How did the church respond to this challenge? Responding to a complaint by Thorne that Arden had criticised him for not doing enough in raising African leadership in 1965, Arden stated:

It is true that the (Anglican) Church in Southern Africa has a rather poor record of developing an African leadership but as I have served it nearly a quarter of a century, I am as much to blame as anyone... and I think that the roots of the problem go much further back than the policy of individuals, and I think the cure must include the whole English concept of the administrator-bishop, the size of the diocese and many other deeper things. I confess near panic when I remember that I may have to leave here at 24 hours notice and that as the job of a bishop is at present designed, the future choice of a bishop would lie between an imposed expatriate and an untrained African.^{vi}

Thus at the beginning of his ministry, Arden was highly critical of his predecessors, especially Thorne, apparently for not having done enough in the past in the way of the advancement of the education and the ministry of the African clergy. For Arden more critical to the process of raising African leadership was the model or style of leadership that the church traditionally sought to foster; which entailed the acquisition of specialised skills of administration. This issue related specifically to the education and the training of the clergy. But as Arden had found out, training in administrative skills had never been part of the training of the African clergy in Malawi.

The period immediately following the independence of Malawi in 1964 presented another challenge to the church. The consequences of the ‘Cabinet Crisis’ of 1965^{vii} negatively affected the recruitment of young men into theological college for training. Like the other churches, the Anglican Church lost many of its promising young men into exile in the neighbouring countries of Zambia and Tanzania.^{viii} Undeterred by these developments, Arden tried his best to contact some of these young men in exile.

One of these prominent young men was Clement Marama.^{ix} He had previously worked for the government department in Zomba when one member of the ruling Malawi Congress Party reported him to the party officials saying that he despised the Head of State.^x Amidst stringent censorship, heavy surveillance of formal and informal communication systems, Arden had devised a way of circumventing the system. He used codes for the individual Church officials in Tanzania and Malawi and London and communicated to them in cryptic language.^{xi} Though he never succeeded in tracking Marama, the effort illustrates the extent to which Arden was to go to recruit the best young men for the priesthood in Malawi.

Selection and recruitment process

Besides the fore-mentioned challenge, the church confronted another issue. To the majority of African people looking for brighter opportunities for their children, the church appeared to be an option for better employment opportunities as the church seemed to project the image of affluence, or at least that it could offer a reasonable living standard. Father Rodney Hunter, a long-standing theological tutor once described the outlook of the period as “... the time when doors were opened in church and state”.^{xii} Thus, between 1963 and the 1970, the headquarters of the diocese of Malawi in Malosa was flooded with letters from young men seeking ordination.

Very keen to recruit young and better-educated men, Arden arranged for funding called the Anglo-Catholic Ordination Fund.^{xiii} The Fund was intended to help young men who showed signs of vocation but were having problems with the School fees. They could be assisted so that having finished their studies they could then enter the theological college to train for the ministry.^{xiv} The effect of the existence of the Fund seemed also to vindicate Hunter’s observation that in the 1960s and 1970s the impression was given by the missionaries that the church was the “provider of employment and status”.^{xv}

In spite of the problems generated by the Fund, to Arden, the Fund was necessary merely to help pay for the study of the prospective ordinands who otherwise would not be trained.^{xvi} To run the process of selection and recruitment, Arden appointed a missionary Father Maycock. However, Maycock’s manner of handling the process of recruitment did not seem to help much. Writing to Father Herbert on 20 April 1969, Arden complained about Maycock in the following words:

He is very little help to me in the general chaplains duties which was one half of the reason for bringing him out ...he has absolutely no judgement. Ordinands' Selection Committees go on endlessly interviewing boys he has brought from 400 miles whose only credentials are that they can't find a job, their head/master describe as lazy and a bad influence in the school, and whose priests say never come to church.^{xvii}

