

**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PROCESS OF INDIGENISATION IN THE  
ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF MASHONALAND [1891 – 1981], WITH SPECIAL  
EMPHASIS ON THE MINISTRY OF INDIGENOUS CHRISTIANS**

By

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## **ABSTARCT**

Indigenisation is a complex phenomenon that has vexed many a theologian. In this study we have taken it to involve a process of making the local people *'feel at home'* in their Church. It is an undeniable fact that most mainline Churches were brought in from other countries as such they came with the language, culture and garb of their 'messengers'. In the context of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, it was Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Bishop of the Diocese of Bloemfontein in South Africa, who brought the Anglican Church to Mashonaland in 1891. Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce was a British citizen, who had come to South Africa upon his appointment and consecration as Bishop of Bloemfontein in 1886. Although Bishop Knight-Bruce recruited some catechists from South Africa, it can be argued that the 'messengers' who brought the Anglican Church to Mashonaland, where of a European persuasion, as such the Gospel was brought in its European garb.

Indigenisation therefore had to take the form of making the local people in Mashonaland feel that they could be Christians without first having to divest themselves from their culture by becoming European. It meant that they had to read the Bible in their own language, engage in divine worship in their own language, and have their own people ordained as clergy. It also meant that they had to worship God using their traditional music, as well as musical instruments. It also meant using indigenous architecture in building their Church buildings and use indigenous art in decorating these churches. Indigenisation also meant that the leadership of the church had to adapt to the local traditional leadership style like that of the Chief who was a symbol of order and authority in the local community. Indigenisation also had to take cognisance of liturgical gestures, liturgical vestments as well as the laws governing the Church. With the Indigenous local authority vested in the local chief the Anglican Church should have adapted its Acts and Constitutions along side the local legal system as expressed in the kinship system. On the whole indigenisation meant 'self governance, self propagation and self financing. This study seeks to establish if there was a process to make the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland self-governing, self-propagating as well as self-financing.

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my Mother Rosemary Chigweshe, my wife Victoria Faith Musodza and our two beautiful daughters Fadzai and Farai Musodza

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCP	Book of Common Prayer
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CDC	Community of Divine Compassion
CPCA	Church of the Province of Central Africa
CPSA	Church of the Province of Southern Africa
CR	Community of the Resurrection
CZR	<i>Chita CheZita Rinoyera</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MBE	Member of British Empire
NDP	National Democratic Party
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UMCA	Universities Mission to Central Africa
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front



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## **Summary**

This study considered indigenisation to involve a process of making the local people 'feel at home' in their Church. The ministry of early catechists such as Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu was crucial in showing the fact that the Anglican Church was not necessarily a church for Europeans only, but for the indigenous people as well. After this first generation of catechists there were numerous indigenous catechists who also ministered in the Diocese of Mashonaland by way of preparing people for the different sacraments found in the Anglican Church.

On the other hand the training of the indigenous people for the ordained ministry was also another significant step in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. In this regard theological institutions such as St Augustine's Seminary in Penhalonga Manicaland, St Peter's Seminary Rossettenville in Johannesburg and St John's Seminary in Lusaka provided the much needed training.

This study also revealed that although the Diocese of Mashonaland had an indigenous person at its helm in 1981, it remained European in several facets of its life. Although translations as a form of indigenisation started from the beginning of the Diocese of Mashonaland and continued right up to 1981, it seems it actually crippled the local indigenous peoples' innovativeness and ingenuity. In addition indigenous musical instruments also took sometime before they could be accepted in divine worship. On the other hand local art and décor as well as local architectural expressions took time to be incorporated into the Diocese of Mashonaland. However few early European missionaries such as Arthur Shirley Cripps and Edgar Lloyd tried to implement local architecture and décor in their churches in Daramombe and Rusape respectively. This study has also established that although the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland got indigenous leadership by 1981, its liturgy, theology as well as its Acts and Canons remained European.

**Key Terms**

Process of indigenisation; Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland; Ministry of Indigenous Christians; indigenous leadership; Ministry of Indigenous Catechists; Ordination of indigenous people; Hymnody and indigenisation; Liturgy and indigenisation; Indigenisation of architecture; Indigenous art and Church décor



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Setting the Scene

The concept of indigenization has been quite controversial over the past few years as theologians tried to establish how the Christian religion can take the shape and colour of the local environment wherever it can be planted. As a result of trying to find the best way of making the local people *'feel at home'* with Christianity and in the Christian church, several theories have been concocted and implemented. However upon analysis, each has its strengths and weaknesses. Although theologians agree on the fact that religion should make people *'feel at home'* wherever it is practised, there seem to be no agreement on the theory and method of achieving this fundamental ideology. This study therefore intends to make a contribution to this field of study, by way of establishing the process of indigenization in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, from 1891 up to 1981.

### 1.1 Area of Investigation

This investigation falls under the subject of Church History. Church History is a broad subject that deals with the Church's past. It also encompasses the practice of the church as well as the thought process of the church. This subject also endeavors to look at both dogma and the intersection of church with society even the larger world. This area also covers church and state relations. It also covers anything that the church does in the world, matters such as mission as well as the expansion of the church into foreign lands.

### 1.2 Justification

The Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, began in 1891, through the missionary activity of Bishop George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce formerly Bishop of Bloemfontein in South Africa. He initially visited the country in 1888, to survey the country and see the possibility of opening mission stations and spreading the Good News to those people who were yet to hear the word of God. It seems clear that when Bishop G. W. Knight-Bruce came for the first time he had to rely on some local, African people in order for them to

carry his luggage and to translate his English into Shona so that the Chiefs whom he was meeting during his visit could understand and communicate with him. In the official written history of the Anglican Church in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, the names of such people have been deliberately left out. If they are mentioned at all, it is mainly in passing.

On the other hand when Bishop Knight Bruce finally decided to come and introduce the word of God to the people in Mashonaland, he was accompanied by some African Catechists, some of whom became very conversant with the local language to the extent that they taught, interpreted and even translated English writings into the local Shona language. Among such people we find Bernard Mizeki, originally from Mozambique and Frank Ziqubu a South African of Zulu origin. Such people played a significant role for the Gospel to sink its roots amongst the local people. The stories of such personalities however are overshadowed by those of the prominent European clergymen who only came in touch with the local indigenous people after they would have been evangelized by these African Catechists. Considering the coming of the above two characters, It would appear the indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland in the early days when Christianity came into Zimbabwe, although during that time the European clergymen in the field may not have realized that reality in their scheme of things.

As time went on there were few indigenous Africans who also started being ordained to the priesthood. The first African to be ordained to the diaconate was Samuel Mhlanga in 1919 and he was then ordained to the priesthood in 1923. The contribution of such people, though few in number, was also significant and is a sign that the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland was already on the process of indigenisation. Right through to 1973, when the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland had its first indigenous Suffragan Bishop namely Bishop Patrick Murindagomo and his successor Bishop Peter Hatendi who became the first indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, which had changed its name to 'The Diocese of Harare', it seems there was a process of trying to make this Diocese localized although this process was not so clear. It is therefore important to uncover this process of indigenisation, which came to fruition in 1981 when

Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi became the first indigenous incumbent Bishop to run the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland which had had European leadership for almost a century. This research will therefore investigate the process of indigenisation at different levels, including personnel, liturgy as well as Church Constitutions.

### **1.3 Objectives**

This investigation seeks to expose the crucial role played by Africans, in the implantation and growth of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland from 1891 up to 1981. In uncovering the role played by Africans in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland this research will bring out the process of indigenisation particularly in the following areas;

1. Indigenous personnel in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland,
2. liturgical developments in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland
3. Hymnody and Musical Instruments
4. Liturgical gestures
5. Diocesan Acts and Constitutions

### **1.4 Research Methodology**

There are a variety of places from which one can obtain historical information. In this study we managed to engage with both primary and secondary sources.

#### **1.5.i. Primary Sources**

The primary resources are usually first hand accounts of information. In order to access those first hand accounts of information we conducted interviews as well as gave out questionnaires which people completed in the comforts of their homes. In some cases we used the same set of questions that we used on questionnaires for the interviews especially in situations where the respondents were illiterate but well versed in the subject under investigation. Questionnaires are only useful for those people who can read and write; hence it was only such people who used them. Given the fact that most of the people with a vivid recollection of the growth of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland

are sparsely distributed in Zimbabwe and outside, we also used the post to send questionnaires to such people as well as the internet services. However we interviewed people such as the retired clergy and lay people who were within accessible distance especially those whom we considered to be reservoirs of some useful information on the subject under investigation. Depending on the level of conceptualization of the selected people, the questions were either in English or Shona. In some cases we also recorded such interviews on the audiotape as well as the MP 3, and then we transcribed the interviews later. Through these interviews we managed to retrieve eyewitness accounts of significant events, and oral histories that is yet to be recorded.

In addition to the use of interviews and questionnaires we also made use of the various archives that have deposits of information on the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland such as the Zimbabwe National Archives, Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland Archives at the Diocesan office in Harare, Anglican Church Archives at Witwatersrand University Johannesburg, Cory Archives at Rhodes University Grahamstown as well as the USPG Archives at Patnership House in London. These are some of the places where important documents of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland are preserved. The documents such as minutes of Synods, minutes of parish Council meetings and records of baptisms and confirmations were found at the Zimbabwe National Archives as well as the Diocesan Archives. There is also some correspondence between the church leaders in the new Diocese of Mashonaland and the Provincial Office in Cape Town as well as correspondence between clergy that were handed over to the National Archives which was also very useful in this investigation. Records of the personnel that worked in the Diocese of Mashonaland were also found in the Diocesan Archives as well as the Zimbabwe National Archives.

### **1.5.ii. Secondary Sources**

This source of information includes records prepared by someone other than the person, or persons who participated in or observed the event. This resource was very useful in giving us a grasp on the subject of our research area and it provided us with extensive bibliographic information which allowed us to delve further into our research topic. The

available local libraries become very useful as sources of secondary resources for this research. It was from the libraries that we were able to establish the contribution of some Church Historians and Missiologists in our area of research. Libraries were also helpful in providing us with the background information to this study which takes into account the beginnings of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and how this early church grew, the factors that affected it, its challenges successes and failures. In addition to published materials and unpublished manuscripts, this body of resources included Parish or Diocesan magazines as well as newspaper articles. Through the libraries we were able to analyse the recorded history, and critique it in such a way that the subject of this research surfaced and became clearly defined.

### **1.5.iii. Historical Approach**

The historical approach to research seems to be applicable to most fields of study since it entails their origins, growth, theories personalities, and crisis e.t.c. This approach uses both quantitative and qualitative variables in the collection of historical information that we used in this study. This approach to research also forces one to realize and take into account the fact that there is a variety of sources and approaches to getting information. Since it is false to assume that all historical facts exist in written form or that all historical facts are accessible to the researcher it became sensible for us to adopt this approach to research, which takes seriously oral history and oral traditions. Jan Vansina in his work, Oral Tradition as History, suggests that oral history and oral tradition are a vital source of information for any meaningful historical research. He suggests that “eye witness accounts are supposedly the fountainhead of all history”<sup>1</sup> This eye witness can have its own problems according to him. Two problems which Jan Vansina highlights include the fact that eyewitness accounts are always personal accounts which tend to involve not only perception but emotions and they are “partly reliable”<sup>2</sup>

Its true that eye witnesses tend to be partly reliable because human beings tend to report what they expect to see or hear more than what they actually see or hear<sup>3</sup>. Although

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition as History, London: James Currey, 1985, p4

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p5

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p5

eyewitnesses bring such problems they are a useful resource for a historical research. Jan Vansina also suggests that although oral history and oral tradition, are important sources of historical research, they should not be seen as the same thing. For him “oral history includes reminiscences, hearsay, or eye witnesses’ accounts about events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occur during the life time of the informants. This differs from oral traditions in that oral traditions are no longer contemporary. They have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the life time of the informants”<sup>4</sup>.

Given the period covered in this research it made sense to use oral history and oral tradition as a historical approach to gathering information. There are aspects of the process of Indigenisation stemming from the introduction of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, which have not been recorded but have been passed down from one generation to the other by word of mouth and have become oral tradition. Such information was very useful in this study. There are also aspects of Indigenisation which have not been recorded, but are still vivid in people’s minds because they were witnesses. Such information stands as oral history and was useful in putting together this study as well. It therefore made sense for us to utilize the historical approach in carrying out this research given the period under study [1891 – 1981]. We agree with Ogbu U. Kalu who says that “the historian is a detective who works from fragments to reconstruct the past for the benefit of the present and future”<sup>5</sup>. Weaving together the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, required the bringing together of bits and pieces of information from different sources and as such a historical approach became indispensable.

### **1.5 Review of Relevant Literature**

There are a number of Church Historians who have researched and published their findings regarding the birth and growth of the Diocese of Mashonaland of the Anglican Church. It seems the first missionary efforts which failed to yield any significant results

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid p12

<sup>5</sup> Ogbu. U. Kalu, “*African Church Historiography: An Ecumenical Perspective*” in Ogbu U. Kalu [ed] *African Church Historiography: An Ecumenical Perspective* [ Papers presented at a workshop on African Church History, held at Nairobi, August 3 – 8 1986], p11

were in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, by the early Portuguese missionaries. Jonathan Hildebrandt says such efforts “did not yield any lasting results”<sup>6</sup>. However this was the beginning of several other attempts of bringing Christianity into Zimbabwe which followed later. In 1859 there was another attempt to bring the Good News into Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), by the London Missionary Society. Elizabeth Isichei, maintains that “In 1859, four L.M.S representatives among them Robert Moffat, his Son and grandson, settled among the Ndebele. One of the four pioneers, Sykes stayed there until he died in 1887 and never won a single convert”<sup>7</sup>. It would appear these two efforts failed to take off from the ground which means the local people remained intransigent and deeply attached to their old religious traditions. More so it appears these two efforts were at the two opposite ends of this huge territory of Rhodesia. The Portuguese had tried their efforts in the far eastern side of the country whereas the London Missionary Society was in the far western side of the country.

However in the Southern part of Zimbabwe there were also missionary efforts which predate the coming of colonization by the British South Africa Company [BSAC] in 1890. D. N. Beach suggests that “the development of the southern Shona missions can be divided into two periods. Up to 1883 the Dutch Reformed, the Paris Evangelical Society and the Swiss mission Vaudoise collaborated to promote a series of missionary expeditions with the particular object to establishing missions in the territories of Zimuto and Chivi”<sup>8</sup>. It needs to be pointed out however that although these missionary efforts seem not to have had significant success, they paved the way for future missionary efforts. This means that when Bishop George Knight-Bruce came to establish the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland it was now the second phase of missionary activity. Although there were some people who had never met a missionary, Christianity had been introduced in several parts of the country without significant success.

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<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Hildebrandt, History of the Christian Church in Africa: A Survey, Achimota: (African Christian Press, 1981) p176

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, A history of Christianity in Africa, London: (S.P.C.K, 1995) p114

<sup>8</sup> D.N. Beach, “The initial impact of Christianity on the Shona the protestants and the Southern Shona”, in J. A. Dachs [ed], Christianity South of the Zambezi, Gweru: (Mambo Press, 1979) p27

On the other hand Jean Farrant says “it was not until 1874, that the first attempt to take the gospel to Mashonaland was made by William Greenstock”<sup>9</sup>. The story is that this man was a clergyman from the Diocese of Bloemfontein in South Africa and he needed to go on a furlough. He decided to visit Mashonaland together with Mr. Thomas Baines, an artist cum explorer. It is expressed by H. ST. John T. Evans, that William Greenstock was deeply moved by the sufferings and persecutions which the unhappy Mashona endured at the hands of the more warlike and united Matabele by whom they had been driven to take refuge in the mountains.<sup>10</sup> The reports made by William Greenstock to Bishop, Knight-Bruce and to the S.P.G (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), inspired Bishop Knight-Bruce of Bloemfontein to make his first visit to this region in 1888.

It is at this stage that we begin to see the contribution made by the Africans in this missionary enterprise in this new diocese. This is the right place to define ‘indigenisation’, which is the thrust of this investigation. According to Peter Schineller, SJ “to be indigenous means to be native, one who is born in a particular context or culture”<sup>11</sup>. In this case the form of Christianity that Bishop Knight-Bruce was going to bring in Rhodesia was not indigenous, and those people who were coming to work in the Diocese of Mashonaland from outside were also not indigenous. Some of them may have been African by origin but they were not indigenous to Mashonaland. But the fact that some of them were Africans was far much better, than those Europeans, whose presence at first was so frightening to the indigenous people. This is where the dimension of Africanization as a form of indigenisation becomes critical. The presence of African people from other countries such as Mozambique and South Africa, in this missionary enterprise of the Diocese of Mashonaland have to be viewed as a crucial aspect of the indigenisation process.

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<sup>9</sup> Jean Farrant, Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) p69

<sup>10</sup> H. ST. John T. Evans, The Church in Southern Rhodesia, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1945) p10

<sup>11</sup> Peter Schineller SJ, A Handbook on Inculturation, New York: Paulist Press, 1990, p15



It would appear Bishop Knight Bruce realized the fact that the success of his missionary work in Mashonaland was going to be heavily dependent on the African Christians from the outset. R. R. Langham Carter, postulates that “when Bishop Knight-Bruce went to Mashonaland for the first time, he would not take any European with him as he wanted to see first if living in Mashonaland would be feasible for such and instead selected eight African Christians from Southern Africa consisting of two Griquas, two Basothos, four Bechuanas to whom he later added a Matabele and a Mashona”<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand Peter Hinchliff, supports this by saying that “the Bishop was convinced that the Church in the subcontinent could never prosper until Africans were found to take the faith to their own people”<sup>13</sup>. In this sense the addition of the last two [a Matabele and a Mashona] was the beginning of the indigenisation process in the missionary work in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Such people were so critical in many respects. For example they would help Bishop George Knight-Bruce with language translations so that he would be able to communicate with the numerous people whom he met on his epic journey in Zimbabwe. The local Shona and Ndebele carriers also became handy since they were expected to have a good knowledge of the terrain and the general geography of Zimbabwe where Bishop G. W Knight-Bruce had never been before.

These local people also knew the various routes best suited to traverse this huge country. They also knew where to find the numerous chiefs whom Bishop Knight-Bruce wanted to meet and seek permission for the establishment of mission stations. For Bishop Knight-Bruce the first visit was paramount since it would give him knowledge of the country, and also proffer him with an opportunity to obtain permission from Lobengula for missionaries to enter his territory. Jean Farrant alludes to the fact that the initial visit by Bishop Knight-Bruce was crucial in that he had to meet the chiefs who were the key people in the community. She suggests that “by the end of 1888, the Bishop (Knight-Bruce) had interviewed all the principal chiefs of Mashonaland and received from some of them grants of land for missions and churches and permission to place teachers and

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<sup>12</sup> R. R. Langham Carter, Knight-Bruce: First Bishop and Founder of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia, (Salisbury: Mercury Press, 1975 (Pvt) Ltd) p28

<sup>13</sup> Peter Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in Southern Africa, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963) p167

catechists in their villages”<sup>14</sup>. In all these negotiations the local people who accompanied him were key.

When Bishop Knight-Bruce went back to his diocese he was fully touched with what he saw and the negotiations which he had made with the local chiefs. Through his reports to the S.P.G, there was made available seven thousand pounds by the S.P.G, which was to be used to establish this new Diocese. The Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church in South Africa also met in early 1891, and approved that the new Diocese of Mashonaland be founded and that Bishop Jones West and Bishop Knight-Bruce decide on the appointment of the Bishop of that new Diocese. On the other hand in 1890, Cecil John Rhodes sent his pioneer column to occupy Mashonaland. Bishop Knight-Bruce took advantage of this and sent three priests as Chaplains to the column. H. ST. John. T. Evans avers that “Canon Balfour was accompanied by Rev. F. H. Surridge and Rev. Wilson Trusted”<sup>15</sup>. Although the presence of Anglican Chaplains amongst an occupying force raises some serious questions this information helps us to understand how the Anglican Church came into Zimbabwe where the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland was to be based.

Bishop Knight-Bruce finally made it to Mashonaland with six African Catechists, two of whom became extremely popular, namely Bernard Mizeki Gwambe, who settled in Mangwende area, and Frank Ziqubu, who settled in chief Mutasa’s area. Bernard Mizeki was a linguist by nature and so mastered the Shona language within a short space of time. He became useful in the indigenisation process of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland in as far as translating its liturgy was concerned. This is confirmed by J. Weller & Jean Linden, who postulate that, “When Bishop Thomas Gaul was in England, translation continued at Rusape by Bernard Mizeki, Kapuya and Pelly. Before long St Mark’s Gospel, a summary of the life of Jesus Christ the Acts of the Apostles were all

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<sup>14</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. cit.* p72

<sup>15</sup> H. ST. John T. Evans, *Op. cit.* p12

available”<sup>16</sup>. The scriptures were being translated to the local context, which is a process and form of indigenisation which was investigated in this research.

It needs to be stated that the translation of Christianity is a crucial aspect of indigenization which is articulated well by Lamin Sanneh in his book, Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture. For him the fact that Christianity is translatable makes it compatible with all cultures<sup>17</sup>. It is a correct observation therefore that the success of Christianity in the Diocese of Mashonaland was mainly because of the fact that it was amenable to adopting some of the indigenous people’s culture. Had the missionaries remained western in their approach towards evangelization, their success will have been minimal or non existant. From a very early stage missionaries in the Diocese of Mashonaland embarked on the process of translating Christianity into the local languages which was a critical step towards indigenization. Birgit Meyer suggests that although the missionaries’ task was to set up and run mission posts and schools, their main aim was to spread the Christian message in order to make converts. In order to achieve that goal they had to embrace the process of vernacularisation<sup>18</sup>. This was the process of translating the Christian message into the local vernacular languages In the Diocese of Mashonaland this process was started by Bishop Knight Bruce the first Anglican Bishop to take the Anglican Church to that part of the world. It is probably correct to state that in many places a vernacular Bible became the real engine of mission.

It is also important to note that although there were early signs of indigenisation in the area of liturgy, the leadership or personnel and the membership of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Mashonaland remained exclusively European, hence exotic. Each Bishop came and left having made some significant impact on the church in different areas depending on their strengths. Bishop Knight-Bruce resigned due to ill-health and returned home in 1894. He later died of pneumonia in 1896.

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<sup>16</sup> John Weller & Jean Linden, Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Gweru: (Mambo Press, 1984) p69

<sup>17</sup> Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message: The missionary Impact on Culture, New York: (Orbis Books, 1989) p50

<sup>18</sup> Birgit Meyer, Translating the Devil: Religion and modernity among the Ewe in Ghana, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999, p54

Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce was succeeded by Bishop William Thomas Gaul. One of his concerns was also to indigenise the liturgy of the church. J. Weller and J. Linden, support this when they say “one of his concerns was to provide the Diocese with necessary Shona translations of scriptures and liturgy. In this task he wisely made use of Bernard Mizeki and his convert John Kapuya ...”<sup>19</sup> It was also through Bishop Gaul’s efforts that a Church, St Michaels, was built for Africans in Manica Road [now R. Mugabe Drive] in Salisbury [now Harare] in 1906. During Bishop Gaul’s tenure Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps also came to work in the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1901. Although he was a European by birth many people concur that he was an African at heart. His devotion to protect the rights of Africans was so outstanding that he became a problem to his fellow European clergy and to the Rhodesian government. This is supported by Douglas V. Steere who says that “it was in the service to the voiceless indigenous people that he poured out his life. Cripps was a strange and disturbing gift to Rhodesia”<sup>20</sup>. He was really a rare creature in that he stood up for the Black Africans wherever he felt they were being ill-treated. In addition to his outstanding devotion to the cause of the local indigenous people, A. S. Cripps made some immense contribution to the indigenisation process as was uncovered in this research. He identified some local people for both the ordained and lay ministry. He also wrote and published works with an indigenous flair. To cap it all he marshaled a new ecclesiology which was compatible with the local mindset as epitomized in his church architecture at Maronda Mashanu in Chivhu.

However following the resignation of Bishop W. Gaul, Dr. E. N. Powell was elected to succeed him. Sadly he stayed for a very short time, because he could not stand the Rhodesian climate. After two years he resigned on ill health and went back to England. He was succeeded by Rev. F. H. Beaven, who had been Dean of the Cathedral in Salisbury. It would appear during the fourteen years that he held office he managed to achieve something in line with the indigenisation process of the Anglican Diocese of

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid p69

<sup>20</sup> Douglas V. Steere, God’s Irregular Arthur Shirley Cripps: A Rhodesian Epic, (London: S.P.C.K, 1973) pxii

Mashonaland. This is so because during his tenure, translations continued. Extant sources suggest that Mrs. Elaine Lloyd, resident at St Faith Mission and gifted in languages, became one of the most capable translators in the Diocese of Mashonaland. H. ST. John. T. Evans suggests that “she was largely responsible for both the Book of Common Prayer with its large selection of hymns and for the Rwendo rweMukristu, the book of public and private devotion...”<sup>21</sup>

One of the significant things that happened during Bp Beaven’s episcopate, in the line of indigenisation of personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland was the ordination to the diaconate of the first indigenous person in Zimbabwe, Samuel Mhlanga. This was the beginning of native ministry in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland as early as 1919. However it seems clear that there was still some suspicion on African priesthood as shown by the length of time that Samuel Mhlanga took, before he was ordained to the priesthood. He was only ordained to the priesthood four years later, in 1923. However at this ordination three other indigenous men were ordained Deacons namely Gibson Nyabako, Leonard Sagonda, and Stephen Hatendi.

However in 1925, Edward Paget, was elected as Bishop of Mashonaland in succession of F. H. Beaven. Edward Paget is remembered vividly as a man of extraordinary gifts which worked positively in the process of the Indigenisation of the Diocese of Mashonaland. According to H. ST. John T. Evans, one of the cheerful records of Bishop Paget was that of the substantial increase in the number of African clergy<sup>22</sup>. It was during his time that a Theological Seminary was started at St Augustine’s Mission in Penhalonga, to train local Africans for the ordained ministry. Canon Farmer is quoted by Dorris Thompson as having a crucial observation regarding the need for an indigenized priesthood. He suggests that “there can be no doubt that the very best, missionary must be the properly trained native, and the end of our work must be the native mind. There is a language barrier which makes preaching for us almost impossible”<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> H. ST. John T. Evans, Op. cit, p35

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p41

<sup>23</sup> Doris Thompson, Priest and Pioneer: A Memoir of Fr. Osmund Victor, CR, of South Africa, (Westminster: The Faith Press. Ltd, 1958) p7

Bishop Paget's passion for developing an indigenous ordained ministry resulted in the ordination to the diaconate of three deacons in 1944 which was the year when he went into retirement. This brought the number of African priests up to eighteen. It is clear that the rapid growth of native missionary effort was due to him. This is the reason why he has been remembered by having the building that houses the current Diocese of Harare offices named after him. It was also during his episcopate that a shrine in memory of Bernard Mizeki was built and consecrated at the place where he was killed near Marondera.

Indeed Bishop Paget managed to champion a number of developments in the Diocese of Mashonaland. For example in 1952, the Diocese of Mashonaland was divided into two, namely Diocese of Matabeleland and Diocese of Mashonaland. He also became the first Archbishop of the newly found Province of Central Africa which was founded in 1955.

At the retirement of Archbishop Paget, Cecil Alderson was elected to succeed him in 1957. When he assumed this position, many churches had been built by Bishop Paget, and the number of priests had risen tremendously. John Weller says "the number of clergy had risen from thirty, including Africans, to one hundred and twenty, including thirty-five Africans"<sup>24</sup>. The Africans continued to be trained in South Africa at St Peter's Rosettenville in Johannesburg and later at St John's Seminary in Zambia.

However at the death of Bishop Alderson, Paul Burrough was elected to succeed him in 1968. The political events unfolding in Rhodesia were also crucial. During this period, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence [UDI] by Ian Smith had just been declared in 1965 and the Africans were preparing to go for war to fight for political freedom. It was within this context that a situation was created that required the presence of an indigenous Bishop who would move freely in the rural areas where war was raging.

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<sup>24</sup> John Weller, Anglican Centenary in Zimbabwe 1891 -1991. (Mutare: Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) Ltd, 1991) p9

This is the context within which Rev. Patrick Murindagomo an African priest was appointed as the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. From outside it would appear this was a good move towards the process of indigenisation of the leadership of the church. However on close analysis it would appear that this was an expedient move by the church to keep up with the winds of change which were blowing in the country. It was becoming dangerous for the European Bishop to go to rural areas where the majority of the blacks lived; hence the office of the Suffragan Bishop, though provided for by the Constitution of the Anglican Church, had to be used to have an indigenous Bishop who would look after the needs of the indigenous membership of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

This is the reason why he had to be moved to St Augustine Penhalonga a rural mission close to where the majority of the indigenous membership of the Diocese resided. Unfortunately Bishop Patrick Murindagomo did not last for a long time. He died in 1978.

In the following year, Rev. Peter Hatendi, who had been working in Nairobi Kenya as Director of the Bible Society, was appointed Suffragan Bishop, to replace Bishop Murindagomo. Bishop Peter served as Suffragan Bishop under Bishop Paul Burrough until 1981 when Bishop Burrough resigned prematurely due to the politically dangerous and racist statements which he had made during his visit in England in 1979. Rev Ralph Peter Hatendi was then elected as the first African Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. In essence this is the point at which one can say that the Anglican Church became fully indigenized as far as the leadership was concerned. The composition of the membership was also in favour of the indigenous people. However it would appear the European churches continued to wield a lot of power and autonomy even when there was an indigenous Bishop at the helm of the Diocese. Some urban parishes such as St Mary's Parish Avondale and Christ Church Borrowdale continued to hire white Clergy from England. This was a clear sign of a deliberate disregard of the new dispensation that had been ushered in at Independence. Given this long history it can be seen that there is a hidden thread of indigenisation which ran through from 1891 right up to 1981.

### **1.7. Conclusion**

Having established and articulated the area covered in this this investigation, its justification as well as the objectives behind it, we have also articulated the methods that were used in this research. It is now proper therefore to proceed by way of setting the scene of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland and defining some of the terms that are closely related to the concept of indigenisation, which is the controlling concept of this study.



## Chapter 2

### The setting of the Scene and Definition of terms

#### 2.0 Introduction

The history and process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland of the Anglican Church can only be told properly by going back to where everything started and trace all the developments that ensued until the year 1981, when the country now known as Zimbabwe had its first indigenous Bishop at its helm. It is a story in which there are a lot of unsung heroes, people whose names may never be known because no one ever cared to make them part of the history which they were making. It is the task of this chapter to lay out the scene where we can begin to talk about the Diocese of Mashonaland and begin to explore the contribution of those heroes of faith whose immense contribution has been overlooked either because they were people of colour or because they did not write anything concerning what they were doing and no one ever cared to record their immense contributions to the mission of the Anglican church in Zimbabwe. This is also the right place to define terms so that as the discussion gathers momentum, there will be a common ground set with regards to certain terms which have numerous or even similar meanings.

#### 2.1 Definition of Terms

This field of research has been inundated with neologisms<sup>25</sup> or cognate terms<sup>26</sup> that have either made the study confusing to some people or clear to others. It is therefore important for us to start by way of defining terms and take a position on which definition will be using to inform the substance of this study. The numerous words which have been used interchangeably with reference to the process of making Christianity relevant to Africa, include, ‘adaptation’, ‘accommodation’, ‘contextualisation’, ‘africanisation’,

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<sup>25</sup> Justin S. Ukpong, “Contextualisation: A Historical Survey”, in *African Ecclesial Review* 29, no 5 O, 1987, p278-286

<sup>26</sup> Patrick C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in *African Ecclesial Review* 43 no 1-2 F – Ap, 2001, p2 - 27

'incarnation', 'interculturalisation', 'indigenisation' as well as 'inculturation'<sup>27</sup>. On a closer look at these terms it becomes clear that all of them try to capture the relationship that should ensue when the gospel comes into contact with the culture of the local people. Theologians have battled with these words and each successive generation has moved from one word to the other as a way of capturing and explaining the interaction between the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the local cultures. Let us therefore start our definition of terms by defining what is meant by the word 'culture'.

### **2.1.a Culture**

It needs to be pointed out from the outset that this word has been used to denigrate some African norms and values by some early European missionaries. It is also important to note that there are numerous understandings of this word. However the most appealing definition is the one given by Sir Edward Taylor which says that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"<sup>28</sup>. This means that culture is not a simple phenomenon that can be acquired and discarded easily by anyone. This is supported by Gerald A. Arbuckle who suggests that "culture is made up of symbols that give meaning, direction and identity to people in ways that touch not just the intellectual but especially the heart"<sup>29</sup>. A symbol on the other hand is not just an ordinary thing. It is an image of a real or imaginary object that evokes a feeling or is evoked by a feeling. A feeling is only experienced by the one who is going through it, as such difficult to be comprehended by an outsider. On the other hand we should also note that a symbol do not communicate one meaning but can relate so deeply to the heart of a person's feelings. Be that as it may, it becomes extremely difficult to get inside another person's culture. To this end we can suggest that culture is the sum total of human behaviour, ideas as well as ones local environment. To this end it is a misnomer for anyone to suggest that there are any human beings without culture. This understanding becomes important in this study since its emphasis is to establish the process of making

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<sup>27</sup> A. Shorter, Toward a Theology of Inculturation, London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1988, p4

<sup>28</sup> A. Shorter, Toward a Theology of Inculturation, London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1988, p4

<sup>29</sup> Gerald A. Arbuckle, "Inculturation not Adaptation: Time to Change Terminology", in *Worship*, 60 no 6N 1986, p511 - 520

Christianity a religion acceptable to the indigenous people in Mashonaland. These people had their own culture different from that of the missionaries. In other words, the encounter of Christianity and the local culture of the indigenous people in Mashonaland determined to a large extent, whether or not there was any process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Let us now consider the first word that has been used to understand the process of making Christianity acceptable to the local context. This word is 'adaptation'.

### **2.1.b Adaptation**

According to the Peter Schineller SJ, the term '*Adaptation*' is a more creative way of pastoral activity, by which we try to adapt the message we share and the liturgy we celebrate to the customs of those we work among. To adapt means '*to make fit*' and this implies more serious listening to and study of the culture involved"<sup>30</sup>. This approach presumes that the Christian faith and revelation do not take place in a vacuum, which is to say that the Christian faith should be culturally and socially positioned. This means that for Christianity to be rooted amongst the Africans it has to '*fit into*' the African context. This theory therefore is diametrically opposed to the type of mission and evangelism which H. Richard Niebuhr has called "*Christ – against - culture*"<sup>31</sup>. This is an approach in which Christ is portrayed as opposed to the customs and social institutions of the people irrespective of the human values that these conserve. This theory certainly poses a severe challenge to the long cherished idea concerning the "absoluteness of Christianity", whereby all the non-Christian traditions are dismissed as mere aberrations, superstitions and / or the work of the devil<sup>32</sup> as S. Maimela observes. This means that in 'adaptation' mission and evangelism in Africa has to take the African way of life seriously. Scriptures should be expounded and couched in African idiom. All aspects of the Christian community should be affected.

Despite the good that the theory seems to portray, it has failed to achieve that for two main reasons. The first reason has to do with the African protagonists of this theory. Most

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<sup>30</sup> Peter Schineller, *A Handbook of Inculturation*, New York Paulist Press, p16

<sup>31</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, New York : Harper & Row, 1951, p40

<sup>32</sup> S. Maimela, "Salvation in African Traditional Religion", *Missionalia* Vol. 13, 1985, p2

Africans took this theory from a political dimension. They took it as an opportunity to entrench African cultural life and the affirmation of blackness. To this end it amounted to the utter rejection of the assumptions erroneously held by the early missionaries that the cultures of Africa are inherently inferior to those of Europe or the West. They also challenged strongly the notion that the Africans were 'savages' or 'primitive' until the white missionaries came with 'civilisation' and 'Christianity' to Africa. Having vehemently taken such positions they felt that there is no need to re-interpret African beliefs and customs to ensure that they conform to the norms and values of another culture. In addition some theologians such as P. A. Kalilombe, suggests that this theory also failed because the white protagonists of this theory, appeared to know better what was best for the natives, which was incorrect<sup>33</sup>. In short it would appear adaptation is an attempt to dress Christianity in African culture, while maintaining its foreignness in the form of its advocates. In such a way then it negates its objective, for such an adaptation process was still clothed in its regalia in which Christianity cloaked itself when it first came to Africa.

The second reason for its failure is captured well by A. Shorter, who postulates that "adaptation as is presently embarked upon reflects the repulsive pre-supposition of a mission theology in which Christianity is seen as another cultural tradition"<sup>34</sup>. In this way then adaptation is understood as a confrontation between the West and the people of Africa, rather than as the encounter to revelation with the soul of the African, and thus turning the African towards salvation or liberation. For this reason it could be justifiably concluded that adaptation simply implies the adaptation of the practices of the church of the west to the cultural life of the people of Africa. This raises the question of the end product. Will it be genuinely African in form and character, or else it will be a subtle form of western domination?

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<sup>33</sup> P. A. Kalilombe, 'Self Reliance of the African Church: A Catholic perspective', in *African Ecclesial Review*, 28 no 5 Ja 1979, p68 - 99

<sup>34</sup> A. Shorter, *African Christian Theology: Adaptation or incarnation?* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975, p69

To cap it all adaptation has been disqualified as a very dubious approach to the evangelisation of the world because of its paternalistic tendencies. Upon close analysis one can realise that it is a subtle form of imposition which does not take the local culture seriously. Instead of getting inside, adaptation has a tendency to remain outside or above, thus it can only willingly allow some extrinsic, accidental and superficial changes in ways of being Christian. In other words adaptation pays lip service to a genuine process of what should happen when Christianity as a cultural religion comes into contact with the local culture.

With these shortcomings theologians have concluded that adaptation as currently practised within the African context merely places an African blanket over Christian customs and values which are essentially western in form and character. As a result African converts remain foreigners within the body of Christ, the church. To this end adaptation did not go far because it implied a selection of certain rites and customs, purifying them and inserting them within Christian rituals where there was any apparent similarity. B. Beemster is therefore right when he says that adaptation will only ensure that Christianity will only enter below the skin of the converted but still has to travel the long way to the person's heart<sup>35</sup>. So as a model for use in bringing African culture and the Gospel together, this theory has now been relegated to the ever increasing body of theories rendered obsolete due to the discovery of new and cognitive ones.

### **2.1.c Accommodation**

The other term which has also been used to communicate the same reality at a different stage in history is '*accommodation*'. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church defines the word '*accommodation*' as "the adaptation of a text or teaching to altered circumstances"<sup>36</sup>. Again this means bringing into harmony the Christian message and life to the local cultures. In most cases it meant baptising those things which Europeans found as closely related to Christianity and vehemently rejecting those things which they did not understand. According to Raymond Hickey, accommodation simply means

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<sup>35</sup> B. Beemster, "Which Way Adaptation?", in *African Ecclesial Review*, 11 no 2 Ap 1969, p115 - 124

<sup>36</sup> F. L. Cross [ed], The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p10

compromising the Gospel with traditional practices<sup>37</sup>. However it should be highlighted that this compromise should not be seen as a form of religious syncretism, but should be seen rather as an interplay between the forces and values of Christianity on one hand and the forces and values of Traditional religions on the other hand. The only challenge that comes with accommodation is to know what amounts to ‘over-compromise’, and who should determine the amounts of compromise. Many Christians feel uncomfortable when Christianity is allowed to ‘compromise’ with traditions and values that they consider to be antithetical to the Gospel such as talking about their ancestors as being responsible for their protection or as being there to intercede for them.

This term is therefore closely related to adaptation in the manner that the missionaries selected what they wanted and threw away what they did not understand even if such practices were the life line of the local indigenous people. In the process such a theory certainly left more wounds than blessings on the people upon whom it was put into practice. This study seeks to move deeper than such a superficial way of relating the gospel to the local cultures. The next word closely related to the above is ‘*contextualisation*’.

#### **2.1.d Contextualisation**

This is a word that takes into account the changing nature of culture. Literally it means a ‘*weaving together*’<sup>38</sup>. That is an interweaving of the gospel with every particular situation. Theologians such as Justin S. Ukpong suggest that contextualisation is a process and practice of relating the Gospel message to the people’s concrete life situation<sup>39</sup>. Commenting on this definition Peter Schineller notes that instead of speaking of a particular culture, whether traditional or modern, the word speaks of contexts or situations into which the gospel must be inculturated<sup>40</sup>. This theory arose out of a realisation that all the forms of Christian expression tended to be tinted with the cultural

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<sup>37</sup> Raymond Hickey, “Authentic African Religion”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 27 no 4 Ag 1985, p216 - 224

<sup>38</sup> Orlando E. Costas, “Contextualisation and Incarnation”, in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, no 29 D 1979, p23 - 30

<sup>39</sup> Justin S. Ukpong, “Contextualisation: A Historical Survey”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 29 no 5 O, 1987, p278 - 286

<sup>40</sup> Peter Schineller, *Op. Cit*, p19

context traits from which they originate. Therefore theologians sought a new form of Christian expression that would take seriously new cultural contexts that the Gospel would come into contact with.