This suggests the existence of serious problems of incompetence and also implies that Maycock was not very careful in the manner in which he conducted the selection of the ordinands. That there seemed to have been a problem with regard to the system of ordinands also tends to be supported by a former student of the college, retired priest, Peter Chiweyo.^{xviii} He asserted that in the 1960 and 1970s the requirements for entry into the ministry were far less stringent.^{xix}

The major problem of unemployment which cut across the whole of society was certainly a factor over which Maycock had no control. In spite of his sense of foresight, Arden was somewhat naïve or uncritical in his view of the complex matters that affected the African's vocation. Apparently, he was not shrewd enough to sift the genuine needs of young men who needed assistance from the not-so-genuine ones that intended to abuse the Fund. Naturally, it took a member of the Selection Board, a Malawian, Mr. Justus Kishindo, on 23 April 1968, to put his finger exactly on the problem. He cautioned:

With the increase in cost of living, growing unemployment and high fees in Secondary School education, young men were coming forth asking for financial assistance from the Bishop or some notable missionary on the promise that they will join the priesthood – a promise never to be fulfilled.^{xx}

This suggests that some young men were abusing the Fund (which the church had meant for training) for their own personal benefit. But for Arden, the existence of the Fund was justifiable in so far as it would enable the church to recruit suitable young men who had to receive a much better education than was available to their predecessors, to run the church after he left. He stated that, "It is important that when I leave there is a small cadre of first-rate youngish men to provide some stiffening and experience in pastoral work in areas where most of our African clergy, trained in days when there was no Secondary Schooling, find it difficult to cope."^{xxi} Arden pursued this cause with diligence as is illustrated in the following case of Emmanuel Karima.

Born on 1st January 1930 at Ntchisi, Malawi, Karima had finished schooling in standard 6. Subsequently, after some years he quickly rose up the lower ladder of the paramilitary Malawi Young Pioneers, before finally becoming an instructor. In the confidential report classified "Performa B" dated 6th May 1970, Justice H.A. Kishindo, the Diocesan Secretary, said: "I cannot recommend him for the paid ministry. He would do well for the voluntary ministry. I suggest he is allowed to continue as a teacher and perhaps help him get into Soche Hill (teachers') College."^{xxii} Arden ignored the advice, and instead he answered Karima and said: "We are indeed in Malawi looking for priests who have better academic qualifications than those ordained a few years ago were able to obtain."^{xxiii}

It seemed Arden was keen on Karima for an ulterior reason. He declared his intentions for Karima to Bishop Stephen Neill, of Nairobi University: "The reason to send Emmanuel Karima to University is terribly important from the prestige angle to have at least one African priest in the diocese at a higher or more exotic level."^{xxiv}

To Arden raising Karima's education to a higher level was strategic. He saw Karima fulfilling the public role that the Anglican Church needed, which was at least to have a graduate priest. Behind this effort was Arden's desire to impress others that the Anglican Church was advanced as far as African ministry was concerned. However, Arden's intentions seemed to play into the hands of Karima who probably had his own private interests as well. Karima vowed to Arden that he was "prepared to leave his wife for 5 years" to pursue his studies at Nairobi University.^{xxv} While it is possible that Arden may not have questioned the sincerity of Karima, Mr. Kishindo, the Diocesan Secretary, tried to identify the motive behind Karima's ambitions. This is how he expressed it:

Mr. Karima is rapidly changing into an impatient man. He often writes threatening letters to his employers even on trivial matters. His mind is not very much on becoming a priest, but on getting into a University through the back door.^{xxvi}

No doubt Karima was an ambitious young man who would stop at nothing to advance his ambition. It is in this context that Arden wrote to Maycock suggesting a review of the process. He stated:

We really must overhaul the way in which both ordinands are selected and the way in which we talk about them afterwards. It is quite vital if the bishops are going to make intelligent decisions that the Examining Chaplain puts all the evidence with their (heads) before the decisions are made and not after, and that we stand by them, right or wrong – allowing of course for considered reviews when new facts arise.^{xxvii}