To show that there is continuity in these theories; Justin S. Ukpong notes that ;

*contextualisation was carried out in three different forms particularly in the young churches; first was “liturgical adaptation, whereby local cultural elements like music and musical instruments are brought into the liturgy; secondly adaptation in ministry, whereby new concepts of ministry are evolved with inspiration from local cultural practice, thirdly inculturation theology, which seeks new culturally relevant theological expression and fourthly liberation theology, which challenges the injustice in social systems in the light of the Gospel”*

It is clear that despite the newness of this theory, on closer analysis it was equally an attempt to relate the gospel message to the people’s contexts. The only difference was to be found in the manner in which it was to be done but it is clear that contextualisation was a built-on over adaptation as shown in the first couple of ways in which it was to be carried out as stated in the quotation above.

Some theologians such as Justin S. Ukpong, maintain that as early as the early church, the gospel was carried from the Jewish context to the Gentile context, and in that way the issue of contextualisation posed a problem<sup>41</sup>. As the Gospel was taken to the Gentiles we see Paul, debating with the other apostles in Acts 15, arguing that the Gentiles did not need to be Jews first before they became Christians, by way of being forced to be circumcised. That was certainly a passionate defence of the context of the Gentiles. The same can be observed when Christianity was taken to other parts of the world. It took the culture of those people.

It should also be mentioned that although this term has been used for some time, it does not seem to do full justice to the reality of the relationship which should subsist when

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<sup>41</sup> Justin S. Ukpong, “Contextualisation: A Historical Survey”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 29 no 5 O, 1987, p278 - 286

Christianity comes into contact with the local culture. According to Fergus King 'contextualisation' gives the idea that there is an essence of Christianity which is merely re-packaged in different cultural dressing<sup>42</sup>". However the truth of the matter is that the relationship is not so simple. If it is simply repackaged it will certainly change its essence and when this happens then it loses its vitality. Therefore in this study this theory will only be used to help build-on to an authentic expression of the reality of the encounter between the Gospel message and the local culture in the context of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. The next word which we will consider is 'africanisation'.

### **2.1.e Africanisation**

This is also a fairly new term which sought to capture the modern epoch of mission to Africa. This theory has arisen as a result of some theologians who have rightly and tacitly suggested that Christianity has not become part of the African life. Instead it has remained foreign. Peter K. Sarpong avers that "Christianity is European in almost everything – way of worship, belief, architecture, choir robes, prayers, structures, e.t.c<sup>43</sup>". In essence Peter Sarpong is saying that Christianity had not taken cognisance of the different contexts where it found itself in, when the missionaries brought it into Africa. However many advocates of the theory of Africanisation move further to say that given the fact that Christianity had not changed its nature when it came to Africa, there was need for change. The impetus for this need was given by Pope Paul VI, in his address to Africans in Kampala in 1969. Pope Paul VI vigorously affirmed the need for the Africanisation of Christianity when he said "You can and must have an African Christianity<sup>44</sup>".

Africanisation therefore meant that Africa had to grow its own theology, philosophy, liturgy as well as ecclesiastical discipline and structures. This is captured well by Dominic Mwasaru, citing Paul Cardinal Zoungana, when he says "...our very being

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<sup>42</sup> Fergus King, "Inculturation & The Book of Revelation, in *Missionalia*, 2001, p16-38

<sup>43</sup> Peter K. Sarpong, "Christianity should be Africanised not African Christianised", in *African Ecclesial Review*, 17 no 6 N 1975, p322 - 328

<sup>44</sup> Cardinal Joseph Malula, "The Church at the Hour of Africanisation", in *African Ecclesial Review*, 16 no 3 O 1974, P365 - 371



must not be conferred from outside; it is the duty of the African Church to define its own objective; its own apostolic priorities<sup>45</sup>”.

Indeed this Africanisation entails a realisation that Christianity needed to be rooted in the African soil, using African thought systems and being propagated by the African people themselves. Lamin Sanneh suggests that where this Africanisation process was in place it led to a conflict with the Western cultural notions<sup>46</sup>. These notions upheld the ideas of paternalism and superiority. Africanisation also entails trust and confidence in Africa as an equally fertile ground where the revelation of God can take place. Sanneh goes on to highlight the fact that even people such as David Livingstone, who was known to have challenged the Western world to come and ‘civilise’ the African people, came to realise at some stage that Europe had no monopoly of the truth. He came to realise that even the simplest person in Africa could stand right at the heart of God’s favour. He also realised that all cultures performed an equally necessary though inadequate function in mediating the mystery of God<sup>47</sup>. Such a realisation encapsulates the notion of Africanisation which then leads to promoting the African people to be in leadership positions in their local church.

For Dominic Mwasaru a real Africanisation theory meant structural revolution<sup>48</sup> in the context of the Catholic Church. This called for the establishment of forms of ministry that suit the African culture and way of life. Africanisation also goes beyond just translating English or Latin texts into African languages or introducing drums and a few African melodies into worship. Africanisation also means much more than making vestments with local cloths although such are worthwhile attempts. However such attempts only scratch the surface of the problem. Peter K. Sarpong postulates that in order for there to be an authentic Africanisation of Christianity, “there is need to be bold, radical and original<sup>49</sup>”.

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<sup>45</sup> Dominic Mwasaru, “The Challenge of Africanising the Church”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 16 no 2 JI, 1974, p285 - 294

<sup>46</sup> Lamin Sanneh, Op. Cit, p105

<sup>47</sup> Ibid p109

<sup>48</sup> Dominic Mwasaru, “The Challenge of Africanising the Church”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 16 no 2 JI, 1974, p285 - 294

<sup>49</sup> Peter K. Sarpong, “Christianity should be Africanised not African Christianised”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 17 no 6 N 1975, p322 - 328

It should be stated that where Africanisation has been implemented, it has been mainly in the areas of personnel, liturgical vestments as well as music and music instruments. As noted above, this is not enough when one tries to find a way in which Christianity can relate to the local culture. Indeed the language has been translated, vestments made from local calico, and music instruments changed to the local, but the Church has remained foreign in its structures, governance, and well as liturgical practice. Similar to the above theories, Africanisation has also paid lip service to the whole program of making the African feel at home when s/he comes into contact with Christianity. We will now turn to consider another related theory which is ‘*indigenisation*’.

#### **2.1. f. Indigenisation**

This is the other word which has also been used to express this reality of the relationship between the Gospel and the local cultures. Here we tend to agree with J. P. C. Nzomiwu, who says “indigenisation is better described than defined<sup>50</sup>”. This is so because this term is basically concerned with a people’s cultural milieu. Given the fact that no matter how sophisticated one may turn out to be one can never be removed from their cultural surroundings. Be that as it may indigenisation therefore strives to take very seriously the traditional or native culture of a people. In an effort to define this concept, Peter Schineller suggests that “to be indigenous means to be native, one who is born into a particular context or culture”<sup>51</sup>. In theological cycles this term refers to one’s relationship to their heritage<sup>52</sup>. For him any talk of indigenous clergy for example should refer to the locally born that is any clergy who were born on the African soil<sup>53</sup>.

In the same vein Ezra Chitando also suggests that “the term ‘indigenisation’ has been in vogue for some time in African Christianity. Having been used alongside concepts like ‘inculturation’, ‘adaptation’ and others, it refers to the attempts to make Christianity

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<sup>50</sup> J. P. C. Nzomiwu, “The African Church and Indigenisation: An Igbo Experience”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 28, no 5 O, 1986, P323 - 334

<sup>51</sup> Peter Schineller, SJ, Op. Cit, p18

<sup>52</sup> Philip Denis, [ed.] *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa*, Cluster Publications, 1995, p10

<sup>53</sup> Ibid p10

relevant to the needs of Africa”<sup>54</sup>. The theory of indigenisation therefore entails that the local community with its indigenous leadership wields the primary responsibility and the task of developing and teaching, the liturgy and practice of the local church using their cultural values and genius. It means that the church has to give up all its foreign vestiges and find space in the Africa’s heart.

Initially attempts at indigenisation sought to underline mostly the necessity of promoting indigenous ministers in every locality. However it is also true that Indigenisation has now taken a new twist, in addition to being just concerned with the promotion of indigenous ministers. William H. Crane, makes this point clear when he says, “all too often indigenisation is seen in terms of substituting African for western hymns, drums for pump organs, and the promotion of less inhibited and more spontaneous forms of worship”<sup>55</sup>. This is like putting an African costume on a church that is essentially western in its organisation, discipline, theology and every outward appearance. This will certainly not make that church authentically African and rooted in the needs and aspirations of the local people. When understood and implemented properly the process of indigenisation of Christianity should therefore be seen as an incarnational attempt to articulate the Christian faith clearly in the thought forms characteristic of the environment in which Christians find themselves. Hence it is an endeavour to respond meaningfully to the Gospel within the framework of one’s own physical, cultural and certainly existential milieu.

In the same vein indigenisation should be viewed as being closer to inculturation, or incarnation. We have to understand that the African church has been affected by many problems, and until these are reversed, the church in Africa will continue to suffer the pangs of paternalism. For example many aspects of the African life such as its world view, with its understanding of the wholeness and continuity of life has been rejected by the West. Africa’s closely knit family ties, its understanding of personality in the context

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<sup>54</sup> Ezra Chitando, “The Redeeming Memory: Reflections on Christianity and Black Economic Empowerment in Zimbabwe”, in Prof J. J. Kritzing (ed), Missionalia, Vol. 26, No. 1, April 1998, pp74 - 93

<sup>55</sup> William H. Crane, “Indigenisation in the African Church”, in The International Review of Missions, London: Edinburgh House Press, 1964, pp409-422

of community and family, the importance that it attaches to ritual and myth has also been undermined. This rejection has also been accompanied by the introduction of western individualism, a completely rational view of the universe, the separation of the sacred and the profane, the domination of nature which leads to sceptical unbelief in the power of the forces of darkness, and an individual – centred democracy subject to the authority of the western ‘father figure’. True indigenisation therefore has to be a new beginning, which seeks to entrench the authenticity of the local cultures, local people and local thought patterns. This is also a process of trying to detach the church from the domineering Western culture.

In this research we agree with J. P.C. Nzomiwu, who suggests that in order for true indigenisation, to take place in the church, there is need for a critical reflection which should have both a negative and a positive thrust<sup>56</sup>. Given the numerous years that have gone by when the church was under the Western siege, J.P.C Nzomiwu is right to suggest that negatively there is need for a thorough-going process of de-westernisation<sup>57</sup>. For example the mentality of most people in most African countries, including the clergy needs to be changed from being dominated by the Western culture into accepting their indigenous African culture. Most clergy who have been trained outside their local context end up mimicking the culture of the exotic natives of the countries where they received their training. For example most indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland were trained in Lusaka Zambia, by European lecturers using a curriculum designed for the western church. In the end the products were simply Western clergy in black skins, doing liturgy and ministry in the same manner in which it would be done in Europe.

It is within this context that through a properly implemented indigenisation drive the local people need to be encouraged to appreciate, love and be proud of their culture and cultural values. They need to be re-educated and reminded that any denunciation of their culture is an aberration. This de-westernisation program should therefore cut across all areas of the church’s life such as the administrative system, the architecture, the sacred

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<sup>56</sup> J. P. C. Nzomiwu, Op. Cit, p323 -334

<sup>57</sup> Ibid

vessels, the sacred vestments, the liturgical colours, the liturgical gestures, the Eucharistic elements, the sacred music, as well as the musical instruments used in divine worship.

Positively indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland means not just removing the dispensable wrappings and historical accretions that came with the missionaries, but encouraging a positive effort on the part of the local Shona people to identify which of their traditional values are distinctively Shona and making use of them as the basis for building up a genuinely indigenous Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Be that as it may this indigenisation should start with people's attitudes and then go outwards to impact upon all other areas of the church's life. If done well this theory is capable of giving positive results. We have therefore deliberately taken this theory to influence the foci of this research since it seems to relate well to the efforts that were in place in The Diocese of Mashonaland that were aimed at making people feel at home in their church. Below we will consider another related term '*inculturation*'.

### **2.1.g Inculturation**

This is the other neologism which has also been used widely after the second Vatican Council, to depict this encounter of the Christian message with local cultures. This term has been popularised mostly by members of the Society of Jesus. A. Shorter cites Fr. Pedro Arrupe SJ, who defines inculturation as;

*the incarnation of Christian life and of Christian message in a particular cultural context, in such a way that this experience not only finds expression through elements proper to the culture in question (this alone would be no more than a superficial adaptation) but becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming it and remaking it so as to bring about a new creation.*<sup>58</sup>

It is important to note here that in this understanding of 'inculturation' it is not only about insertion of the Christian message into those cultures previously referred to as non-Christian. This is only an initial stage in a long process. It is also important to note that the Christian message itself can not exist except in some 'cultural regalia'. For example Jesus subsisted in a Jewish cultural system and used the Jewish culture and traditional norms and values to influence his teachings. The Gospel itself was written from a Jewish

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<sup>58</sup> A. Shorter, *Op. Cit.*, 1988, p10

cultural stand point, and so the message of Christ can not stand independent of culture. In view of this J. M. Waliggo (et.al.), suggest that “inculturation means the honest and serious attempt to make Christ and his message of salvation evermore understood by peoples of every culture, locality and time”<sup>59</sup>. This entails the reformulation of the Christian message and the Christian life and doctrine into the very thought patterns of each people. The whole idea is to make Christianity ‘*feel at home*’ in each and every culture found on this planet. So in short Inculturation is a process of transforming the Christian message, doctrine and life to make them more authentic expressions of Christianity to the local people. This is captured well by Patrick C. Chibuko, who suggests that inculturation demands that the revelation of Christ must take root in the culture of the local people and become part and parcel of the local people’s life pattern and should in turn be enriched by the cultural values of the local people<sup>60</sup>.

When one considers the fact that God’s revelation has no limitations or boundaries, it should not be debatable to suggest that it is all-inclusive. This means God’s revelation can not be tied up within a given culture, race, planet, continent or even time. This is why we agree with Canaan S. Banana, who categorically states that, the fact that the fullness of God’s revelation took place in time, space and culture, should be seen as “a pure accident of history<sup>61</sup>”. If God is who we understand him to be, beyond space and time, then it is not inconceivable to suggest that such a revelation could have happened in any other place, time and culture. Indeed the revelation of God is open to receive and be received by all cultures, at any time, in any place.

For Patrick C. Chibuko, Jesus, is the model and Archetype of inculturation in all its dimensions<sup>62</sup>. He goes on to point out that Jesus’ life, teaching and healing ministry testify to this. He was born, lived and died in a particular context and culture. He used the

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<sup>59</sup> J. M. Waliggo [et.al.] [eds.] , Inculturation : Its meaning and Urgency, Kampala : St Paul Publications, 1986, p12

<sup>60</sup> Patrick C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 43 no 1-2 F-Ap, 2001,p2-27

<sup>61</sup> Canaan S. Banana, “The Case for a New Bible”, in I. Mukonyora [etal] [eds.], “Rewriting” the Bible: The Real Issues, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1993, p19

<sup>62</sup> Patrick C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 43 no 1-2 F-Ap, 2001,p2-27

language and adapted the customs of the Jewish people through which He communicated the Gospel of God's love for the entire human family<sup>63</sup>. In this sense Jesus influenced the local culture through his teaching which was intended to transform them and make them new creatures. In the same way he was also affected by the local culture. In other words there was a healthy symbiosis of receiving and giving. This is the new understanding of what goes on when the Gospel of Christ comes into contact with the local cultures. There should be a giving and taking reality, resulting in a totally new thing.

However this theory has been undermined mostly by western theologians as an aberration of authentic Christianity, and a clear sign of syncretism. Fergus King maintains that "inculturation can be perceived as a corruption, or accommodation with the world of paganism..."<sup>64</sup>. However the proponents of this theory such as A. Shorter are of the opinion that through inculturation it means that the theologian's task becomes that of re-thinking and re-expressing the original Christian message in an African cultural milieu, if it is in Africa. It becomes a task of confronting the Christian faith and African culture and bringing them together in a healthy manner which will result in the natural transformation of both.

In such a process certainly there will ensue interpenetration of both and integration of faith and culture and so from such an interplay is born a new theological expression that will be African if that is done in Africa and Christian at the same time. Those who are against this theory generally raise concern over the kind of 'animal' that is brought about when Christianity and the local culture are allowed to give to and receive from each other in such a generous way. Coming from a period in which certain traditional norms and artefacts have been condemned by the missionaries as being evil, most people, including some theologians are still suffering from mental captivity. For example some clergy still feel uncomfortable to mention the word 'ancestor' during their divine worship. This is so because their mind has been socialised to think that ancestors are evil. This means, for a successful process of inculturation to take place there is need for re-education, of the laity

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Fergus King, "Inculturation & The Book of Revelation, in Missionalia, 2001

and the clergy as well as a deliberate change of the curriculum used in Theological Seminaries.

The most important thing to note however is that inculturation is a process, and not an event. This is captured very well by Joseph Healey and Donald Syberts when they say;

*inculturation is the process of incarnating the good news in a particular context. Most specially it is a process by which people of a particular culture become able to live, express, celebrate, formulate and communicate their Christian faith And their experience of the Paschal Mystery in terms (linguistic, symbolic, social) that make sense and best convey life and truth in their social and cultural environment*<sup>65</sup>

To this end inculturation is much closer to indigenisation as discussed above. It remains to be said that all these words, seek to communicate the same reality and they show a progression in theological inquiry as theologians stretch their minds over a period of time. The reality which all these neologisms seek to make is to express what happens when the Gospel comes into contact with the local culture and how Christians anywhere in the world should *'feel at home'* when they respond to God, within their context, without the need to be other people before they can become Christian. To use a biblical example, these terms seek to suggest that one does not need to become a Jew first before they can be Christian. This bone of contention was settled at the Council of Jerusalem as reported in Acts 15. The other cognate term that has been used to express the same reality is *'incarnation'*.

### **2.1.h Incarnation**

This is one of the neologisms which is fairly new and is being used to refer to this reality of relating the Gospel to the local culture. Not many Theologians have articulated this theory as a stand alone. In most cases they raise it in discussing the theory of inculturation. For example Patrick C. Chibuko sees inculturation as “the incarnation of the Christian life in a particular cultural context, in such a way that this experience becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming it as to

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<sup>65</sup> Joseph Healey & Donald Syberts, Towards an African Narrative Theology, Nairobi: Pauline Press, 1996, p26



bring about a new creation<sup>66</sup>”. In this sense Jn1:14, “The Word became flesh and dwelt among us” becomes the scriptural basis of inculturation and incarnation. In fact it is true to suggest here that incarnation on its own part is the firm foundation on which the entire inculturation process takes place. In this sense incarnation is a precursor to inculturation.

The above understanding has been the traditional meaning of the word ‘incarnation’. It simply refers to the doctrine which explains the way in which God the Father assumed human nature and came into this world in human form, through his son Jesus Christ. In this regard J. M. Waliggo suggests that incarnation “means that Christ himself chose to become man in order to save humanity, Christianity has no alternative but to do the same in every culture and time in order to continue the salvation brought by Christ”<sup>67</sup>. Like the other term, it also seeks to explain the relationship between the Christian Gospel and culture. As noted above this word is closely related to ‘inculturation’ and is better understood that way. The last cognate term we will consider is ‘*interculturization*’

### **2.1. i. Interculturization**

This is also a fairly new word which theologians have coined in an effort to capture the complete reality of what should happen when the gospel comes into contact with the local culture. This word seeks to reverse the understanding conveyed by the word ‘inculturation’ which for some suggests a one-way situation whereby one culture transfers its essence into the other, suggesting that the process of mission or evangelism is a one-way process. Although we noted above that inculturation brings about a symbiosis between the Gospel and the local culture, some scholars feel that it is more of the local tradition transforming the Gospel for its own good. In trying to avert this misconception scholars such as A. Shorter suggest that when ‘interculturization’ takes place it means that even though the message transforms a culture, it also follows that Christianity is transformed by culture, not in a way that falsifies the message, but in a

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<sup>66</sup> Patrick C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 43 no 1-2 F-Ap, 2001,p2-27

<sup>67</sup> J.M. Waliggo, “*Making a Church that is Truly African*”, in J M. Waliggo (etal) (eds), *Inculturation: its Meaning and Urgency*, Kampala: St Paul Publications, 1986, p11

way in which the message is formulated and interpreted anew<sup>68</sup>. This is true to a large extent since any encounter between two cultures will not only have an influence in one direction but in both. When Christianity comes into contact with the local cultures, there is a give-and-take process in which the two will give and receive at the same time. This is a new dimension which will help in this study, even though the preferred theory is ‘*indigenisation*’.

The above neologisms show clearly that they came about at different stages in the history of mission in Africa and beyond. In an effort to understand and capture the reality of what happens when the Gospel message comes into contact with the local cultures, theologians have at different times coined the above terms. The above definitions have shown that each one of these theories has its own strengths and weaknesses. It has also been revealed that the theories have a lot of similarities, with minor departures from each other. All this shows the progression of theological inquiry and articulation. Having defined these terms we will now turn to set the scene by considering the initial missionary contacts with the geographic area named Mashonaland.

## **2.2 Initial Missionary Contacts with Mashonaland**

With terms relating to the relationship between the Gospel and the local cultures having been defined, one can safely move on to look at the early missionary efforts in the area north of the Limpopo river and particularly the area that became known as Mashonaland. B. Sundkler and C. Steed, make a very relevant comment on the trends taking place in South Africa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and this is true not only of South Africa but of other places as well. The two observe that “the 19<sup>th</sup> century history of South Africa is characterised by a series of north-ward bound movements. Economic, political and ethnic factors all played a part in these ‘*treks*’. These movements also involved missionaries”<sup>69</sup>. Indeed there were moves to ensure that the country north of the Limpopo was discovered

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<sup>68</sup> A. Shorter, *Op. Cit*, p14

<sup>69</sup> B. Sundkler and C. Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

for economic, political as well as religious reasons. Travellers and explorers had opened this country to the interested people to come and extract what ever they wished to extract.

However before the robust moves from South Africa, Christianity had been planted in the Munhumutapa Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Gonsalo Da Silveira. It is recorded in Portuguese records that Negomo Mupunzagutu was the first Munhumutapa to become a Christian. He was converted by a well known Portuguese Jesuit missionary Dom Gonsalo Da. Silveira<sup>70</sup>. During this period in history the Portuguese had established their trading posts in Mozambique and along the Zambezi River as well. Their major interest was to extract gold and ivory from Zimbabwe. This trade had long been established by Arabs as well as the Swahili people and so a situation was set for clashes amongst these groups of people for economic reasons. It is within such a context that Gonsalo Da Silveira was sent from Goa, to come and convert the Munhumutapa Empire.

It appears there was a strategy put in place, to start conversion from the top, so as to impact the bottom with the help of the top which would make the task very easy. In this way once the Munhumutapa was converted it would mean that his subjects would embrace the religion of their King and so ensure that Portugal would become the sole power in charge of trade in this part of the world. Despite the express effort made by the three people sent on this mission, Fr. Gonsalo Da Silveira, Fr. Andre Fernandez, and Br. Andre Da Costa, this missionary endeavour can best be described as having been a flop.

What started as a success story when the King s' mother and the King embraced the new faith, ended up claiming the death of Gonsalo Da Silveira. There was some hatred that was brewed by the Arab and Swahili traders who saw the efforts by Portugal as a threat to their economic enterprise. They concocted some lies against this mission team, and so accused them of being agents of the Portuguese government. This meant that they were now viewed as being spies. The holy baptism which had been administered with all its

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<sup>70</sup> S.IG. Mudenge, Christian Education at the Mutapa Court, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, p3

solemnity and efficacy was misinterpreted as a clear way of incapacitating the King and His mother<sup>71</sup>.

On the other hand since Silveira was a man of his time, a time when relics were held in high esteem, he kept a human bone, presumably belonging to one of the martyrs. When the local people and particularly the enemies of the catholic faith saw this, they accused Gonsalo Da Silveira of being a witch, an accusation which was quite sustainable given the spirituality of the Mutapa people which did not see value in human skulls, other than that of being a clear sign of witchcraft. On the other hand there was also a way in which Gonsalo Da Silveira's behaviour was interpreted as influencing the weather patterns negatively. They suggested that his actions would stop the rains from coming and so that would automatically lead to hunger and starvation in the Mutapa Empire. Therefore the only thing that the Mutapa people decided to do according to S. I. G Mudenge was to kill Gonsalo Da Silveira a move that would relegate the Christian faith to irrelevance at that period. S. I. G. Mudenge maintains that Silveira was executed on the night of the 15/16 March 1561<sup>72</sup>.

Although there were further efforts by the Dominicans in the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, who managed to set up churches at Sofala, Sena and Tete and some Jesuits who also returned to give it another trial, such efforts did not yield much result. Even though they made huge inroads in the Munhumutapa Empire, in most cases their worldly behaviour compromised their ministry. Some of these missionaries were reported to be owning slaves whom they oppressed so much and others became soaked in the military onslaughts which were common during this period.

As such, other than preaching the Gospel of salvation, some of them also became attracted to making money and so engaged themselves in gold washing. Both the Dominicans and the Jesuits of this era have also been accused of racial arrogance. They also failed to take their time to understudy the culture of the locals so as to make strategic

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<sup>71</sup> S. I. G. Mudenge, Christian Education at the Mutapa Court: A Portuguese Strategy to influence Events in the Empire of Munhumutapa, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1986, pp1-12

<sup>72</sup> Ibid p10

moves in their missionary enterprise. To top it all, it would appear their form of training was lacking given the numerous shortfalls which are levelled against them, some of which could have been avoided had they been grounded in proper training. On the other hand it can also be argued that the huge number of those presenting themselves for baptism locally was probably due to an insatiable desire for gifts and also a need to identify with the religion of the powerful, especially on the part of the chiefs. Jonathan Hildebrandt suggests that “this effort (of missionising the Munhumutapa Empire) did not have any lasting result”<sup>73</sup>. The efforts came to no avail and so there came a period when there were no missionaries in Zimbabwe until 1859 when Robert Moffart led a party of missionaries into the territory and a permanent mission station was again established but this time in the western part of Zimbabwe near the present day Bulawayo.

### **2.2.a The Adventures of the London Missionary Society**

The story of the London Missionary Society [LMS] and its efforts to make disciples in the western part of Mashonaland was a dismal failure. The mission to the Ndebele people was set up in 1859 by Robert Moffart. Moffart had previously worked among the Bechuana people from 1821 to 1830 in addition to the several years spent in Kuruman in South Africa. This means that he was fairly accustomed to people of colour and their traditions. He is the one who had persuaded his son-in-law David Livingstone to come out to Africa in 1840. Moffart obtained a farm at Inyati from Mzilikazi. Moffat and his team stayed among the Ndebele people and made frantic efforts to evangelise and convert them, but their efforts could not bear any fruits. It would appear the Matebele people were destined to remain adamant and remain closely soaked in the religion of their ancestors.

On the other hand their King Mzilikazi seems to have given these missionaries space but without sufficient opportunities to convert his people. He is known to have put in place a mechanism to deal with those people who would give these missionaries an ear to their evangelisation efforts. It is within this context that Jonathan Hildebrandt is right to say

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<sup>73</sup> Jonathan Hildebrandt, *History of the Christian Church in Africa: A Survey*, Achimota: African Christian Press, 1981, p176

that “for thirty years the LMS, laboured in Rhodesia without very many people making decisions for Christ”<sup>74</sup>. Given this scenario and the warlike nature of the Ndebele King certainly no meaningful progress could be made in this part of the mission field and so Robert Moffat and his team continued to stay hoping that one day a miracle would happen and a bumper harvest would be realised. Sadly as noted by Elizabeth Isichei, “one of the four pioneers Sykes stayed there until he died in 1887, and never won a single convert”<sup>75</sup>. Considering the time frame suggested by Jonathan Hildebrandt above, thirty years is certainly a long time to labour in vain. The stumbling blocks seem to have been too insurmountable and so one can therefore understand why most missionaries later on welcomed the overthrow of the Ndebele Kingdom<sup>76</sup>. This Kingdom seems to have been a serious impediment to the missionary enterprise in Zimbabwe as a whole and in Matabeleland in particular.

Whereas the London Missionary Society was labouring in vain in the western part of the country the Anglican Church from the Province of South Africa, was also beginning to take interest in the land north of the Limpopo River, particularly the eastern part. This interest was shown through the religious ‘*trek*’ to the north which was initiated by Rev. William Greenstock, a priest from the Diocese of Grahamstown in South Africa. He made plans to travel to Mashonaland in 1874. In order for one to understand the full process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland it may be worth going back this far. According to records kept in the Cory Library at Rhodes University, Rev. William Greenstock was working in the Diocese of Grahamstown, where he had founded St Matthew’s Mission at Keiskammahoek close to King William’s Town, with twenty five years experience as a missionary, and knowledge of the Zulu language<sup>77</sup>. The background to this pioneering visit by Rev William Greenstock is that he had worked hard and deserved to go on furlough. Instead of sailing back to England which was done by his contemporaries he opted to spend that time in that land north of the Limpopo, and utilise it in establishing the possibility of opening a mission there. He therefore resolved

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<sup>74</sup> Jonathan Hildebrandt, *Op. Cit*, p 176

<sup>75</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, London: SPCK, 1995, p114

<sup>76</sup> N. Bhebhe, *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe*, 1859 – 1923. London: Longman, p82

<sup>77</sup> Cory Library, MS16727/1 , Undated Letters of W. Greenstock

on this undertaking although he did not have the means and resources to do so. Since this was a missionary journey, aimed at spreading the Gospel, he turned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) for assistance. Jean Farrant maintains that “the society responded generously with a contribution of 450 pounds to support this singular opportunity for opening mission work in a wholly new region”<sup>78</sup>. It would appear Rev William Greenstock could not venture into the unknown lands all by himself, and so he looked for some people who were also interested in this new missionary field.

In this regard he enlisted a gentleman named Thomas Baines, who was an artist and an explorer who had always held some mining interests in Matabeleland. As fate would have it, Thomas Baines’ wish was never realised since he died in Durban and so that caused a setback in the whole plan of moving northwards. However Rev William Greenstock did not despond. Armed with an [SPG] grant and a desire to pioneer this new field for the Anglican Church, he finally set out on his own, and arrived in Gubulawayo [present day Bulawayo], in 1875. Upon his arrival there he interviewed Lobengula and found him to be a sophisticated man whom one could do business with. Writing from there he says “Lobengula is an enlightened man, far in advance of his people. I had several interviews and he consents to having a mission in his country... we hope ultimately to evangelise not only the Matabele, but the Mashona on the north and east, who have no missionary and whose language is unwritten”<sup>79</sup>. Rev William Greenstock was thrilled with the idea of having reached Matabeleland and opened the possibility of the Anglican Church missionary activities and so when he returned home he wrote to the SPG, reporting on his travels and his findings. In this report he also makes a proposal to be allowed to return to Matabeleland and be the first Anglican Missionary in that part of the mission field. In his letter to the SPG, he says;

*I have pleasure in reporting to the committee that I reached the Matabele country in September and obtained for your Society the leave of the country. My wife and I, offer ourselves for this work. We propose to leave our six children in England and return to South Africa if possible not later than September next. Till the desirableness of the site to be pointed out by the King has been proved, it will be well for us to labour alone, but when the work assumes a permanent character I*

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<sup>78</sup> Jean Farrant, Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church, Cape Town: Cape & Transvaal Printers, 1966, p69

<sup>79</sup> Jean Farrant, Op. Cit., p69

*might hope to have the help of an American engineer named Mr R. Browne who has been engaged as Reader under Bishop Macrorie. From what I saw of the Matabele I judge that Sisterhood would be very effective amongst them, but it would not be safe to attempt anything of that kind in the first instance*<sup>80</sup>

This was indeed a letter written with passion and zeal to ensure that this newly discovered missionary field was exposed to the ministrations of the Goods News. The offer to go and stay in the midst of strangers and leave children in England is also astounding. This is indeed what it means to be a missionary, leaving family and all for the Gospel of Christ. That is what Rev. William Greenstock decided and his heart was on fire with the vision of evangelising the Matabele people and eventually reach the Mashona tribes as well.

In the meantime following such a glowing and exciting experience in Matabeleland the S.P.G. began to consider seriously the possibility of establishing a bishopric in this new region. The S.P.G. was making such plans on the basis of the report given by Rev William Greenstock and also envisaging Rev William Greenstock to be the pioneer Bishop of this new region. However such brilliant plans were hampered by the political developments in South Africa. The long history of strife between the Boers and the British seems to have caught up with progress in the Transvaal. Jean Farrant says “these plans had to be abandoned when serious political troubles arose in the Transvaal”<sup>81</sup>. This must have posed a huge setback and disappointment for Rev William Greenstock whose attention was now focused in the North.

With such political developments this mission enterprise never materialised and it was to take another thirteen years before the epic journey of George Hamilton Wyndham Knight-Bruce ensued. To a large extent the reports produced by Rev William Greenstock must have influenced and inspired Bishop G.W.H Knight-Bruce, to take his own missionary journey in 1888. From this epic journey by Rev. William Greenstock the land lying north of the Limpopo was certainly never going to be the same again. The winds of change were beginning to blow, and the Gospel message was going to be resuscitated and

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<sup>80</sup> Cory Library, MS16727/1 Undated Letters of Rev. William Greenstock.

<sup>81</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit.*, p70



the lives of the local people were going to be touched and transformed in an unprecedented way. In that process, the local people played a huge part which should be uncovered from the onset. They became the vehicles through which the Gospel would reach its recipients most of whom were not educated. They became the trailblazers of the gospel at the expense of being shunned by their own kith and kin for abandoning their own religion for the religion of *'those without knees'* as the white people came to be called in Mashonaland. The contact of Bishop G. W. H. Knight-Bruce with Mashonaland can best be understood in the context of his appointment to be the Bishop of Bloemfontein in South Africa. Let us briefly consider this appointment and see how it influenced developments in Mashonaland.

### **2.3 The Diocese of Bloemfontein and its Vacant See**

The history of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland can not be told in isolation from that of the Diocese of Bloemfontein since Mashonaland was an extension of the latter Diocese. The Diocese of Bloemfontein was the cradle from which the Diocese of Mashonaland was given birth. This became a reality especially during the episcopacy of Bishop George Whydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, a clergyman of astounding energy exhaling from England. In order to appreciate the role that Bishop G. W. H. Knight-Bruce, played in the formation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, and its process of indigenisation, one has to look at the overview of the Diocese of Bloemfontein. This overview does not require one to give much attention to the Diocese of Bloemfontein, instead one needs to use such information and see it as a preparation for the missionary work that led to the foundation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, which is the subject of this investigation.

The Diocese of Bloemfontein came about as a result of Bishop Robert Gray's efforts to ensure that the Anglican Church had taken control of all the regions in Southern Africa. To this effect, he ordained Mr William A. Steabler, whom he had come with from England in 1847, and sent him to the Orange Free State. However this part was under the Diocese of Grahamstown and so it fell under Archdeacon Merriman. With more people settling in the Orange Free State, there was need for more clergy, and so Mr Every, who

was originally from Grahamstown, was sent to Bloemfontein in 1855. Mr Every, served only for a while because he died in 1885, and so Bloemfontein was also left with the problem of lack of clergy. There was basically no clergy serving this area, even though the local English people and the chiefs desired to have the church established in their area. Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards, argue that due to “letters from English residents and from native chiefs to Bishop Gray, pressing him to send clergy and promising their support”<sup>82</sup> Bishop Robert Gray was determined to ensure that this mission was put on a sound footing. It dawned on the Bishop’s mind that there was only one way to ensure stability and growth of this mission field, and that was if he found a Bishop for this huge region. It should be noted that politically this region was under the Dutch government. This would therefore mean having an English church missionary Bishop in a place which was under Dutch civil authority.

However this difficulty was weighed and discounted, by the South African Bishops when they met in Cape Town to consecrate Rev. Charles Fredrick Mackenzie to go and champion the Central African Missionary enterprise. The South African Bishops appreciated the urgent need for a Bishop for the Free State. Resources had to be mobilised, and so the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G), voted a sum of five hundred pounds, for the support of this Bishop, and two hundred pounds for the stipend of two missionaries. The boundaries of this envisioned Diocese had to be fixed, as a matter of urgency as well. Rev. H. P. Thompson suggests that “its limits were fixed only on the south by the Orange River and on the east by Drakensburg mountains, encircling here Basutoland ... north and west it stretched indefinitely”<sup>83</sup>. Such a way of setting boundaries for this new Diocese meant that the incumbent Bishop could stretch his missionary efforts as much as his energy permitted. It is in the north of this new Diocese of Bloemfontein that Southern Rhodesia, now [Zimbabwe] lay. One can say that Zimbabwe lay in the open as a possible mission field of an enterprising Bishop of this new Diocese.

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<sup>82</sup> Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, London: S.P.C.K, 1934, p393

<sup>83</sup> Rev. H. P. Thompson, Into All Lands: The History of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701 – 1950, London: S.P.C.K, p310

Given that this was a new Diocese, which needed resources to establish its structures, and pay its personnel, it was important, to have a healthy relationship with the mother church in England. This meant that its Bishop had to be sought from England. The man identified to fill this office, was Rev. Edward Twells who was consecrated Bishop of the Orange Free State in Westminster Abbey in 1863. He persuaded three clergy and two school masters to accompany him to this new mission field. When he arrived in the Free State, he found Dr. Orpen, the only clergy in his diocese at the time, and decided to visit Basutoland immediately with a specific intention to see Chief Moshoeshoe, and see the possibility of opening up a mission in his chiefdom. Bishop Twells then undertook to visit the length and breadth of his Diocese, with a lot of pain, since some of the places were inaccessible.

The greatest need for this new Diocese, like any other was personnel. There were very few clergy in this new Diocese. The mission field was too vast and yet the labourers were too few. The Bishop had also written home, asking for clergy to offer themselves to come and serve as missionaries in his diocese, but all that had not yielded any meaningful results. However Bishop Twells was able to lure a brotherhood to come and help him in his new Diocese. According to Rev. G. P. Thompson, “Canon Beckett, the chosen Superior, sailed from England with six men, to be followed later by others; so the Society of St Augustine’s was founded”<sup>84</sup>. This society worked tirelessly to build up the Diocese of Orange Free State. However, one can only expend themselves so much, and no further. Bishop Twells, became exhausted, and in 1869, “he broke down and resigned”<sup>85</sup>. Although he had served for a short time, he had managed to put this new Diocese on its footing.

The next person to succeed Bishop Twells was Rev. Allan Becher Webb, a young clergy who at the time of his election was only thirty one years of age. He was consecrated in Inverness Cathedral in Scotland. He was a highly educated man, who had been Vice-

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<sup>84</sup> Rev. G. P. Thompson, *Op. Cit*, p311

<sup>85</sup> Rev. G. P. Thompson, *Op. Cit*, p312

Principal at Cuddesdon in United Kingdom. When he came he also brought along with him seven of his friends who wanted to support him in this new calling. There was still a great need for clergy in his Diocese, especially given the fact that there were new settlements coming up as a result of the new mining ventures such as Kimberly, where diamonds were discovered. On the other hand in Basutoland the mission which Bishop Twells had promised Moshoeshoe, had still to be fulfilled. Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards suggest that “upon arrival in his new Diocese Bishop Webb, saw at once the immediate needs of the country – clergy for the diamond fields, education for the children, nursing for the sick, and then, building to be enlarged, repaired and put up”<sup>86</sup>. This was certainly a tall order for a young Bishop like Bishop Webb. However he was determined to get things done, and as such he managed to call for the first Synod, of this new Diocese on the Feast of the Epiphany, in 1872 at which there were six priests, two deacons, and seven churchwardens. It was at this meeting that the Diocese deliberated on the constitution of the Cathedral chapter, with the Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, Rural Deans, Canons, as the Bishop’s Standing Council for the administration of the spiritualities of the Diocese. Whereas Bishop Twells had left the diocese, with no structures, Bishop Webb, undertook to normalise things and the Diocese continued to grow.

However the difficulties associated with this Diocese continued to haunt the new Bishop. Travel continued to be uncomfortable; there was still anxiety about monetary issues, there was great need to organise ministry on the new mining areas on the whole the Bishop was overworking due to shortage of clergy. Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards maintain that all these difficulties “brought the Bishop to the verge of a breakdown”<sup>87</sup>. It must be appreciated that given such hardships, the Bishop also worked like a parish priest, and as such he ended up being overworked. However during Bishop Webb’s time, there was a recruit who offered himself for mission work, named William Thomas Gaul. At the time he offered himself he was still a Deacon, and he was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. William Thomas Gaul became a very important person in this Diocese,

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<sup>86</sup> Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Op. Cit.* p409

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid* p412

serving as Archdeacon, of Kimberly and also became the second Bishop of The Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. More about him will be discussed later. However it is important to note that his courage, and faithfulness is remembered, everywhere where he worked. In the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, (now Harare) the only Anglican theological college has been named after him. Many young men, currently serving in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe have received their Theological training from this seminary.

Whereas Bishop Twells saw the need for a Brotherhood, which led to the formation of the Society of St Augustine, Bishop Webb saw the need for sisters for nursing, teaching and visiting in this Diocese. To this effect the Sisterhood of St Thomas the Martyr from Oxford offered to lend one of their Sisters, Sister Emma, for five years to get this going. Sister Emma came to Bloemfontein with Five helpers, in 1874 and started the community. Sister Emma worked very hard until her death on the 31<sup>st</sup> May 1887. The sisters she left behind undertook to educate girls in the Diocese and participated in daily Eucharist at the Cathedral which was not happening before they came. Rev. H. P. Thompson captures their ministry very well when he says “ they took control of the girls’ High School and a girls’ home; they undertook nursing; they set up a branch house in Kimberley...”<sup>88</sup> The church was certainly taking a lead in education of both the whites and the local people and in the care ministry.

However in the midst of all this growth and excitement in the Diocese of Bloemfontein, Bishop Webb was approached with a proposal to be translated to the Diocese of Grahamstown, whose Bishop, Merriman had died in 1882. This was a very complex situation for him given the massive progress which was going on in his Diocese. The elective assembly at Grahamstown had chosen him unanimously, and that was supported by the Archbishop of Cape Town and the Archbishop of Canterbury. With such backing from the Archbishops, Bishop Webb, could not resist the call. He resigned the See of Bloemfontein to the disappointment of his flock, and moved on to the Diocese of Grahamstown.

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<sup>88</sup> Rev. G. P. Thompson, Op. Cit, p315

However Bishop Webb had made tremendous progress in Bloemfontein, as suggested by Rev. Thompson, who says;

*there were now thirty priests and five deacons, the Sisterhood with all its works had been founded; the Mission Brotherhood strengthened, and missions set on foot in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, the Cathedral organisation was a working reality, at the diamonds fields and twelve other European centres clergy were at work; St Andrews's College had been founded, and a theological college started; seventeen new Churches, fourteen parsonages, and six schools had been built*<sup>89</sup>.

This was certainly a significant indication of a Bishop who had worked tirelessly to ensure that his Diocese develop and become self-sustainable. With such progress, the presence of the church was now being felt and as such the translation of a Bishop who had made it possible to realise such progress did not come with joy to the people of Bloemfontein. However the loss of Bloemfontein was the gain of Grahamstown. It must be noted also that such progress which Bishop Webb, facilitated in Bloemfontein came with heavy debts which had to be the task of the next Bishop to clear.

With Bishop Webb having been translated the hunt for a new Bishop of Bloemfontein ensued. An elective Assembly was summoned by the Vicar – General and Archdeacon Croghan in 1883. At this Elective Assembly it was expressed that the next Bishop, needed to be a man who was also in touch with the mother church in England, where much help was expected to come from to enable the Diocese to pay off the debt that it was steeped in, when Bishop Webb resigned. A period of two years elapsed before a suitable successor to Bishop Webb could be found. William Crisp B.D, Archdeacon of Bloemfontein, in the article “*Some Account of the Diocese of Bloemfontein*” postulates that “the See had been offered to several priests, but had for one reason or another been declined”<sup>90</sup>. It would appear most clergy who were approached were put off by the huge debt which Bishop Webb had plunged the Diocese into.

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<sup>89</sup> Rev. G. P. Thompson, *Op. Cit*, p315

<sup>90</sup> William Crisp, B.D, “Some Account of the Diocese of Bloemfontein”, Internet: [http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/africa/za/crisp\\_bloem11.html](http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/africa/za/crisp_bloem11.html), pp 1 - 6

Rev. George Whydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, who had studied at Erton and Merton College, Oxford, and who had been Priest in Charge of the parish of St Andrew Bethnal Green in London, accepted the See of Bloemfontein. He had worked very hard in Bethnal Green, to the point that this area was chosen to be the place where the Oxford House was to be located. H. ST. John T. Evans describes George Whydham Knight-Bruce as “single – hearted, devout and able, strong and active, a good organiser, a thorough Churchman, and well-read”<sup>91</sup>. This description seems to fit him well, given the role that he played in taking the Anglican Church into Zimbabwe, a place then known for being unevangelised.

The consecration of Rev. G. W. H. Knight-Bruce took place on the Feast of the Annunciation, at St Mary Matfelon Church, Whitechapel. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. E.W Benson, assisted by the Bishops of London, Dr. Temple, Bedford, Dr. Walsham How, and Bishop of Bromby, a former Bishop of Tasmania. Bishop Knight–Bruce committed himself to missionary work in Bloemfontein, and the areas lying to the north which were yet to receive missionaries. Before embarking on this huge undertaking Rev. G. P. Thompson maintains that Bishop Knight-Bruce gained a promise from the S.P.G, to support him in exploring for possible missionary expansion, areas lying to the north<sup>92</sup>. This was Mashonaland.

Before leaving England for his new appointment Bishop Knight-Bruce decided to mobilise financial resources to enable him to deal with the huge debt which his new Diocese had incurred. He visited many Associations securing considerable resources to help towards relieving the Diocese of its monetary liabilities. Bishop Knight-Bruce finally left England for his new Diocese, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1886, with his wife and little son and Rev. W. E. Jackson. After arriving in Cape Town, he quickly made his way to his new Diocese arriving at Kimberley on the 21<sup>st</sup> August. He then reached Bloemfontein on the 22<sup>nd</sup> August to a huge and flamboyant welcome. He was enthroned in the Cathedral

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<sup>91</sup> H. ST. John. T. Evans, The Church in Southern Rhodesia, London : S.P.C.K, 1945, p10

<sup>92</sup> Rev. G. P. Thompson, Op. Cit, p316

on Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> August. The following Monday there was organised an official welcome for the new Bishop in the Town Hall.

Bishop Knight-Bruce then embarked on his first visitations of the Diocese in October 1886. This was just two months after his arrival. Bishop Knight-Bruce proved to be a zealous missionary and an indefatigable traveller. He traversed his Diocese, and quickly promoted William Thomas Gaul to become the Archdeacon of Kimberley. Venerable Thomas Gaul accepted this appointment, which meant that he was now responsible for this huge Archdeaconry which included Griqualand West [Namibia], and the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland [Botswana].

At a Chapter meeting held on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1887, the Bishop then announced his intention to visit Mashonaland in 1888. He had not forgotten what he had promised the S.P.G, when he was made Bishop of Bloemfontein. In fact Southern Rhodesia lay in his Diocese since there was no boundary to the north. From the onset, Bishop Knight-Bruce showed that his focus was beyond the confines of the areas which his predecessors had carved out and missionised. His grand plan was to reach Mashonaland and meet with the Universities Mission to Central Africa [UMCA], which had been specifically set up and sent out under Bishop Charles Mackenzie to missionise Central Africa. It is this initial visit by Bishop Knight-Bruce to Mashonaland which was the beginning of the establishment of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. Let us then investigate Bishop Knight-Bruce's epic visit to Mashonaland in 1888 in view of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

#### **2. 4 Bishop's Knight-Bruce's first visit to Mashonaland**

With the situation in the Diocese of Bloemfontein having improved greatly due to the Bishop's hard work, Bishop George W. Knight-Bruce felt that he could leave the Diocese for a while and fulfil his wider ambitions in the north. In 1887, he wrote a letter to Mr. Tucker of the S.P.G in which he said "... my wish is to do myself to the country north east of Shongshong, if I can get permission from the chief of the Matabele, not to visit the Matabele but the Mashona, who have no missionary of any description among them I



believe”<sup>93</sup>. The S.P.G, eventually gave Bishop Knight-Bruce, 500 pounds for this epic journey. In addition he had to draw from his own private resources to supplement on this grant which was too little to cover all the expenses that were to be incurred on this journey. It is interesting to note the zeal and determination which Bishop Knight-Bruce had, to take the Gospel to the area north of the Limpopo. There were a few white hunters and explorers who had been to this land where Bishop Knight-Bruce wanted to visit. Reports of such people were going to be indispensable to the Bishop’s visit.

The Bishop then started preparations for this visit in earnest. He got Selous, to sketch a map for him, which would help him in his travel in the interior. He also had to gather all the necessary items which he needed for this journey, including food, wagons, and personnel. R. R. Langham Carter paints the picture very well when he says the Bishop;

*purchased two wagons, and enough cattle to give him reserves for some time to take the place of those which would die on the arduous haul...he obtained a number of donkeys as they were thought to be more resistant to Tsetse than oxen were ...there were several dogs their function being to guard the outspans from pilferers. The Bishop had two mounts<sup>94</sup>*

The Bishop also made preparations for eventualities and mishaps. He made sure that he had spares for the wagons, and a good supply of the much needed food for him, his servants, dogs, as well as some items to use for trade, and barter with the local people in the north, so as to replenish his food reserves. One must understand that up to this time the people in Mashonaland had not yet developed a sophisticated measure of value as such carrying money would not have helped much since money was not understood in the same manner as it was understood in other parts of the world.

More than just gathering the items needed for this journey, Bishop Knight Bruce also needed personnel. He needed people who would work for him. He needed people who would translate his language into the local languages so that there would be

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<sup>93</sup> Rev. G. Broderick, History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia (1874 -1952), Unpublished, Zimbabwe National Archives, Ref: BR3/3/1, p16

<sup>94</sup> R. R. Carter, Knight Bruce, First Bishop and Founder of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia, Salisbury: Mercury Press (Pvt) Ltd, 1975, p27

communication between him and the local Chiefs. He also needed people who would drive the wagons and do all the errands in order to make this journey a success. In addition since the journey involved disappearing completely into an unknown area, which was mostly bush, where there was no means of communication, and very little certainty of coming back, the Bishop needed a good backing of personnel. It is at this point that Bishop Knight-Bruce recognised that such personnel needed to be people of colour, who could easily be identified with the locals. This is the point where the indigenous element in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland should be traced back to. This was indeed Africanisation as a form of indigenisation.

Scholars are not in agreement on the numbers of the African servants whom the Bishop engaged, Peter Hinchliff says there were six servants, R. R. Carter says there were 10 servants, but Bishop Knight-Bruce says “nearly all my servants were excellent, and they were nearly all Christians – two half castes, two Basuto, three Bechuana, a native of mixed race and two others”<sup>95</sup>. Whichever the case may be, it is important that he had servants of colour – African indigenous people. Although R. R. Carter’s number seems to be more he seems to be closer to the truth given the variation of the servants, a factor that would have made the Bishop’s travel easy since he would have a servant to translate for him amongst the Bechuana, the Ndebele and the Mashona. His list of servants includes “two Griquas, two Basutos and four Bechuana, to whom he latter added a Matabele and a Mashona”<sup>96</sup>.

When one considers Bishop Knight-Bruce’s reasons for taking no fellow Europeans on this epic journey, except the indigenous African people only, it becomes worth while to begin to postulate that the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church in Rhodesia was hand in glove with the coming of this denomination. Peter Hinchliff is probably correct to suggest that Bishop Knight-Bruce was convinced that the church in the subcontinent could never prosper until and unless Africans were found to take the faith to

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<sup>95</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Memories of Mashonaland, London: Edward Arnold Publisher to the Indian Office, 1895, p59

<sup>96</sup> R. R. Carter Langham, Op. Cit, p28

their own people<sup>97</sup>. This observation was really prophetic since the local people had their own culture which could not be understood by most European people who visited Africa. This becomes clear when one considers some of their comments on what they saw in Africa. Some of them are known to have suggested that Africans were a people without religion. John Carter also postulates that “the best person to convey the Christian message to any group is someone who is himself a member of the group. This is one of the most important factors pointing to the need of a truly indigenous Church, whose members think and speak like those to whom they witness”<sup>98</sup> In this research therefore the process of indigenisation begins with this epic journey, particularly through the immense contribution of Bishop Knight-Bruce’s servants as well as the carriers. It is these servants and carriers who became the microcosm of the Church as it put its roots in the Southern Rhodesian soil.

With all in place, the Bishop left Kimberley in February 1888 and proceeded northwards by the road which was familiar to him on his journeys to Bechuanaland. The Bishop left Kimberley together with his wife and Miss Jones both of whom had to go only as far as Shongshong before returning to Bloemfontein. It needs to be borne in mind that the Bishop desired to embark on this journey mainly for two critical reasons namely to see what the country was like, north of the Limpopo and also to obtain permission from King Lobengula for missionaries to enter his country. In other words this journey was an exploratory journey, which was so critical in that it would determine whether or not the Anglican Church would be taken across the Limpopo at that time or that had to wait for a later time. It was therefore important for Bishop Knight-Bruce to go in person as the leader of the Church in whose diocese these unexplored lands lay. The Bishop was also quite enthusiastic to do something in the way of opening a new mission field for the S.P.G.

The hardships of such a journey were so glaringly clear, with no roads, the danger of malaria, the tsetse fly, and the attitude of the local people which was quite unpredictable,

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<sup>97</sup> Peter Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 1963, p167.

<sup>98</sup> John Carter, Methods of Mission in Southern Africa, London: S.P.C.K, 1963, p116

the availability of food was also uncertain and there was also the danger of the carnivorous world animals. Despite all these hardships, the Bishop could not be stopped by anyone. As they travelled and reached Mafeking, the Bishop had a misfortune of falling from his horse. This caused a delay in the journey since he broke his shoulder as such they had to return to Kimberley for treatment. The convoy only left Kimberley for the second time on the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1888 and proceeded through Botswana towards Shongshong. Whilst in Botswana Bishop Knight-Bruce had to obtain some letters of introduction from the British Administrator resident there, Sir Sidney Shippard. Rev. G.E.P Broderick suggests that Bishop Knight-Bruce obtained his letter of introduction from Sir Sidney a copy of which was sent to Lobengula. This letter read;

*Mafeking, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1887*

*The Bishop of Bloemfontein, who is the head teacher of the English Church in this part of Southern Africa, wishes to visit you and I am sending him a letter which he will either bring or forward to you. His only object is to benefit you and your people, and I trust you will be kind to him and help him<sup>99</sup>.*

Such letters were simply asking Lobengula to welcome Bishop Knight Bruce in his Kingdom, and allow him to reconnoitre and prospect for possible mission stations. Armed with these letters of introduction from Mafeking and from Bechuanaland, the Bishop proceeded through Palapye and crossed the Macloutsie River into Matabeleland which was Lobengula's Kingdom. The convoy arrived at Bulawayo on the 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1888, and they were given permission to enter the capital by the king.

R. R. Carter Langham is probably right to say that Bishop Knight-Bruce arrived at a very awkward time because Lobengula's capital was a hive of activity, with some representatives of foreign governments and concession seekers, trying to hoodwink Lobengula to grant them their parrying demands<sup>100</sup>. Therefore Lobengula could not differentiate between a missionary and a hunter or a Government representative. To him they were all white people who wanted to spoil his pry especially the Mashona people whom he raided from time to time for food and women. Given this situation the Bishop had to go under a serious cross-examination by the King as to the real object of his visit.

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<sup>99</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p12

<sup>100</sup> R. R. Carter Langham, *Op. Cit*, p30

Bishop Knight-Bruce writes the kind of questions which the King asked him as follows; “*Who do you wish to see?...Whose people are they?... Will you teach them?... What will you teach them?... Who told you about the country?*”<sup>101</sup>. One can appreciate the reason why the King wanted to know more about the Bishop’s visit. There seems to have been a sudden upsurge of interest in his country as such he feared that he was going to have his power usurped, and his country taken away by all these white people who were increasing in number as days went by. In fact it is clear that Lobengula was such a shrewd person who could not just take things for granted.

Whereas the Bishop would have thought that he was going to have an easy access into Mashonaland, things turned up to be different. Jean Farrant says “two weeks passed before the King would allow him to go on to Mashonaland or give his permission for missions to be established there”<sup>102</sup>. In all these efforts Mr Charles Helm, a local priest who had come earlier on also helped to persuade the King to allow Bishop Knight- Bruce into Mashonaland. The Bishop says that;

*I had almost given up hope of getting into the country, and was coming to tell him I was going away...away from the influence of his Indunas, he was more amenable, and we walked together back to his kraal. ‘Where do you want to go?’ he said. I said ‘To the Zambezi’ Said he, ‘You can go’. I didn’t waste a minute – I was very much afraid of having the permission recalled ...*<sup>103</sup>

It is most probable that soon after the permission was granted the Bishop left and this may have been the time that he started to use the map which he had obtained from Selous, who had traversed Southern Rhodesia before. The Bishop therefore left Bulawayo and on the 8<sup>th</sup> June arrived at Inyati, which was considered to be the last outpost of Christianity towards the north. From Inyati the Bishop proceeded and on the 28<sup>th</sup> June he arrived at Hunyani River. This was close to the present day city called Norton. Here the Bishop had to leave his wagons and proceed on foot with some of his servants leaving some behind. The Bishop was now herding towards the Zambezi. He arrived at Makonde on the 6<sup>th</sup> July. Rev. G. E. P. Broderick says when the Bishop tried to

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<sup>101</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit, p58

<sup>102</sup> Jean Farrant, Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, p70

<sup>103</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit, p58

hold a service there, the opening of the Bible caused alarm to the onlookers and some of them ran away<sup>104</sup>. Since these indigenous people were seeing the Bible for the first time, it was probably a wise thing to do so as to protect themselves from any suspected danger. However on the tenth he arrived in Chinhoyi.

The Bishop and his team proceeded and arrived at Kanyemba on the 25<sup>th</sup> July and he crossed the Zambezi to a place called Zumbo, where he presented a letter given to him by a Portuguese Consul at Cape Town. At Zumbo he saw the remains of the Roman Catholic Mission. It was while at Kanyemba that the Bishop had some of his communion kit stolen. The Bishop then started his way back towards Hunyani arriving at the Hunyani camp on the 15<sup>th</sup> August. Here he had left one of his servants Isaac, with specific instruction to ensure that all was ready when he comes back. Isaac did exactly that and so on the 28<sup>th</sup> the party left towards Nyamweda, as they intended to see the eastern part of the country before reaching Bulawayo. As he moved south eastwards he made inquiries about Manica, the country of chief Mutasa. He was informed that that area had fertile lands and as such he decided that if he succeeded in establishing missions, he would start with those places.

Bishop Knight-Bruce arrived at Hope Fountain on the 10<sup>th</sup> October. He was finally at Bulawayo on the 16<sup>th</sup> of October and as before, found it to be a busy place with Cecil Rhodes' representatives trying to get the King to agree to the Rudd Concession. It would appear from Bishop Knight-Bruce's records that Matabeleland was on the verge of an uproar when the Bishop arrived back. Bishop Knight-Bruce says "they had got the idea that the white men wanted to take their country and they did not altogether wish it be civil to the white man"<sup>105</sup>. The Bishop goes on to say that when he passed through the huts of the Imbezu regiment, they poured out, yelling; "Here are the men who have come to take our country"<sup>106</sup>. The Bishop virtually had to run away for his life.

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<sup>104</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.*, p19

<sup>105</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, *Op. Cit.*, p64

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* p64

Bishop Knight-Bruce luckily avoided getting entangled in trouble and finally crossed the Shashi River on the 1<sup>st</sup> November and decided to have four days of respite at Macloutsie where he had a meeting with Frank Johnson, a man who was heavily involved in the process of getting concessions from the Matabele King. The Bishop's journey back to Bloemfontein was good since he had managed to accomplish that which he had travelled for to Mashonaland. He had seen Lobengula, and got permission to visit the Mashona people and talked to a number of chiefs establishing what their feeling was in getting some teachers of faith stationed at their kraals. He had also experienced the terrain of the country, and the nature of the local indigenous peoples whose customs were very strange to him. Bishop Knight-Bruce confirms this when he says "the native customs were strange"<sup>107</sup>.

The Bishop finally arrived back home at Bloemfontein on the 20<sup>th</sup> December. This was almost the whole year of missionary travel and experience. Summarising the Bishop's experience on this journey R. R. Carter says "he had ridden about 500 miles and walked about 2500 miles. He had had trouble with his back, he had had pneumonia and malaria and dysentery, but it was not long before he was proclaiming that the hardships of such travel had been greatly exaggerated"<sup>108</sup>. This shows what kind of a person Bishop Knight Bruce was. He was indeed made of sterner stuff.

It is important to evaluate the Bishop's epic journey into the heart of Southern Rhodesia so that one can appreciate the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The fact that Bishop Knight-Bruce realised the need for the indigenous African people to accompany him on this journey can not be overstressed. It points clearly to the fact that the Bishop had done his homework properly and as such wanted to avoid some of the common errors which other missionaries had made. With little or no knowledge at all about the African customs, the Bishop would have made terrible errors which would have spoiled the whole process of taking the Anglican Church across the Limpopo.

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid p9

<sup>108</sup> R. R. Carter Langham, *Op. Cit.* p36

There were many customs which Bishop Knight-Bruce was not aware of which he needed the African indigenous people to teach him. For example he did not understand the Mashona marriage customs. For him "...men bought their wives..."<sup>109</sup>. This was certainly not true. Lobola in its true sociological understanding is not a way of buying a wife. Instead it is an expression of appreciation by the son-in-law to his in-laws.

The Bishop also seems to have developed some negative feeling about the Mashona people when he first saw them. Coming from England and within a short while in Bloemfontein, before moving into the interior, where human development was moving slowly, the Bishop was quick to say "I am afraid the Mashona are a very dirty race"<sup>110</sup>. Such an attitude if nursed would certainly have negative implications on race relations, particularly if the local people would have known that this is how the Bishop viewed them. These paternalistic attitudes are quite discernible even in the way that he related to his servants and carriers. It is most likely that amongst these men, some of them were definitely older than him, since he only became Bishop at 33 years, and when he embarked on this journey he was only 35 years old. He however called all his servants 'boys'. To show that Bishop Knight-Bruce was young when he visited Mashonaland, even the Messenger who went to welcome him before entering the Matabele Kingdom brought back to Lobengula news that " – there was only a little boy", which led Lobengula to refer to Bishop Knight-Bruce as "*young man*"<sup>111</sup>.

Despite this negative side Bishop Knight-Bruce appreciated the service rendered by his servants. He clearly suggests that "nearly all my servants were excellent, and they were nearly all Christians..."<sup>112</sup>. The only problem which he had was probably with the carriers, who at one time staged a 'strike' refusing to carry his baggage for want of better payment. It is possible that the Bishop may have been overtly oppressing these poor

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<sup>109</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op.Cit, p26

<sup>110</sup> Ibid p28

<sup>111</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit, p57

<sup>112</sup> Ibid p59



fellows by underpaying them. When such a thing happened the Bishop took away the carriers assegais, a thing which he testifies was wrong.

Amongst his servants was one whom he particularly mentions by name – John, who excelled in his responsibilities. Bishop Knight-Bruce admits that John was in a category of his own, when it came to his knowledge of finding the way to all the places where the Bishop wanted to go. The Bishop says “he had an eighth sense – the power of finding his way ... after all my stay in Africa, he is still to me the ideal guide”<sup>113</sup>. With people such as John, the mission travels were certainly going to be productive because the convoy would not have to move around the same sport. John seems to have really been divinely sent by God to make the Bishops life easy. He also had another gift endowed upon him. According to Bishop Knight-Bruce, “his power of seeing things was extraordinary”<sup>114</sup>. This is a gift which certainly helped the local people survive in the bush where they subsisted with some dangerous animals and venomous snakes and insects. This gift also helped them in hunting since they did not have long range weapons such as guns. One could see a hare lying on the ground at a distance of ten or fifteen meters away, and use his knobkerrie to kill it, even though its colour was so much like that of the earth. In the mission field such a gift was certainly indispensable.

It is also important to know what kind of person Bishop Knight-Bruce was, in order for one to understand his undertakings. According to R. R. Carter;

*Knight-Bruce's best qualities were his determination, his energy and his courage. And though not necessarily good qualities his strong individualism and his preference for working on his own and not in Church Synods and assemblies were useful assets for service in the wide open space. His physique and upbringing were also an advantage ... his shooting skill proved a help when food ran short on his expeditions. Though a fine rider, he was also fond of walking and able to undertake long marches when he could not ride*<sup>115</sup>.

Coupled with these apparently good qualities and traits, Bishop Knight-Bruce seems to have had his own failings. R. R. Carter maintains that “Knight-Bruce’s worst failings

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid p65

<sup>114</sup> Ibid p66

<sup>115</sup> R. R. Carter Langham, Op. Cit. p13

were his inability to compromise and his ruthlessness”<sup>116</sup>. Such qualities would definitely stifle progress on the mission field where there is need for tolerance and consideration, especially given the terrible conditions prevailing at that time. However there is another dimension where that ruthlessness can be perceived positively especially where people are just lazy and inefficient. It would appear Bishop Knight-Bruce was quite hard on people who would show that they were lazy and inefficient. The other thing which is noted by R. R. Langham is that Bishop Knight-Bruce was not an academic or a theologian. This explains why in 1888, whereas other Bishops were attending the Lambeth Conference in England he chose to be in Mashonaland opening up possible mission field. His degree at Oxford had been a mere fourth class in Modern History. For him it was practical issues, such as how to raise funds, recruit workers, start mission stations, erect buildings and how to improve the life of the poor which mattered. In short he was not a theorist, but a hands-on person, who was the right person to dissect this new mission field, and evaluate the possibility of opening up missions in Mashonaland.

Be that as it may upon his arrival back in Bloemfontein the Bishop had much to attend to having been away for almost the whole year. He had promised to send one of his horses to Lobengula and as such once that horse had rested a while it had to be sent to Lobengula. This horse was sent, but as to whether Lobengula used it himself, it falls outside the purview of this investigation. The Bishop also had to write a full report for the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G) which had sponsored this journey. All this was done and his reports got huge publicity in England to the point that the S.P.G, resolved to make a grant of 7000 pounds to be spent on Mashonaland within the following seven years. On the other hand he had to attend to his Diocesan matters and to the Provincial issues. Although he travelled extensively in his Diocese, his attention was now being drawn, inevitably to the developments north of the Limpopo. It is within this context that in 1890, when the pioneer Column was gathered in Kimberley with a specific intention to go and occupy Zimbabwe, Bishop Knight –Bruce dispatched some Chaplains to provide the much needed spiritual edification to the occupying forces. Below we

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid p13

discuss the ministry of the Chaplains in the Pioneer column and how that affected the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

## **2.5 The Pioneer Column and its chaplaincy**

It is important to note that even though the Bishop may not have been very impressed by Lobengula's behaviour and may have initially felt that it was not prudent to take any definite steps towards establishing a mission in Mashonaland due to the grip which Lobengula had on that side, he still felt that with the support of the British government through an occupying force his fears would be dissipated. Therefore Bishop Knight-Bruce took a particular interest in the goings on in the North of the Limpopo, and waited for an opportune moment to make his dream of implanting the Gospel in Mashonaland a reality. Negotiations between Lobengula and Cecil John Rhodes' representatives yielded the intended results when Lobengula put his hand on a piece of paper by way of putting an 'X' against his printed name a symbol which allowed Rhodes's British South Africa Company to exploit mineral resources in the land under his authority. The Charter to occupy the country was given on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1889, and as such Bishop Knight-Bruce was quick to ensure that he would send Clergy with the occupying force as Chaplains.

Bishop Knight-Bruce made sure that he had sent Canon Francis Balfour as Chaplain to the camp of the Botswana Boarder Police at Shongshong, in preparation for the eventual occupying force's movement into Mashonaland. The pioneer column started its journey at Kimberley towards Mashonaland. According to Bishop Montgomery, Francis Balfour was attached to the pioneer column as a senior Chaplain without pay<sup>117</sup>. Given the nature of the ministry, in such a new place with all the hardships, it is quite difficult to understand how any person would accept such a challenge if they are not a selfless person. However it is important to note that Bishop Knight-Bruce took advantage of the situation which was expedient to his plans to preach the Gospel in Mashonaland. H. ST. John. T. Evans postulates that Francis Balfour "was accompanied by the Rev. F. H.

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<sup>117</sup> Bishop Montgomery, Francis Balfour of Basutoland Evangelist and Bishop, London: S. P. C. K, 1925, p39

Surridge and a third Chaplain, the Rev. Wilson Trusted, who was appointed to minister to the Police at Fort Tuli, where he died of dysentery on October 23<sup>rd</sup> the same year”<sup>118</sup>. It is these Chaplains who were going to be critical in ensuring that the occupying forces as well as the local indigenous people were ministered to. Both Rev. Surridge and Rev. Balfour were there at the hoisting of the Union Jack flag on occupation day, September 12<sup>th</sup> 1890. Following this occupation Surridge had to go back within two months of occupation. Now with one clergy resident in Mashonaland, the Bishop was more than happy to push for the creation of a new Diocese north of the Limpopo in order to ensure that his labours bore fruit. He was going to do this through his Diocesan Synods as well as the Provincial Synod of the Province of South Africa.

It is crucial for one to evaluate the role played by the chaplains to the occupying force to Mashonaland especially in view of the fact that some of them were not remunerated for it. Was it a mere concern to evangelise the locals who were considered ‘*heathen*’ or there was a hidden agenda? Considering the fact that Bishop Knight-Bruce had a desire to get the Gospel across the Limpopo, and that those who had gone before him, such as the Roman Catholics in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century had not made a successful mission and the LMS, in the South Western part of the country were struggling to make any converts as shown by their making only 12 converts in 30 years, the Bishop may have just wanted to use the occupying force for his own end.

However for a person such as Francis Balfour, it was certainly not going to be an easy task to minister in this new mission field due to language problems. However Francis had been sent there by Bishop Knight-Bruce for a specific purpose. This is captured well by Peter Hinchcliff who says “his Bishop had sent him north specifically to see what could be done about missions”<sup>119</sup>. It seems Balfour was generally a clergyman with an infectious desire in missionary work. He had been in Basutoland where he had done well. However his impact in Mashonaland was going to be compromised with language

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<sup>118</sup> H. ST. John T. Evans, Op. Cit. p12

<sup>119</sup> Peter Hinchcliff, Op. Cit. p169

limitations, and also that people were going to struggle to see the difference between the church and the colonising power given the thin dividing line between him and the occupying forces. According to Peter Hinchcliff, “he was Chaplain to the column, virtually to an occupying force ...”<sup>120</sup> This situation was also going to determine the future relationship between the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and the colonial government.

Given this precarious situation in which Canon Balfour found himself in, one could not expect that he would achieve much. He decided to move out of the confines of the white community, and find ways and possibilities of ministering to the surrounding local communities. Initially no one could understand him, but as more and more local people started working for the white community, and started learning English that also helped the ministry of Francis Balfour through local men whom he had to employ as his interpreters.

Francis Balfour travelled long journeys on foot in an attempt to visit and negotiate the possibility of establishing mission stations with the local Shona Chiefs. On one occasion he travelled up to Kariba. These travels were not always easy. There was a substantial degree of resistance in some cases although he was welcomed in other chieftainships. John Weller and Jane Linden maintain that some of the members of the white community considered Balfour’s efforts to convert the local people as a waste of time. They also quote H. H. Hole, a one time member of the Church Council giving the level of tension that ensued between the African and European parts of the church’s work in his book entitled Old Rhodesian Days. He describes the work of the priest during those early days as;

*torn between duty imposed upon him by his mission of Christianising the natives and that of ministering to the spiritual needs of the pioneers ...As a missionary to the heathen he was set a hopeless task. What possible impression could one man make upon hundreds of thousands of savages scattered over an area the size of France and steeped in witchcraft and the grossest forms of paganism*<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid p169

<sup>121</sup> John Weller and Jane Linden, Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984, p66

Although Hole's language is clearly defective and pessimistic, evidence on the ground proved that Francis Balfour and his African local servants made a lot of progress. It seems clear that Hole writes the way he does because for him, Balfour was alone. It shows that he did not regard the local agents as human and Christian enough and yet they are the ones who did the bulk of the persuasion in the most authentic and well understood way to the local communities in order for the local people to welcome the Gospel. This explains the reason why the indigenous element in the planting of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland like anywhere else, lack authenticity, since it seems to imply that the European missionaries were the ones who converted the local people. Our contention is that the local agents contributed a lot in the process of converting the local people since they had the language which could be understood and they also understood the local culture very well. In this case it seems appropriate to surmise that the European clergy only came to baptise and confirm people who were already Christianised by the local agents.

Despite the negative picture which is painted by H. H. Hole, Francis Balfour left an indelible mark on the Anglican Church Missionary landscape, in Mashonaland. He managed to build the first mud church at Salisbury [now Harare] with his own hands presumably assisted by some local servants. Bishop Knight-Bruce notes the great contribution made by Francis Balfour in his work Memories of Mashonaland. He postulates that;

*Canon Balfour stayed sometime in the Country ...in every other place in which he has been, did excellent work. Not only did he build the first church that was ever built in Mashonaland, but he took up work among the natives; and when I brought up a few teachers in the early part of the next year he took two of them in hand , and visited chief after chief and made centres for work, and began the building of rough native churches – in all of which I had little or no share. It was all his and the catechists' work<sup>122</sup>.*

It is clear that Canon Balfour with the immense help from the local indigenous people provided the initial impetus which the Anglican Church needed for it to sink its roots

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<sup>122</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Memories of Mashonaland, London : S.P.C.K, 1895,p84

in Mashonaland. Even before he left Mashonaland to go back to Lesotho, he made sure that he wrote his Bishop and made recommendations for the Province to consider choosing a Bishop for this new Mission field, a thing which Bishop Knight-Bruce had on his mind as well. In his letter to Bishop Knight-Bruce, dated November 17<sup>th</sup> 1890, he writes;

*If a Bishop can be consecrated for Mashonaland on next S. Andrews Day, it would not be a moment too soon. At the earliest moment he ought to be commissioned and to go to work to really get good priests, men fitted to cope with gold diggers, officers, and with a heart for the extension of the Kingdom of God above all things, men of personal devotion to our Lord, men of prayer...these men must have a Bishop at their head, not too far from them ...the centre should be here where he could be in touch with the Government, and military Headquarters and Post Office.<sup>123</sup>*

When Balfour was writing this letter, little did he know that in the Diocese of Bloemfontein, there had been a motion proposed and seconded for the Bishop of Bloemfontein to take to the Provincial Synod in the following year regarding the division of their diocese which was proving to be too vast. If the annals of the history of the Anglican Church are to exhibit the correct records of the people who contributed to the implantation of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, names such as Francis Balfour, and the numerous unknown indigenous heroes and heroines should be clearly written on golden tablets. As suggested by Canon Balfour if Mashonaland was going to become a diocese, it would need a Bishop and that decision would only be made through diocesan synods, and provincial synods. It is prudent therefore to look at the synod of the Diocese of Bloemfontein held in 1890.

## **2.6 The 1890 Synod of the Diocese of Bloemfontein**

One of the things which Bishop Knight-Bruce had to do after his return from Mashonaland was to call for a synod for his Diocese, at which he gave a report of the epic journey which he had undertaken to Mashonaland in 1888. This synod met on the 20<sup>th</sup> April 1890, at Bloemfontein. In his Charge delivered at the synod Eucharist, he made reference to his visit to Mashonaland and other parts which he had visited. He challenged his synod to

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<sup>123</sup> Bishop Montgomery, Francis Balfour of Basutoland Evangelist and Bishop, London: S. P. C. K, p56

deliberate on this epic journey and the possibilities of having the Diocese of Bloemfontein divided so as to allow that new missionary field to have adequate attention. In this charge Bishop Knight-Bruce goes on to suggest that;

*our first attempt to gain Mashonaland for the church was made a long time before the formation of this company ... (BSAC) ...it is my duty to send clergymen with the men. One clergyman has been entirely provided for, and most liberally by them. Another goes to the B.B.P. A third is at Elebe but very shortly I hope to hear of him crossing the boarder into Mashonaland, and becoming our first missionary in Mashonaland<sup>124</sup>.*

In the same synod Canon Bell moved a motion seconded by Rev. E. W. Stenson, that a new Diocese should be formed in Mashonaland by the Bishops of the Province, who were going to meet in Synod in January of the following year<sup>125</sup>. Issues of the availability of resources for such a huge task were also discussed in this synod and it was mentioned that there was a considerable sum of money, which had been earning interest which could be made available for the formation of a missionary Diocese. It was also suggested that the envisioned division should ensure that the provinces of Griqualand West, Bechuanaland and the Baralong territory were to be part of this new diocese.

The important thing that happened at this synod in relationship to the Diocese of Mashonaland is that a motion was moved and accepted that there was need to divide the Diocese of Bloemfontein in which Mashonaland was part. More than that the Bishop of Bloemfontein was also tasked by his synod to make a presentation of this motion at the forthcoming Provincial Synod. This way the initial visit of Rev. Greenstock, and Bishop Knight-Bruce and the missionary work of Francis Balfour was set to get official recognition and a major boost to be carried on to the next level. Decisions of this magnitude in the Anglican Church require synodical approval, and as such the Mashonaland Mission was now on the agenda of the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa. This decision of the provincial synod was critical to the future on this Mission.

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<sup>124</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia, (1874 – 1952), unpublished manuscript, Zimbabwe National Archives, Ref BR3/3/1, p41

<sup>125</sup> 'The Southern' – Church of the Province of Southern Africa paper, January 1890, p91



## 2.7 The Provincial Synod of the CPSA of 1891

This synod sat in Cape Town, in January and February of 1891. The Bishop of Bloemfontein made his presentation of the motion which had been proposed at his Synod the previous year regarding the division of the Diocese of Bloemfontein. This motion was put on the table for deliberation at the end of which a resolution was arrived at. Rev. G. E. P. Broderick reports;

1. *The Bishops in Synod resolve that ...*
  - a) *A Missionary Bishopric be established for Mashonaland and the adjacent Territories;*
  - b) *Full Authority be given to the Metropolitan, as soon as he shall judge it to be expedient, to choose on their behalf a Missionary Bishop for Mashonaland, and hereby undertake to accept the selection, and to send forth the person so selected, under the provisions of Canon 10.2*
  
2. *The Bishops in Synod, believing in their hearts that it would be undoubtedly for the good of the Church at large, and especially for the best interests of the work in Mashonaland Diocese now to be formed for that region, do hereby express the hope that he may be willing to accept the call which they unanimously request the Metropolitan to address to him*<sup>126</sup>.

With these resolutions made the Synod then tasked the actual process of appointing the actual person for the office of the Bishop to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Bloemfontein. The metropolitan was Archbishop West Jones, and the Bishop of Bloemfontein was Bishop Knight-Bruce. It would appear Bishop Knight Bruce had already done his home work and his heart was set to move on to this new Mission field. Peter Hinchliff intimates that, by the time the synod met, Bishop Knight-Bruce had already persuaded the synod Bishops to consent to his resigning the See of Bloemfontein so as to allow him to fulfil his desire to go to Mashonaland and sow the seeds of the Gospel amongst the Shona people<sup>127</sup>. He also ensured that the Metropolitan was aware of

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<sup>126</sup> Rev. G. E. P Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p45

<sup>127</sup> Peter Hinchliff, *Op. Cit*, p170

his vested interest in this new Bishopric as such he decided to jump the gun on the proviso that the Metropolitan would appoint him, and went to England to mobilise financial and human resources for this new venture.

The new Diocese was therefore formally constituted and launched and Bishop Knight-Bruce was appointed to take up this new challenge which he had pioneered and shown interest to pursue. Bishop Knight Bruce accepted this offer and so started preparations for this huge task that lay ahead of him. He made all the necessary preparations to move on to his new Diocese. The next chapter will show clearly the immense role played by the African people, whom he gathered together from Cape Town, and how their presence was critical in the process of indigenisation of the Anglican Church in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Bishop Knight-Bruce was excited by the way things were moving as he had anticipated. Within a short space of time, it became clear that he was destined to become the founder of the diocese of Mashonaland. This would amount to taking the Anglican Church further inland, where it had never been before.

It is important to note that from the moment Bishop Knight-Bruce set his foot in Mashonaland he appreciated its environs although he expressed a negative attitude to the local people whom he referred to as “*a very dirty race*”<sup>128</sup>. He says in his own words “the Mashonaland that I remember seven years ago was a very different place to the Mashonaland of today. For me its great charm vanished with the coming of the white men”<sup>129</sup>. It is probably that ‘charm’ which attracted him to come and minister in Mashonaland.

Whatever other motives Bishop Knight-Bruce may have had, his zeal to take the Gospel where it had never been before became evident in the huge risk which he took when he went on the reconnaissance journey to Mashonaland in 1888, a place where he had never been to, where there was danger of the wild animals, and no line of communication. His zeal to take the Gospel further into the unknown was also shown by the way he quickly

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<sup>128</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton. Knight-Bruce, *Op. Cit*, p28

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid* p2

made plans for this new Diocese, even before the Metropolitan had appointed him. He actually 'canvassed' for it, as shown by his manner of persuading his fellow Bishops to support his desire to resign from Bloemfontein in preference for Mashonaland. He also went on to make it clear to the Metropolitan that if offered such a post he would embrace it joyfully which the Metropolitan went on to do. As seen earlier on Bishop Knight Bruce was far ahead of his fellow Europeans in realising the importance of the African component in his missionary enterprise. This realisation is critical in one's efforts to understand the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

Once the playfield had been set the implantation of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland showed that there was a certain level of awareness that the Gospel would not be planted amongst the local people without the ministry of indigenous African people. The process of Africanisation was to be critical in converting the local people. In the next chapter we will investigate the planting of the Diocese of Mashonaland and explore the role played by the African agents who came up from South Africa with Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce. This will help us appreciate the process of indigenization in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

## Chapter 3

### The Planting of the Diocese of Mashonaland

#### 3.0 Introduction

With the Diocese of Mashonaland having been carved out, the next step for Bishop Knight-Bruce was to make preparations to leave the Diocese of Bloemfontein and make his way to his new See. In order to ensure that his initial entry and settlement go on smoothly there was certainly a good deal of preparation that he needed to do soon after the Provincial Synod had given a green light to the division of the Diocese of Bloemfontein. One of the major preparatory initiatives, as noted above, was to go to England and canvass for support, both in cash and personnel for this challenge that lay before him. Locally the bishop also needed to make adequate preparations to ensure that his journey and eventual planting of this mission would go on smoothly. The Bishop became aware of the need for personnel who would evangelise the region as well as the need for support personnel in the area of medical help and farming.