Subsequently, the system was to be reviewed in 1969, when a “Clergy Training Team” was established with Father John Leake as its leader. Its aim was to co-ordinate training work going on in various diocesan departments.^{xxviii}

Training at St John’s Theological College: the cases of Aidan Misi and Joseph Likoleche

St. John the Baptist Theological College, established in 1947, based in Lusaka, Zambia, started to train men for the ordained ministry from the dioceses of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in 1955.^{xxix} The 1960s were politically and culturally a turbulent period on the continent of Africa. It was an era when the African sought to assert his cultural identity and national consciousness.

In some subtle ways the spirit and the temper of this trend manifested itself in the life of some students in their relationship with their teachers over various aspects of college life. For instance, in the 1960s, a former student, David Banda reports of an incident of protest which was precipitated by the students having come across a big “Black Bible” in the library in which anti-black comments were allegedly written. According to this informant, this Bible was unusual in the sense that some writings on its cover depicted the African as unchristian and devilish.^{xxx}

It is the cases of Aidan Misi and Joseph Likoleche’s training at St John’s College that illustrate a relentless challenge to missionary authority. For instance, a former student of St John’s College, James Amanze, noted that in the 1970s St John’s provided a forum for debate on African theology as championed by John Mbiti.^{xxxi} He further stated that it was not uncommon to hear students arguing for the merits of African values against the Western values.^{xxxii}

The apparent tension between Western theology and African consciousness manifested itself in the class work. For example, it is reported that one day, given an essay to argue whether Christian marriage was compatible with African culture or not, Aidan Misi argued that polygamy was more African than the monogamous Christian marriage.^{xxxiii} The inclination to champion African over and against Western values and culture or beliefs was encapsulated in a proclamation, “We have different beliefs in societies. As an African I know what sort of beliefs we have and this cannot be denied at all.”^{xxxiv} Or Likoleche’s assertion that “history can tell the truth what an African was and how he lived before Europeans came to Africa”.^{xxxv} Likoleche used the “History of the African people” to suggest that the African lived normally even before the Europeans came to Africa and that the African beliefs and culture were just as normal as the Western values.

On the other hand, responding to Hunter’s comment on Likoleche’s “mental sickness”, Likoleche wrote to Father Hunter saying: “Please do not trouble the troubles in a foreign continent, live with Africans peacefully and when you feel like going back to your home go in peace.”^{xxxvi} Asserting his pride as an African, Likoleche tried to make Hunter feel that he was a foreigner in Africa. Appropriating the African cultural and national symbols as icons of power, the students challenged the missionaries on the basis of those very symbols of Western power. This challenge was also noted by Father Kenneth Francis’s comment regarding Likoleche in 1972. He stated, “[Likoleche] is interested in the political implications of Bible Study”.^{xxxvii} Naturally this led Francis to conclude that “[Likoleche] tends to be conscious of the failures of the missionaries especially in keeping too much in their hands in the days of independence.”^{xxxviii} This became more critical as the Bishop of Lusaka and Archbishop of Central Africa, Oliver Green-Wilkinson had observed in 1964:

I am convinced that most of the troubles at the seminary come from the old Warden’s unapproachableness, which is as a result of his sickness from blood pressure and is in contrast to his character in his time as Warden. The new Warden is very approachable – I have already advised him about rearranging or lightening the daily programme, giving more attention to sport and improving the cooking.^{xxxix}

Problems surrounding personal relations between staff and students constituted the fundamental issue that had an impact on the life of St John’s. To varying degrees, this matter tended to manifest itself in other spheres and forms or, indeed to spill over into the other areas of college life. For instance, a letter that John Weller, Warden of the college, wrote to Arden in December 1969, suggests that there were wide-ranging issues that needed to be addressed.

On one occasion, Aidan [Misi] has made speeches at college meetings such as – he doesn't like the fish we have on Fridays and he resents if other students have his share since this means his money is spent on others, the staff does not make students comfortable enough here and expect them to sit on the benches. When Fr. Hunter pointed out that benches were also provided at Oxford and Cambridge, Aidan replied that he had information that there the benches were more comfortable than the ones at St John's. St John's is not well known enough in Lusaka and this is the fault of the staff especially the Warden. The students ought to be informed about the Warden's discretionary Fund and that he ought to use it for taking them for entertainment in town.^{xi}

These allegations suggest resistance to missionary power though on a small scale, usually in the form of the likes and dislikes of such things as benches or fish, and the alleged demands to know the amount of the discretionary fund. These acts of defiance were low intensity forms of resistance to mission authority. Instead of confronting the authorities directly, Misi challenged the authorities' power indirectly through items, notably, benches, food and the discretionary fund.

Likewise, the members of staff resorted to asking bishops to use their influence to compel the students into submission. With respect to Joseph Likoleche, writing to his bishop, Josiah Mtekatoka, Hunter remarked that, "I am grateful that you have had a serious talk with Joseph and that you have discussed the matter with the Archbishop."^{xli} To Hunter, the authority of Bishop Mtekatoka carried more weight of authority than his urge to compel Likoleche into compliance with the instructions from members of staff.

The mounting tension 1970-1972

Thus, from 1970, training at St John's took place in an atmosphere of increasing mistrust and suspicion between the staff and the students. There were allegations that some staff members used students to "spy" on others. For instance, Bishop Peter Nyanja (then a student) reported in 1978 that Mr Dimas ... "was asked to be reporting privately to the staff on students. Individuals' confessions from each student were sought."^{xliii} Hunter informed the writer that the students objected to him joining them for a meal in the dining hall because they felt "he would find us out."^{xliii}

It is in this context that the controversy over the use of the Sacrament of Confession took place. Perceptions arose that the rite of sacramental confession was abused by some members of staff to obtain information which could be used to report negatively on the students to their bishops. During the middle of 1968, after he had been to confession, Misi alleged that information given by a student to a member of staff, in this case, Francis, was used to write bad reports.^{xliiv} Allegations of "spying" suggest that St John's was operating as a closed community and that there was not much openness between staff and students, as espionage operates in circles where community life becomes closed.

The sensitive nature of the Sacrament of Confession in terms of the confidentiality it involved was such that it led to suspicion and mistrust amongst the students and staff, which consequently led to a breakdown in order. Subsequently, Misi was suspended.^{xliiv} While not completely exonerating Misi, the Commission of Inquiry asked Misi to apologise to Francis, which he did.^{xlivi} Meanwhile, an independent investigator, Martin Kaunda, confirmed that Misi's behaviour was no worse than that of other students^{xlvii} – suggesting that the conduct of Misi was a mere reflection of the whole student body. If Misi's conduct was representative of the others, this raises a critical question: the whole issue of the quality of vocations and the manner in which the students were selected.

It is significant that in the aftermath of the inquiry, the authorities realised that part of the problem that contributed to the poor race relations was the absence of an African member of staff. Subsequently, the Provincial officials lauded the influence of the newly appointed sole African member of staff, Ralph Hatendi with the following words, "[he] had brought in a new and valuable approach to the training of these men"^{xlviii} This suggests that the absence of an African member of staff had been a serious deficiency in an environment where all students were African. Successful teaching of African adults required the authority and the understanding and the sympathy of an African member of staff. Undoubtedly, from the onset the presence of an African member of staff would have lessened the impact of tension with the students.