#### 3.1 Bishop Knight-Bruce's voyage and Settlement at Umtali [now Mutare]

As noted above, it must be borne in mind that there were three chaplains who had accompanied the pioneer column and these people were already in the country where Bishop Knight-Bruce was going to be the first Anglican Bishop. These Chaplains, as noted above did not have any considerable effect on the local people since their task was to minister to the Pioneer Column and the Police. That is the reason why, Rev. F. H. Surrige had to leave soon after the Column dispersed, because he suddenly found out that he did not have any people to minister to. It was Canon Balfour, who remained behind, and tried to make inroads to the local chiefs, but without much success. One can therefore safely say that real missionary work began when Bishop Knight- Bruce arrived in his new Diocese of Mashonaland.

Once the Bishop was decided that there was no turning back, he moved to his new See in Mashonaland, he resolved that there was going to be two parties moving to his new

diocese. According to G. E. P Broderick, one of these parties was to travel by sea to Beira, and the other was to go overland through Transvaal<sup>130</sup>. It is difficult to establish the reason why the Bishop decided on this approach. However it seems plausible that he did not want to put all his eggs in one basket, in case danger would strike it would mean that would have been the end of his intended mission enterprise. It needs to be remembered that there were two entry points on the western side of the country which could be used by the party that was to go through the Transvaal although either entry points would have taken the same time which was between two and half to five months of traveling. One way was to go through the Bechuanaland<sup>131</sup> border with Zimbabwe, whilst the other one was to go through the Transvaal region and cross the Limpopo River into Zimbabwe.

The Bishop however decided to join the party that was to go through Beira. It would appear this was the closer route, but it had its own problems which will be highlighted below. The Bishop formed the two groups and ensured that all was in place. Since he was leading the other group, he ensured that the other was also well constituted. G. E. P. Broderick maintains that the second group which was to go overland was composed of the Rev. J. R. Sewell, Mr. Jagger, who was a candidate for ordination, Mr. Bennett a farmer, Mr. Iback and John, and the Bishop's coloured servant who had accompanied him on his first expedition<sup>132</sup>. The racial problem can be discerned here by the way Broderick mentions the names of these people. The coloured gentleman is not given any respect at all, even though one would like to believe that he was quite advanced in age even older than some of the people mentioned above. He is just mentioned by name, although one may surmise that he played a crucial role in this party. It would appear considerable to suggest that he may have played the leadership role, although from the hind side, especially when one considers that he had traveled to that region with the Bishop in 1888. He was the one who knew the roads. He certainly knew where they would need to rest, and where they would get supplies, in terms of food and replacements of wagon parts and cattle to pull the wagons. Even though Broderick seems to be silent

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<sup>130</sup> G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* p34

<sup>131</sup> This is the country presently known as Botswana

<sup>132</sup> G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* p34

about the role played by John, it would seem conceivable that he played a critical advisory role in this party. In other words, the Bishop was crafty in ensuring that in both parties there was someone who had been to this new region before.

Before the Bishop left Bloemfontein, he had also made arrangements with some three ladies from Kimberley hospital, and a medical doctor to follow him through Durban to this new mission field. These three were Sisters Blennerhassett, Sleeman and Welby and Doctor Doyle Glanville<sup>133</sup>. These Sisters were to prove that they were indomitable in their work amongst the pioneers and the mission. This group was to follow Bishop Knight-Bruce's route and move only when informed to do so by the Bishop, since the Bishop had to ensure that the route was safe first so as to avoid endangering the lives of these three ladies who had shown extreme bravery to become the first Anglican nurses to minister in this totally new region where they had never been before.

It is the Bishop's group whose composition had to prove that the Bishop had understood the role that the native people were to play in the evangelization of the local people. The Bishop certainly believed in the indigenisation of the church. He behaved as if he had read the advice of people such as Henry Venn that the native church needed a native ministry, which would eventually become, self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending<sup>134</sup>. One can not be sure with certainty whether the Bishop really intended this mission to be self-propagating since most of the African agents were not given any positions of authority over a long period of time as will be shown in this research. Whatever the case maybe, the important thing to note in the Bishop's group was that it had some indigenous African people in it. Scholars seem to differ on the number of Africans who were in the Bishop's group with, R. R. Langham Carter suggesting that there were "fife catechists"<sup>135</sup> and Jean Farrant suggesting "six Africans"<sup>136</sup>. On closer analysis, it would appear they are saying the same thing since, Langham is referring to

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<sup>133</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p67

<sup>134</sup> Henry Venn, quoted in Jesse Page, *The Black Bishop: Samuel Adjai Crowther*, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Ltd, 1890, p391

<sup>135</sup> R.R.Langham Carter, Knight- Bruce : *First Bishop and Founder of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia*, Salisbury: Christchurch, 1975, p43

<sup>136</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. cit*, p85

catechists and Farrant is referring to Africans which included catechists and workers. Before mentioning these Africans who were part of the Bishop's entourage, who also form an important element of this research, it is important to mention the other person whom the Bishop included in this group-John Wilkins.

John Wilkins was an elderly European carpenter of extensive experience. As such he was a strategic person to have in this group since there was going to be need to build churches and mission houses. His skill was certainly indispensable. Over and above that dexterity Wilkins also came with extensive experience of working in new regions. This means that his presence in Mashonaland was going to be critical. Jean Farrant suggests that he had worked with David Livingstone when he traversed the region of Central Africa, ending up acting as one of his pall-bearers at his funeral service in Westminster Abbey<sup>137</sup>. On the whole, Wilkins had two critical things, both of which were critical for this mission namely his carpentry skill and his experience in working in new lands, where disease and wild animals were the greatest danger to worry about and skill in meeting new races of people was indispensable as well. This man was certainly going to be handy in this new mission as will become clear in this study.

As is typical of the way in which the African people were looked down upon, the names of some of the African people who formed part of the Bishop's entourage are only mentioned by their Christian names in the Bishop's diary as being Bernard, Edward, Charles, Frank, Thomas and Samuel<sup>138</sup>. Such a thing makes it difficult to identify who these people really were? However through research which has been done before, we now know most of these people and can identify them easily.

It has been established from other extant documents that Edward was the Bishop's personal servant. His surname has not been established since he seems not to have been mentioned much in the Bishop's diary. Whenever his name is mentioned, it is simply the first name that is mentioned. However it is important to mention that this man was to

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid p85

<sup>138</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce's Diary, National Archives, Harare, A/4/4/1

remain faithful to serving the Bishop until retirement when he left the mission field due to illness. One can also conjecture that as the Bishop moved around in his daily work in the diocese, Edward carried out an immense ministry to the local people, which was not recorded by the Bishop. As a person of mixed race, he was much closer to the local African people than the Bishop, who was a total stranger to most people who had never seen a European before. As noted in other fields of study such as in Counseling, it is usually the people who do the simple jobs who provide the most needed counseling to the people who are sick in Hospitals. In this regard, it is such people as the Bishop's servant, such as Edward who ministered to the local people because they could relate to the local people since they were also African.

Frank was identified by Jean Farrant as Frank Ziqubu, a Zulu by origin from Pietermaritzburg<sup>139</sup>, who turned up to be one of the prominent missionaries stationed at Makoni near Mutare. It was Frank and Bernard Mizeki who proved to be such critical people in this new mission field as will be seen below when we consider their work in their missionary centers. It would appear the Bishop met this man in Durban on his way to Beira enroute to Manicaland.

The next person was Charles. He is identified as Charles Makolami<sup>140</sup>. Charles is one of the persons who presented themselves together with Bernard Mizeki at St Phillip's in Cape Town when Bishop Knight-Bruce passed through that place on his way to Mashonaland. Charles seems to have been placed at the other mission center opened at Mazoe, but it seems he did not last for a long time in the new Diocese since his name was never mentioned anywhere else. Given the challenges of the mission field, and the fact that many people including the European missionaries, gave up mission, Jean Farrant concludes that Charles may have decided to follow those who streamed back to South Africa where life was much more comfortable and settled<sup>141</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit* p86

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid* p86

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid* p86



Thomas is another person who was mentioned by the Bishop in his diary but he seems to have been so quiet. Jean Farrant talks of a teacher who was named 'Tom' who was teaching at Nema-konde's kraal<sup>142</sup> in the present day Makonde area. It would appear this was the same person that the Bishop mentions in his Diary. However he also seems to have just fizzled into thin air since his name does not appear in most of the records kept at the National Archives in Harare, Zimbabwe.

The last person mentioned in the Bishop's diary referred to above is Samuel. He is identified by Jean Farrant as Samuel Makosa and he makes a brief appearance in the writings of Bernard Mizeki and Bernard's friend Llewellyn Meredith. Samuel was a Zulu by origin and he seems to have been a person not suitable for mission work as mentioned by Jean Farrant who says Meredith described him as "a bit of a rascal, quite unsuitable for the work and quite unlike Bernard. He had been in prison in Salisbury for assault and learnt a lot of devilry there"<sup>143</sup>. It is also probably that the Bishop may have picked up this man in Durban on his way to Mashonaland.

Whatever the characters that made up these African people, one thing that seems to come out clearly and mentioned by some scholars is that they had been trained in institutions in South Africa. Most of these had been trained to be catechists. For Bernard and Charles, that had been done at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town and for the others it would appear they had passed through the Isandhlwana College which was situated in Zululand, which also trained African catechists and teachers<sup>144</sup>.

With everything sorted and a plan laid down, what was left was to implement the missionary journey which was to lead to the settlement and evangelization of Mashonaland. R.R Langham Carter suggests that the Bishop together with John Wilkins left Bloemfontein for Cape Town on the 17<sup>th</sup> April 1891. Although he was still the Bishop of Bloemfontein, he realised that his days were drawing to a close and he had decided to send in his resignation of the See of Bloemfontein once he would have set his

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid p86

<sup>143</sup> Ibid p86

<sup>144</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit.* p87

foot in Mashonaland. It would appear Bishop Knight-Bruce decided to pass through Cape Town for two reasons. First the Archbishop, West Jones was there, and he would confide with him and get his blessing for his new adventure and second, he would pass through the Zonnebloem College and ask for volunteers for his missionary undertaking in Mashonaland. He was certainly conscious that without the African evangelists, it would be almost impossible to make any inroads in Mashonaland. It would seem likely that Bishop Knight-Bruce had kept himself abreast with the struggle with which the London Missionary Society had encountered in Matabeleland, since they had decided to go it alone. Cecil Northcott, propounds that Moffat had pursued his quest to convert the Matabele with unwearied patience, pressing the frontal attack, a method which in the field of military tactics Mzilikazi well understood and secretly admired, but failed to make inroads amongst the Matabele people<sup>145</sup>. It is a known fact that Moffat's enterprise in Matabeleland was a dismal failure. It is most probable that R. Moffat and his LMS, failed to realize the need to have Africans minister to their own people. This is what Bishop Knight-Bruce realised and decided upon from onset and he ensured that he would not make the same mistake.

Upon arrival in Cape Town the Bishop visited Zonnebloem College, and asked the Cowley Fathers who were in charge of this college if he could have volunteers to accompany him on his missionary journey to Mashonaland where he was going to plant a new Diocese. Jean Farrant says, the Cowley Fathers, Fraulein von Blomberg, St Philip's, St Columba's, and Zonnebloem College all played their part in the preparations for the planting of the Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>146</sup>. It is during this visit that Bernard Mizeki and Charles Makolami volunteered for the missionary work in Mashonaland. It was here that Bernard proved to be a real force to reckon with when he was asked by his friends if he was not afraid of going to Mashonaland where he had never been before? He responded in a way, which surprised them, but a way which also goes to show that he had been called to missionary work. In response he said "why should I be afraid? It is my will to serve God, because He first did so much for me. Only now can I really start work, and

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<sup>145</sup> Cecil Northcott, Robert Moffat : Pioneer in Africa, London: (Lutterworth Press, 1961) p241

<sup>146</sup> Jean Farrant, Op. Cit, p42

Mashonaland is no further from Heaven than Cape Town!”<sup>147</sup> This was indeed a bold statement to be made by someone who had been baptized five years back in 1886. He was certainly devoted to his call from the first day that he offered himself to the church at St Phillip’s in Cape Town.

By the end of April 1891, Bishop Knight-Bruce John Wilkins, Bernard Mizeki and Charles Makolami, boarded *Roslyn Castle*<sup>148</sup>, and set off for Durban where they would change that ship. This ship was to pass through Port Elizabeth and head towards Durban. It is probable that whilst at Durban the Bishop met and conscripted Frank Ziqubu and Samuel Makosa, since both were Zulus and they were not at Zonnebloem College. Whilst in Durban the Bishop is reported to have met with Frank Johnson who was his old shooting friend, who was to inform him about the problems of the route he had taken to enter Mashonaland. Johnson had done a good job in preparing supplies and transport for the pioneer column and he had now been contracted to construct the road to the Pungwe River. It was Johnson who informed Bishop Knight-Bruce that the road through the Pungwe River was quite uncertain given the boarder disputes between the Pioneer Column and the Portuguese Administration in Mozambique<sup>149</sup>.

The Bishop and his entourage decided to proceed and see it for themselves when they arrive at Beira. They left Durban aboard *Norseman*<sup>150</sup>. R. R. Langham Carter suggests that when they landed at Beira, the situation was still bad. There was a lot of sad news that the Bishop received upon arrival there. The wagon that the Bishop was expecting was reported to have been delayed due to the abnormal rains that had been received. News also reached the Bishop that the wagon driver who had come to meet the Bishop had been arrested by the Portuguese soldiers and was now suffering from an extreme attack of fever. The Bishop had to find his way up the Pungwe river and to do so, there was need to get a boat. The Bishop and his party had arrived in Beira on the 12<sup>th</sup> May

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid p42

<sup>148</sup> This is the name of the Ship that Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce and his initial entourage boarded at Cape Town as they traveled to Durban.

<sup>149</sup> G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p35

<sup>150</sup> This is the name of the ship that Bishop Knight-Bruce and his entourage boarded at Durban as they traveled to Beira.

1891<sup>151</sup>. It therefore took the Bishop and his entourage three days to organize themselves and find space in a boat that was to take them up the Pungwe River.

It must be noted that there was not much space on this boat since there were many Chartered Company people and fortune hunters who were also trying to travel into Mashonaland. It is correct therefore to suggest that there was some kind of competition to get onto this single boat that was taking people up the Pungwe River. This boat was called *Agnes* and the Bishop and his team made sure that they found places on this boat and left Beira on the 15<sup>th</sup> May 1891. The journey is reported by R. R. Langham Carter to have been a very rough one, characterized by sandbanks that the boat struck on many occasions. News reached the Bishop and the other passengers that the Portuguese had been defeated in a battle that had taken place at Macequece [Masekesa] in the Manica Province, and that those Portuguese were on the run back to Beira. This caused a great deal of uncertainty to the travelers.

However the journey by boat ended with a foot journey to Mapanda, a place which was still far away from the Bishop's destination. They only managed to reach Mapanda on the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1891, tired and exhausted and given the political situation between the Portuguese and the Pioneer Column, the Bishop could not find any carriers to carry his supplies. However Victor Osmund CR suggests that the Bishop became impatient and decided to press on, and left some of his entourage behind<sup>152</sup>. He took five of his catechists with him and together they carried what ever they could. These catechists were resolved to prove that they had dedicated themselves to do the work of Christ, despite the hardships which would come with it. Even as early as the mission started during this initial journey, they had decided to ensure that they carry the luggage themselves without waiting for carriers who were not forthcoming.

The Road from Mapanda to Mutare had its own problems. From Mapanda the Bishop and his team would travel to Mutcheri, from Mutcheri to Sarmento, then through Mandiga,

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<sup>151</sup> Rev G. E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p35

<sup>152</sup> Victor Osmund "*Southern Rhodesia Church Magazine*", January 1929

Chimoio, Ruvue River, Masekesa and Sable Valley to Umtali<sup>153</sup> [now Mutare]. There was still a river to cross, and a tsetse fly infested region to traverse between Sarmento and Chimoio. The Tsetse fly seems to have been so serious such that Jean Farrant says, from Sarmento to Chimoio the road was littered with abandoned wagons of the pioneers and the rotting carcasses of their oxen<sup>154</sup>. These pioneers were now using this road for trade through Beira. This is the route that the Bishop and his five catechists had to take also. The Bishop was warned about these stumbling blocks that lay ahead of him, but when he heard that some wagons managed to pass through, he decided to take a chance. Given the fact that the Portuguese were angry because of their defeat, the catechists had to load the wagons by themselves and so they set out on their journey.

However before going further than Mandiga, all their oxen had been attacked by Tsetse fly and died. The Bishop had to abandon his wagons with most of his goods and proceeded with the journey on foot. Once more the Bishop was encouraged by the fortitude of his catechists. Bernard and his colleagues offered to carry the few loads which they could manage and the journey proceeded. The entourage arrived at Umtali (now Mutare) on the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1891, after what can best be described as a long, arduous, formidable and life threatening journey. It was here that Bishop Knight-Bruce wrote a letter in which he resigned from the See of Bloemfontein and formally accepted the office of Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Therefore it is on this date that one can safely say that Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce became the first Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Bishop Knight-Bruce immediately decided to make Mutare the headquarters of his Mission Diocese as such he had a hut built for him.

The Bishops' journey into Mashonaland had been accomplished with no loss of life, but he still needed to travel further to Salisbury [now Harare], in order to meet Canon Francis Balfour, and the other party that had come overland through the Transvaal. More than that, he also needed to link up with the Administrator of the Colony, Dr. L. S Jameson

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<sup>153</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op Cit*, p87

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid* p87

and begin the process of acquiring land for the mission stations that he wanted to establish. Within a few days the Bishop embarked on the journey to Salisbury, taking with him two of his catechists, Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu. Although he started off on the Police wagon, the bishop eventually disembarked and completed the journey on foot. Bishop Knight-Bruce arrived in Salisbury on the 15<sup>th</sup> June 1891 and found that the town was still being laid out<sup>155</sup>. The Bishop met Canon Balfour at Salisbury, and he was debriefed on everything happening and, after obtaining permission to choose a site for his projected central mission he embarked on his return journey to Mutare. In other words the Bishop had finally linked up with one of the priests whom he had sent earlier on with the Pioneer Column. Up to this time there were only two Anglican clergymen in the Diocese that is the Bishop and Canon Francis Balfour.

As the Bishop proceeded on his way back to Mutare, he passed through Magwende's village, where he had been during his reconnaissance journey, in 1888. He arrived at Mangwende's village on the 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1891 and quickly made arrangements for the building of mission huts after negotiating with chief Mangwende and being given the green light to leave one of his catechists there. This seems to suggest that Bishop Knight-Bruce had already planned this prior to his journey to Salisbury. He therefore left Bernard Mizeki at this village, and proceeded to Makoni's village close to what is called Rusape today. When he arrived there, G. E. P. Broderick suggests, the chief refused to see Bishop Knight-Bruce<sup>156</sup>. This is confirmed by Bishop Knight-Bruce himself when he says "at Maconi's [sic] again, the chief lives some four miles from our mission, because originally he would not let us be any nearer him ..."<sup>157</sup>. Although Chief Makoni had initially refused to see Bishop Knight-Bruce, it appears he went on to leave Frank Ziqubu there in order to see what he could do in finding a new mission. It was a kind of imposition since taking Frank back to Mutare would have spoiled the Bishop's plan to plant these two catechists in these two chieftainships as the first mission stations in his newly found Diocese.

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<sup>155</sup> Bishop Knight's Journals, National Archives, Harare, A/4/4/2

<sup>156</sup> Rev G.E.P. Broderick, Op. Cit, p36

<sup>157</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit. p100

It is at this point that we have to discuss the place of African catechists in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. We have to do this with special reference to the ministry that was carried out by these two catechists at a time when the mission field was still exceptionally new and most missionaries were still of European descent. Although the Church had been to Mashonaland earlier through other mission agents such as the Dominicans, it needs to be realised that most people living in the mountains had not been reached by such efforts. For some, this was the first encounter with the Gospel. The local Mashona people were still untouched by the outside interaction with the western civilization. The first meaningful missionary enterprise from most of the denominations came together with the Pioneer column or soon after<sup>158</sup>. It is therefore quite safe to surmise that there was a huge competition to win converts from both sides although the Pioneer Column was prepared to work with all the mission churches. It is within this context that Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu set to ensure that the Gospel had reached the African people in Mashonaland.

On the other hand one can note that from the start Bishop Knight-Bruce noticed that his missionary enterprise had to be two-pronged, that is one directed towards the local indigenous people and the other directed towards the settlers. Bishop Knight-Bruce clearly agrees with this fact when he says, “the Mashonaland mission was originally intended for natives only; but on the European coming into the country our work for them took a larger proportion”<sup>159</sup>. The church had to ensure that it catered for the two races and that meant that there was need to have the right people for the African side of the mission. It is in this context that Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu became so critical. As such they occupy a huge space in any discussion of the process of indigenization of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland especially from its inception. Below we discuss the role played by these two stalwarts in the history of the planting of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

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<sup>158</sup> C. J. M. Zvobgo, A History of Christian Missions In Zimbabwe, 1890 – 1939, Gweru: (Mambo Press, 1996) p3

<sup>159</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit, p201

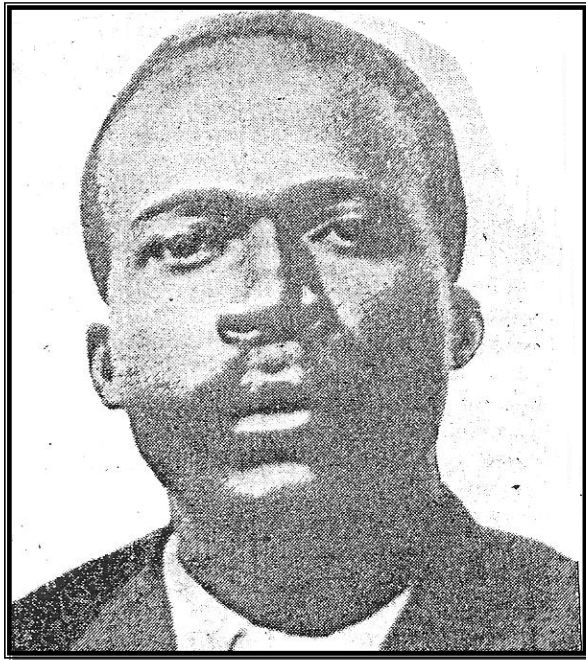
### **3.2 The Place of Early African Catechists**

As noted above, there were about five catechists who left South Africa with Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce for the newly formed Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Very little is known about the other three catechists other than what has been stated above regarding their work in this new Diocese. There is no extant documentation, which sheds light on what their contribution was in this new Diocese of Mashonaland. The little that we know is from some extant documents that talk of other people such as Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu and the contact which they may have had with these silent catechists. This does not mean that they did not do anything, but it simply goes to show how the contribution of the African people to the growth of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland has been down-played over the centuries by most Church historians. Notwithstanding the numerous difficulties which the catechists encountered coupled with loneliness; one can understand the reason why many of them seem to have just left within the first few months after their stay in the mission stations where they were sent by the Bishop. Our emphasis will dwell on the ministry of Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu.

#### **3.2. [a] Bernard Mizeki and the Mission at Mangwende**

In order for one to appreciate the role played by Bernard Mizeki in the process of indigenization in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland even at this early stage, there is need to know who this person was, where he came from and how he ended up in Mashonaland. Part of that story has already been told above, with regards to how he ended up joining Bishop Knight-Bruce's team to Mashonaland. However there has been extensive research done on the life and ministry of Bernard as such there is a great deal of agreement in terms of the details of his life. Jean Farrant seems to have done a great deal of work in this area and we will draw much of the details of this discussion from her findings.





*Mamiyeri Mizeka Gwambe [Bernard Mizeki]*

*[Picture courtesy of the Secretary of the Diocese of Harare, from the Anglican Diocese of Harare Archives]*

Bernard Mizeki was born in Mozambique in the province of Inhambane. The date on which he was born is not known although most scholars concur that he must have been born sometime in 1861. The name Bernard was his baptismal name. His real names given by his parents at birth were Mamiyeri Mizeka Gwambe<sup>160</sup>. Mizeka was his father's name. We are told that it is customary in some parts of Mozambique to give the father's name to the child. The Rev. Dr. Isaias Ezekiel Chachine, points out that 'for most Mozambicans, the middle name is always the father's name'<sup>161</sup>. Born in such a poor village, Bernard Mizeki grew up as a village boy learning all the survival skills in the village and all the customs of his people. His initial encounter with European people was in his village where we learn that there was a white man who had opened a store and Mizeki himself had had an opportunity to work for him<sup>162</sup>. Bernard worked briefly as a storekeeper, standing behind the counter, fetching and carrying goods. This European man may have been a Portuguese, since the Portuguese had already been in this country over a long period of time. On the other hand when one considers the fact that when Bernard arrived in Cape Town, one of the languages that he spoke fluently was Portuguese, he may have learnt this language from this European man.

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<sup>160</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit.*, p2

<sup>161</sup> Rev. Isaias Chachine comes from Mozambique in Shaishai, and he is currently a lecturer at the College of the Transfiguration. His wife, Ildah Samsonne Chachine, comes from Inhambane and she also confirms the tradition of the local people there of using the father's name as the middle name. In both cases the name 'Ezekiel' is Isaias' father's name and 'Samsonne' is Ildah's father's name.

<sup>162</sup> Margaret L. Snell, *Bernard Mizeki of Zimbabwe*, Harare: Kensington Consultants, 1986, p7

Bernard Mizeki suddenly found himself without parents following the death of his father and the departure of his mother to her eldest brother, who according to their culture had to stay with her until the brother found another husband for her. This means that life became horrible for Bernard at such a tender age. It is within this context that when he learnt of the flight of his relatives Ntinge, Sihayi and Masrai as political refugees from their villages, he took a horse and followed them. This was such an extra-ordinary thing to happen given Bernard Mizeki's age. Jean Farrant surmises that he should have been between twelve and fourteen years of age. Upon arrival at Delagoa Bay the four sold their horses, and used the proceeds to pay for their voyage to Cape Town and to buy some few things that they needed for the journey<sup>163</sup>.

This journey was to be an opening into a new life for Bernard Mizeki and his colleagues. It was Bernard Mizeki's first time to board a ship, let alone move out of his own country. No one knew what to expect in Cape Town. It was out of sheer courage and an immeasurable confidence in themselves that these boys proceeded on their journey. During this time the Cape had been under the rulership of the British.

Once in Cape Town Bernard Mizeki was quick to find employment on the docks, loading and unloading the steamships and sailing vessels. After that he found another job as a house servant and gardener in some home of a local English family. Jean Farrant is quick to say that Bernard Mizeki was actually lucky to find work at his age in Rondebosch<sup>164</sup>. Jean Farrant says this because Bernard Mizeki was still young to be considered for employment. Bernard proved to be an exceptionally faithful servant who could be trusted by his employer.

It was during this time in Rondebosch that Bernard Mizeki first came into contact with the mission work which was being carried out by the Cowley Fathers of St Philips Zonnebloem. He became interested in learning things about God, and decided to join night school which was being conducted by Fraulein von Bloemberg. It is here in the

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<sup>163</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p8

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid* p8

night school that Bernard Mizeki came face to face with western education. He was very excited about this opportunity as such he put all his energy in it. Fraulein von Bloemberg tells the story of how at the beginning Bernard Mizeki could not even believe that two and two make four. His shyness and lack of prior exposure to western education might have caused a less devoted teacher to give up but slowly and surely Fraulein seems to have won Bernard's confidence and she won his attention and there was tremendous progress. When Bernard was allowed to join the scripture class Fraulein is quoted saying, "the young man was suddenly quite different. He always listened with glowing eyes, drinking in every word as if a world, so far unimagined, was coming into existence before his spirit"<sup>165</sup>. It is in these classes that when Bernard was told that God knew each of them, loved and cared for him, that he seems to have had his Damascus experience. Jean Farrant quotes Bernard Mizeki saying that "this is something that I have not known. Nobody has ever told me this. I ought to have done something for God, working for him and serving him, if he cares for me so much. Do tell Him, Inkosazana, that I am very sorry that I have not done anything for Him, yet, but I didn't know about him at all"<sup>166</sup>. From this moment Bernard Mizeki's zeal for the things of God seems to have been set on fire.

Therefore Bernard decided on the path of being admitted as a full Christian. He was taken into the baptism class which meant coming for classes every evening, by train. Despite the expense and the time that this required, Bernard Mizeki was not deterred. On the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1886, the Feast of St Perpetua and her Companions, Bernard Mizeki and six of his indigenous colleagues were baptized in St Philips Church in Cape Town. Fraulein von Bloemberg was the God mother of all of them. The interesting thing about this date on which Bernard was Baptised when one looks ahead to the circumstances of his death, one can see that there was something of martyrs on this date as observed by Jean Farrant. This is the day that saw one of the first African martyrdoms when another African martyr was enrolled as a Christian<sup>167</sup>. On the following Easter Monday, Bernard Mizeki was confirmed in St Philips Chapel by Bishop West Jones.

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<sup>165</sup> Margaret L. Snell, *Op. Cit*, p9

<sup>166</sup> Jean Farrant. *Op. Cit*, p23

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid* p42

Consequently Bernard Mizeki, latter made up his mind to work for God on full time basis. He decided to help in the boarding house at St. Columbus, which had been established to help the Indigenous Africans who were working in town and coming to study in the night school. In order to clear his conscience and keep his conviction that he wanted to work for God, he offered his services free of charge. He mentioned that he had enough clothing and he would simply need food. His employer, who had received good and faithful service from such an honest lad, was not happy to lose him. But for Bernard Mizeki, nothing could stand in his way. He had already decided for God and that was what would happen. When he moved into St Columbus house Jean Farrant suggests that he performed exceptionally well<sup>168</sup>. Everyone liked him and respected his work. He continued his studies, and he also began to help in teaching as well. Bernard Mizeki became a handy person even on some of the evangelistic work which Fraulein von Bloemberg carried out in the local communities. It should be pointed out here that Bernard had a rare gift of languages. He managed to master a great deal of local languages in Cape Town including some biblical languages such as Greek, Latin and Hebrew. From such an early stage he was already being engaged as an interpreter when Fraulein went out to evangelise the local communities<sup>169</sup>.

It seems Bernard Mizeki did extremely well in his studies as a catechist. Fraulein von Bloemberg is quoted by Jean Farrant saying that, Bernard Mizeki was awarded a ‘*high*’ prize for religious knowledge in one year, and it is possible that it was the ‘*West Jones Prize*’<sup>170</sup>. Bernard became a very intelligent, radiant and easy mannered young man who even desired to become more than just a catechist. The fact that Bernard’s wish to study further was not honoured points to the fact that he was segregated against. Bernard could not be allowed to study for priesthood even though it is clear that he was a very intelligent person. When Fraulein asked him if one day he would like to become a priest he responded “That, of course, I would like very much, for I do want to work for the

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid p57

<sup>169</sup> Ibid p58

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, p58

Lord, if only I could manage the many studies ...”<sup>171</sup>. There was certainly nothing that would stand in his way to becoming a priest were it not for the racial lenses by which people were looked at during these early days. Indigenous people were still considered as being incapable to do what the European people were doing. If they were considered for such at all, they had to take double or treble the time that the European people would normally take to prepare for the same task. In essence we can safely say that Bernard was enrolled for studies leading to his becoming a catechist.

It is at this stage when Bernard Mizeki had excelled in his studies as a catechist that he offered himself together with Charles Makolami, his fellow contemporary, to accompany Bishop Knight-Bruce to Mashonaland where a new Diocese had just been carved out of the Diocese of Bloemfontein. Details of his journey and how he showed that he was made of sterner stuff has already been discussed above. With this background information known it is now important to see what became of his work at Mangwende where Bishop Knight-Bruce left him, in 1891. We have already seen that Bishop Knight-Bruce believed it to be essential that indigenous people should hear the gospel from their indigenous fellows, even though they may be men of another tribe or African country. For Peter Hincliff this was indeed an experiment of what has now become fashionable to call indigenization<sup>172</sup>, which is the subject of this research.

The context in which Bernard Mizeki was left to evangelise was not similar to what he had left behind in Cape Town. It could have been closer to his home area in Inhambane, but he had left that a long time ago and so may have lost touch with such a context. Here he came face to face with the Mashona indigenous people who had a different way of life which was not easily understood by the European missionaries. This is evidenced by Bishop Knight-Bruce’s conclusion that “the native customs were strange.”<sup>173</sup> The Mashona people had their customs, rules of etiquette, ethics, taboos and manners which were different from what Bernard Mizeki was used to.

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid p51

<sup>172</sup> Peter Hincliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963, p171

<sup>173</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, *Op. Cit*, p9

It also needs to be clearly stated that the religion of the Mashona indigenous people was based on veneration of ancestors. For the Mashona people, death was viewed as a process whereby one moves to another state of existence. The dead were viewed as being alive and responsible for the wellbeing of the living. In addition the Mashona people also believed in charms, fetishes, and witchcraft. It was especially witchcraft which was a source of great worry and dread amongst the Mashona people. There was also a fear of the visitation of the evil by the spirits of the dead friends or relatives who may have died, in situations of neglect and would want to fight back. There was also a strong belief in the vengeance spirits, *ngozi*. This explains why the Mashona people had to wear charms of numerous kinds about their bodies. This was done to protect the individual concerned<sup>174</sup>.

Over and above the belief in spirits of different types and kinds, the Mashona people also held the *n'anga* in high esteem. Such a person was an authority in the local community whose advice had to be taken seriously lest there would be calamities in the family or the community. These people were also responsible for detecting the witches and sorcerers who would be giving the local people a torrid time. More than just foretelling and forth-telling, the *n'anga* also played the role of being a herbalist or medicine person, a spiritual healer, an interpreter of dreams, a 'priest', in the widest sense, that he officiated at the altars and performed the rites of sacrifice, and an intermediary between the living and the dead. Such a functionary was extremely respected in the community and people believed whatever such a person told them, without question<sup>175</sup>. The *n'anga* also divined the causes of all illnesses and other afflictions which the community or the individual would be battling with. This person was also held to be able to pronounce on any death since for the Mashona people, every death had a cause. It is here that most of these *n'angas*, sought control over people's minds and souls.

It also needs to be pointed out that the place where Bernard Mizeki was left to minister had people who were not oblivious of the existence of God. The indigenous Mashona people certainly believed in God, whom they called *Mwari*, the creator, *musiki*,

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<sup>174</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op Cit*, p59

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid* p60

*musikavanhu*. What needs to be noted however is that such a God was involved in their daily lives. The Mashona people also believed that any communication with such a God had to be through their ancestors. This is why the Mashona believed in the hierarchy of spiritual beings, with God being the loftiest and ancestors being the closest to the living. Hence the belief that the ancestors were living and always in touch with those living. The Shona people believed that God was supreme above humanity and forces of nature. They also believed that God was the source of all life, the giver of fertility and grain. They also believed that God was everywhere – omnipresent and that God had existed before all creation and was all powerful, blessing the good and destroying the bad. They also believed that God was spirit and closely related to other spirits and spiritual forces.

In addition to that the indigenous Mashona held this Mwari in high esteem and revered their ancestors who would in turn communicate with Mwari. Given the deep respect which the Mashona had for Mwari certain days were set aside as being holy whereby people were not expected to do any work. This was against the Jewish Sabbath whereby the Jewish people are not expected to do any work on the day of the Lord. This day is considered holy and the Mashona call it *chisi*. There were also taboos related to incest, murder, and failure to respect the elderly which were taken as serious offences against *Mwari*. In the event that such things had happened, there was a belief that Mwari would punish those who opposed his will by sending war, pestilence or even lightning<sup>176</sup>. There was also belief that God might even withdraw himself so that those who sought his help would fail to access him especially when there was a national calamity. However this *Mwari* was not accessible to the individual person. Instead he could only be accessed through Ancestral, tribal and familiar spirits<sup>177</sup>.

It is within such a context that one needs to conceptualize the ominous task that lay ahead of Bernard Mizeki and his fellow catechists. How would they penetrate the mind that was so religious and turn it from all these beliefs towards the God that the Bible teaches, which they had also learned at Zonnebloem College and other training institutions in

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<sup>176</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p59

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, p59

South Africa? From the outset it would appear Bernard Mizeki's task was going to be easy since his hearers already had the concept of the godhead which was quite close to the truth, and so his task would have been to correct certain misapprehensions about God's nature and bring that God closer to these people as a personal God as opposed to being a community and tribal God only.

Once Bernard Mizeki arrived in Mangwende's village, he had to come face-to-face with two crucial beliefs amongst the Mashona people, namely the belief in *Ngozi* avenging Spirit and the *Shave* alien spirit<sup>178</sup>. There were also customs which stated that twins were to be considered as an ill-omen, hence one of the two children was to be killed, if not both. On the other hand deformed children or abnormal children had to be killed as well. Those who could not conceive were also despised. Despite these negative things happening amongst the Mangwende people, it also needs to be appreciated that the Shona people were an industrious people, and worked hard to get their food as well as get goods for trade<sup>179</sup>.

Upon arrival at Mangwende's Kraal the Bishop sent message to Chief Mangwende that he intended to see him. When permission was granted, the chief had a long discussion with the Bishop, resulting in permission being granted for Bernard to stay as their teacher. Jean Farrant says, Mangwende expressed himself very glad to have a teacher, and called out his head wife to hear the good news<sup>180</sup>. Once the negotiations were done a hut was built up for Bernard and the Bishop left knowing that he had left Bernard in the safe hands of the Chief. Within a very short space of time Bernard Mizeki learned the Shona language and was already speaking it without any trace of foreignness<sup>181</sup>. He also became a centre of attraction to many people especially the young people. On the other hand the chief himself is reported to have been a very good admirer of Bernard Mizeki and his Chief wife Zvandiparira actually became one of Bernard's devoted friends. The only exception was Mangwende's son Muchemwa who was arrogant and given to

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<sup>178</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p94

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid* p94

<sup>180</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p104

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid* p117



violence<sup>182</sup>. He hated all European people and those indigenous people who were associated with them.

Initially it was difficult for Bernard to make inroads amongst the people of Mangwende. However after a while people began to open up to him and he started to make friends. Bernard Mizeki started his ministry with a great advantage especially when one considers that the Chief liked him and he also became a good translator, being called upon to interpret during divine worship by the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland and during some judicial hearings in the High Court in Harare. He was almost like a Civil servant in this regard.

On the other hand some people admired his spiritual discipline, which he had learned in Cape Town. He said his daily offices of Martins, Prime, Evensong and Compline. He also spent a great deal of time in prayer, went to hunt and worked in his garden. He also made his own tables and chairs, cupboards and a bed which Jean Farrant says, he had to abandon later when he deliberately and voluntarily reduced himself to the level of the people he was living with and ministering to<sup>183</sup>. Bernard was also gifted in walking long distances. Even as early as this time he embarked on long journeys to such places as Mtoko, Mrewa, Wedza, Chiota, Goromonzi, Rusape and Macheke. All this was meant to widen his horizons and introduce people to the Gospel of Christ<sup>184</sup>.

In order to appreciate the work done by Bernard Mizeki at Mangwende there is one story told and interpreted by several scholars which talks of the conversion of Shoniwa, who later became known as John Kapuya after his baptism. Here Bernard had come face to face with the Mashona people engaging in their traditions and customs of sacrificing to their ancestors. Jean Farrant captures this story very well as she quotes Shoniwa telling his story many years later after Bernard had already been killed. The context of the story is that there had been suspicion of witchcraft in his village – Gomwe Kraal and the local people consulted a n’anga named Chigariro (who had been trained by Mutambira –

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid p118

<sup>183</sup> Ibid p118

<sup>184</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p119

Shoniwa's father), who named a member of the family as being the trouble causer. Following the local custom this woman was taken to the river, and with her arms held behind her back, she was forced to drink from a bowl that contained some medicated water. The trick was that if she retained the medication, she would be found guilty, but if she vomited she would be declared innocent<sup>185</sup>. As such this woman is reported as having vomited which meant that she was innocent. When this happened the family that had consulted Chigariro, turned on him and killed him in a rage, because he had wrongly accused their aunt.

It is after this incident that Shoniwa is quoted by Jean Farrant saying;

*Shortly afterwards I became very ill, and my mother took me to Demha, the old female n'anga, who lived on the hill where the Shrine now stands. She agreed to a consultation and went into a trance. When she was possessed by her mudzimu, or family spirit, she began to shake and to make grunting noises. Then she spoke with the voice of the spirit and my mother clapped her hands to greet the spirit. My sickness, said the spirit, was caused by the spirit of Chigariro, who was angry because my father's faulty teaching had caused him to make the wrong diagnosis that had cost him his life. He wished to revenge himself by sending this sickness to me, Mutambira's son. Unless I carried out certain instructions, which Demha would give me, I was certain to die. The instructions were these. If I wished to recover, I must search for a black goat and sacrifice it to the spirit of Chigariro on the banks of Nyakumbiri River at the cascade, where the river made a great noise as it rushed over the stones. If the goat had even one white hair it would be an impure, unacceptable sacrifice...My mother accompanied me to the river. It was a bright day of warm sunshine, and water flashed as it rippled over the stones at the cascade, making a sound like music. I placed the goat on the ground, and was preparing to sacrifice it when I saw a man at the shallow ford washing his clothes.*

*'Who is that man?'* I asked my mother.

*'He is Bernard, the Umfundisi, the teacher who has come to live here. He is Mangwende's friend'*

I said to my mother, *"Mother, I wish to speak to the teacher"*.

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<sup>185</sup> This procedure is still practiced in some communities in Zimbabwe, by traditional healers and it is referred to as "Muteyo". In this practice it no longer takes place at the river but at the homestead and everyone is called upon to drink the medicated water and if one is not guilty they should vomit, but if they are guilty they do not vomit.

She gave me permission, and this was our conversation

*“Good morning, Umfundisi”, I greeted him.*

*“Good morning”, he replied. “What is your name and from whence do you come?”*

*“My name is Shoniwa. I am a son of Mutambira and nephew of Gomwe. I come from Demha, the woman n’anga, whom I have consulted because I am sick.”*

*“What did she tell you and what did she do?”*

*“She cut my back and caught the blood in a horn. She rubbed in medicine and her spirit told her that I must sacrifice a black goat, with no white hairs, to the spirit of Chigariro at this cascade. There is the goat, and here we are come, my mother and I to do this thing”<sup>186</sup>.*

Bernard was certainly enraged by the plight of this young man. The story continues and points to that fact that Bernard went on to inform this young man that he did not need to sacrifice instead he needed to commit his life to God. Shoniwa’s mother was not very happy with the result of this conversation since Shoniwa decided to abandon the original plan, opting to go with Bernard Mizeki to his mission for further teaching in the things of God. The interesting thing is to see how Bernard was already engaging with the local traditions and customs, and standing his ground as a Christian. He took this boy to his Mission station where he taught him to pray and took care of him. Shoniwa Mutambira became healed, and stayed on with Bernard becoming Bernard’s very close convert who joined him in most of his travels and he also became the first Mashona convert to the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1896.

Bernard Mizeki, like other missionaries, was constantly under a great deal of loneliness. Although he was of the same colour as that of his prospective converts, that did not make

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<sup>186</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p130

him less of an alien in Mashonaland than if he had been European<sup>187</sup>. The fact remained that he was a 'foreigner' and was treated as such. He stood outside the religious and social structure of the Mangwende people to whom he was sent to evangelise. It needs to be re-stated that in the primitive African society, religion is intimately and inextricably bound up with every facet of life, as stated above. It reflects and is reflected by the social structure itself. Even as he began to make converts it seems he remained an 'outsider'. This is very clear, especially when one considers the fact that the whole village was buzzing with rumour connected with his planned murder, but he seemed to have been out of touch with what was happening on the ground.

Given the fact that Bernard Mizeki was a linguist of high calibre, he played a very critical role in the initial efforts towards indigenizing the liturgy of the Anglican Church. The Bishop realized that there was need to translate parts of the worship service so as to make the local people feel at home when they worshiped their God. G. E. P Broderick maintains that a Translations Committee was put together at Mutare consisting of Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Rev. A. Walker, Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu and John Kapuya as the Shona referee<sup>188</sup>. It is from such work of translation that one can safely point out that Bernard Mizeki was a critical person in the process of the indigenization of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland from the very beginning.

The other development that happened in Bernard Mizeki's life was to get married to a young woman from Mangwende's kraal named Mutwa. This was probably to find someone whom he could spend time with given the loneliness which he was experiencing. This wedding was the first amongst the indigenous Anglican people to take place at Rusape. His certificate is number One [1] of the Rusape District office<sup>189</sup>. This wedding was conducted by the first African priest to minister in this new Diocese, known as Rev. Hezekiah Mtobi. He had originally come from the Diocese of Grahamstown and offered his service to the new Diocese of Mashonaland. He had been a Curate at Craddock before offering his service to this new diocese. Fr. Mtobi arrived in

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<sup>187</sup> Peter Hinchcliff, *Op. Cit.*, p172

<sup>188</sup> Rev G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.*, p46

<sup>189</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit.*, p

Mashonaland on March 6<sup>th</sup> 1896, after an adventurous journey which is best told in the letter which he wrote to Bishop Knight-Bruce at Maputo in Mozambique. H. ST John T. Evans quotes Rev. Hezekiah's letter which states;

*My Lord. I am very sorry to have to tell the Bishop of the wreck of the S.S. Saxon, i.e. the steamer I came up in from Durban. The steamer struck rock about 1 am when we were all asleep. We all got up in great confusion. The captain assured us that there was nothing to fear, that we should get our blankets, and wrap ourselves warm until daybreak, when we could see what to do. We believed his word, and did nothing to try and save some of our things. But in a short time the steamer suddenly went down. Thank God! We have been spared our lives so far, except three men; the steward, whose body has been found; the fireman's and engineer's bodies have not been found. We were shipwrecked about eighty-five miles from here. Some swam to the shore, others got to the boats and reached the shore safely, fighting against heavy seas.*"<sup>190</sup>

After such an incident Rev H. Mtobi then had to walk on foot all the way from Maputo up to Mutare in the new Diocese of Mashonaland. The other Africans whom the Bishop had brought along with were catechists; as such their ministry had limitations since they could not be able to carry out the sacramental ministry which is a preserve of the ordained persons in the Anglican Church. His coming therefore was a big step in the process of indigenization in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland. It seems Rev. H. Mtobi was prepared for the daunting and difficult ministry that lay ahead of him. This is also clear in the manner in which he persevered and helped people to come to the shore when their ship had struck the rock. H. ST. John. T. Evans suggests that "survivors paid high tribute to Mr. Mtobi's resourcefulness and courage during the journey"<sup>191</sup>. Soon after his arrival on the 6<sup>th</sup> March, his first task was to solemnize the marriage of Bernard Mizeki to Mutwa on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1896 in Rusape. The coming of Rev. H. Mtobi is a very good indication of the realization of Africanisation, by the first Bishop of Mashonaland. It is also this recognition of the ministry of indigenous African priests to indigenous people which is also important here. Rev. Mtobi remained in the diocese, and

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<sup>190</sup> H. ST. John T. Evans, The Church in Southern Rhodesia, London: SPG, 1945, p22

<sup>191</sup> Ibid p25

carried out a stunning ministry in the Mutasa area until he became mentally derailed and had to be taken back to his home in South Africa<sup>192</sup>.

However the sad part of the story of Bernard Mizeki is that just a month after his wedding to Mutwa; he was murdered at his mission on the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1896. This gruesome murder was orchestrated by Muchemwa, Mangwende's son and his uncles Saridjo [sic], Zihute and Bodjo [sic]. This was the beginning of the Ndebele-Shona uprising against the Colonial rule in Zimbabwe. A message had been sent to Bernard to leave his mission and proceed to St Augustine's Mission where there was enough protection. However when he considered all the people who were staying at the mission who depended on him, he could not imagine leaving them behind. Moreso his wife Mutwa was now pregnant and there were some sick people in the mission.

It is at this point that Bernard took what can best be described as a '*reckless*' decision and declined the invitation to seek protection in Manicaland. Instead Bernard Mizeki humbled himself and chose the way of the cross. He wrote a letter to Rev. Foster who had sent for him and said "Mangwende's people are suffering. The Bishop has put me here and told me to remain. Until the Bishop returns, here I must stay. I cannot leave my people now in a time of such darkness"<sup>193</sup>. Such was a bold statement to make in the face of the impending sword. Bernard chose to die with and for his people.

When the contribution of Bernard Mizeki is considered in the process of indigenization in the Anglican Church, one can not help but appreciate his gallant attitude in the midst of a group of people, some of whom were totally anti-Christian. He sowed the seeds of the Gospel amongst the people of Mangwende. He taught the gospel and lived it. He showed the people of Mangwende the life of service and also showed that the African people were equally good as missionaries. His contribution towards the translation of the English prayers and some books of the Bible was so immense that when he died the gap which was created was difficult to fill. This is the reason why Bishop Sebastian Bakare says

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<sup>192</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p62

<sup>193</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p209

“Bernard was unique and exceptional and his disappearance remains a mystery. I personally cherish the tradition and all that we heard from eye witnesses...”<sup>194</sup>.

Amongst all the catechists who accompanied Bishop Knight-Bruce to Mashonaland, it is Bernard Mizeki whose life and ministry is greatly remembered and cherished. From the above discussion it is clear that he was an icon of true faithfulness from the African perspective and his deliberate decision to identify with the local people, by way of speaking their language and marrying one of them must have left a deep and indelible mark on the people of Mangwende, whose later generation had to apologise to Mutwa for the callous murder of her husband at a public gathering which met at Bernard Mizeki Shrine in 1938<sup>195</sup>.

The ministry of Bernard Mizeki was also remembered in the sense that a month after his death, Shoniwa his disciple, was baptized by Bishop Thomas Gaul and given a new name John Kapuya. John was later sent to Isandhlwana College in Zululand to train as a catechist & teacher. He returned and became one of the first indigenous teachers in the Anglican Church schools in the country. Despite the fact that Bernard Mizeki died prematurely in his ministry the seeds that he sowed, can be seen today in the huge numbers of believers and followers from the Mangwende’s people and from elsewhere. The place where his mission was built has become a Shrine for the Anglican Province of Central Africa, which includes the Diocese of Mashonaland. Each and every year people from all over the world visit this place, the weekend nearest to the 18<sup>th</sup> June to commemorate and celebrate Bernard Mizeki’s life and ministry amongst the indigenous Shona people.

Close to this shrine an Anglican Boarding School has been built for boys named after him - ‘*Bernard Mizeki College*’. Here boys are educated within the Christian spirituality which Bernard Mizeki stood for. In addition to all that, there is a Chapel named after

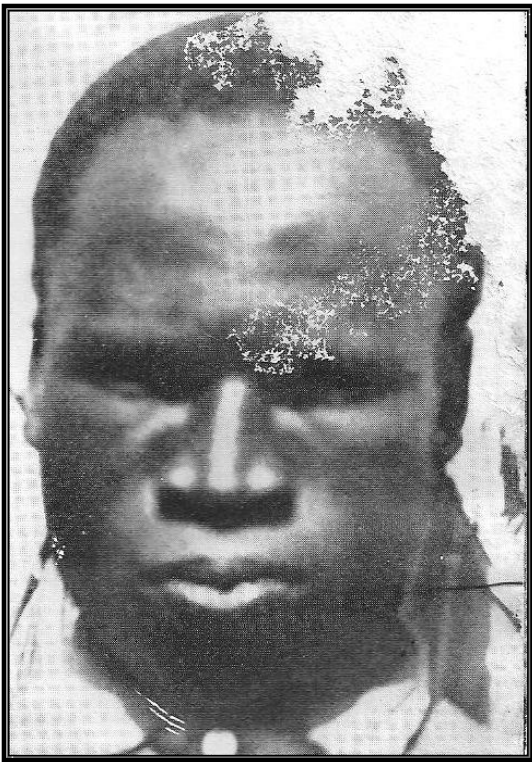
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<sup>194</sup> Questionnaire by Bishop Sebastian Bakare, Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland, where Bishop Knight-Bruce decided to build the headquarters of his church when he arrived there in June of 1891.

<sup>195</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p210

Bernard Mizeki in the Anglican Cathedral in Harare. Church authorities have done this to show the central place that Bernard Mizeki occupies in the life of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and indeed in the whole Anglican Communion. Below we discuss the life of Frank Ziqubu and his contribution to the indigenisation process in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

### 3.2[b] Frank Ziqubu and the Mission at Makoni



*Frank Ziqubu*

*[Photo: Courtesy of the Anglican Diocese of Harare Archives]*

Frank Ziqubu was the catechist whom Bishop Knight-Bruce left at Chief Makoni. As noted above chief Makoni did not want to have anything to do with this man although he later accepted him to stay and minister to his people. Having been left at Makoni's Kraal, Frank Ziqubu had to find ways of establishing himself in that village. He quickly built a few huts for the mission and started his evangelization ministry. Bishop Knight-Bruce says he built these huts in the Zulu style and created a compound surrounded by reeds, where one would find huts, with the church just outside<sup>196</sup>. Frank Ziqubu seems to have been quite organized, in the sense that he decided to be more productive. We learn that at his mission there were several domestic animals, including cattle and goats. He also started a progressive gardening project which resulted in him selling some of the produce to the local people. Frank slowly grew into a farmer of high reputation in Makoni's Kraal.

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<sup>196</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, *Op. Cit*, p100



However the little that we know is that when he stayed at Makoni's kraal he managed to win the Chief's favour to the extent that Bishop Knight-Bruce says "I am glad to say chief Makoni say he likes Frank, our catechist, very much"<sup>197</sup>. Frank ensured that he maintained a healthy communication line with Bernard and get encouragement from him as well. It is also important to note that Chief Makoni himself was a very rich person who was also influential in his village and the surrounding villages. In the typical African style he also had several wives. Jean Farrant suggests that they counted to sixty wives<sup>198</sup>. Not only was he such a rich person but he was also known to be quite arrogant, troublesome and vindictive. He should be viewed as a person who was feared, unlike chief Mangwende who was quite friendly. In chief Mangwende's case, it was his son Muchemwa instead who was of the same character and deportment as Chief Makoni.

It should be stated also that there was constant traffic of human beings between Mangwende and Makoni and that the two catechists tried to keep each other company in many ways. Frank also went on long walks with the Bishop and Fr. Douglas Pelly who joined them a little later, traversing areas around Rusape such as Chiduku right up to Masvingo making surveys for the new Diocese. Although Frank tried to follow the daily offices, he certainly lacked the spirituality which Bernard Mizeki had inherited from the Cowley Fathers. His was Christian ministry coupled with material production. He is known for being a good farmer at Makoni. Jean Farrant observes that he was even successfully growing crops such as wheat.<sup>199</sup> Frank Ziqubu became so much involved in farming to the detriment of his ministry of the Gospel.

Frank was also heavily involved in the translation committee which had been started by the Bishop at Mutare. Writing from Mutare in 1894, Bishop Knight Bruce reports;

*[We are] beginning the first methodical translation into Seshona [sic] of parts of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the creed. Our party consists of our two leading catechists – Frank and Bernard – who have been*

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<sup>197</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, *Op. Cit*, 102.

<sup>198</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p116

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid* p173

*learning the language now for two and half years, Mr. Walker who has been studying it with Frank, and Kapuya, a headman's son, and myself*"<sup>200</sup>.

Although there was constant traffic of human beings between Mangwende and Mokoni's kraals, Frank was also lonely on many occasions. As well as being poorly paid it must be remembered that the life of these catechists was strenuous, involving long walks, nights in the open, austere living conditions, loneliness, and a constant temptation to leave the mission field. It is not surprising therefore that most of the early catechists left the mission field prematurely. In one of his numerous letters to his father, Douglas Pelly expressed that even Frank wanted to surrender. He deplores Frank's action in the following words;

*Jacob [catechist], is going, which I don't mind, but I have also found to my horror that Frank wants to go too. He has suffered greatly from being so long alone, and has not done very much work for the mission. He has chiefly gardened and made money for himself. He has grown rich at the mission's expense and now that at last he is able to be of real use with the translations, and after his training has cost the mission all of three hundred pounds, he wants to go and farm on his own account, and so do better for himself. It is utterly wrong and dishonorable*"<sup>201</sup>.

From the above it seems Frank was getting his things mixed up. He was certainly beginning to enjoy gain more than the gospel which is the reason why he had come to Mashonaland.

However with the coming of the Ndebele-Shona uprising, Frank was also called to safety at St Augustine's Mission. Prior to that Frank had been raided by the people of Makoni and lost a number of livestock as well as some mission belongings. Bishop Knight-Bruce writes "I don't know if I have told you that catechist Frank has lately been raided by Makoni, who used to profess such friendship for Frank. He sent fifty men over to the mission-station and took away all that was worth taking, and rather knocked Frank about"<sup>202</sup>. It was after such occasions that when the war came Frank quickly gave up and

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<sup>200</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce's Diary, National Archives, Harare A/4/4/1

<sup>201</sup> Douglas Pelly's Letters, National Archives, Harare, A/4/4/5

<sup>202</sup> Bishop George Wydham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Op. Cit, p169

went to the mission station for safety. After the war, Frank surrendered and decided to go into full-time farming. He bought his own farm ‘*Waterfall*’ close to Harare, where he engaged in crop production until his death.

Whatever may have happened with Frank Ziqubu, his impact in sowing the Gospel in the Makoni district seems to have been significant as well. Like any other person he had his own weaknesses as intimated by Canon W. W. W. Nechironga, who says Frank Ziqubu failed in his ministry because he went into business, and abandoned his calling to the gospel. Over and above farming he started a transport business whereby he carried produce for the local people. He goes on to suggest that he also married two wives which was not acceptable in the church<sup>203</sup>. Although there seems to be no corroborating evidence of his marrying two wives, the fact that there is no mention of him marrying at all, seems to point to the possibility of falling in that area. The main problem with him in Nechironga’s view is that he developed a certain level of the love of money. Whatever the case may be, his contributions in translations as well as teaching people farming methods went a long way in the early process of indigenization in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

### **3.3 The resignation and Death of Bishop Knight-Bruce**

Meanwhile, Bishop Knight-Bruce was traversing the country as work was going on at Makoni and Mangwende. He had to ensure that the church obtained land concessions with a view to create Christian villages when the government would expropriate the available land to the colonialists. This would leave the local people with nowhere to stay. As noted above, the Bishop got permission from Dr. Jameson that at every mission station the church would demarcate for itself 3,000 acres. In 1893, there was the Anglo-Ndebele war, in which Bishop Knight Bruce was invited to join as Chaplain to the forces. Instead he opted to join as Bishop of the Diocese in which this war was going to take place. He intended to minister to both sides, during the course of this war, a thing which was quite unbelievable. Considering the fact that his wagon was together with the Colonial forces, and the forces gave him the protection which he needed as well as the

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<sup>203</sup> Interview with Rev. W.W.W Nechironga, on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006, at Hatefield, Harare

supplies that he needed, the question of neutrality in his ministry during this moment remains questionable.

Despite these reservations which some people may raise, Bishop Knight-Bruce is reported to have demonstrated that he cared for everyone, by saving the life of a Matabele wounded man<sup>204</sup>. Even when the forces reached Bulawayo which Lobengula had set alight and fled, Bishop Knight-Bruce was still convinced that he would persuade Lobengula to surrender and negotiate a truce with him. This was however discouraged by Dr. Jameson who was afraid that the Bishop may be killed in the process. On the other hand it seems the Bishop wanted to clear himself with Lobengula, since Lobengula believed that they were friends. He realized the complication, of being part of the force that was fighting Lobengula and decided that he needed to explain himself and clarify how his 'neutrality' was to be understood. The Bishop never got to explain himself to Lobengula. It needs to be pointed out that the defeat of the Ndebele in this war was welcomed by all the denominations that were struggling to make inroads into the Matabele people<sup>205</sup>.

With the war having been fought and won by the colonial forces, Bishop Knight-Bruce rode his horse back to his headquarters in Mutare. During this time, more mission stations were being founded including a mission founded by Douglas Pelly at Mutasa. In Salisbury [now Harare], Rev. Upcher was now Archdeacon and had taken over from Canon Balfour after he was called back to Bloemfontein. There was also much disappointment during these early days of the mission, due to the many missionaries who were invalided due to disease. Bishop Knight-Bruce continued with the work of translation in order to ensure that people worship in a language which they understood.

Sadly Bishop Knight-Bruce fell sick from blackwater fever at Mutare and his doctor pointed out that if he suffered a second attack it will be fatal. A report of a meeting of the Home Association says that a telegram had been received in which the Bishop said that

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<sup>204</sup> R. R. Langham Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p60

<sup>205</sup> Chengetai J. M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890 – 1939*, Gweru: Mambo Press, p11

owing to continual attacks of fever the doctors had told him that he must return to England<sup>206</sup>. The Bishop then left Mashonaland, but with a heavy heart. He left the diocese that he had put so much energy into its formation. He had sacrificed his life and his family for the work of the spread of the word of God to people in that region. It is clear from his writing from England that he did not want to leave Mashonaland at all and that he was satisfied with the work that he had started. He states;

*I would not on any consideration have missed the years I have spent in Africa. It is scarcely 9 years, since standing in the committee room of the S. P. G, I urged that the whole country between the Transvaal and the Zambezi should be claimed for Christ; but as to what that country was, or anything about it, I do not think that there was one person in the room who knew more than I did, and I knew nothing. But I am sure that God meant the mission to be founded, so all the rest followed. Founding a mission seems very much like beginning a pier, where blocks of concrete have to be sunk at much labour and cost before anything is visible to the ordinary observer, and we have had to do the foundation work ...but we have gone beyond that stage, and the progress reported in the letters to this Quarterly paper is a further addition to the progress that went before<sup>207</sup>.*

The resignation of Bishop Knight-Bruce was welcomed by many people who expressed their appreciation of what he had done in Mashonaland. Even the then Archbishop of Canterbury, The Rt Rev. Benson, speaking at the S. P. G Anniversary Meeting in London in 1894, said “he has behaved like a Knight-errant but a knight-errant with that heart which would desire the whole work of the church to go forward and be grateful to God for the success which has attended his own particular efforts”<sup>208</sup>. Indeed the Bishop had worked extremely hard, walking on foot most of the time and sleeping in the open, and at times eating rough food. He had been vulnerable to wild animals, hunger and inclement weather conditions. He had also laboured to start the Home Association in England, which ended up with numerous branches. This Association laboured in raising money for the missionary endeavours in Mashonaland.

Back in England the Bishop recuperated and was appointed in a little town of Bovey Tracey on the edge of Dartmoor. He was appointed as Assistant Priest although he ended up doing all the work there since the vicar was too old and ill. He also died soon after the

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<sup>206</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* No. 8, April 1894, p21 - 38

<sup>207</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* No. 10, October 1894

<sup>208</sup> *Mission Field*, 1894, p243

arrival of Bishop Knight-Bruce, which meant that the Bishop had to take over all responsibilities in this small parish. In addition to that Bishop Knight-Bruce was also appointed Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Exeter which meant more responsibilities for him. Given his experience in Mashonaland, he was certainly going to manage, were it not for his ill health.

Although Bishop Knight-Bruce had shown a good progress in his health he suddenly fell sick again, and died on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1896 at the age of 44 years. He was certainly able to achieve much in a small space of time. His memorial notice which appeared in the Mashonaland Quarterly captures everything that needed to be said over such a person's life. The notice says "The physical strength of the 'Pioneer Bishop' had again and again been drained, and his constitution undermined by repeated attacks of malarial fever, and incessant exposure and hardships in that distant Africa where the best years and strength of his life had been ungrudgingly given"<sup>209</sup>. Indeed Bishop Knight-Bruce had given his whole self to the spread of the gospel in Mashonaland. He was buried in the cemetery at Bovey Tracey and the Marble Tablet put in the Exeter Cathedral to his memory is a correct description of this Bishop. The inscription reads;

In Loving Memory of  
GEORGE WYNDAM HAMILTON  
KNIGHT-BRUCE. D.D  
Sometime Bishop of Bloemfontein and afterwards Pioneer  
Missionary and first Bishop of Mashonaland,  
Born March 23, 1852  
Died December 16 1896

Driven by fever from the mission Fields of South Africa, he found for a short time as vicar of Bovey Tracey and Assistant Bishop of this Diocese a fresh and fruitful field for the employment of those high gifts with which his Lord had endowed him.

*"We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren"* [ 1 John 3. 16 ]

This Monument to the memory of their eldest son is placed by his Parents<sup>210</sup>.

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<sup>209</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* No. 19, February 1897

<sup>210</sup> MSS in the National Archives, Harare A/4/4/2

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

It is this man of God who spearheaded the beginnings of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland, and his labours were to bear fruit in the tremendous growth that followed thereafter. On the whole one can summarise the role of Bishop Knight-Bruce in the process of indigenization, as that of a facilitator, who knowing that the evangelization of the local African people needed to be done by fellow Africans, although not necessarily from the same country, tried to put that into practice. Bishop Knight-Bruce believed strongly as noted above that, the African element was going to be critical in this mission hence he decided to include Africans, in his initial epic journey to Mashonaland in 1888, as well as in his next journey in 1891 which resulted in the plantation of the new Diocese of Mashonaland. The mission field had two distinct groups of people, namely the Europeans who had come with the colonial enterprise and the local indigenous people who up to this stage were basically illiterate. This difference meant that the Anglican missionaries had to indigenize their liturgy by way of translation, to start with, in order for the people to feel at home when they worship God in their own language. This work of translation therefore became very critical for Bishop Knight-Bruce and here the role played by Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu and John Kapuya need to be commended. One can safely say that the process of indigenization in the Anglican Church was in place although at this stage it was certainly at a very slow pace. Two major areas can be pointed out from this stage as having the process of indigenization taking place. One is the area of personnel, where there were a few catechists on the field as we have seen above. The first African priest, Rev H. Mtobi had also arrived in Mashonaland from the Diocese of Grahamstown. There was also indigenization process in liturgy as seen in the translations that were being done at Mutare. The following chapter will seek to establish the role played by some of the early European Missionaries in the Diocese of Mashonaland whose ministry contributed to the indigenization process in the Anglican Church.

## Chapter 4

### Early Missionaries and the process of Indigenisation

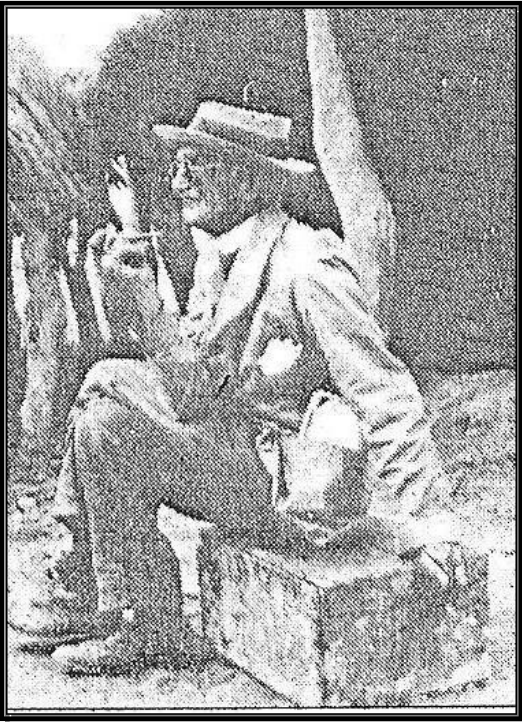
#### 4.0 Introduction

The resignation and eventual death of Bishop Knight-Bruce did not mean the end of the Anglican Church missionary expedition in Zimbabwe. With the election of Bishop Thomas Gaul who had been an Archdeacon of Kimberley for some time, and who was so energetic, the work of the Anglican Church gained momentum. More missionaries mostly from England took an interest in this newly found and embryonic diocese of Mashonaland. Most of these missionaries arrived and joined ranks with their kith and kin, who could not see anything wrong with the process of disempowering the local black people from their rights to land and freedom of movement. However there are some few missionaries who came during the early stages of the sowing of the Anglican version of Christianity and made a significant contribution to the process of indigenization in the Anglican Church. In this chapter, I will discuss the contributions made by five such early missionaries namely Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps, Rev. Edgar and Elaine Lloyd and Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock towards the indigenisation of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe. In doing so I will look at the above people under the following sub themes all of which will help to show the contribution made by the above persons towards the indigenisation of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe. In discussing the contribution made by Arthur Shirley Cripps towards indigenisation, I will do so under the following sub topics, [a] General Concern for the African people, [b] Founding of Local schools and their contribution to indigenisation, [c] Identification of local people for the ordained ministry, [d] Alternative Ecclesiology Model and [e] Indigenisation through theological engagement. In discussing the contribution made by Edgar and Elaine Lloyd towards the indigenisation of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe I will consider the following sub topics, [a] Founding of local schools and their contribution to indigenisation, [b] Translation work and [c] Development projects and indigenisation. When we discuss the contribution made by Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock towards indigenisation, we will do so under the following sub topics [a] Missionaries with a Difference [b] Indigenisation



beyond the Church Walls and [c] Works of Mercy and indigenisation. Let us start by discussing the contribution made by Arthur Shirley Cripps to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe.

#### 4.1 Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps



*Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps [Photo: Diocese of Harare Archives]*

This discussion is not an attempt to engage with all that Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps did during his ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Instead, this discussion aims to establish his contribution to the process of indigenization in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. A brief history of this man of the cloth will suffice at this stage. According to Douglas V. Steere, Arthur Shirley Cripps was born in the South of England on the 10<sup>th</sup> June 1869 in a family of 8 children. Out of these eight only four lived to adulthood. As other children of his age Arthur went to school and in the summer of 1891 he graduated with a BA in Modern History, with a second class honours<sup>211</sup>. It was after graduating with his first degree that he decided to study theology. In the summer of 1893 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Chichester after which he received his first appointment as an Assistant curate in Sussex. Cripps was then appointed Rector of Ford End Essex. He trained for ministry at Oxford where he had contact with High Church Puseyites who reinforced an inherent conviction in him that the Church had a holy obligation to protect the weak. Murray Steele suggests

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<sup>211</sup> Douglas V. Steere, *God's Irregular Arthur Shirley Cripps: A Rhodesian Epic*, London: S.P.C.K, 1973, p8

that such a belief flowered into a sort of Christian Socialism during the six year ministry which he undertook in London's East End which was a very poor and deplorable place.

It was whilst working in such a poor area that Arthur Shirley Cripps offered his services to the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and he was sent out to Wreningham Mission, which was located in Manyene Reserve near Enkeldoorn [now Chivhu] in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The Diocese of Mashonaland report of January 15 1901, in *The Southern Cross* [Church of the Province of Southern Africa paper], suggests that "Arthur Shirley Cripps resigned his living of East End in order to join the staff of mission clergy in the diocese of Mashonaland. He will work with his fellow Rev. W. J. Roxburgh at and around Umtali [now Mutare], Beira and the railway line, some 280 miles<sup>212</sup>". It is clear that when he landed in the diocese, he had been designated a place already where he was going to serve. However upon arrival, there was a vacancy created following the departure of Archdeacon James H. Upcher who was based at Wreningham. Archdeacon Upcher had decided to go on furlough for six months. The Bishop therefore decided to send Arthur Shirley Cripps to Wreningham 'temporarily' to hold the fort until such time that the Archdeacon, James H. Upcher would return. This is captured well in *The Southern Cross*, which states that "Archdeacon Upcher will be sailing for England from Beira about April 16<sup>th</sup> via the East Coast and will be absent for six months. The Rev. A. S. Cripps takes his work *pro tem* at Enkeldoorn<sup>213</sup>". This is the place where Arthur was to spend fifty years of his life interspaced with four years in England and another four years serving as chaplain during the First World War.

In order to appreciate the role played by Arthur Shirley Cripps in the process of indigenization one can do so by considering the following aspects of his ministry;

#### **4.1.a General Concern for the Indigenous People**

Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps understood that he had come to Africa, which was a different continent, with human beings who were different from him, but whom he could identify

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<sup>212</sup> *The Southern Cross*, [Church of the Province of Southern Africa Newspaper] [March 15, 1901] p22

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid* [April 15, 1901] p31

with and minister to successfully. Upon arrival in Chivhu area he embarked on a serious study of the local language in order to be relevant to his new community. He knew very well that without a language there was no way he would function in this new community. He is reported by Rev. W.W.W Nechironga to have spent hours on end reading and writing his sermons word for word in Shona, in order for his people to understand the word of God in their language<sup>214</sup>. This is also corroborated by Owen Sheers who suggests that “for the first year at the mission Arthur Shirley Cripps spent hours in his hut each night, bent over a Shona grammar and Dictionary, painfully composing his sermons word for word and learning them by heart by the light of the candle”<sup>215</sup> This was his starting point of engaging with the process of indigenization. He sought to present the Gospel in the language of the local people, which they could understand.

Within a short while, Rev. Cripps became fluent in Shona and always chose to use Shona whenever he saw it fitting. This desire to indigenize the Christian religion to the local context resulted in Arthur Shirley Cripps making a suggestion that all missionary clergy should learn the local language in the area where they were working. No other white missionary in the Anglican Church had ever suggested such a thing, as did Arthur Shirley Cripps. According to the minutes of the first Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland held at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints in Salisbury [now Harare] on the 18<sup>th</sup> April 1903, “Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps said the priests should learn the Local language in that area and synod adopted that suggestion<sup>216</sup>”. It is not clear whether this adoption meant that other white missionaries were going to implement it or not. However, Fr. Cripps was already running with the process of indigenization.

Coupled with the issue of learning the local language, Rev. A. S. Cripps also proposed a couple of corrective amendments to a set of some blunt resolutions on the native question, which stood ready for synod to adopt even though they sounded nasty and distasteful to the local people. Since there was no representation of any local people at this first synod held in 1903, those proposals would have been adopted without anyone

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<sup>214</sup> Interview with Rev. W.W.W Nechironga, on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006

<sup>215</sup> Owen Sheers, *The Dust Diaries*, Chattam, Kent: Faber and Faber, 2004, p85

<sup>216</sup> ANG 1/4/4/1, National Archives of Zimbabwe

challenging them had it not been for Rev. A. S. Cripps whose desire to identify with the local people fired him to challenge such resolutions. The same minutes point out that Fr. A. S. Cripps suggested that the synod delete a section of the resolution which stated that “neither individuals, nor races are born with equal faculties or opportunities” as well as dropping two items, the first of which read: “two things which make the native unambitious in his work, both for himself and for others; [1] polygamy [2] the absence of wants<sup>217</sup>”. Such recommendations would only come from someone who really loved the local people of whom such resolutions were seeking to relegate to oblivion. Scholars such as Douglas V. Steere, maintains that by suggesting such amendments it did not mean that Fr. A. S. Cripps was condoning polygamy or indolence, instead his concern was that it was not the concern of the church to humiliate the local people so publicly<sup>218</sup>. Indeed if one has to buy into someone’s heart, the worst thing they can do is to humiliate them in public. Allowing such humiliation would certainly stifle any efforts to make converts from the local people let alone indigenize the Anglican Church itself.

Rev. Arthur S. Cripps’ concern with making the Anglican Church sink in the African soil was also clear in the manner that he wanted to ensure that the synods of the church represented all the members of the Church including the local people. Since he did not like riding on cars, he usually walked to Harare where most synods were held. In most cases, he would attend such meetings if there was an issue affecting the local people whom he considered himself to be their defender. One such incident happened in the Diocesan Synod of 1912, which was presided by Bishop Hicks Beaven. From the beginning, Fr. Cripps had realized that there was no representation for the Africans and yet the church was beginning to have more African followers. He therefore suggested at that synod that African delegates be included at the diocesan synod, and that these African delegates be chosen by the congregations of different races, and he also suggested that the Bishop “be asked to invite personally native congregations to send qualified representatives for their own race to the next synod<sup>219</sup>”. Indeed if the church was to be African in Mashonaland, it had to include the Mashona people in its decision

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid

<sup>218</sup> Douglas V. Steere, *Op. Cit.*, p45.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid p76

make processes and Administrative structures which is what Fr. Cripps advocated for at this meeting. True indigenization of the church ensues in the local people running the show. Doris Thompson rightly refers to Canon Farmer talking about the need for an indigenous priesthood. He says “there can be no doubt that the very best missionary must be the properly trained native and the end of our work must be a native ministry. It is exceedingly difficult for the Englishmen to appeal to the native mind”<sup>220</sup>. It was therefore Rev. A. S. Cripps’ view that to continue to segregate African people from synod was a misnomer, if the Anglican Church had to sink its roots amongst the local people. Such an inclusion was to come later as more and more African people were becoming educated.

On the other hand Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps’ concern for the local African people was epitomized in the manner he associated with them. He identified with the local people in every respect. He ate what they ate, lived where they lived and he used his own resources to better their lives. In fact Rev. A. S. Cripps was a replica of St Francis amongst his people. Bp Peter Hatendi captures Fr. Cripps identity with the African people very well when he says;

*I have heard a lot about him so much that in terms of anything that we may call indigenization, in trying to root the church in this soil of ours here in Zimbabwe, if there is anyone among the white clergy who made a direct impression on trying to indigenize the church, at a point where he was actually misunderstood, it was Arthur Shirley Cripps. Cripps became native because of the environment around here. He tried as much as possible to be like his context, in a symbiosis where he thought that by doing that you take and you give in a very intimate relationship but not from a distance but by settling among them, although he could not be like them in very respect, but he was one of the few English priests who came to this country who really went that far...He settled at Maronda Mashanu and became like us<sup>221</sup>.*

These sentiments are repeated by many people whom we interviewed. For example Canon W.W.W Nechironga maintains that “There is no other white priest who came from England who has ever loved Africans the way Arthur Shirley Cripps did. He was indeed a Holy man...he had serious love for Africans hence we can say that he was a real

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<sup>220</sup> Doris Thompson, Priest and Pioneer: A Memoir of Fr. Osmund Victor, CR, of South Africa, Westminster: The Faith Press, Ltd, 1958, p7

<sup>221</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter. R. Hatendi on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006, at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

protagonist for the indigenization process in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>222</sup>. There are many stories which are told to reinforce this deep concern for Africans and some of them have become legendary. It is also because of his love for Africans that he ended up doing a lot of things for them, which earned him several names in return. Amongst some of the names that the local people gave him, were “Chapepa” *meaning he who cares for people*<sup>223</sup>, “Kambadakoto” *meaning he who goes about as a poor man*<sup>224</sup> and “Mupandi” *meaning one who walks like thunder*. Much of that walking was to do services in his parish as well as in the nearby congregations. He also walked to Harare, especially to defend his people should they be summoned for trial in the civil courts for not paying taxes, or to defend the African cause in the Diocesan synods.

As early as 1903 Arthur Shirley Cripps was so angered by the hut tax such that he tried his best to undermine it at the Diocesan synod in that year. As usual he walked to Harare and arrived just minutes to prepare before presenting his case. In the words of Owen Sheers, Fr. Cripps suggested that “In view of the agricultural and pastoral character of the Mashona people, and the fact that they have been only twelve or thirteen years in contact with civilization, we consider that the most desirable form of taxation to stimulate their industry is taxation in kind<sup>225</sup>. This proposal was not accepted just like his other proposal on the native question. This infuriated Fr. Cripps such that he went on to use his poetic tool to defend his African people, by writing a poem which he entitled “*Ode Celebrating the Proposed Quadrupling of the Hut Tax*”. This was indeed a serious attack on both the Church and the State. The last Stanza made his point very clearly;

*Go glean in the fields of the harvest bare,  
From famine meat a four-fold share!  
Apply a text as best you may –  
From him that both hath not, take away!*<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Interview with Canon. W.W.W Nechironga on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006

<sup>223</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit*, p92

<sup>224</sup> D. E. Finn, “*Kambandakoto: A study of A. S. Cripps, 1869 – 1952*, in *Rhodesiana* 1962 VII, p34-43

<sup>225</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit*, p85

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid* p89

This poem caused problems in the church resulting in the Bishop sending a telegram to Fr. A.S. Cripps to withdraw his poem from circulation. Although Fr. Arthur obliged, that was the beginning of his problems with the church. He thought that the church would take sides with the poor and identify with the vanquished, but in this case, the church was taking the side of the oppressors. However, when the local people saw this level of love by a European missionary towards them, they felt at home and followed him. Murray Steele points out that “between 1911 and 1923 Fr. A. S. Cripps received grants for four farms namely; Muckleneuk ‘Maronda Mashanu’, Moneyput and ‘Muhonde’ a block of land totaling 7780 acres located outside Enkledoorn”<sup>227</sup>. Fr A.S.Cripps settled his people on these farms, with a view to rescue them from paying Hut Tax to the Government. According to Canon W. W.W. Nechironga, several people benefited from this venture. He mentions two of Fr. Cripps’ followers such as The Rev. Cyprian Tambo as well as The Rev Leonard Mamvura as beneficiaries of land in these farms<sup>228</sup>. In addition to that Owen Sheers points out that two local chiefs namely, Pfumojena and Mashonganyika and their people also moved from the Manyene area and settled in Fr. Cripps’ farms<sup>229</sup>. All this was done with a view to helping the local people to believe in themselves and be in charge of their own lives both in society and in the church. This is indeed what undergirds the indigenization process.