Nonetheless, of similar significance but of far deeper implications for Misi's immediate future than the alleged abuse of the Sacrament of Confession was the issue related to the matter of episcopal authority. Reporting to Arden in April 1968 about Misi, Weller alleged that:

When I reported to the college that the Episcopal Synod decision to ordain ordinands only upon their finishing their 3rd year, AM resented this. He stood up and shouted that

this was “episcopal oppression” while others kept quiet. He refused to sit down when ordered to do so. The other day he said something which shows that his resentment at this decision remains – this alone seems to cast a serious doubt on whether he should be admitted to the diaconate at all any way for the time being. A way must be found to a more satisfactory frame of mind.^{xlix}

Weller suggested that the conflict between Misi and himself had shifted from the personal level between the two of them to the institutional level, where the bishops now, by implication, had subtly been drawn in. Thus for Weller, no longer was it Misi versus the college authorities but rather now it was Misi himself versus the authority of the bishops to the extent that for Weller it justified the bishops acting against Misi on Weller’s behalf precisely in his own words, “to order his mind”.^l In short, Weller was now trying to use the episcopal authority to deal with a problem that in fact concerned himself and Misi. Certainly it is correct to suggest that in his mind Misi associated “episcopal oppression” with “staff oppression” negatively impacting on the life of the seminarians. For Weller, this was the last straw. Weller must have felt that his authority was being challenged beyond its limits. Certainly a way had to be found to bring Misi to submit to authority. Weller found his chance when Misi came to the end of his studies in 1969.

In his letter of 14 April 1969, John Weller wrote to Bishop Arden, and inquired whether it was his intention to ordain Aidan Misi at the end of his 3rd year, contrary to the ruling of the Episcopal Synod.^{li} In the same correspondence he also gave Bishop Arden the impression that Misi was entitled to the “ordination equipment” hence implying that he was approving of his ordination.^{lii} Nevertheless, in his final report to Arden, Weller once again reminded and cautioned Arden about Misi’s suitability. He stated:

We cannot possibly recommend him to be ordained, since there are indications that if he enters the ministry he will give his priest-in-charge, archdeacon and bishop a very difficult time, because of his attitude to authority and also that he would quarrel with many of his people. Our disappointment with David Banda, Bartholomew Msonthi and Edward Nanganga makes it clear that we should warn bishops about men whose suitability is questionable, and I am bound to say that, unless evidence appears of a real growth by Aidan in humility, self control and charity, I could not hold out very much hope of his being useful in the ministry.^{liii}

Weller’s verdict was unequivocal: Misi was unsuitable to be ordained precisely because his attitude to authority was on the whole negative, and as such, he was not very useful for the ministry. Perhaps it is not too much to imagine that in his mind Weller was connecting this issue to the previous incident by which he suggested that Misi had flouted the bishops’ authority with regard to the issue of ordination. In response Arden stated that:

I was very upset on Friday to receive your letter of December 4th recommending that Aidan Misi not be ordained. In the absence of anything to the contrary, I have been assuming since your letter of 14th April regarding ordination equipment that he would be ordained at the end of this year as has always been the rule in this diocese and I think throughout the Province except in Matabeleland.^{liv}

The implication is that Weller communicated badly in the sense that he gave Arden a wrong impression that he had approved that Misi be ordained. On the other hand, regardless of Misi’s conduct, Arden was keen to see Misi ordained, after all during the inquiry Arden had found out that Misi was “no worse in conduct than the other students”. At that time Misi was already preparing for ordination. What is more surprising is that it seems that one staff member, Fr. Hunter, knew that arrangements for the ordination of Aidan Misi were already under-way. In fact, he had been asked to conduct Misi’s retreat and was at this time on his way to Misi’s ordination. This suggests that Hunter was not part of the staff decision; more significantly, it indicates the different manner in which the members of staff viewed the issue concerning the ordination of Misi. Seemingly, Weller had no option but to retreat and was obliged to apologise:

I am sorry that we seem to have got wires crossed in this matter. My letter of April, 14 was certainly not in any sense an indication that I intended to recommend immediate ordination although the grant is called an “ordination grant”; it is normally given in the Rhodesian dioceses at the time a man leaves college and starts work, which is when he needs it. I had been half waiting a letter from you to inquire of our future intentions about