#### **4.1.b. Village Schools and Indigenisation**

The Rev. Arthur S. Cripps endeavoured to ensure that in his efforts to convert the local people to Christianity, they needed to do that out of their own conviction, supported by a critical thinking. This was only possible with the help of schools, which would help in the process of evangelization as well as civilization. Given the fact that he had bought four farms it means that he had some jurisdiction over a piece of land and the people whom he settled there. Bishop Peter Hatendi believes that Fr. A. S. Cripps took to acquiring land as a result of his incessant struggles with the diocese especially over the question of the Hut Tax<sup>230</sup>. Be that as it may Fr. Cripps strongly opposed anything that would make

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<sup>227</sup> Murray . Steele, *Op. Cit* p153

<sup>228</sup> Interview with Canon W. W. W. Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006

<sup>229</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit.* p172

<sup>230</sup> Interview with Bp Peter Hatendi on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

the life of the locals difficult as well as compromise his missionary efforts. He therefore decided to settle his people on these farms so that he would run his show without anyone bothering him.

One of the things that he did was to put up schools in these farms so as to educate the young ones to be able to read and write. We are not aware of how many schools he built in his farms, but there are extant reports especially from *The Southern Cross*, which suggest that in his farms there were some primary schools operating by the time he passed on in 1952. *The Southern Cross* reports that “at Wreningham Raymond Hwata another Mushona, Trained at Isandhlwana, in Zululand as teacher looks after the natives. Two miles from this school is another school and Alfred Mugedeza works there as teacher”<sup>231</sup>. Although some teachers seem to have been trained from outside the country like Raymond Hwata, it must be borne in mind that the opening of The Diocesan Training College at St Augustine’s in Mutare also helped to supply the much needed teachers in the country at that time. For the missionaries these teachers were supposed to teach the Africans to read the Bible. However, once one can read, they can read anything including the Bible. They become open to the world of literature.

It also needs to be pointed out that most if not all of these schools were pole and dagga buildings. However it was the product of these schools which most missionaries were worried about. The expectation was that whilst in these school, these little minds would be formed and transformed into beings that would go out and make more disciples. If such people were well taught by the local teachers, it meant that evangelism would spread quickly over a huge area. Bishop Peter Hatendi observes that although there were some schools built in Fr. A. S. Cripps’ farms they can not be seen as having had a very strong impact in the process of indigenization. Bishop Hatendi says;

*Where A.S. Cripps was probably slow, was in setting up schools. He did set up Church institutions, but in terms of schools he was slow. If anything they were imitations of schools. They were not really schools. Daramombe came later. Cripps did not have a strong relationship with Daramombe. He charged mission stations for being materialistic and so he was not close to Daramombe*<sup>232</sup>.

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<sup>231</sup> *The Southern Cross*, 15 April 1901, p31

<sup>232</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter R. Hatendi on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006



One of the major problems which can be attributed to the reason why there seems to have been a problem in these schools which Fr. Cripps put up has to do with funding. Fr. Cripps was averse to the idea of Church schools receiving any government subsidies, as such most of his schools did not have the best staff and facilities that other schools had. Since Fr. A.S. Cripps lived a life of poverty like St Francis of Assisi, it seems he expected the people on his farms to do the same. However, experience has taught us that, that is not always the case. With no Government subsidy it meant that Rev. A. S. Cripps had to fund those schools out of his own servings and earnings from the royalties of his publications. However, whatever he used to get was not always enough. The church on the other hand could not help him out either. In fact Owen Sheers points out that “a refusal to accept Government subsidies for his schools had led to a split between Cripps and the Anglican Church...”<sup>233</sup>.

For Fr. Cripps, accepting a subsidy from Government would compromise the work of the church in those schools with the Government now determining the curriculum that needed to be followed, as well as appointing teachers to teach. Fr. Cripps wanted to be in charge of what went on in his farms including what the schools taught. This struggle had to push Fr. A. S. Cripps out of the country briefly although he came back later, but not as a clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland, but he referred to himself as “Independent Missionary to Mashonaland” or he simply followed his name with “Clerk of Orders”. He refused to accept the license of the Bishop when he returned which meant that he was not answerable to the church anymore although the Bishop continued to do confirmations at his farms.

Although Bishop Peter Hatendi feels that the Schools that Fr. Cripps build did not really become real schools, it can be deduced that there was some learning which took place there since there were qualified teachers as mentioned above. Whatever the case may be even on a small scale, those who studied in these schools were able to go and share whatever they and learned with their friends and relatives in the comforts of their homes,

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<sup>233</sup> Owen Sheers, Op. Cit, p260

which meant that the Gospel was being taken to fellow Africans by Africans. That was Fr. Shirley Cripps' contributions to the indigenization process in the Diocese of Mashonaland of the Anglican Church in as far as his schools were concerned.

#### **4.1. c. Identification of Local People for Ordination**

The several schools that the church built across the country seem to have opened a way for the local men to be able to rise to the basic minimum requirement which the early missionaries required in order for them to identify someone as a suitable candidate for ordination. Most schools during these early days were primary schools as such if the church expected to begin to indigenise its clergy, it had to be people who would have passed through the schools that had been built and who were able to read and write.

Although there was no hurry at this stage to get more local people to train for the ordained ministry, it seems Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps realized to need to get some of his local people to train so that they could minister to their own people in their own language using their own idioms. It seems Rev A. S. Cripps, like Bp, S. A Crowther, the first African Bishop, honoured and loved to see a growth of the local clergy. He certainly wanted to see the local people being evangelized by her own sons. To this effect Fr. A. S. Cripps began to identify the local people who would have shown some degree of being called to the ordained ministry and send them for training.

The first person whom Rev. A. S. Cripps identified for the ordained ministry was a young man from Chipinge named Cyprian Tambo. Owen Sheers agrees with Douglas Steere that Cyprian arrived in Mvuma in search of employment at the age of 17 years<sup>234</sup>. The story goes on to say that when he could not secure any employment in Mvuma, some people told him to go to Maronda Mashanu and try to present his case to Rev. A. S. Cripps. Cyprian conceded to that proposal and proceeded to Maronda Mashanu. However when he arrived there Rev. A. S. Cripps was in Salisbury. As such he had to wait for him for a couple of days. When Fr. Cripps finally arrived and talked to Cyprian, he told him

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<sup>234</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit.*, p256

that he could not help him with any employment. However before he left he was given a little task to carry out, which was to deliver some letters to Enkledoorn. It seems Cyprian carried out this task willingly and responsibly to the satisfaction of Fr. Cripps. In the words of Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, Fr. Cripps would always express his gratitude in Shona. When Cyprian returned from Enkledoorn with the letters he said – “*ndatenda mukuru wangu*<sup>235</sup>”, which when translated means “thank you my brother”. That was the beginning of a long relationship and friendship between these two people.

Douglas Steere suggests that after a year of the two staying together as well as testing Cyprian’s tenacity, Fr. Cripps saw in Cyprian a young man of real promise not only as a teacher but as an Anglican Priest<sup>236</sup>. With the Training College at St Augustine’s having been opened a few years back for the training of teachers and priests, Fr. A.S Cripps initially wanted to send Cyprian there for five years of schooling, but Douglas Steere says a quarantine there at that time led him to change his mind and entrust Cyprian into the hands of his best friend, John White a Methodist at Waddilove Mission with a stern and jocular warning that he should not become a Methodist<sup>237</sup>. Indeed Fr. Cripps and John White were best friends who shared the same concern for the local African people and did everything possible to defend the defenseless Africans against the Company Administration which sought to oppress them.

After Cyprian’s time at Waddilove Rev. A.S.Cripps arranged with the Bishop in 1933 to have him sent for theological training at St Augustine’s Training Mission in Penhalonga. After his training there Cyprian finished in 1937 and he was ordained deacon in the same year and priest in 1939<sup>238</sup>. To show his deep devotion to his ordinand and follower, Rev. A. S. Cripps, though aged 70 years at that time managed to walk more than 150km to Harare and 150km back to Maronda Mashanu in order to attend Cyprian’s Ordination. Rev. Cyprian Tambo became a real spiritual son to Rev. A. S. Cripps and he also became a highly placed Clergyman in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It was also fitting

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<sup>235</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W.. Nechironga

<sup>236</sup> Douglas V. Steere, *Op. Cit*, p89

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid* p89

<sup>238</sup> Douglas V. Steere, *Op. Cit*, pp116

that when Rev. A.S.Cripps died in 1952, it was Rev. Cyprian Tambo who conducted his Requiem Mass.

The other person whom Rev. A. S. Cripps identified for the ordained ministry was Leonard Mamvura, who was one of the teachers at Maronda Mashanu. His story is also very exciting. Douglas suggests that Leonard had grown up on one of Fr. A. S. Cripps' farms and had gone to Harare for further education. However When Leonard's Mother heard that he had enlisted in the police force, she protested, and asked Fr. A. S. Cripps to help bring her son back. Fr. Cripps wrote numerous letters to the Police Chief until Leonard was released. Upon release he returned to Maronda Mashanu where he filled a teaching vacancy in Fr. Cripps's principal school<sup>239</sup>. Leonard Mamvura later became Fr. Cripps' secretary, writing letters that Fr. Cripps dictated, especially towards the end of his life as from 1942 when he began to lose his vision until his death in 1952. He would also read replies to Fr. Cripps's letters. As Leonard served Fr. Cripps he also learned how to serve the people of God, such that after the death of Fr. A. S.Cripps, he was later ordained deacon and priest and became one of the long standing clergymen in the diocese of Mashonaland.

The important fact in the above two personalities who were identified by Fr. Cripps, for the ordained ministry, is that they serve though on a small scale to show that indeed Fr. A. S. Cripps desired to indigenize the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and took steps towards that goal. Like many other local Clergy who were identified by other Missionaries such as Canon E. Chipunza, who was identified by Archdeacon H. Upcher, these two men of the cloth proved to be committed to their calling to serve God in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

#### **4.1.d. Alternative Model of Ecclesiology**

Just as much as one can see the contribution of Fr. A. S. Cripps in the area of identifying local African clergy for ordination, it is also important to note that he also had a different approach to church, both in the physical buildings as well as the way church was to be

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid p149

organized and run. Talking about the alternative ecclesiology model of Fr. Cripps, Bp Peter Hatendi captures this very well when he suggests that “Fr. Cripps was a visionary. What he wanted was building a church which was in the shape of Great Zimbabwe”<sup>240</sup>. In building a church with stone and mortar, materials which are locally found one can safely say that he had an idea of indigenising even the church structures as well as church practice. It seems Fr. Arthur Cripps was attracted by the shape of Great Zimbabwe as such he wanted to build his churches in the same style. Owen Sheers is right to suggest that Fr. Cripps built his church at Maronda Mashanu towards an alternative idea of Zimbabwe ruins, which was an African idea, but it was not an easy idea to follow<sup>241</sup>. This was caused by several reasons. To start with the local stone did not break as easily as the neat granite flakes of the ruins, and whatever skill lay in the blood of their ancestors had been diluted by time in the veins of the Matabele. Fr. Cripps’ style simply involved putting stones one on top of the others in a random fashion.

With stones put up in such a random way it was therefore impossible to keep the walls upright. The stones kept on falling. Those people who worked in the Daramombe in which Maronda Mashanu falls, such as Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, Rev. L. Mbuyeyesango and Bishop Peter Hatendi seem to agree that by the time they worked there long after the death of Fr. Cripps, the walls of this church had already been falling down. This is captured well by Canon W.W.W Nechironga who says, “To be blunt there was no church building there. It was just piles of stones, an imitation of Great Zimbabwe, but done poorly. His grave was put at the altar such that when one is celebrating Mass they will be doing so on top of his grave”<sup>242</sup>. It is important to note that in many ways the architecture of Fr. Cripps’ Church at Maronda Mashanu sought to resemble the local rondavels used by the local people. Instead of building a four walled church as was the western style brought in by the Missionaries, Fr Cripps undertook to press his desire to indigenize the church further and went on implement his desire and creativity in his church buildings.

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<sup>240</sup> Interview with Bp Peter Hatendi, on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

<sup>241</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit*, p175

<sup>242</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006

On the other hand one can also say that the model of the church that Fr. Cripps wanted was also different from the norm especially when one considers the way he wanted to administer his churches. There are several things that he wanted to do differently from the norm with a specific intention to identify his church with the local African people most of whom were poor. One of the administrative models that Fr. Cripps implemented in his church was that of not allowing his congregation to pay what was called “*rutsigiro*” or assessment to the diocese. This was an annual levy imposed on African Anglican members to help in the payment of salaries for teachers. Fr. Cripps condemned this strongly and saw it as an unjustified demand on African members of the church who were naturally poor and in need of help instead. According to Douglas V. Steere, Fr. A. S. Cripps actually viewed this model of “*rutsigiro*” as a form of “Native Church poll tax”. Fr. Cripps was already against the Company Administration which was making demands of Hut Tax on his people and here he was confronted by almost the same thing clothed in religious regalia.

What seems to have incensed him more was that the church even went on to withhold sacraments from those who would fail to pay, something that was similar to what had happened in the pre-Reformation period in Europe. Fr. Shirley Cripps even went into a protracted argument with Bishop Francis Paget on this issue until the Bishop had to place this practice of “*rutsigiro*” on a free-will basis in 1926<sup>243</sup>. As opposed to the normal church practice, Fr. Cripps never exerted any pressure on his people to pay even the ordinary collections on a Sunday. His approach although seen as being subversive to the normal church practice, was sensitive to the situation of the local indigenous people who did not have money. Instead, Fr. Cripps would provide the money needed even to pay his teachers from the sale of his books, and the support he received from his friends abroad. This alternative approach to church administration can be viewed as being in line with indigenization since the local indigenous people liked it. This has been viewed as being paternalistic by Fr. A.S. Cripps’ critics, although the local people felt that they were being taken care of through such an arrangement.

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<sup>243</sup> Murray Steele, *Op. Cit.*, p158

On the other hand Fr. A. S. Cripps also did not approve of most of the modern missionary methods of running mission stations which appeared to be exotic. For example Murray Steele says Fr. Cripps showed profound distaste for many appurtenances of modern missionary methods, such as committee-work, the increasing burden of office work and the involvement of the church in fundraising ventures, all of which in his opinion detracted people from the spreading of the Gospel of Christ<sup>244</sup>. Indeed this was an alternative model of church administration. Given the poverty of the local people, any fundraising efforts would have been a sheer waste of time at that time. However it is probably questionable how a church would function without meetings and office work since it is a public institution which requires accountability and record keeping. Although it can be argued that the local people did not have any form of office work but certainly they had room for meetings although they were not called committee meetings. In this view this alternative model of church administration does not entirely support the process of indigenization. On the advocacy of one person running the show, it actually militates against indigenization since the local African people always met and discussed issues either in a household or at a village level.

#### **4.1. e. Indigenisation through Theological Engagement**

It is important to note that in his efforts to try and make the Anglican Church African in Enkledoon, Fr. A. S. Cripps managed to do that through the use of his poetic and artistic gifts. J.C Weller is right when he says before Fr. Cripps arrived in Africa he was already known as a good athlete, a poet of distinction an admirer of St Francis of Assisi, and a person with strong political views<sup>245</sup>. He used his poetic skills to publish both prose and verse which challenged people's theological views with the object of coercing readers to support his efforts to uplift the local indigenous people. Some of his publications were a real political attack on the Company Administration. A good example is his book entitled *An Africa for Africans*. In this book he mentions that the vicarage and the church at Ford End were built on ground fairly recently enclosed and that the cracks that developed in the building were attributed by the local people to a curse that had been made when the

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<sup>244</sup> Murray Steele, *Op. Cit*, p158

<sup>245</sup> J. C. Weller, *Anglican Centenary in Zimbabwe, 1891 -1991*, Mutare: Zimbabwe Newspapers, 1991, p16

people were denied the use of their communal land.<sup>246</sup> In the whole book, Rev. A. S. Cripps uses this incident, as the controlling image of how the colonialists came into Zimbabwe, took what was not theirs, and how that created perpetual problems for them.

It is within this context that Fr. Cripps points out his fervent support for the theory of self-development and self-determination, a concept which most of his critics seem to have taken out of context to suggest that he supported the concept of separate development such as what later came to South Africa in the form of Apartheid. For Fr. Cripps if the indigenous people were left on their own they would be free to do things at their own pace without the imposing presence of the colonialists that had made the local people's life difficult. It is important however to note that when Fr. Cripps realized that his support of separate development was being misinterpreted, he added a small paper dated 11 July 1950, in his book An Africa for Africans, in which he says;

*When I wrote this book which was published in 1927, I was willing to approve of segregation for Africans and Europeans – if Africans should be given a fair share of the land in the colony. But afterwards I did not consider that Africans, in my opinion were given a fair share in the Southern Rhodesian scheme of Land Apportionment, and lost my faith in segregation for Southern Rhodesia<sup>247</sup>.*

Whatever Fr. Cripps was trying to achieve through his writings was a better treatment of the local African people. In that context, one can safely say that he used the power of his pen to push through his agenda of making people appreciate the indigenous people and respect them as they were.

His most intriguing theological writing though was the one he wrote in 1901, soon after reading Olive Schreiner in her book Trooper Halket of Mashonaland. He first wrote a play entitled *Black Christ*, which he wrote during his first year in Mashonaland. He later used the same controlling concept in his book Bay Tree Country. In the play, the settlers burn down a church where a politically unpopular sermon had been preached, and after the fire it is seen that the face of Christ of the crucifix had been blackened by smoke. This

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<sup>246</sup> J.C. Chennels, *Introduction Arthur Shirley Cripps' Selection of his Prose and Verse*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1976

<sup>247</sup> Owen Sheers, *Op. Cit*, p222



is an image which suggests that Christianity is not ethnocentric and certainly does not provide the spiritual justification of the settler ideologies. More than that, it also suggests that Christ-like qualities can be seen in the patience and humility with which the Shona faced the violent racial bigotry of the settlers. This way of thinking was certainly instigated by Olive Schreiner's book, which had already suggested to Fr. Cripps that Christ was more likely to be revealed among the Shona than among the men of the Chartered Company's police.

This is the book that Cripps had read just before he came out to Africa and he seems to have been deeply moved by it. J. C. Channels contends that the central idea of this book, that of showing that Christ is visible among the Shona people, remained with him throughout his life<sup>248</sup>. This thinking was indeed a departure from the normally held understanding of most missionaries at this stage, who thought that the local African people were heathens and far from being conduits of salvation. The change from understanding Jesus as a white Jewish man, who came only for the lighter race, was being obliterated by Rev. A. S. Cripps at such an early stage, which indicates that this was one way in which he wanted to identify the Christian religion to be inclusive.

Considering the above discussion, it becomes apparent that Fr. Shirley Cripps was a real advocate of indigenization. His preference for the poor and the disadvantaged has now been honoured in the Anglican Diocese of Harare, by the establishment of a home for orphans who are denied normal benefits of family life. This home has been established at St John's in Chikwaka and it has been named after Fr. S. Cripps. Below we discuss the contribution of Rev. Edgar and Elaine Lloyd to indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

## **4.2 Rev Edgar and Elaine Lloyd**

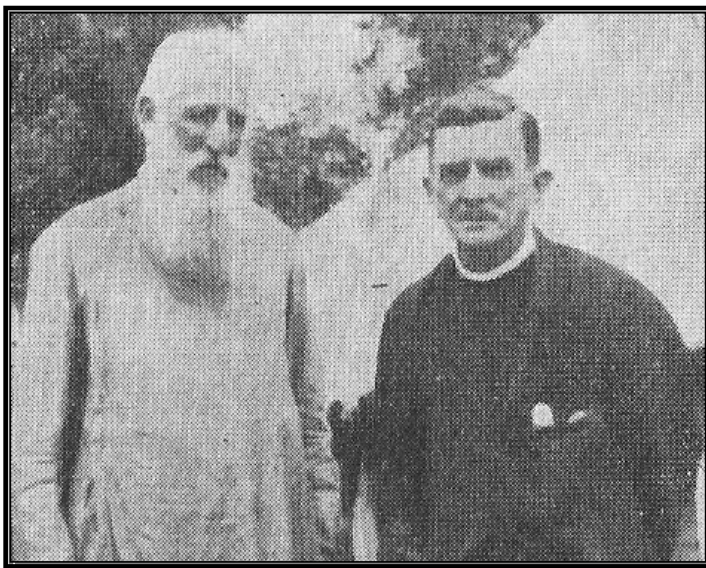
Just as Fr. A. S. Cripps worked with extreme devotion and love to make the Anglican Church an African church and to make the local African feel at home in the Anglican

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<sup>248</sup> J. C. Channels, *Op. Cit.*, p22

Church, Edgar Lloyd also did the same. In fact Edgar Lloyd can be referred to as one of Fr. A. S. Cripps' faithful disciples who gave the whole of his life to saving the African people and making them love God without the need to feel bad about who they were. In order to appreciate the contribution made by Edgar and Elaine to the indigenization process in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland one needs to know where these people were coming from and how they came to serve God at St Faith Mission in Rusape.

Since Edgar and Elaine only met and got married when Elaine came to work at St Faith in 1909, it is proper to start by looking at Edgar Lloyd before their time together in marriage. Canon S. J. Christelow, in his Obituary of Edgar White Lloyd, which came out in *Cape to Zambezi*, says Canon Edgar was born in Wales in 1874. However Canon Edgar suffered badly from asthma and that restricted his education and also necessitated his relocation from United Kingdom to Africa where he could find a drier climate<sup>249</sup>.



*Canon Edgar Lloyd in Black and Archdeacon Upcher in long beard.*

*[Picture courtesy of the Diocese of Harare Archives]*

Although Canon Lloyd did not achieve much on the academic arena, he is known to have been a great reader, who enjoyed reading classics and all that could help to widen his horizons. This is supported by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga who professes that he knew Fr. Edgar when he was already retired living at his plot which he bought just outside Rusape Township. He maintains that even in his old age he always

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<sup>249</sup> C. J. Christelow, in *Cape to Zambezi*, August 1953

wanted to read anything that he got his hands on<sup>250</sup>. Canon Lloyd's ministry in Africa can be divided into two sections. Firstly there was his ministry as a lay person from 1889 up to 1902 when he worked on the South African Railway Mission.

In this period he worked amongst the railway employees in Bechuanaland [now Botswana] and it was at the little siding of Plumtree that Canon Edgar started a day school for the children of these employees. This is the school which later developed to become a boarding secondary school of repute in Zimbabwe and it exists up to this day. Rev. G. E. P. Broderick is of the opinion that "the fact that today Plumtree High School has a residence for learners called Lloyd House is a testimony of the value placed upon the work of Canon Edgar Lloyd during these early stages of his life<sup>251</sup>.

It should be noted that this original primary school was meant to serve children of the African railway employees in this area. Although this section of his life did not have a direct link with the church but this concern for the upliftment of the local African people was to become critical in the second part of his life in Africa as an ordained person.

It is the second part of his life and ministry in Zimbabwe which marks a significant contribution to the process of indigenisation. It is not clear whether he went anywhere to receive training for ordination; however John Weller points out that he was ordained deacon in 1902 after which he was sent to Wreningham to be trained for priesthood by Rev. A. S. Cripps<sup>252</sup>. This was to be the beginning of a close friendship which lasted for fifty years of their lives. It is not surprising therefore that Canon Edgar Lloyd became concerned about issues of making African people feel at home in the church which was his master's concern as well. According to C. J. Christelow this friendship was kept alive by regular correspondence, and by annual week – long retreats either at Wreningham, Rusape or near Mount Wedza<sup>253</sup>. The only difference between these two missionaries

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<sup>250</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2007

<sup>251</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *A history of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia* [1874 – 1952], Manuscript at The National Archives in Zimbabwe, p333

<sup>252</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit.* p18

<sup>253</sup> C. J. Christelow in *Cape to Zambezi*, August 1953

was that Canon Edgar Lloyd got married in 1909 to Elaine, whilst Fr. A..S. Cripps remained celibate for the rest of his life.

It was in 1903, that Lloyd was sent to Epiphany Mission in Rusape under the then Archdeacon James H. Upcher. At this time St Faith's was an outstation to the Epiphany Mission. However a few years later St Faith's became the central mission station and Canon Edgar Lloyd was put in Charge. It was here that he was to minister and stay until his retirement. His contribution to the process of indigenisation can be traced from this stage on until his death on the 27<sup>th</sup> April 1953.

#### **4.2.a Village schools and Indigenisation**

When we talk about schools during this period, it must be noted that these were poorly built pole and dagga buildings where children went to be taught to read and write. The main object like in the case of all missionaries was to teach people to read the Bible. Bishop Peter Hatendi suggests that Edgar Lloyd was instrumental in establishing such schools in the places surrounding St Faith's mission. These centres also became church centers where people worshiped. It is Bishop Peter Hatendi's contention that all these schools were primary schools where people were mostly taught to evangelize although between Monday and Friday the ABC was taught. The teachers in these schools were usually the catechists who would teach both the ABC's and the Bible at the same time<sup>254</sup>. At St Faith's itself there were teachers of good repute, most of whom had been trained at St Augustine's Teachers Training in Penhalonga or in Zululand at Isandhlwana.

One of those who trained at Isandhlwana was John Kapuya, who was the first Mushona convert in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland who was Bernard Mizeki's first convert<sup>255</sup>.

The fact that most of the teachers in such schools which Edgar established across the Makoni area were under local African teachers and Catechists show that he was

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<sup>254</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

<sup>255</sup> *The Link*, February 1950

conscious of the fact that people would learn easily when they have their own people as teachers. This empowerment of the local African teachers, to teach the local to read and to be Christians is a pointer to the fact that Canon Edgar contributed immensely to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church. Over and above being taught to read they were also being converted to become Anglican Christians. This is the reason why particular places are dominated by a particular denomination even today. For example Manicaland is mostly dominated by the Anglican Church.

#### **4.2.b. Translation Work**

With schools having been established, it meant that graduates of these schools needed materials to read and songs to sing, either in their language or in English. As noted in the last chapter, the work of translation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland was started by Bishop Knight – Bruce, Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu, John Kapuya as well as Rev Douglas Pelly. This work usually took place at St. Augustine’s Mission in Penhalonga. Upon the retirement of Bp. Knight-Bruce and the subsequent death of Bernard Mizeki that work was disrupted. However, with the re-establishment of St Faith’s Mission under Canon Edgar Lloyd, this critical work of translating service books and songs was reconvened. In this worthy cause, Elaine Lloyd became a leading figure. Translation had several benefits to the new church that was taking shape. On one hand it meant that the local people could hear and understand in their own language. On the other hand it also meant that the Gospel could be communicated in any language which expressed the universality of the Christian church. This is what Lamin Sanneh suggests when he says Christianity can be adopted by any culture and can be at home with any language of all races and all conditions of people<sup>256</sup>. In this regard, Christianity in its Anglican version was to be at home amongst the Shona people since it was translated into their language.

It should be stated that Elaine M. Brewin arrived at St. Faiths Mission to serve as a missionary and in 1908 she got married to Canon Edgar Lloyd. This is the time when we begin to talk about their work together in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican

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<sup>256</sup> Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, New York: Orbis Books, p51

Church. John Weller suggests that Elaine was an exceptionally gifted person<sup>257</sup>. She was a trained nurse; she was also talented in art and music. It is in this musical gift that she made a huge contribution in the translation of the first Shona Book of Common Prayer with its supplement of hymns and another devotional book called Rwendo RweMuKristu<sup>258</sup>. This is supported by Canon. W.W.W. Nechironga who says Elaine was indeed a musician of repute. He goes on to say that she translated most English hymns into Shona. Coupled with her musical gift she managed to put together a Choir of exceptional standards<sup>259</sup>. Indeed when we talk about the process of indigenisation, one can not ignore the aspect of translation. The best way to make the local African people feel at home in the Anglican Church was to have the liturgy in their own language so that they would understand what goes on during worship In this regard Elaine Lloyd made a tremendous contribution.

#### **4.2.c Development Projects and indigenisation**

Linked to the work of translation, Elaine and Edgar Lloyd also initiated a number of projects which helped in the process of indigenisation. To start with Edgar's vision was to make St Faith's the mother church for the vast district embracing all the local reserves where African people lived. In this regard there were a number of stations that were opened and the project of building St Faith Church also started. According to C. J. Christelow, Edgar Lloyd initiated the project of building a church at St Faith's, which proved to be a success. He continues to say that the church building was certainly not with an eye of permanence, but to express African thought and to bring to a higher spiritual level some of the inborn talents of the African<sup>260</sup>. Working within this fold of indigenizing the Church, Canon Lloyd deliberately decided to build his church using the local materials, which included white quartz, coloured earth, spearheads and African Drums<sup>261</sup>. He goes on to note that the plan of this church seem not to have been premeditated. In addition to all the other locally found materials totem signs were also put around the church together with banners representing all the outstations which were

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<sup>257</sup> John Weller, Op. Cit, p19

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, p19

<sup>259</sup> Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, Interview 19<sup>th</sup> December 2007

<sup>260</sup> C. J. Christelow in *Cape to Zambezi*, August 1953, p11

<sup>261</sup> Ibid

under this main church<sup>262</sup>. Indeed from the description which C. J. Christelow gives it seems Canon Edgar desired to allow the Africans to express their thought patterns and artistic skills in such a way that he would help to build up an indigenised Christian faith and practice in his area. *The Link* of February 1950 quotes a description of the church at St Faiths given by a visitor;

*I have seen no church in southern Rhodesia, European or African, which even approaches St Faith's in beauty or originality of symbolism. It is cruciform, 120 feet long, with apsidal sanctuary and Chapels of St Mary and St Francis; it has grass roof which is supported by a forest of poles. The lancet windows in the choir and the chapels are set round with very many shiny white quartz pebbles, their gothic heads enclosed with wood perforated with the symbols of the passion, with the Crown of Mary, and the birds to whom St Francis preached. Hung round the walls of the nave are shields bearing symbols of Evangelists and Saints. There are three screens of native wood, as also are the sedilia, stalls, lectern and candlesticks, and the altar cross is bound with brass wire, all home-made and carved<sup>263</sup>.*

This is indeed a description of a church which in many ways tried to present an African world view and an African art.

This was a major project that Canon Edgar Lloyd undertook which helps us appreciate his contribution to the process of indigenisation. On the other hand Elaine also undertook projects which sought to make the local African people feel at home in their own church. John Weller suggests that she taught the local African people skills such as weaving, spinning and pottery<sup>264</sup>. In all this she encouraged the development of local arts and crafts. Weller suggests that she did all this because her attitude towards the Shona culture was quite positive<sup>265</sup>. This project of art resulted in the local people making entries at the local Agricultural shows in Rusape as well as at the mission itself. The items that were made included jugs of wood and clay, skin blankets, miniature iron picks, beadwork, clay figures, and blankets made out of aloe fibre. It should be noted that all these projects were done at the church as such people began to realize that church was not just to go and sing and pray, instead it also promoted the development of their talents. This also goes a long

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid

<sup>263</sup> *The Link*, February 1950

<sup>264</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit*, p19

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, p19

way to show that Elaine and Edgar's ministry at St Faith indeed promoted indigenization in the Anglican Church.

### 4.3 Guy & Molly Clutton-Brock

Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock were amongst some of the early white missionaries who made some significant contribution to the process of indigenization. It should be stated that Guy and Molly were not ordained as was the case with Fr. A. S. Cripps and Canon Edgar Lloyd whom we discussed above. Therefore a brief history of their life will help one to appreciate the work done by this couple at St Faith's Mission and that will help one to appreciate how that work helped to further enhance the process of indigenization.

According to *The Time Magazine* of April 1959, Guy Clutton-Brock was a son of a wealthy English stockbroker in London. He was educated at Rugby and Cambridge before he attempted theology at Ripon Hall<sup>266</sup>. It turned out that Guy did not complete his theological studies at Ripon Hall simply because he found them boring<sup>267</sup>. In his own writing Guy says he found out that the people at Ripon were not practicing what they were preaching<sup>268</sup>. In other words people were being hypocrites. As such he left Ripon Hall even though he had been attracted to the Franciscan way of life and felt his spirituality in tune with that of the Franciscans. Despite this feeling Guy still maintains that when he was at Ripon College he was really no church person, though a bishop did offer to ordain him without having learned Greek<sup>269</sup>, which was one of the requirements for ordination in the Church of England then.

After his trial at seminary, he returned home and went into Borstal Service at Feltham Borstal Institution as an Assistant House Master. His work here involved rehabilitating prisoners in England. It was soon after getting this job that Molly and Guy married in 1934. Guy rose through the ranks becoming Deputy Governor to the Borstal Institution

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<sup>266</sup> *The Time Magazine*, April 1959, p9

<sup>267</sup> Chido Matewa, *Suffering Africa: Power comes from the people, the autobiography of Stephen Matewa*, MS418/1/14, NAZ

<sup>268</sup> Guy & Molly Clutton-Brock, *Cold Comfort Confronted*, London: Mowbrays, 1972, p17

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid*, p19



on Portland Bill, and Principal Probation Officer for the Metropolitan Police Court District<sup>270</sup>. From the beginning of his career Guy wanted to help in serving those who were disadvantaged and most vulnerable. It seems he had taken to heart the words of his priest and teacher at Rugby school, Fr. Edward Bonhote who used to say to him;

*Every person is your brother or sister, especially the poorest; identify yourself with him as God does with human beings through Christ; love is total giving; lose yourself; be servant of all, unnoticed; every little detail in life matters, the smallest entity, the trace element; such is the leaven; life's real dynamic<sup>271</sup>.*

This teaching was to influence the life and ministry of Guy and Molly wherever they went to work. During the Second World War Guy and Molly ran a hostel in Bethnal Green and they managed to turn it into an air – raid shelter, a community centre, and a club house. When others were worried about death, Guy managed to keep the morale high.

After the war, Guy was invited to participate in the reconstruction of Germany and help feed the numerous Germans who were dying of hunger. For Guy the miserable lives of the dying Germans could only be saved if they knew how to utilize land to their advantage. It seems that is what prompted Guy to go for an agricultural course at Pembrokeshire in Wales. It was after being there for only six months that he received an invitation to come and help out at St Faith's Mission which was having numerous problems of utilizing its 10000 acres of land. The local people did not have good farming methods to improve the land as such the local farmers started to complain fearing that their land nearby would also be affected if the problem at St Faith was not dealt with as a matter of urgency.

Meanwhile before they eventually left for St Faith, whilst Guy was working in the Borstal Service, Molly had studied some form of Physiotherapy called VAD at St Thomas Hospital and she had also gone on to learn the Neumann Neurode system of baby exercises for the prevention and correction of deformities of growth, which she had to put to good use at St. Faith. So the couple was equipped for their stint in Africa which

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<sup>270</sup> Ibid, p24

<sup>271</sup> Ibid p13

was to be a practical way of touching the lives of the local indigenous people in the context of the church.

It was after hearing Michael Scott's talk in London on the need for the English people to come to Africa and help the local people who were being ill-treated by the colonialists, that Guy told Michael of the letter that he had received from Rev Donald Stowell, who was the Priest – in – Charge of St Faith Mission at that time. Michael Scott told Guy that “you're fools not to go if you have got the chance. They need your sort of experience there. But if you go, stay and integrate; don't keep running home on leave<sup>272</sup>”. As such Guy & Molly prepared to leave and in September 1949, they sailed aboard *SS Athlone Castle* from Southampton to Cape Town. The couple brought their daughter along against all things that they had heard whilst still in England from some people who were threatening them that their daughter would be harmed if they left her with an African.

#### **4.3.a. Missionaries with a Difference**

What makes Guy and Molly significant people in the history of the Anglican Church and the history of Zimbabwe at large is that their mission at St Faith as well as Cold Comfort Farm was different from what other Missionaries were doing. As mentioned above Guy was not an ordained person despite being offered ordination by two Bishops. He was a simple lay person who had a deep love and respect for the down trodden and the oppressed. This is why Sister Dorriane CR, believes that Guy was a person who was twenty years ahead of his time<sup>273</sup>. His approach to the gospel was simple. He wanted to see human beings being uplifted. For him the human being had to be developed totally in his or her spiritual, mental physical and educational needs. On top of that he also believed that a person was only complete when he or she is politically aware and when he or she becomes a free being, protected from oppression.

In Diocesan records Guy was appointed as an Agriculturalist to St Faith, and his job was to teach Agriculture to primary school learners and work with the local Community

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<sup>272</sup> Guy & Molly Clutton-Brock, *Op. Cit*, p46

<sup>273</sup> Interview with Sister Dorriane CR, on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2006.

helping them to improve their farming methods. This is corroborated in Diocesan Periodical *The Link* of July 1949, which states that “Mr. Clutton-Brock has been appointed Agriculturalist to St Faiths Mission, Rusape and will be sailing from England in a few months time<sup>274</sup>”. It must be noted that teaching was not his real desire. He simply had to do so as to earn a living. When the African Development Trust offered to fund Guy and Molly, Guy stopped teaching and concentrated on equipping the local people with agricultural skills which is what he desired to do.

Guy and Molly therefore decided to start a village Co-operative with the capital which they had brought and used that to pay their first worker. This venture aimed to bring back the several local men who were working far away from home, in Harare or South Africa due to lack of productive ventures in the village. When these men came home for Christmas and saw what Guy and Molly had started, some of them were attracted and wanted to be part of this new initiative. One such person who was working in South Africa and was prepared to stay and work with Guy was John Mutasa.

Most missionaries became lords of their land and mediators between God, colonists’ government and the puzzled masses of people living on those pieces of land. Being given charge over land at St Faith, Guy did not want to be seen as a Lord. Instead his approach was that of creating a different community at St Faith, that of racial partnership. This is the reason why he appointed John Mutasa as the Farm Manager, a thing that was never heard of in the colony at that time. It is within this context that Bishop Peter Hatendi believes that Guy was a rare missionary to Africa who ensured that the material side of the Gospel was fulfilled<sup>275</sup>. In other words the Gospel message had to be realistic and helpful to the local people. This is the gospel which appealed to the local people. The local people desired things that can yield results as such when Guy implemented his agricultural projects, such as animal husbandry, and crop production most people quickly saw a change and they wanted to be identified with such a church that was so caring and so African.

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<sup>274</sup> *The Link*, July 1949

<sup>275</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

On the other hand St Faith became a unique place where indigenous people and Europeans lived as equals a thing that was unheard of in the colony. This is the reason why, the surrounding white farmers looked at St Faith's with suspicion. The mentality which had been cultivated in the rest of the country and indeed in the Anglican Church was that Europeans were superior and to be indigenous was a curse. It is within this context that one can talk of Guy as a visionary whose missionary enterprise went far beyond the confines of the church walls.

#### **4.3.b. Indigenisation beyond the Church Walls**

For Guy the local people were capable of being in charge of their own lives. They were capable of improving their lives through the use of the resources which they had – the land. Guy therefore sought to change a mind-set that was prevalent on the country which maintained that white people are superior and the black people are a curse and depended on the white people. In order to break that mentality, Guy started some weekend courses. These were simple courses which were pitched at the level of the local people who were not very sophisticated. Some of these were facilitated by the local educated people such as Herbert Chitepo, the first African advocate in the country. As an Advocate he conducted a course on law which was very successful<sup>276</sup>. This indeed marked a historic turning point for the mission and the whole missionary enterprise at St Faith. Guy was taking the mission outside the walls of the church. It was indeed a mission with a difference to the Anglican Church, the Government, indigenous and the indigenous communities.

Through these lectures most of which were attended by Government security agents, the local African people started to see the true African self which had been obliterated from them. However the colonialists saw this as a threat to domination of the African. In this regard St Faith became an evil in their eyes which needed to be destroyed before its influence spread nation-wide. Church authorities also came out strongly against what was happening at St Faith. A good example is referred to by Guy, that of one of the Mission

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<sup>276</sup> Chido Matewa, *Op. Cit*, NAZ

labourers from England, Cedric Wildman was invited for call up and he refused. When the Bishop heard about this he summoned Guy to explain and he asked “Cedric writes to the General about some ‘new commandment’ what’s happening at St Faith’s? I don’t like it. The Old commandments are enough for me<sup>277</sup>”. Guy went on to explain what this new gospel language was, as ‘the new commandment that I give that you love one another’. This shows that even the church hierarchy struggled with the approach that Guy and Molly had adopted. When people saw how Guy and Molly and Cedric as well as other white missionaries lived simply, they expressed their confusion and realization of what the real Gospel was; “now we understand what is preached to us in church<sup>278</sup>”. This shows that the local people had begun to feel at home on their church which was becoming indigenized.

It is interesting also to note that most of these white missionaries at St Faith also learned the local language and could communicate through it very well. A good example is that of Cedric who is reported to have been quite proficient in Shona and he insisted that he wanted to stay in the village amongst the local African people. As a labourer he also respected those in charge, such as the Farm Manager – John Mutasa.

#### **4.3.c Works of Mercy and Indigenisation**

As part of indigenization process outside the church walls, one has to consider the works of mercy which was initiated by Molly when they arrived at St Faith’s. This is another area where Guy & Molly managed to bring a realistic gospel to the local people. Molly’s training in the Neumann Neurode system of exercises, for correcting deformities of growth in handicapped children, came into use in the establishment of the Mukuwapasi Clinic. Children who were born with deformities were brought to Molly for treatment through these exercises.