Aidan Misi similar to the one that I received sometime ago ... Given the situation that you faced when my letter arrived I agree that you had no option but to go ahead. In the absence of such a letter I had wrongly assumed that you had no immediate intention of ordaining him. We both seem to have been drawing too many assumptions from silence. I am sorry about my share in this, and will take less for granted in the future.^{lv}

In a relationship of power dynamics between the superior, Arden and the subordinate, Weller, the latter took a position that displayed deference to his superior. Undoubtedly, besides problems relating to communication between the two parties, there were also differences in the manner in which the individuals viewed the position of Misi in the church, and their respective official relationships with Misi. These two factors tended to impinge on each other. In this case, their attitude to Misi's position was bound to differ. But since Bishop Arden held higher power leverage than Father Weller regarding the question of ordination, automatically he turned out to be the "winner" in this game of power.

Misi's case illustrates the dilemma that the church authorities faced in Malawi. On one hand, they needed to consider the staff's assessment of the individual student's conduct which might turn out to be undesirable with regard to their suitability to the ministry and on the other, the consideration of the meagre but very precious financial resources spent on the students. Experiencing a dire shortage of financial resources in light of the lack of quality vocations, it seems that Arden had no option but to ignore the recommendations of the staff not to ordain a particular student. Irrespective of whether Misi, Chilombo or Likoleche were "called" to the ordained ministry or not, the question as to whether to ordain Misi, impinged on a diocese with very slender human and financial resources.

Yet the staff's attempt to halt Misi's ordination suggests the symbolic significance, power and authority that ordination entailed. A threat to withhold recommendation for ordination was used as a means to make a student submit to the authority of the staff. In this respect, symbolically ordination appeared as a tool of power for Weller, the power either to grant or withhold ordination of an individual ordinand. But in January 1970, Weller believed that he had managed to put his finger on the problem with respect to Misi. He said:

Even after four trying years, I don't know that I am sufficiently familiar with what makes Aidan [Misi] tick, to answer Canon Ewbank's question! His attitude to authority and especially white man's authority, is obviously a factor. Otherwise, all I can do is pass the script and Canon Ewbank's comment to you ...^{lvi}

More importantly, one of the members of the training Committee, Jackson Biggers' analysis of the problem was more profound than Weller's: not only was there a problem with Misi, the very conditions of training at St John's College were found to be unsuitable. Given in the aftermath of the Commission of Inquiry in June 1968, he asserted:

... I get the impression that [Misi] didn't have a very deep vocation to the ministry. This does not suggest that it wasn't there – it may be that Lusaka has not provided the best environment for him; certainly his now being the only Malawian there will not help. I am naturally aware of the shortcomings of the Lusaka staff as I indicated in my previous correspondence over Malawi students, and am not altogether happy over the manner in which Fr. Weller expresses his adverse opinion. However, even making an allowance for this – there seems to be a grave doubt about Misi's sincerity.^{lvii}

Problems relating to relationships at St John's College stemmed from the staff as much as the students' attitudes and conduct to each other. As Biggers stated, the staff had problems in their attitudes towards the (Malawian) students and vice versa. Sometimes, it seems the staff did not really know how to handle men such as Misi and Likoleche and as a result they resorted to their bishops. However, in doing so, they showed that they were not entirely in control.

Yet the conflict at St John's College between staff and students, such as timetable, food boycotts and the incident of the "black bible" characteristically reflects a broader social phenomenon in the world of the 1960s within the institutions of learning. For example, in his book, *The Dominican Friars in Southern Africa, 1577-1990*^{lviii} Philippe Denis made the point that the problems encountered in the training of black Dominicans in the Roman Catholic Church emanated from the context of Black Consciousness and African Consciousness. Tensions emerged in the context of the assertion of the Black Consciousness Movement against the ideology of apartheid. They affected relationships between blacks and whites between the 1950s and the 1970s in the seminary. This shows that the socio-political

movement on the continent was a very important factor whose impact on the process of seminary training was significant.