Guy & Molly suggest that things were also made easy when Margaret Shumba arrived in 1953, after her two years nursing training at a nearby hospital<sup>279</sup>. Again in this ministry

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<sup>277</sup> Guy & Molly Clutton-Brock, *Op. Cit.*, p67

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid*, p67

<sup>279</sup> Guy & Molly Clutton-Brock, *Op. Cit.*, p65

there was nothing like horse and rider relationship. Margaret and Molly worked together, treating, washing nappies, mending clothes and cooking. They both shared what they knew for the betterment of the St Faith's community. Margaret also learned the treatment system and studied anatomy physiology. It must be noted that this treatment was done with their own hands putting the children into positions which made them react, so that they used the required muscles and did the work themselves. As patients increased, more hands were needed and more space. It is interesting that even in this area; Molly was quick to hand over this clinic to Margaret who was to be in charge when Guy and Molly eventually left.

After ten years of hard work at St Faith, Guy and Molly saw the need to move on in their missionary zeal and serve God in other places. This was however after they had received a lot of pressure from the Church and the Government. The Church jumped in to change and reorganize the whole mission by appointing a new Farm manager who was going to tow the line. *The Link*, reports that;

*The diocesan Standing Committee of the Diocese of Mashonaland has appointed Mr. W. Van Zyl, a farmer recently resident at Sinoa [now Chinhoyi] to be the resident farm Manager at St Faiths Mission Farm at Rusape, in succession to Mr. John Mutasa. Mr. Mutasa has served the farm and the diocese with zeal, ability and sacrifice for some years past, but with the resignation of Mr. Clutton-Brock at the end of 1958, a good deal of re-organization has become necessary, in view of the obligations of the farm to its African personnel and to its overseas investors<sup>280</sup>.*

This act of removing an indigenous farm manager who was a beacon of indigenization at St Faith Farm was a clear way of showing that the church was probably not yet prepared for a wholesome indigenisation programme. On the other hand it should be mentioned that Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock, as 'techno-missionaries' contributed immensely to the process of indigenization. Canon W.W.W. Nechironga makes an interesting assessment of the ministry of Guy and Molly at St Faith's mission in the context of indigenization. Canon Nechironga maintains that Guy, was a very simple person whom many people would not think could do anything significant. However what he showed, through his belief in African people at St Faith, is that a nation can be converted by

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<sup>280</sup> *The Link*, January 1960

simple and worthless people like him<sup>281</sup>. From the above discussion it came out that simple missionaries who lived simple lives with the local people, such as Fr. A S, Cripps, Canon Edgar & Elaine Lloyd and Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock are some of those who had zeal to make the Anglican Church African by promoting the African ideals.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

In this Chapter we have tried to show how some of the early European Missionaries, worked tirelessly to make the local indigenous people in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland feel at home by educating them through the village schools. They also went further to identify possible candidates for ordination and even engaged theologically in a way that sought to identify the local people with Christianity. We have also established how some of these early missionaries such as Edgar and Elaine Lloyd embarked on translating religious texts for use by the indigenous people. Lastly we discussed the contribution of Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock to the process of indigenization expressed in their desire to promote the well-being of the indigenous people through improving their living conditions and farming techniques as well as their health. Having done that we can now move on and trace the process of indigenisation from the time of Bishop T. W. Gaul, the second Bishop of Mashonaland right up to the time of Bishop Paul Burrough, the sitting European Bishop of the same Diocese on the eve of Independence in 1980.

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<sup>281</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006

## Chapter 5

### Indigenisation Process from T. W Gaul to P. Burrough

#### 5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter the discussion tried to show how some early missionaries in the Diocese of Mashonaland made significant contributions to the process of indigenisation. However one way of investigating this process is to consider the different indications of indigenisation that ensued under each of the successive Bishops who served the Diocese of Mashonaland within the period under study. This is not an attempt to write the Episcopal history of all the Bishops concerned, instead the aim is to discuss some indicators that point to the process of indigenisation in the diocese of Mashonaland during the time of Bishop Thomas Gaul up to the time of Bishop Paul Burrough. This chapter will therefore consider the following areas; [a] The development of Indigenous Clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, [b] Development of Indigenous Hymnody and [c] The emergency and development of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera* [CZR].

#### 5.1 The development of Indigenous Clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

When one considers the development of indigenous clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland from the beginning to 1981, one should bear in mind that the word ‘clergy’ is not restricted to the ordained people only. In this study the word is used to refer to all those people, inclusive of teachers and catechists who laboured to develop the infant Church to where it is today. It is therefore fitting to discuss the contribution made by catechists and teachers in the growth of the Anglican Church in this Chapter as well as the contribution made by the indigenous ordained people. It should be noted that the place of the early catechists such as Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu has already been discussed above as such will not be repeated in this chapter.

The Shona and Ndebele uprisings of 1896 –1897 destroyed much of the initial work of the Anglican Church since most mission stations were burned down and some catechists such as Bernard Mizeki were murdered in the process. However a second generation of catechists and teachers was also beginning to make its significant contribution to the



growth of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. One of these early local Catechists was John Kapuya, who is recorded as the first indigenous person to be baptized in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>282</sup>. His baptism on the 18<sup>th</sup> July 1896, just a month after the murder of Bernard Mizeki, was indeed a culmination of the hard work of Bernard Mizeki at the mission at Magwende. The story of the early life of John Kapuya has been chronicled above but in this section our interest is to discuss his impact and that of other catechists and teachers in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. To start with before one could be a catechist, they needed to be a Christian and that process itself was quite taxing. From the beginning the Anglican Church laid down its rules regarding its process of admitting members C.J.M. Zvobgo articulates the procedure very well when he says;

*In the Anglican Church candidates for baptism had to be admitted to the 'Hearers' class for one year. They were required to be able to read before admission to the Catechumenate. Before admission to the catechumenate, each candidate was interviewed privately by the parish priest in regard to personal character and fitness, ability to read simple sentences and whether the candidate was married, single or engaged to be married. Two years of further instruction were required before baptism during which period candidates were required to read the Gospels with sufficient fluency and to follow the church services; the Catechism formed the basis of instruction. Before admission to Holy Communion each candidate was interviewed privately by the priest; wherever circumstances allowed, attendance at a final series of classes for a fortnight before baptism at a central mission station, was required<sup>283</sup>.*

This means that it took three years of preparation before one could be admitted as a member in the Anglican Church. As such those such as John Kapuya and all the other people who then went on to become catechists in the Anglican Church went through this rigorous procedure. This also explains why the rate of conversions was so low in the early stages of the Anglican mission work in Mashonaland.

However for people such as John Kapuya, Daniel Nesu, Josiah Ngubevana, Edwin Dundashe, John Mazoe, Augustine Matyatya, William Mwana and many more other

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<sup>282</sup> Rev. G.E.P Broderick, *A History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia* [Formerly diocese of Mashonaland] 1874 – 1952, p74

<sup>283</sup> C.J. M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe* [1890 – 1939], Gweru: Mambo Press, 1996, p320

early catechists, they still needed to undergo some form of training to be able to carry out their ministry. Although most teachers and catechists were trained at St Augustine's mission most of the catechists were trained by the local missionaries. This is what happened with the above-mentioned catechists. For example Josiah Ngubevana was trained by Rev J. Gillanders<sup>284</sup>, John Mazoe was trained by Rev Selmes<sup>285</sup>, Edwin Dondashe, Augustine Matyatya and William Mwana were trained by Rev. W. J. Leavy<sup>286</sup>. On the other hand Samuel Muhlanga and Alfred Zvomuya were trained by Rev. E. J. Parker. Other catechists such as John Kapuya however were sent to institutions outside the country such as Isandhlawana in Zululand. Some of those who trained at Isandhlawana included John Mapenza who is reported in *The Southern Cross [1901]* as "a promising young fellow... with many coming to his church and school<sup>287</sup>". John Mapenza was a teacher stationed at Rusape. The same report mentions another teacher - Simon whose surname is not mentioned. However he is reported to have been stationed at Salisbury [Harare], where he conducted Sunday services for the local indigenous people and " a large number attend and seem to value his ministrations<sup>288</sup>". At Wreningham there is mention of Raymond Hwata who was a teacher who also trained at Isandhlawana as well as Alfred Mugegeza<sup>289</sup>. At Bulawayo, Rev Gillanders is reported to be doing well through the assistance of catechists Josiah Ngubevana at St Columbus and a teacher named Edwin Dundashe at Mbembesi, who is described as "able and enthusiastic<sup>290</sup>". All these reports point to the fact that these teachers and catechists were doing well. As church leaders and community leaders these men were required to be exemplary both in their public posture as well as in their moral stature. More than just being morally upright they were also supposed to be able to read the scriptures and preach from them.

It is within this context that when one considers the impact of the indigenous clergy such as John Kapuya and the other early catechists and teachers, one has to bear in mind that

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<sup>284</sup> G.E.P. Broderick, *Op Cit*, p92

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid* p95

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid* p98

<sup>287</sup> *The Southern Cross, [Periodical of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa [1901], p31*

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid* p31

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid* p31

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid* p31

they had been carefully selected which means that their ministry was also carefully administered and thoughtfully carried out. Amongst the most critical contributions made to the process of indigenisation by catechists and teachers such as John Kapuya, was the process of translation of church materials. As early as 1894, before John Kapuya was baptized he was already involved in the Diocesan Translations Committee, which was headed by Bishop Knight Bruce. Jean Farrant quotes Bishop Knight Bruce writing from Umtali [now Mutare] saying,

*We are beginning the first methodical translation into Seshona [sic] of parts of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed. Our party consists of our two leading catechists – Frank and Bernard – who have been learning the language now for two and half years, Mr. Walker, who has been studying it with Frank, and [John] Kapuya, a headman's son, and myself<sup>291</sup>.*

It is clear from the Bishop's writing that John Kapuya played a critical role in the translation committee, whose membership was constituted of foreigners other than him. It is doubtful that people who had been in the country for only two and half years could have suddenly become recognisable scholars in the local Shona language, to the extent of making meaningful and correct translations from English into Shona. Infact the role played by John Kapuya in the Translations Committee is captured well by Jean Farrant who points out that "every word in the grammar and in the pronunciation had to be passed by Bernard and John Kapuya before it was allowed to stand<sup>292</sup>". Such was no mean contribution to the process of indigenisation by John Kapuya. It is also clear that even after the murder of Bernard Mizeki, John Kapuya continued to contribute to the work of Translations in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Given the fact that the thrust of missionary education was religious and that it was meant to strengthen the faith of the converts, reading was very critical in the early schools. According to C.J.M Zvobgo, "literary education at St Augustine's began with ordinary primers; the boys were taught the reading and writing of their own language first<sup>293</sup>".

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<sup>291</sup> Jean Farrant, Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1966, p177

<sup>292</sup> Jean Farrant, Op Cit, p177

<sup>293</sup> C.J.M Zvobgo, Op Cit. p167

This is supported by Nicolas Stebbing CR, who maintains that “a knowledge of reading was necessary for converts to read the scriptures<sup>294</sup>,” In this regard if most pupils were taught to read and write in their first language it means that they were taught to read and write in Shona. This then made it easy for these graduates to read the Bible and other religious materials that were being translated by the Translations Committee. In this way the impact of John Kapuya’s contribution towards indigenisation has to be viewed in its wider context of touching the pupils in the Anglican mission schools first and then touching those whom they went on to preach to and teach.

On the other hand it should be mentioned that from the beginning the curriculum in most Anglican mission schools such as St Augustine’s and St Faith included academic and Industrial education. The mornings were used for academic work mostly, with the afternoons being used for industrial work. This industrial work consisted of book-binding, carpentry, gardening and brick-making<sup>295</sup>. However academic work is reported to have had religious knowledge at its center, which means that those who graduated from this school were automatically prepared to have a double function of being teacher and catechist in the areas where they served. This point is supported by Canon M. Madzivanyika<sup>296</sup> who maintains that;

*Most teachers were catechists because they were trained for both functions. Training for teachers in the Anglican Church was done by missionaries first at St Augustine’s Mission and then at St Patrick’s Mission. Given the fact that Christianity was given center-stage in the curriculum, it meant that the graduate teachers also became catechists in their schools and the local villages<sup>297</sup>.*

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<sup>294</sup> Nicolas Stebbing [ed.], *Anglican Religious Life*, Dublin: Dominican Publications, 2003, p44

<sup>295</sup> ANG.29/2/5, [NAZ] D.D. Makweche, *An Account of the History of the Knight Bruce Memorial College for Africans at St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga*; 1967, p5

<sup>296</sup> Canon Milton Madzivanyika is one of the long serving indigenous ordained clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland. He went for his ordination training at St John’s Seminary in Lusaka Zambia from 1955 up to 1959. Before his ordination he had trained as a teacher at St Patrick’s Mission in Gweru after which he worked briefly in Masvingo and in Chivhu area ending up being Headmaster at Marondamashanu School. He only left Marondamashanu when he went for his Theological Training in Zambia. Canon Madzivanyika has served in several Parishes in the Diocese of Mashonaland [Harare] and is a sound reservoir of the history of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Although he is retired from active ministry he is still serving as a Hospital Chaplain of Harare Hospital, in Zimbabwe.

<sup>297</sup> Interview with Canon M. Madzivanyika, on the 1<sup>st</sup> June 2007 at 11 Boyd Street Southerton, Harare, Zimbabwe

In this regard the contribution made by teachers and catechists in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church has to be understood, in the Christian thrust which characterized their work as teachers. They were teachers during the week and preachers during the weekends. It should be pointed out here that more than just being evangelists, the teachers and catechists, became vehicles of indigenisation in the sense that they communicated the Gospel message to their own people using the indigenous language, which in itself is a form of indigenisation. It is probably correct to suggest that while missionaries should be credited for bringing the gospel to Africa, it was the local indigenous teachers and catechists who brought it to the Africans through the process of indigenisation. They managed to communicate the Gospel to the African people using African methods of communication such as idioms and fairy tales. They also knew the best tactics that one needed to engage in order to persuade an African to accept something new to them.

These local teachers and catechists certainly understood the customs of their own people as well as their fears and doubts. They were also well equipped to deal with their traditional belief systems some of which conflicted with the Gospel message. Bishop Gaul realised this point following the destruction of the mission at Makoni during the 1896/7 Shona and Ndebele uprising and he placed John Kapuya at Makoni to re-open that mission<sup>298</sup>. Following the events of the destruction of this mission it certainly needed an indigenous person to convince the locals that the church was not coming to colonize them but to educate them and bring them to a new understanding of God. G.E.P. Broderick is of the opinion that John Kapuya managed to re-establish the Mission at Makoni, which later emerged into what became known as St Faith's Mission and Epiphany, because he understood the local people and they trusted him<sup>299</sup>. It was the fact that their own indigenous person came and shared the Gospel in their own language in the way that appealed to them, that they were prepared to accept the Gospel even though Chief Makoni was well known to have been one of the Chiefs who was vehemently opposed to Christianity in the early days. Although one may say that indigenous teachers

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<sup>298</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* XXXIII, May 1900

<sup>299</sup> G.E.P. Broderick, *Op Cit*, p115

and catechists were good evangelists, it is also clear that they became a critical indigenisation tool in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland by the very fact that they were indigenous and also the fact that they employed indigenous methods of spreading the Gospel. In fact the catechists were the ones who did the bulk of the work of evangelism, using indigenous tools and the missionary priest only came to administer the sacraments, which could not be administered by the catechist. This is confirmed by Canon G. Mashingaidze<sup>300</sup> who suggests that;

*It was the catechists and teachers who did the bulk of the work in the infant church. They ran the catechumenate classes, baptism classes and confirmation classes. They visited the sick, prepared those who wanted to get married and buried the dead. They did pastoral visitation, which involved traveling for long distances risking their lives given the wild animals that they met on the way. In short catechists and teachers did everything that was critical for the church to be where it is today<sup>301</sup>.*

From the above comment it can be inferred that the catechists and teachers were indeed the backbone of the spread of the Gospel amongst the local indigenous people. The indigenous human factor helped the church to sink its roots amongst the local people thereby making the church African in terms of membership.

The *Diocese of Southern Rhodesia Missionary Regulations* clearly show that the catechist was set apart to do almost everything in the church with the exception of a few things such as celebrating Eucharist. These regulations state that the catechist needed to be given a license, which stipulated their functions. This license was to be given at a public service in the church. These regulations states that;

- 1. A catechist is a person who is authorized by the Bishop to perform any or all of the following duties, which may be committed to him under the direction of the priest.*

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<sup>300</sup> Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze is one of the long serving indigenous ordained clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland who served the diocese faithfully until his retirement in the year 2000. Canon Mashingaidze was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1925. He was ordained deacon in 1959 and priest in 1960. He served in several parishes in the diocese of Mashonaland and is a real reservoir of the History of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. At the time of his retirement had served as priest for 40 years. Although he is retired from active ministry, he still conducts services in the Diocese of Harare when invited to do so.

<sup>301</sup> Interview with Canon G. Mashingaidze, on the 30<sup>th</sup> June 2007 at 6 Margate Eastlea Harare, Zimbabwe

- (a) *To instruct the Children in the faith of the Church;*
  - (b) *To instruct hearers, catechumens and the baptized in preparation for the catechumenate, Baptism and confirmation;*
  - (c) *Where there is no resident Priest, to instruct the communicants how to receive the Holy Communion devotedly with fasting, prayer and confession of sins;*
  - (d) *To evangelise the heathen and seek for those who have fallen away;*
  - (e) *To hold services on Sundays and weekdays as the priest directs;*
  - (f) *To be diligent in preparation of sermon, that his congregation may be well instructed*
  - (g) *To visit all the members of his congregation, both the sick and the whole, for their godly edification;*
  - (h) *To instruct God-Parents in their duty to their God given children and to present such children to the priest at their Baptism;*
  - (i) *To instruct parents to bring their children to Holy Baptism;*
  - (j) *To report to the priest any cases of serious sickness in his district;*
  - (k) *To visit and pray for the sick;*
  - (l) *In the absence of the priest or deacon to bury the dead*
  - (m) *To receive from the congregation their church dues and offerings and to give the same to the priest.*
  - (n) *To enter into the book provided for the purpose a record of services, together with an account of all moneys received.*
2. *At the end of each year the priest must apply to the Director of Missions for continuance of the licenses of his catechists.*
  3. *Any license may be revoked by the Bishop. A catechist who has been suspended or removed may not be restored to his office without the written permission of the Bishop.*
  4. *On resignation or removal the license shall be given up to the priest-in-charge of the district, who shall return it to the Bishop for cancellation or endorsement<sup>302</sup>*

An analysis of these regulations will show that the catechist was indeed the indigenous human factor that was entrusted with the bulk of the ministry in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. The only thing catechists could not do included, celebrating Holy Communion, conducting the service of Holy Matrimony, baptizing people as well as confirming people. However the huge numbers of conversions that we read about in the church's records in the later years, indicate that these catechists were faithful to their calling and they carried out their ministry with devotion. For example as early as 1909, Bishop Edmund Nathaniel Powell, the third Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland,

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<sup>302</sup> AB 1225, Diocese of Southern Rhodesia Records kept at Cullen Library at Witswatersrand University, Johannesburg South Africa

mentioned in his Charge to Synod that there were 760 Europeans and 790 African communicants in the Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>303</sup>. The indication is that most of these African communicants came about as a result of the outstanding work of the catechists who managed to use their indigenous human factor and the language factor to convey the Gospel message to the local African people.

More than this indigenous human and language factor, there was also the natural preparedness of the local people to identify with the Gospel which the indigenous catechists and teachers took advantage of as they spread the Gospel. This point is brought out clearly by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, in his thesis for the Associate Masters Degree submitted to the Provincial College of St Paul's College in Grahamstown South Africa<sup>304</sup>. In this study Canon W.W.W. Nechironga maintains that there were several characteristics that made Africans responsive to the Christian Gospel<sup>305</sup>. Amongst some of these characteristics he highlights the following;

- a. *The Shona people's real and keen sense and experience of the unseen world. Whenever they offered sacrifice or prayers they did so through their ancestors, who would hear them and be able to communicate with innumerable numbers of others 'in heaven' [warikumatenga]*<sup>306</sup>.
- b. *The Shona people also held some idea about the One Almighty God. Their departed were not regarded as the final channels of their appeal. This One almighty God they referred to as 'Mwari' – meaning the One who is everything – the creator and sustainer of all things*<sup>307</sup>.
- c. *Religion among the Shona people was not only an aspect of social system, but a system where both the living and the dead were involved. The welfare of the living depended to a large extent on the manner they remembered their dead*<sup>308</sup>.

For Canon Nechironga, the significance of these characteristics, amongst the Shona people tended to effect some degree of readiness to receive the church and its message

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<sup>303</sup> Rev. G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* p163

<sup>304</sup> This is the College that is currently known as the College of the Transfiguration, situated in Grahamstown.

<sup>305</sup> AB913f – An unpublished Thesis submitted to the Provincial College of St Paul's College in Grahamstown, for an Associate Masters Degree by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga. This thesis is kept at the Cullen Library at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg South Africa p39.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid* p39

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid* p39

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid* p42



when the missionaries arrived in Mashonaland<sup>309</sup>. The coming of the missionaries therefore came as a fulfilment of the people's craving for their instinctive reactions to their unseen God who was also distant. There were several continuities between the local African religion and the Christian religion, which the missionaries were bringing through the local teachers and catechists. This is another indigenous religious factor, which was exploited by the early catechists and teachers who took the Gospel message to their surrounding villages.

The time of Bishop Thomas Gaul, the second Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, should therefore be seen as the period during which the second generation of catechists such as John Kapuya were intensifying their efforts to get the Gospel to their people in their own language. John Kapuya became a well-known teacher following his return from Zululand such that he even taught James Chigwada [initially known as Chigwada Gawe<sup>310</sup>] and his son Joseph Chigwada. Jean Farrant states that these two were taught by John Kapuya at Epiphany Mission and later they also became catechists and Teachers at St Bernard's Mission and its Out-Station<sup>311</sup>. St Bernard's was built as a memorial of Bernard Mizeki in 1899 for African boys and it was named after Bernard of Clairvaux. The intention was to honour Bernard Mizeki the martyr by naming the mission after the saint whose name had been chosen for him at his baptism. It was not only James Chigwada and his son who were taught by John Kapuya to become catechists. He also taught Samuel Munyavi, a young man who had been given over to Bernard Mizeki to train in Christian ways by his father in Makoni. Samuel was also taught by John Kapuya at Epiphany and he became a catechist and a teacher. These men who had first hand connections with Bernard Mizeki, obviously commanded a lot of respect from those who knew the life and ministry of Bernard Mizeki. That aspect added an advantage to the indigenous human factor on their part as such their impact on the life of the Diocese of Mashonaland became phenomenal

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<sup>309</sup> Canon W.W.W. Nechironga

<sup>310</sup> Chigwada Gawe was one of the followers of Bernard Mizeki who was at the Mission when Bernard Mizeki was murdered in 1896.

<sup>311</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op Cit.* p219

It should be noted that Bishop Thomas Gaul's episcopacy does not seem to have yielded much with regards to the process of indigenisation other than what has been discussed above. The church however continued to have more teachers and catechists in most of its mission stations as well as its Out-Stations. In a letter to the Home Association dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 1907, Bishop Thomas Gaul announced his resignation, which was to take place at the end of June 1907<sup>312</sup>. Bishop Thomas Gaul had worked very hard to put the structures of the diocese into place. Whereas he had joined the diocese when the staff was very thin on the ground with no endowment as stated in a letter from the Archbishop of Cape Town who says, "...from a pecuniary point of view there is nothing to offer; there is no endowment, save six hundred pounds, mostly the gift of Balfour, which has not been touched..."<sup>313</sup>, Gaul left the diocese on a sound footing. The Mashonaland Quarterly LIX suggests that when Bishop Thomas Gaul resigned;

*There is no diocesan debt. The Bishopric Fund is now 12,000.00 pounds...There is a reserve fund of 2,000.00 pounds. Lady Milton has over 4,000.00 pounds towards a cathedral in Salisbury. Mrs. Gaul, by her work and from friends, has raised over 1,000.00 pounds towards a Bishop's house...the clergy pension fund is started. There are now 18 clergy [including two Archdeacons], and a growing staff of laymen and women workers, and some **twenty catechists**...*<sup>314</sup>

The above statement indicates that by the time Bishop Thomas Gaul retired, the number of catechists had increased which points to the fact that he was conscious of the importance of the indigenous human factor. Indeed after Bishop Thomas Gaul the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland continued to see this indigenous human factor being encouraged in different ways by the successive bishops, as we will see below.

Having discussed the impact of the teachers and catechists to the process of indigenisation, one has to move on and consider the impact of the ordained indigenous clergy to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican diocese of Mashonaland. Before one can discuss the impact of the indigenous ordained clergy, one needs to be aware of the fact that the identification of local people for the ordained ministry did not take place until the year 1919, when the first local person namely Samuel Mhlanga was ordained to

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<sup>312</sup> Rev. G.E.P Broderick. *Op. Cit.*, p147.

<sup>313</sup> ANG/ 1/4/412, [NAZ] Thomas Gaul papers kept at the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare

<sup>314</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* LIX 1907

deaconate. Before we discuss the contribution made by such people to the process of indigenisation it is important to mention the fact that the requirements for ordination training amongst the indigenous people were quite heavy. As we discussed earlier, it took three years before the local people could be baptized into the Anglican Church. When it came to ordination the requirements were even much more demanding. Most early indigenous clergy were trained at St Augustine's Mission where a Theological College had been set up by the CR Fathers<sup>315</sup>.

According to the Register of students of St Augustine's Theological College there were several rules and regulations set for admission training and ordination. The Register stipulates that;

*Candidates for entrance must be either approved catechists who have worked in the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia or must have worked as teachers and passed the examination for a Catechist as an entrance examination, as well as passed standard VI in school work. They must fill up the form of application in their own handwriting. This must be signed by the Priest-in-charge of their district as a recommendation, and countersigned by the Bishop. No candidates will be admitted without this...It must be understood that the candidate is accepted both for training and testing; the later is to be understood to include both the intellectual, moral and spiritual fitness for ordination. The Principal will advise each term as to the candidate's fitness to continue. For ill-behaviour or lack of discipline, a candidate may be instantly dismissed by the principal or his deputy. Candidates for the deaconate must have completed at least two years at the college and have satisfied the Bishop's examiners. They must produce, a certificate of baptism and evidence of confirmation; letters testimonial from the college authorities; failing this, or if much time has lapsed, letters testimonial from at least one priest... in the diocese...a special recommendation from the priest or priests under whom he shall have served as deacon testifying to the candidate's fitness, on spiritual as well as other grounds, for the high office. Before ordination, the candidate must; take an oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop; make and sign the usual declaration of assent ...and make and sign the declaration consenting to be bound by the Church laws and synods as set forth in Canon XIV of the Church of the Province of South Africa<sup>316</sup>.*

The above requirements point to the fact that preference was given to people who had served as catechists or teachers. Such men had to have a good track record and needed to

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<sup>315</sup> The CR Fathers arrived at St Augustine's Mission in 1915 during the episcopacy of Bishop Hicks Beaven who was the fourth Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

<sup>316</sup> ANG 29/4/4, St Augustine's Theological College, Register of Students, January 1927 – c.1944 in the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare [NAZ]

have obtained a pass in their standard VI. It also means that they had to be able to write, since they were required to complete an application form in their own writing. More than that, they also had to spend two years in college before they could be recommended for ordination. Indeed such seems to have been asking for too much from a people who were just beginning to raise their standards of living through missionary education. This also meant that many of the local catechists who will have wanted to become ordained priests, failed to enter into this ministry given the stiff entrance requirements.

Be that as it may the local indigenous people started to find their way into the local Seminary at St Augustine's Mission, as well as other seminaries outside the country. Other than St Augustine's Theological College, some early candidates were trained at St Peter's Rosettenville in Johannesburg. This college was also being run by the CR Fathers. From 1952 until its closure in 1972 ordination training for the indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland was taking place at St John's Seminary Lusaka<sup>317</sup>. After its closure there was a possibility to send candidates to Epworth, which had been a Methodist College but had now taken an interdenominational thrust. This did not work out well given the political differences between the college and the then Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, Bishop Paul Burrough. This led to the establishment of St Barnabas Training School in Westwood Harare<sup>318</sup>. By early 1986 this school was abandoned, on what Canon W.W.W. Nechironga<sup>319</sup> who was principal then, says was a personal difference<sup>320</sup> between him and Bishop Peter Hatendi, who was the first indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. According to Bishop Peter Hatendi the reason of his decision to close St Barnabas Training Center had nothing to do with personal differences between Fr. Nechironga and him, instead the church had just acquired a bigger piece of land at plot number 11 Thornburg Avenue Mount Pleasant Harare, where it intended to build a bigger college for the National Anglican Church. On

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<sup>317</sup> John Weller & Jane Linden, *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press; p74

<sup>318</sup> Ibid p78

<sup>319</sup> Canon W.W.W Nechironga is one of the long serving members of the ordained Indigenous clergy who is still surviving. He was ordained to diaconate in 1951 and to priesthood in 1952. He served in many parishes, and has also served on the translations team, at the Bible House in Zimbabwe. Together with his team at the Bible Society they have produced several Shona Bibles.

<sup>320</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W Nechironga on the 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004 at St Martins Parish Church in Hatfield Harare.

the other hand it was also closer to the University, where learners were able to utilize the University Library facility<sup>321</sup>. The fact that Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, was not asked to continue as Principal of the new College, seem to suggest that there could have been issues between the two although the issue of moving the college to Mount Pleasant was indeed expedient given its proximity to the University of Zimbabwe and the benefits that came with that move.

It will suffice at this stage to mention some of the early indigenous people who were eventually ordained and critique their contribution to the process of indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. In this regard I will highlight a few of the first men to be ordained priests in the diocese of Mashonaland whose ministry made a significant contribution to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. These few early indigenous clergy include, Samuel Mhlanga, Stephen Hatendi, Gibson Nyabako, Leonard Sagonda and Edward Chipunza. It should be noted that this study is not meant to give an exhaustive autobiography of each of these men, but to discuss their contribution to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It is important to state the fact that Samuel Mhlanga was the first to be ordained deacon in 1919 and when he was ordained priest in 1923, three more men were ordained deacons whilst five<sup>322</sup> others were in training at St Augustine's Theological Seminary. Let us now briefly look at the above four indigenous African men who made history by being some of the early indigenous people to be entrusted with the "cure of souls" for the indigenous people. Here we will discuss the contribution of the above four men whose ministry made some phenomenal impact on the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland starting with the pioneer of indigenous Ordination ministry namely Canon Samuel Mhlanga.

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<sup>321</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2004 at House Number 16 Kenny Road Avondale Harare, Zimbabwe. Bishop Peter Hatendi became the First Indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1981. He trained at St Peter's Rosettenville in South Africa. He was ordained deacon in 1957 and ordained priest in 1958. He served as Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare] up to 1996.

<sup>322</sup> BV 3625 M26 UPC, CPSA pam – Notes of the Story of the English Church Mission in the Diocese of Mashonaland kept at Cullen Library of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa [CPSA] at Witswatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa

### 5.1.a Canon Samuel Mhlanga

*Canon Samuel Mhlanga M.B.E*

*Photo: [Diocese of Harare Archives]*



As mentioned above the first indigenous person to be ordained to priesthood was Samuel Mhlanga. In order to appreciate his contribution to the process of indigenisation, it is worthwhile to consider a summary of the story of his life, which he shared with G.E.P. Broderick. When Samuel Mhlanga was born, his father named him 'Zvidzeni' "the despised one"<sup>323</sup>. When the settlers came to the Chipinge area in 1890 he was a young boy. Even though there was a school built at Mt Selinda, the little Zvidzeni, was discouraged to attend classes because it was thought that education would turn people into cowards. In 1893 he joined others who were going to seek employment in the mines in Shurugwi and he worked there for four months before returning home due to the impending Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893.

After two years at home Zvidzeni tried his luck again at the mines at Penhalonga for a period of a year before he returned home. It was in 1897, that when Zvidzeni tried to go back to Penhalonga to seek employment in the mines, he was chosen to work in the kitchen as a waiter at the local Police Camp in Mutare. After working there for eight months Zvidzeni was taken to Harare by Sergeant H. Brerton to be his cook in Salisbury [Harare]. It was whilst he was working at Sergeant Brerton's place that he started attending night school which was being taught by Simon Mooti, a Sotho teacher from South Africa. This night school was held in the kitchen of Rev. H. H. Foster's house in

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<sup>323</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, Appendix 23 "The Life-Story of Canon Samuel Mhlanga as told by himself to G.E.P. Broderick".

Harare. It is here that Zvidzeni learned to read and write, and it is here that he also came in contact with the church<sup>324</sup>. Sometime in 1900 Rev Alexander, a priest stationed at St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga visited Salisbury [Harare], and came into contact with Zvidzeni and informed him that a school was going to be started at the Mission station for Africans. This news excited Zvidzeni to the point that he asked for permission from Sergeant Brerton to go and study. During this time there were not many indigenous people who admired education. However Zvidzeni teamed up with another man named Sebastian Benhura and together they made their way to St Augustine's Mission passing through St Faith Mission, Epiphany and Mutasa where Frank Ziqubu, John Kapuya and Rev Hezekiah Mtobi were stationed respectively. Having left Harare on the 4<sup>th</sup> September 1900, the pair arrived at St Augustine's mission on the 10<sup>th</sup> September in the same year. John Weller suggests that these two men together with the other students constituted the first eight boys in the school and they all stayed in wooden huts<sup>325</sup>. It was these first students who had to start making bricks for the first permanent buildings at the Mission. The first Principal of this school was Rev. E. H. Etheridge.

After spending three years at St Augustine's mission school Zvidzeni Muhlenga was sent back to Harare, to take up the place of his former teacher Simon Mooti and teach at the night school which was running at the Anglican Cathedral in a wood and iron building. However before he left for Harare he was baptized and confirmed by Bishop Thomas Gaul<sup>326</sup>. It would appear this is the time when he took up the name Samuel that had Biblical roots from the Old Testament. It needs to be mentioned here that it was usually the practice during those early days up to the past 50 years that the indigenous people had to be given English names at their baptism. Although the missionaries erroneously suggested that these were Christian names, it should be stated that even those indigenous names could equally be used at Baptism as Christian names. Some church elders such as the retired Anglican Bishop of Harare, Bp Peter Hatendi, suggests that the naming of the indigenous people with English names was a deliberate ploy by the missionaries to assist

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<sup>324</sup> Rev. G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* Appendix 24

<sup>325</sup> John Weller, *Anglican Centenary in Zimbabwe*, [1891 – 1981], Mutare: Zimbabwe Newspapers, 1990, p21

<sup>326</sup> Rev. G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* Appendix 25

them in their inability to pronounce the local names<sup>327</sup>. Bishop P. R. Hatendi's opinion is that the early missionaries struggled to pronounce the local African names and in order to make their lives easy, they deliberately made a ruling that the local names could not be used as Christian names. It is possible therefore that Samuel Muhlenga lost his Shona name at his baptism and he was given the name Samuel probably after the biblical Old Testament Samuel the son of Elkannah and Hannah [1Sam 1. 1]<sup>328</sup>.

Whatever the case may have been, Samuel Muhlenga returned to Harare, being a new person in terms of what he had acquired during the three years that he spent at St Augustine's Mission in Penhalonga. On one hand he returned as a full member of the Anglican Church having been baptized and confirmed. On the other hand he returned as a teacher, ready to make his contribution to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland as one of the indigenous teachers in the Diocese. Like other indigenous teachers Samuel Muhlenga was to become a real backbone of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland's missionary enterprise to the local people. So from as early as 1903 Samuel Muhlenga joined the ranks of indigenous clergy who laboured to make the religion of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, acceptable to the local people. Like the other teachers and catechists mentioned above Samuel Muhlenga became part of the principal actors of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It is within this context that Eduardo Hoornaert is correct to suggest that "indigenisation is the heart of evangelisation"<sup>329</sup>. It is indeed quite difficult to separate the two especially when one considers to factors that encouraged the Gospel to be accepted by the local people. Samuel Muhlenga was now a teacher and a catechist in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland and as such he was contributing a human factor towards the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland..

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<sup>327</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Ralph Hatendi on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004 at House number 16 Kenny Road

<sup>328</sup> NIV Study Bible

<sup>329</sup> Eduardo Hoornaert, "*The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Latin America and the Logic of Indigenisation*" in Philippe Denis [ed.] *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995, pp14 – 25]



Samuel Muhlenga's influence in the church grew as he began to be entrusted with more responsibilities, as an indigenous instrument in the Diocese of Mashonaland. He mentions that Rev. E. J. Parker, whom he was working under at the school in Harare, sent him to begin a new mission at St Mary's, Hunyani on a farm called Muponda near the Seke Reserve<sup>330</sup>. The intention, like in all other mission stations was to use a local teacher who could communicate in the local language to convert his own people. The indigenisation of the clergy therefore became a vehicle for evangelism in the Diocese of Mashonaland particularly amongst the local African people.

The need to impact upon the indigenous local people with the Gospel was further taken care of when it was decided that a church should be built specifically for the African population that was growing in Harare. With the growth of Harare it meant more and more indigenous people came to Harare in pursuit of jobs. These people needed a place where they would worship God in their own language, being led by their own indigenous teachers and catechists. In order to raise money for this venture, Samuel Muhlenga also became a useful indigenous human agent who was able to entice the indigenous people in the country and out of the country to contribute money towards this worthy cause. Samuel Muhlenga highlights this undertaking to G. E. P. Broderick, when he states that "in 1906 I toured the Lomagundi District to collect money to build St Michaels Church in Salisbury [Harare]<sup>331</sup>". The tour in Lomagundi was double pronged in its purpose in the sense that Samuel Muhlenga went to appeal to the Africans and Rev. E. J. Parker went to appeal to the white settlers.

Samuel Muhlenga staged a series of open-air sermons, preaching on the subject of Christmas and explaining how important it was for everyone. At the end of his sermon he would challenge the listeners that Christmas was a time of love and giving. As such he implored his listeners to give generously towards the building of a church for Africans in Harare. Although the journey was so tiring and exhausting for Samuel Muhlenga who had his bicycle tire burst and so had to walk for more than 48km and had no water to

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<sup>330</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.* Appendix 25

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid*, Appendix 25

drink as well as nowhere to sleep, which meant sleeping in the tree, he managed to press on with his mission of raising money for the church for the indigenous African people. Even though Samuel Muhlana was traveling with Rev. E. J. Parker, when his bicycle tyre burst, he was left to take care of himself whilst Rev. Parker moved on and waited for him in Chinhoyi. There was certainly no sense of the Good Samaritan in Rev. E. J. Parker, towards his own accomplice in mission. However whilst in Chinhoyi Samuel Muhlana managed to visit the few surrounding mines, where he managed to visit teacher Manjesi who was stationed at Ayrshire Mine.

At the end of this fundraising tour Samuel Muhlana states that he managed to collect just above 18 pounds for the building fund<sup>332</sup>. In addition to this amount he had also written to friends who had gone to Johannesburg to work in the mines, to help in this fundraising venture. Those friends in the diaspora managed to collect and sent just over 16 pounds to Samuel Muhlana for this building fund<sup>333</sup>.

This fundraising project for a church for the indigenous people in Harare has to be looked at as a significant contribution made by Samuel Muhlana to the process of indigenising in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It should be borne in mind that the only church in Harare in those days was the Cathedral Church and that was built specifically to serve the European members of the church. This meant that the growing number of the indigenous population was left with nowhere to worship God in their own language. The fundraising for St Michaels Church was therefore a big step in the process of indigenising the Anglican diocese of Mashonaland. A place of worship was being created for the indigenous people, which had never happened before, and Samuel Muhlana an indigenous agent was in the driving seat of the whole project. Although the name that seems to be put forward as the one that built St Michael's Church is Rev. E. J. Parker, it is clear from the above discussion that Samuel Muhlana made a huge contribution to the building of the original St Michaels Church.

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<sup>332</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, Appendix 25

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid*, Appendix 25

Whatever the case may be the original St Michael's Church in Manica Road [now R. Mugabe Road] was built and opened at the end of 1906<sup>334</sup>. As a recognition of his sterling work towards the building of this church, Samuel Muhlana was placed in charge of this new church, which is recorded to have had 20 baptised members and 16 catechumens at the time of its opening<sup>335</sup>. So more than just contributing to the indigenisation process of building indigenous places of worship for the local people, Samuel Muhlana also made a significant contribution to the process of indigenisation as the first indigenous leader of this new indigenous church. He was to provide all the necessary pastoral oversight of this growing congregation, which was desperately needed in this new and growing city of Harare.

Events seem to have moved fast for Samuel Muhlana, as shown by his marriage to Naseyi in 1907 just a year after St Michael's Church was opened and put under his charge. Naseyi was the girl that he had sent to school at Mount Selinda. Their marriage like other African Christian marriages was an example of what the church was teaching to its members. So more than just an indigenous church leader, Samuel Muhlana also became a role model for the other Christian members to emulate. With the opening of St Michaels, it meant that it became the center for all mission work for the local African populace.

Rev. E. J. Parker then encouraged Samuel Muhlana to revisit the old surrounding stations that had been opened during Bishop Knight-Bruce's time and had been closed during the war of 1896. In this regard he went to Nyamweda near Nyabira. Upon arrival he discovered that one European farmer had bought the farm and the Nyamweda people had been moved to Nyabira. He followed them there and after talking to their headman about the re-establishment of a mission, he obtained permission and a teacher by the name of Patrick Ngara was put there to teach and minister to those people<sup>336</sup>.