The closure of St John's Theological College

During the Diocesan Standing Committee meeting of the Diocese of Malawi held at Chilema, Malosa in January 1972 it was announced that St John's College would close at the end of 1972 and that dioceses would be given options to choose local Ecumenical Theological Institutions for training purposes.^{lix} On 15 January 1972 at a meeting of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishop's Mount in Salisbury, the bishops decided that St John's College might soon come to an end. It was becoming very expensive to run.^{lx} Minute 72.6 of the Episcopal Synod held at Bishop's Mount, Salisbury, on 1 and 2 February 1972 noted that there was "no prospect for a provincial college to support a viable, purely Anglican Seminary".^{lxi} Minute 72.8 of the same meeting "noted strains were increased by different treatment of different dioceses in matters involving money in particular".^{lxii}

Disparity in financial treatment of the students of the various dioceses occurred largely because the financial contributions that the three dioceses made were unequal – with Malawi being the poorest amongst the fairly rich Zambia and the richer Rhodesia. Again and again over the years Arden had complained that it was unfair for Malawi students to train with students from the richer dioceses – that conditions at St John's were more comfortable for the Malawian students, who after their training would return to the much poorer conditions of their diocese.^{lxiii} The Episcopal Synod further noted that the long-term policy should be one of co-operation in theological training with those of other churches in Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi.^{lxiv} Effectively, this marked the end of St John's College.

Conclusion

The process of training the African clergy was considerably shaped by the turbulent African context of the 1960s and 1970s. Under the impulse of African consciousness and African nationalism, St John's students, notably Misi and Likoleche symbolically challenged Western values and authority in the classroom and outside the classroom. The staff reciprocated in a similar manner, sometimes resorting to bishop's authority, challenging African beliefs; thus theological training was essentially a process by which the missionaries and the Africans both played critical roles as partners. In short, the struggle for power through attempts at seizing powerful cultural and religious symbols, such as the Bible, History, ordination, cultural beliefs, religious/Church authority by the two parties moulded the course of training. To be precise, authority as a form of power, either under the appearance of African consciousness or in the mode of ecclesiastical/college staff, became the decisive factor in the process of training.

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S/P/U Training 1962-5
S/U-1.A/A
WP-51
WP-68
WP-19A
WP/R/A

- Rhodes House, Bodleian Library of the Commonwealth, Oxford
SF 46, General Correspondence from Africa 1950-1964
S/U-1.A/A.

Endnotes

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- 1 For a detailed history see AEM, Anderson-Morsehead, *The History of the UMCA 1859-1909*, vol. 1. London: UMCA, 1953. Blood, A.G., *The History of the UMCA 1907-1932*, vol. 2, London: UMCA and Blood, A.G., *The History of the UMCA 1933-1957*, vol. 3. London: UMCA, 1962.
 - 2 See Central Africa, 1964, Minutes of the Diocesan Synod, 16-17 August, 1969 held at Chilema, Malosa. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 3 *Ibid.*
 - 4 See letter, Arden to G. Broomfield, 24/9/62: SF 46, General Correspondence from Africa 1950-1964, Rhodes House, Bodleian Library of the Commonwealth, Oxford. In this correspondence, Arden went on to state that “in comparison with the Romans, who have five dioceses in Nyasaland, and an African bishop, we have I think about 3 priests who have passed Std 6 ... social and political developments make it essential to have a trully African Church, and they have been promised that the next Bishop will be an African from within the diocese, but we have not yet began to train the men needed.”
 - 5 File S/P/U, Training 1962-5. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 6 File L-I.Bishop Donald Arden, A letter to Bishop Frank Oswald Thorne, 1962. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 7 The “Cabinet Crisis” refers to the disagreements which subsequently led to a fall-out between the Malawi President, Dr. H. K. Banda and his cabinet ministers in 1965 over policy in the new Malawi state after the independence in 1964.
 - 8 File G/P-Training 1962-67. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 9 For a detailed analysis of this issue see James Tengtenga, *Church, State and Society in Malawi: An Analysis of Anglican Ecclesiology*, doctoral thesis, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, 2002, pp. 144-146.
 - 10 Personal correspondence, A. C. Marama, A letter to Bernard Sharp (UK), 24/2/95 in possession of the researcher.
 - 11 S/U-1.A/A. Rhodes House, Oxford, England.
 - 12 Personal correspondence, R. Hunter, A letter to the Author, 13/7/99.
 - 13 P-6, OCA, Oliver Green-Wilkinson. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 14 *Ibid.*
 - 15 Personal correspondence, Hunter, A letter to the Author, 13/7/99.
 - 16 File S/P/U Training 1962-5. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 17 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to Herbert, 20/4/69, WP-51. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 18 Interview, P. Chiweyo with the Author, Salima, Malawi, 19/4/99.
 - 19 *Ibid.*

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- 20 Personal correspondence, J.H.A. Kishindo, A letter to Arden, OR-1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 21 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to D. Lee, WP/R/A, 14/12/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 22 Personal correspondence, Kishindo, A letter to Arden, 6/5/70, OR-38. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 23 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to E. Karima, 3/6/68, OR-1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 24 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to S. Neil, 21/11/69, OR-38. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 25 Personal correspondence, Karima, A letter to Arden, 4/11/69, OR-38. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 26 Personal correspondence, Kishindo, A letter to Arden, 10/8/71, OR-38. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 27 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to E. Maycock, 27/10/68, WP-51. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 28 Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee Meeting held at Malosa, Zomba, 21-22 /6/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 29 S/P/U Training 1962-5. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 30 D. Banda, interview with the author, 1996. Though other contemporary sources approached do not seem to remember the incident, there is no need to doubt the authenticity as such incidents during the height of African consciousness versus the waning Western power in the 1960s were not uncommon in the educational institutions.
 - 31 Interview, J. Amanze with the Author, Gaborone, Botswana, 22/5/2001.
 - 32 Same interview.
 - 33 Same interview.
 - 34 Personal correspondence, Likoleche, A letter to Arden, 2/11/71, OR-32 Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 35 *Ibid.*
 - 36 Personal correspondence, Likoleche, A letter to Hunter, 2/11/71, OR-32 Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 37 Personal correspondence, K. Francis, First Term Report to Arden, 1972, OR-32, WP-Likoleche. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Zomba, Malosa.
 - 38 Personal correspondence, Francis, Third Term Report to Arden, 1972, OR-32, WP-Likoleche. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 39 Personal correspondence, O. Green-Wilkinson, A letter to Arden, File AP-1, Bishop's Confidential. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 40 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 4/12/69, OR-23. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 41 Personal correspondence, Hunter, A letter to J. Mtekatka, 7/3/66, OR-32. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 42 Personal correspondence, A/P.72C. Zambia. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 43 Personal correspondence, Hunter, A letter to the Author, 13/7/99.
 - 44 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, WP-19A, 8/6/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 45 *Ibid.*
 - 46 *Ibid.*
 - 47 Personal correspondence, M. Kaunda, A letter to Arden, OL-1, 3/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 48 File Anglo-Catholic Fund, Oliver Green-Wilkinson OCA, 23/9/69. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
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 - 50 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 27/5/68. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 51 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 25/1/70, WP-19A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
 - 52 *Ibid.*

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- 53 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 4/12/69, OL-1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
- 54 Personal correspondence, Arden, A letter to Weller, 12/1/70, WP-19A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
- 55 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 25/1/70, WP-19A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
- 56 Personal correspondence, Weller, A letter to Arden, 25/1/70, WP-19A. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
- 57 Personal correspondence, A letter to Arden, 3/5/68, OL-1. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi, Malosa, Zomba.
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- 64 *Ibid.*