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<sup>334</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit*, p22

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid* p22

<sup>336</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, Appendix 26

After four years of hard work at St Michaels Samuel Muhlana was then sent to start work at St Joseph's Mission which was in the Seke Reserves near Bromley Siding. At this place Samuel and a local Indian Christian named Joseph managed to build a school<sup>337</sup>. It's not clear whether the name 'St Josephs' was given after this Indian or the Biblical Joseph. However the school grew to have many children and these children also worked hard in their fields. Samuel reports that sometimes in a good year they could reap 40 to 50 bags of rapoko, which they sold and sent the money to Rev. E. J. Parker to keep as fees for the learners. Samuel Muhlana was to remain in this place for six years, after which he was selected and sent for ordination training at St Peter's College Rosettenville in Johannesburg South Africa. This was now the time of Bishop Hicks Beaven who was the third Bishop of Mashonaland.

When one looks at the contribution made by Samuel Mhlana to the process of the indigenisation of the church before his selection for ordination training, it shows clearly that he gave his whole heart, to the plantation of places of worship for the local people. More than that he also continued his teaching contribution which resulted in the schools that he founded at Nyabira and at Bromley. The local people desperately needed to be able to read and write in order to grow in their faith. Samuel Muhlana had done that and built a church for the African people as well. He was indeed a trailblazer and a critical example of the Anglican Church's efforts to indigenise the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Samuel Muhlana's training for ordination opened a new chapter in his life. He spend two years at St Peter's Rosettenville South Africa, which was the minimum period required by the Diocesan Regulations for ordination to the Deaconate as discussed above. However the *Southern Rhodesia Vol. XCIV* suggests that Bishop Hicks Beaven sent Samuel Muhlana and Ernest Dube for ordination training in South Africa<sup>338</sup>. Since the name of Ernest Dube does not feature together with Samuel Muhlana, at Muhlana's ordination, it is probable that he may have spent more than two years in College preparing for Ordination. The fact that he finished his training and was ordained as priest

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<sup>337</sup> Ibid, Appendix 26

<sup>338</sup> *Southern Rhodesia* Vol. XCIX, February 1917

is confirmed by an entry of his name on the list of names of clergy, which is given by G.E.P Broderick in his work, A History of The Diocese of Southern Rhodesia [1874 – 1952]<sup>339</sup>. Whatever the case may be it must be pointed out that Muhlenga's selection for ordination training was a litmus test for the suitability of the indigenous people to be entrusted with such a huge calling. By the time Samuel Muhlenga was sent for ordination training the Anglican Church had been in the Zimbabwe for 26 years, but it had not found any suitable indigenous person to train for ordination until then. As the first indigenous person to be selected for such a big task, Samuel proved his worth.

Upon his return from St Peter's Rosettenville Samuel was ordained deacon in the cathedral church in Harare on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1919<sup>340</sup>. It was after this occasion that he started his ministry in the established mission stations starting with St David's Bonda Mission where he spend three years under the Rev. S. J. Christelow. From there he went to St Augustine's Mission to prepare for his priestly ordination. Samuel Muhlenga was ordained priest on St Paul's Day, which in that year fell on the 25<sup>th</sup> January 1923<sup>341</sup>. It is important to note that at the time of Canon Samuel Muhlenga's ordination to the diaconate he was estimated to be 40 years of age<sup>342</sup>. This is critical because it helps one to appreciate the many years that Canon Muhlenga spend labouring in God's vineyard as an indigenous clergy person, helping in the process of indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

After his ordination to priesthood, Samuel Muhlenga's first assignment was to assist Canon Edgar Lloyd at St Faith's Mission in Rusape. This assignment lasted for seven years<sup>343</sup>. From Rusape he was sent to All Saints Mission Wreningham, for two years under Fr. Andrew of the Society of Divine Compassion [CDC]. In 1934 Samuel Muhlenga was moved to St Albans Mission in Glendale for a few months before he was brought back to the church that he had fundraised for and started. He moved back to St

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<sup>339</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, Op. Cit. p304

<sup>340</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, Op. Cit. Appendix 27

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, Appendix 27

<sup>342</sup> Diocesan Finance Board Minute of the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1919 kept at the Diocese of Harare Archives at Paget House in Harare.

<sup>343</sup> Rev. G. E. P Broderick, Op. Cit., Appendix 27

Michaels Church on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1934 where he was to minister for the next seventeen years<sup>344</sup>. With the growth of the city of Harare, and the creation of the new residential area for Africans, in Mbare, St Michael's church was also forced to move with its people. In 1949, the church moved to its present site at Runyararo in Mbare and a few months later, Samuel Muhlenga who had become a Canon some years back, decided to retire<sup>345</sup>. It was soon after announcing his retirement that the British Government decided to honour Canon Muhlenga by awarding him an honour, which no indigenous Zimbabwean had ever been given. John Weller postulates that in 1952 Samuel Muhlenga became the first local African to be given the high honour of being made a Member of the British Empire [MBE]<sup>346</sup>.

Canon Muhlenga then spend the rest of his retirement at Epiphany Mission in Rusape, and continued to minister to a congregation there for many years. Canon Samuel Muhlenga only died in 1970. If he was 40 years of age when he was ordained deacon in 1919, it means that at the time of his death Canon Samuel Muhlenga was about 91 years old. He dedicated 51 years of his life to spreading the Gospel as an indigenous agent. It is therefore befitting for Church historians such as G. E. P. Broderick who have studied Canon Samuel Muhlenga's life, to conclude that he was indeed "a worthy founder of the African priesthood of the African Church in Zimbabwe<sup>347</sup>". This observation is supported by the retired Bishop of the Diocese of Manicaland, Dr. Sebastian Bakare who says Canon Samuel Muhlenga was indeed a worthy founder of the African priesthood of the African church in Zimbabwe and that his legacy should be printed in bold when the history of the contribution made by the indigenous clergy to the growth of the Diocese of Mashonaland will be written<sup>348</sup>. Indeed as a litmus test paper for the suitability of the indigenous people to be ordained as clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, Canon Muhlenga proved to be a person who was intellectually, morally and spiritually fit for ordination and indeed for the ordained ministry.

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<sup>344</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit.*, p22

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid* p22

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid* p22

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid* p22

<sup>348</sup> Questionnaire by The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Bakare, February 2006

Amongst those clergy who have met Canon Samuel Muhlana is Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, who claims that he was baptized by Canon Samuel Muhlana on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1930 at St Faiths Mission, and then he buried him at the same mission when he died in 1970<sup>349</sup>. For him Canon Samuel Muhlana was a very humble man of God who was properly selected for the work of converting the local indigenous people. His character and personality was so magnetic such that most people whom he shared with the word of God found themselves with no choice but to convert to the Anglican Church<sup>350</sup>. The popularity of Canon Samuel Muhlana is also echoed by Fr. Lawrence Mbuyeyesango, who suggests that even today if one goes to St Faith's Mission, the local elderly people still talk about the work done by Canon Samuel Muhlana<sup>351</sup>.

Despite his immense contribution to the work of evangelism amongst the local people, he remains a beacon and a symbol of the efforts that the Diocese undertook to indigenise its clergy. His impact like that of other indigenous clergy was mostly in the eventual conversions that ensued in the Anglican Church. The numbers of baptized people continued to grow. An example of this growth is given at the 1924 Synod, which made interesting comparisons in missionary work in the Diocese at that time, with what the situation was in 1921. This report states that whereas there were 9,303 communicants in the diocese in 1921, at the time of the diocesan Synod of 1924 the figure stood at 11,529 communicants<sup>352</sup>. This shows an increase of about 24%, which shows that there was serious work taking place in the mission field. It was mostly the indigenous human factor like Canon Samuel Muhlana that was doing the bulk of the work.

#### **5.1.b. Rev. Stephen Hatendi**

It should be noted that the ordination of Canon Samuel Muhlana opened the way for the indigenisation of the ordained ministry in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Bishop Hicks Beaven realized the critical role played by the few indigenous clergy in his diocese

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<sup>349</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at 34 Fairfield Road Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid

<sup>351</sup> Interview with Rev. Lawrence Mbuyeyesango on the 28<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at 468 Forbes Road Waterfalls.

<sup>352</sup> *Southern Rhodesia* Vol. CXXX, November 1924

and decided to increase the number of indigenous ordination candidates. Stephen Hatendi was one of the three men who followed the footsteps of Canon Samuel Muhlenga when he was selected for ordination but he was sent to St Augustine's Theological College in 1921 for his ordination training.

There is not much written about most of these early indigenous clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, which is extant. Much of the information we have emanates from interviews with those who were connected to these people as well as the attendance register from St Augustine's Theological Seminary, which is kept at the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare. In an interview with Bishop Peter Ralph Hatendi it became clear that Stephen Hatendi was his Uncle. He was an elder brother to Bishop Peter's father. This means that Bishop Peter's recollections can be trusted as correct. According to Bishop Peter Hatendi's recollection, Stephen Hatendi was born in 1899 in Rusape. He was then baptized in 1904 and after two years in 1906 he was confirmed<sup>353</sup>. Having been born in Rusape Stephen Hatendi went on to attend school at Epiphany mission where he continued to be formed in the Anglican tradition. After his schooling at Epiphany mission he moved a step further and became a catechist in 1916 and ministered at Epiphany mission and the surrounding villages. Stephen Hatendi was then selected to attend Theological training at St Augustine's Mission by Bishop Hicks Beaven. The year 1921 saw Stephen starting his Ordination Training, which he managed to complete in December 1922.

Following this training he was then ordained deacon in 1923 when Samuel Mhlanga was being ordained priest. After three years he was ordained priest in 1926<sup>354</sup> by Bishop Francis Paget. After his ordination to priesthood, Stephen Hatendi served at St Faith's Mission from 1927 up to 1929 as Assistant priest to Canon Edgar Lloyd whom we discussed in the previous chapter. From St. Faith's Mission, Stephen Hatendi was sent to St David's mission in Bonda from 1930 till 1933. He continued to be posted in churches

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<sup>353</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004, at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>354</sup> ANG.29/4/4 [NAZ], St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Roll Book [Ordinands and Teachers], c.1921 – 1950.



in the eastern district. After serving at Bonda mission he was posted to St Peter's Church in Nyanga from 1934 up to 1936. From Nyanga he was brought back to St James mission in Mutare from 1937 – 1939. Whilst in Mutare he was transferred to St John's Sakubva in 1940 and served in this church for five years up to the end of 1945. The furthest area that Stephen Hatendi ministered in his entire ministry was at St Albans' Mission in Glendale where he was appointed to serve in 1946<sup>355</sup>. This was the furthest he was transferred to away from his village in Rusape.

However Stephen Hatendi, Gibson Nyabako and Leonard Sagonda, can be viewed as the second generation of the ordained indigenous clergy, with the first generation being represented by Canon Samuel Muhlenga. We need to mention the fact that Bishop Francis Paget, carried on with his predecessor's vision of indigenising the clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Geoffrey Gibbon is right to suggest that, Bishop Francis Paget, "was intent on building up a strong African ministry...<sup>356</sup>". He was aware that if mission to the Africans had to be increased successfully it was only the indigenous people who could do that effectively. Although we do not get so much of the success stories, from the ministry of most of these early ordained indigenous clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, comments from those who knew them indicate that things were not always smooth even though they ministered to their own people. Canon W.W.W. Nechironga suggests that things did not work out well for Stephen Hatendi in St Alban's mission. Although he had served the church for 38 years since he was made catechist up to 1953, Rev. Stephen Hatendi left St Alban's Mission in a huff. He just left the mission without even notifying the Bishop about his intention to take an early retirement<sup>357</sup>. Indeed such a sudden decision to leave his mission work and go into retirement at the age of 54, suggest that there could have been something that he was not happy with in his new appointment. Despite this unfortunate ending, Stephen Hatendi retired from the church in 1955 and

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<sup>355</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004, at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>356</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, *Paget of Rhodesia*, Johannesburg: Africana Book Society, 1973, p38

<sup>357</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006, at House Number 34, Fairfield Road, Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe.

died in 1968<sup>358</sup>. His contribution to the process of indigenisation like all the other early-ordained clergy has to be viewed, in the context of localizing the ordained staff of the Diocese.

### **5.1.c Rev. Gibson Nyabako**

Gibson Nyabako is one of those second generation ordained indigenous clergy whom we do not hear much about in comparison with his contemporaries. The little that is known about his life as a Christian and an ordained minister is that he served as catechist from 1914 and attended St Augustine's Mission for his theological training together with Stephen Hatendi resulting in his ordination to the diaconate in 1923<sup>359</sup> together with Stephen Hatendi and Leonard Sagonda.

The other thing that we know about Gibson Nyabako within the context of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland is that he was the first indigenous ordained clergy to be appointed as a Capitular Canon<sup>360</sup>. This development is highlighted by Geoffrey Gibbon who states that during the time of Bishop Francis Paget's time, in the late 1930's, Gibson Nyabako was appointed as the first indigenous Capitular Canon, which meant that he now had a seat on the Bishop's Senate and Standing Committee<sup>361</sup>. This was indeed a step in line with the process of indigenising Diocesan structures of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This development also meant that he could now participate in the general administration of the Cathedral Parish which was still a bastion of Europeans, as well as the Diocese, which still had a majority of Europeans in most of its committees. As a Member of the Cathedral Chapter he could also sit on the Standing Committee of the Diocese. A Standing Committee is "*synod in action*". It is the Standing

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<sup>358</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004 at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>359</sup> ANG.29/4/4, [NAZ], St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga, Students' Roll Book, [Ordinands and Teachers], c.1921– 1950.

<sup>360</sup> Capitular Canons are clergy persons who are elected by the other clergy members of that particular Diocese at the time of a Diocesan Synod. These persons sit on the Cathedral Chapter, whose members are also automatic members of the Bishops Senate. The duties of the Bishop's Senate, include, advising the Bishop on any matters which he may refer to it, advising the Bishop on any clerical appointments, as well as advising the Bishop on any other matter that the Bishop will refer to it.

<sup>361</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, Op. Cit, p67

Committee that is responsible for the daily administration of a Diocese in the Anglican Province of Central Africa<sup>362</sup>.

However if this move was made in good faith, it meant that there was now room created in the administrative machinery of the Diocese of Mashonaland, for meaningful contribution from the ordained indigenous clergy. It should be pointed out however that even though there were such developments, not much was achieved in terms of indigenisation, since Nyabako's membership of the Cathedral Chapter did not give him all the rights which his office naturally conferred to people who would have been appointed to such a committee. As a Capitular Canon, he would have been allowed to preach at the Cathedral during divine worship, but he was not allowed to do so. This is noted by Geoffrey Gibbon who suggests that even though Gibson Nyabako was appointed as a Capitular Canon he did not preach in the Cathedral Parish Church. The first indigenous African clergy to preach at the Cathedral Parish was at an ordination service that took place in 1943<sup>363</sup>. It can be surmised that despite the efforts that were being made to indigenise the Diocese of Mashonaland, in its personnel, structures and liturgy, there were several hurdles that needed to be tackled to ensure that such efforts were not piecemeal. Having considered the contribution made by Gibson Nyabako to the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland it is prudent to move on and consider the contribution made by Leonard Sagonda, his contemporary, to the same process of indigenisation.

#### **5.1.d. Canon Leonard Sagonda**

The story of Canon Leonard Sagonda is quite intriguing when considered within its context. Canon Leonard is one of those early indigenous clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland whose legacy is still remembered by many especially in Matabeleland where he worked for his entire life. It should be remembered that from the beginning of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, it was all one diocese, and it included the whole of the present day Zimbabwe and part of Botswana up to the Shashe River. In order to grasp

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<sup>362</sup> *The Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland* [1975], p27

<sup>363</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, *Op. Cit.*, p67

the contribution made by Canon Leonard Sagonda to the process of indigenisation it is important to understand a little about his life.

According to John Weller, Canon Leonard Sagonda was born in 1890 in a village called Gairezi, which is part of an area, which was under the Chieftainship of Chief Tangwena, in the present day Inyanga district. Like most boys of his time, he received his early education at St Augustine's Mission in Penhalonga<sup>364</sup>. It is most probable that, it was during his time at St Augustine's Mission that he became a Christian. After his time at St Augustine's Mission the young Leonard Sagonda worked briefly on a local farm, herding cattle, before he moved on to Harare to seek domestic employment like what most boys of his age were doing during those days. John Weller intimates that whilst in Harare, Leonard went to a night school such that before long he was appointed to work as a catechist at St Michaels Church<sup>365</sup>. It is most likely that when he was attending night school at the Cathedral he was also taught to be a catechist.

It is important to note that whilst Leonard Sagonda was doing all this he was still below the age of 30, since we learn that in 1918, when a terrible flue epidemic hit the city of Harare, he acted in a heroic way by not only availing St Michaels as an emergency hospital, but he also acted as a male nurse, caring devotedly for the many people who were brought to him<sup>366</sup>. This was no mean thing for a 28-year-old person to do to the extent that even the police authorities had to express their gratitude to him publicly. Through this experience Leonard Sagonda was already showing what kind of person he was – that he was caring and willing to give himself for the service of all.

The church was also aware of this charitable contribution that Leonard Sagonda had made to the local community as such it became clear to the church leadership that Leonard had some outstanding qualities that could be beneficial to the church, that was trying to indigenise its clergy in order to improve its impact on the local people. John Weller maintains that in 1921, Leonard Sagonda was selected for ordination training and

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<sup>364</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit*, p23

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid*, p23

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid*, p23

sent back to St Augustine's Theological Mission<sup>367</sup>. Leonard Sagonda managed to sail through his training such that in 1923, together with Gibson Nyabako and Stephen Hatendi, he was made deacon. Leonard Sagonda served his deaconate training at St Columbus in Bulawayo<sup>368</sup>. G. E. P. Broderick notes that in 1923, Leonard Sagonda was appointed as Assistant to Rev. J. W. Wilson. After this training he was eventually ordained priest by Bishop Francis Paget in 1926 together with his colleagues<sup>369</sup>. This was indeed the beginning of a long and faithful ministry as an ordained indigenous priest, which lasted for 42 years.

As one of the first indigenous priests, his ministry was destined to impact on the local indigenous people, as such his first appointment after ordination to priesthood was St Michael's church in Harare, where he had served as catechist before. Before long there was a pressing need again at St Columbus Mission in Bulawayo, where he had served his deaconate. The church was trying to make an impact on the Ndebele people; as such it would have been wise to have someone who spoke the Ndebele language. However at this stage there was no one who had been ordained from that part of the country. Leonard Sagonda was therefore sent back to St Columbus and within a short space of time he mastered the Ndebele language as well as the other languages spoken in that part of the country such as Tswana, Nyanja and Xhosa<sup>370</sup>. It should be noted that there were Fingo people who had come from South Africa with the Pioneer Column who spoke Xhosa, hence the need for Rev. Leonard Sagonda to learn that language as well.

Although Rev. Leonard Sagonda was appointed to serve as Assistant priest at St Columbus Mission, his real ministry was in the areas surrounding the St Columbus Mission. He was appointed to minister to those who were in the deep and far villages such as Gwanda in the south and Nkayi in the north as well as Gwai to the north –east. In order to access all these areas he used a bicycle. Rev. Sagonda's ministry did not end with the above three places. John Weller goes on to suggest that he went on to set up a

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid, p23

<sup>368</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, Op. Cit, p276

<sup>369</sup> ANG.29/4/4 [NAZ], St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Roll Book [Ordinands and Teachers], c.1921 – 1950.

<sup>370</sup> John Weller Op. Cit, p24

new Mission center at St Aidans, in Bembesi and continued to visit the outlying areas from there.

When one considers the impact of Rev. Leonard Sagonda's contribution to the process of indigenisation in the diocese of Mashonaland, one has to consider the human factor first, before even moving on to consider the way he founded congregations, and the way he build churches which were all for the local indigenous people. More than just being an indigenous agent of the church, he also ensured that each mission church had a primary school built. It was because of this interest in education that the Ministry of Education appointed him as Manager of Schools which he had built in the Shangani Communal lands near Nkayi, and the schools in the district of St Aidans, Bembesi.

Like the other early-ordained clergy Rev Leonard Sagonda's contribution to the process of indigenisation, cannot be divorced from evangelism, particularly amongst the local populace. This is probably the reason why he went on to establish a new Mission center in Northern Matabeleland in 1947, so that he would live nearer to those people whom he had ministered to previously from a long distance. This new center was at St Athanasius Gwelutshena<sup>371</sup>. Even though he had established this new mission center, he continued to travel and minister to the local people, and was now responsible for thirty outstations<sup>372</sup>. In recognition for his contribution in the work of the church amongst the local indigenous people in Matabeleland, Rev. Leonard Sagonda was made a Canon<sup>373</sup> of the Diocese in 1947<sup>374</sup>.

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<sup>371</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit*, p24

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid*, p24

<sup>373</sup> In *The Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland – [1975]*, there are three types of Canons. On one level they are priests who are elected to serve as members of the Cathedral Chapter. In this case such a priest has to be elected from among the licensed Clergy of the Diocese, by the other clergy. These members of the clergy serving on the Chapter are tasked to ensure the smooth administration of the cathedral Parish and they are also expected to advise the Bishop on any matter concerning the smooth running of the Diocese. The second level of Canons is that referred to as 'Titular Canons'. This is conferred by the Bishop, with the consent of the Chapter on any priest of the Diocese to be in charge with theological matters of the Diocese, such as "Canon Theologian or Canon Missioner". The third level of Canons is that which the Bishop may confer to any priest of the diocese in recognition of outstanding service given to the diocese. This is also given with the consent of the Chapter. This is normally called "Honorary Canon". This is the category of most of the Canons in this thesis. Such a title is for life whereas the other two are only for some determined periods such as four years for those serving on the Chapter.

Canon Sagonda was known to be a humble and caring person who was also an excellent preacher who spiced his sermons with a delightful sense of humour. It is because of his outstanding ministry amongst the local indigenous Ndebele people in Matabeleland region that today he is revered highly. This comes out clearly from Bishop Robert Mercer CR, former bishop of the Diocese of Matabeleland who suggests that Canon Leonard Sagonda is rightfully called “the apostle of Matabeleland<sup>375</sup>”. Indeed if he was an apostle it will be proper to say that he was an indigenous apostle to the indigenous people of Matabeleland. His being as an indigenous ordained clergy certainly helped the church to increase its indigenous membership. Whether he managed to convey the gospel message to the local people in African thought patterns will come out clearly when we assess his success as an indigenous agent of the Gospel in Matabeleland.

To show the kind of person Canon Leonard Sagonda was, he was also awarded the honour to become a Member of British Empire [M.B.E] in 1961. Prior to that he had also served as a member of the Monckton Commission, whose report led to the break up of the Federation resulting in the independence of Zambia and Malawi. When Zimbabwe attained Independence in 1980, Canon Leonard Sagonda was honoured by the University of Zimbabwe, with the degree of Master of Arts [*honoris causa*]<sup>376</sup>. This was done in recognition of his work in Matabeleland, which was mainly amongst the indigenous people. Although Canon Leonard Sagonda died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1980, he is remembered as one of those early-ordained indigenous clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland who made a significant contribution to the process of indigenisation and the growth of the Anglican Church, as an indigenous agent.

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<sup>374</sup> Interview with Linda Chipunza [nee Sagonda], on the 10<sup>th</sup> December 2006, at Fourways, Johannesburg South Africa. Linda is a granddaughter to Canon Leonard Sagonda. Her Father was Canon Sagonda’s first son. Linda went on to be married to Canon Edward Chipunza’s Grandson

<sup>375</sup> The Rt. Rev. Robert Mercer, “*A Citizen of no mean City*”, [Http://www.stedmund.ca/documents/content\_73.pdf] p5 – 6. Bishop Robert Mercer served the Diocese of Matabeleland as Bishop before he defected to a splinter group of the Anglican Church, which calls itself “*The Anglican Catholic Church*”. This Church is not in Communion with the See of the Church of England.

<sup>376</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit*, p24

The other early indigenous ordained clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland who also made a significant impact in the process of indigenisation of the Diocese of Mashonaland was Canon Edward Chipunza. More than being a positive instrument for growth in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, he is also remembered as one of those indigenous clergy who made strides in trying to make the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland become local in several dimensions. Let us consider a brief history of this clergyman and then discuss his contribution to the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Harare.

### **5.1.e. Canon Edward Chipunza**

The story of Canon Edward Chipunza goes back to the early missionary maneuvers by the earliest missionaries such as Archdeacon James Hay Upcher<sup>377</sup>. Edward Chipunza was born in September 1902 being a son of Chief Chipunza, who was a neighbour to Chief Makoni near Rusape. John Weller postulates that since Frank Ziqubu and John Kapuya had been given shelter by Chief Chipunza, as they fled during the 1896/7 Shona – Ndebele uprising, Archdeacon Upcher felt that the church had to pay Chief Chipunza in some way for that good



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<sup>377</sup> James Hay Upcher was born in 1884 at Wreningham a small village in Eastern England. He joined the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1892 and when the first Bishop of Mashonaland, Bp. Knight-Bruce retired in 1894, he was the only Anglican priest in the whole country. On several occasions he was asked to become Bishop, but he refused. It is after James Upcher that the mission station in Chivhu was named 'Wreningham' after the place where he was born. Upcher worked in many Places in the country until 1911 when he resigned as Archdeacon. His resignation as Archdeacon was meant to relieve him of the numerous Archdeaconry responsibilities, which meant that he had to fill up the gaps where they occurred as such, fail to minister to the local African people, a thing which had driven him to come to the country as a missionary. He realised that instead of ministering to the local indigenous people, he had spend the bulk of his time ministering to the white people. Upcher managed to achieve his desire for the next 14 years as he ministered at Epiphany Mission, near Rusape until in 1925 when the newly consecrated Bishop Paget, brought him to Harare as his adviser, and persuaded him for a time to act as Archdeacon. It is during his time at Epiphany that he stayed with Edward Chipunza and virtually turned him into his disciple.



gesture<sup>378</sup>. The payment came by way of praying for the Chief's son – Edward, who was taken gravely ill. After the Archdeacon's prayers, Edward Chipunza recovered and the Chief was so impressed such that he put the young Edward, under the Archdeacon's care and guidance at Epiphany Mission. One needs to understand that Archdeacon James. H. Upcher joined the staff of the diocese of Mashonaland as early as 1892 and only retired from the Diocese after serving for 39 years.

During his time at Epiphany, Edward was trained to become a teacher after which he proceeded to St Augustine's Mission school in 1919 for further education returning in 1920. He then enrolled at St Augustine's Theological College in January 1925 to train for priesthood<sup>379</sup>. After two years at St Augustine's College, the young Chipunza who was now 30 years old, was ordained deacon on the 21<sup>st</sup> September 1927 and became the youngest of the ordained African clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>380</sup>.

It is also important to mention here that, after the retirement of Bishop Hicks Beaven in 1924, he was succeeded by Bishop Francis Paget<sup>381</sup> who became the fifth Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Bishop Paget was indeed a man of action whose episcopate saw a lot of growth in the Anglican Diocese of Harare such that at the time of his retirement the number of clergy had increased from 30 to 70 in Mashonaland and from 10 to 40 in Matabeleland. Out of these, 33 were indigenous African people and out

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<sup>378</sup> John Weller, *Op. Cit.* p15

<sup>379</sup> ANG.29/4/4 [NAZ], St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Roll Book [Ordinands and Teachers], c.1921 – 1950

<sup>380</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, *Paget of Mashonaland*, Johannesburg: Africana Book Society, 1973, p37

<sup>381</sup> Bishop Francis Paget was the fifth Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. At the time of his consecration the Anglican Church had given little thought about the future of the African people. In other words the church had not really thought seriously about indigenising itself. The church therefore needed to give guidance and to challenge its white adherents to do more than adopt a benevolent paternalism towards the black people who outnumbered them many times over. Most historians therefore remember Bishop Paget as 'a man of action'. His desire to recognise the place of the indigenous people came out as early as his enthronement. The organisers had not invited the local indigenous people to attend and when he realised this he threatened to have the service done in St Michael's Church, which was very small. In his year of enthronement, the four first deacons were made priests and three more Africans were made deacons. Paget was indeed intent on building a strong African ministry. By the time he resigned as Bishop after serving the church for 31 years as Bishop, he had increased the number of black clergy tremendously and built more churches for black people.

of these 110 priests, he ordained 32<sup>382</sup>. In terms of indigenising the staff of the Diocese, Bishop Paget goes down in history as a missionary Bishop who did what no other bishop before him had done in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. In the same greetings at his farewell, the people of The Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland also suggest that “during your episcopate you have...given an example to the whole country in giving responsibility to Africans and calling them to your counsels<sup>383</sup>”. Indeed it was during the time of Bishop Francis Paget that even the church structures and committees started to be staffed with indigenous ordained clergy. Although Bishop Hicks Beaven is credited for being the first to ordain indigenous clergy and invite them to synod<sup>384</sup>, Paget certainly expanded the indigenisation process to another level.

It is during the episcopacy of Bishop Francis Paget that Canon Edward Chipunza flourished to prominence in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Canon Edward served his deaconate at St Mary’s Mission, Hunyani. It is important to mention here that on top of being the youngest deacon he was also the ninth ordained indigenous African deacon in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Canon Edward Chipunza is remembered today for being of “ a charming disposition, good intellectual ability and promise of spiritual power<sup>385</sup>”. It is probably not surprising that Bishop Francis Paget had special interest in Canon Edward Chipunza from the beginning. The Bishop’s desire to build up a strong African ministry found a strong support in the person of Canon Edward. In fact Bishop Paget’s vision of mission work in Mashonaland seem to have been characterized by a desire to promote a process of indigenising the church although the process was slow. Geoffrey Gibbon suggests that in 1933, Bishop Paget had written that “on the missionary side of our work as a church, it is true to say that they [the ordained indigenous people] must increase and we [the European ordained clergy] must decrease – that more and more an African ministry is to be the most efficient way of converting Africans to Christ<sup>386</sup>”.

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<sup>382</sup> ANG 1/1/8 [NAZ], Greetings to the Bishop Francis Paget by the people of Mashonaland at his retirement in 1956

<sup>383</sup> Ibid

<sup>384</sup> *Southern Rhodesia* Vol. CXVIII, November 1921, suggests that Canon Samuel Muhlenga was the first African to be invited for synod.

<sup>385</sup> *The Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia Missions Quarterly Magazine, Vols. 1-3, [1927 – 1929], vol.2, No.3, July, 1928, p108.*

<sup>386</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, *Op. Cit*, p38

This is a clear indication that there was a desire in the Bishop's heart to indigenise his Diocese. Whether he succeeded in this or not will be seen as the discussion unfolds.

It needs to be pointed out that Canon Edward Chipunza's ministerial training seem to have been quite different from the others in the sense that he went to St Augustine's Mission on three different occasions as noted by extant records at the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare. Firstly, as we have noted above, he went there from 1919 to 1920 to further his education. Secondly he went back in 1925 up to 1927 after which he was ordained Deacon. The third time he went back to prepare for priesthood until he was finally priested by Bishop Francis Paget in 1931.

From that time on he was appointed to serve as Assistant priest, in charge of St Francis in Shurugwi before moving on to serve in the same capacity at St Aidan's Bembesi<sup>387</sup>. In 1951, Canon Edward Chipunza, was then transferred from St Aidan's to take up a post as the first Rector<sup>388</sup> of St Michael's Mbare. It should be stated that even though Canon Samuel Muhlenga, his predecessor, had served this parish for 17 years, he was not a Rector. During all that period the parish was under the Cathedral Parish, as such Canon Muhlenga was virtually an Assistant priest for the Cathedral Parish. Canon Edward Chipunza therefore became the first priest to be made a Rector of a parish in the history of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This was indeed a big step in the process of indigenisation of Clerical Office in the Diocese of Mashonaland during Bp Paget's episcopacy. Prior to this appointment, all the ordained indigenous clergy had served as Assistant priests under a European priest. This development is echoed by Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze, who postulates that "the first black priest to be appointed Rector of a parish was Canon Edward Chipunza in 1951<sup>389</sup>". By this time Canon Edward Chipunza had ministered for 20 years as an ordained priest.

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<sup>387</sup> Interview with Linda Chipunza [nee Sagonda], on the 10<sup>th</sup> December 2006, at Fourways, Johannesburg South Africa

<sup>388</sup> A Rector is an incumbent of a Parish. This is an ordained clergy who has oversight of a Parish, without having to report to any other person above him. He has total charge of that Parish as opposed to be Priest-in Charge, who will be under a senior clergy giving oversight over the parish.

<sup>389</sup> Interview with Canon G. Mashingaidze, on the 30 May 2007, at 6 Margate Road, Eastlea, Harare, Zimbabwe.

As Rector of such a big parish he was now in a better place to make his Parish Church look African. Several clergy, who worked with Canon Edward Chipunza, testify that he was a strong willed priest who never permitted the ill-treatment that the European clergy used in treating their black counterparts. Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, remembers Canon Chipunza as;

*A strong-willed priest who did not just take any nonsense. He was the first black priest to drive a new motor vehicle. More than that, he also had the clout to stand up for his rights, which resulted in his serious altercation with Barbra Tredgold, over the relationship of Runyararo center and St Michael's Mission. Canon Chipunza wanted to know whether Runyararo center was under St Michaels Church since they were in the same plot, or that it was an independent institution<sup>390</sup>”.*

The issue for Canon Chipunza, here was not so much ignorance of the relationship of these two institutions, but the fact that he was challenging a certain attitude by some European people in the diocese who could not tolerate the fact that they could work under and indigenous person and be given orders by an indigenous person.

Canon Edward Chipunza is also remembered for challenging some European priests in Synods, particularly those who tended to treat the indigenous clergy as second-class citizens. In other words he is remembered today for being open and forthright in addition to being articulate in his ministry. Canon Mashingaidze remembers him as a priest “who fought very hard for the liberation of the indigenous clergy. He is probably the only priest during that time who tried to make his Parish an African church, by ensuring that people change their perception of thinking that the only real clergy were the European clergy<sup>391</sup>”. We can safely say that Canon Chipunza’s contribution to Indigenisation was more of a political drive to assert the power of the ordained indigenous clergy. It is clear from his writings that he was well composed and articulate. This comes out clearly in his inaugural writing to *The Link* [1953], following his appointment as Rector of St Michaels

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<sup>390</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004, at St Martins Parish Church, Hatfield. Barbra Tredgold was a Social Worker who had been put in charge of Runyararo Training centre, a place that was tasked with training women in various disciplines as well as looking after children. This centre was situated at the same place where St Michael’s Parish had been moved to from its original site in the present Robert Mugabe Road.

<sup>391</sup> Interview with Canon G. Mashingaidze, on the 30 May 2007, at 6 Margate Road, Eastlea, Harare, Zimbabwe

Parish. In that article he expresses his appreciation for the work ahead of him, and clearly articulates his vision for the parish<sup>392</sup>.

It should be pointed out that Canon Chipunza's efforts to assert his position as an indigenous clergy should be seen in the context of a people who had been socialized to think that the ordained ministry was a special preserve of Europeans since those are the people whom they had ever seen serving in that capacity. Changing that entrenched perception therefore was not an easy thing. Canon W.W.W. Nechironga shares a story concerning his experience of some local Anglican believers who had a tendency to think that their indigenous clergy were not good enough as ordained clergy. This comes out quite clearly from his personal experience when he was serving as Assistant priest in the Chivhu Communal area. He maintains that;

*The indigenous people did not think that their fellow indigenous people could be real priests. They thought that it was only the Europeans who could be priests. Hence when I used to cycle in the local villages doing my treks, the local people would greet me and say 'Mhoroi baba, ko Mupristi anouya rini?' meaning 'Hello Father, when is the priest coming to visit us'<sup>393</sup>."*

This shows that the process of indigenisation encountered several hurdles from both sides, namely some European clergy who saw it as a political tool<sup>394</sup> that would render them, obsolete and from the local people who had been socialized to think that it was only the European priests who were good enough to be clergy. It was this mentality that Canon Edward Chipunza is remembered to have fought vehemently in his efforts to make the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland look African.

It needs to be noted as well that during the time of Bishop Paget there was a remarkable development with regards to the work that was going on among the African people. It was the African Clergy who had been ordained since the arrival of the bishop who made all this possible. More than that there was need for clergy to thrive for higher standards in order to be selected for training since the African laity was also achieving higher

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<sup>392</sup> *The Link*, July 1953

<sup>393</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W Nechironga, on the 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004, at St Martins Parish Church, Hatfield, Harare.

<sup>394</sup> Eduardo Hoornaert, *Op. Cit.*, p21

standards of education. Training for African Clergy had been discontinued at St Augustine's Mission and most clergy were now being trained at St Peter's Rosettenville in South Africa. It was these graduates and people such as Canon Chipunza, who were now shouldering the bulk of the work that was going on amongst the local indigenous people. According to G.E.P Broderick, towards the end of Bishop Francis Paget's episcopacy, African clergy who had been given the status of Priest-in-Charge staffed several Missions<sup>395</sup>. More than being made Priest-in Charge, the other development was that the Order of Sub-Deacon<sup>396</sup> was also extended to include the Africans. All these efforts to empower the local indigenous people should be seen and taken in the context of the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

In addition to that, Africans such as Canon Edward Chipunza were now permitted to take up positions in the Diocesan Structures, such as the Bishop's Senate, Board of Missions, Diocesan Finance Board as well as on the Standing Committee<sup>397</sup>. A good example of this development in the process of indigenising the structures of the diocese of Mashonaland can be seen in the results of the Synod of 1962, where Canon Edward Chipunza was chosen to serve on the Bishop's Senate as well as the Provincial Synod and the Diocesan Elective Assembly<sup>398</sup>. So more than just being there to show that the African people were now being ordained as clergy the Diocese realized the need to put them in decision-making structures of the church. It is through this representation that matters affecting the indigenous clergy were being brought to the plenary sessions for discussion, a thing that never used to happen before.

We should also mention that Edward Chipunza was appointed as a Capitular Canon in the early 1950's as such he was a member of the Cathedral Chapter, The Bishop's Senate as

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<sup>395</sup> G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit* p291

<sup>396</sup> This is an Order of those who are called to assist in the life of the Parish by way of reading scripture and assisting the priest at the altar with the serving of the chalice, visiting the sick and leading worship as well as preaching. The local priest trains such people before they are given a license by the Bishop to serve in this capacity.

<sup>397</sup> Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p292

<sup>398</sup> ANG. 1/1/64 [NAZ], Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland Synod of 1962 held from 30<sup>th</sup> April 1962 – 5<sup>th</sup> May 1962

well as the Standing Committee of the Diocese<sup>399</sup>. When one goes through the documents of the Diocese of Mashonaland one is struck to note how Canon Edward Chipunza, served on most of the critical committees in the Diocese until his retirement. On the whole the ministry of Canon Edward Chipunza, was even recognized by the local authorities in the City of Harare such that one of the streets in Mbare has been named after him.

Having discussed the contribution made by the early teachers, catechists and African Clergy to the process of indigenisation, it is prudent to move on and discuss the process of indigenisation through the development of indigenous hymnody. To do this, I will trace the development from the pioneering years of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland right through to 1981.

## **5. 2 The Development of Indigenous Hymnody**

The process of indigenisation with regards to the development of indigenous hymnody has to be looked at in the context of the translations, which we have already discussed, in the preceding chapters. It should be stated that the early missionaries came with all that they needed to establish the British Church in Mashonaland, which included, Prayer Books such as the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, as well as the Hymn Books such as the Ancient and Modern hymn book. The mission's concentration on education geared towards enabling Africans to read the Bible and sing the English songs should also be understood in this regard. The discussion below will show that even though the Translations Committee was set up as early as the time of Bishop Knight-Bruce, the translation of hymns did not move that fast.

We learn from the *Mashonaland Quarterly* that as early as 1894 Bishop Knight Bruce was planning to start a Study Group at Mutare with a view to translate the New Testament into Shona<sup>400</sup>. This was the beginning of the earliest process of translation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Focus was on the New Testament and not yet on the songs.

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<sup>399</sup> *The Link*, July 1953

<sup>400</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly* No. 7, January 1894

Eventually a Translations Committee was then set up which, as noted earlier, consisted of the Bishop, Rev. A. Walker, catechists Frank Ziqubu and Bernard Mizeki as well as John Kapuya who was the only Shona person in the group. The focus of this group therefore was still on the New Testament, so that the new converts would have something to read for themselves in their own language.

When Bishop Thomas Gaul took over as the second Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, after the resignation of Bishop Knight-Bruce the work of translation continued at Makoni Mission, and moved to St Augustine's Mission once that Mission was established. There was now Rev. Douglas Pelly added on to the group of Frank Ziqubu, Bernard Mizeki and John Kapuya, who had started the process with the previous Bishop. As early as 1896, Rev. Douglas Pelly reports that the Translations Committee had completed the first catechism into Shona and that had been posted to England for printing<sup>401</sup>. In all these reports there is no indication of the committee translating the hymns, which means that their focus was not yet in that area.

However towards the close of the episcopate of Bishop Thomas Gaul, in 1906 there were numerous developments in the Diocese, which were in line with the process of indigenisation. The translation of literature into Shona, continued unabated resulting in the publication in what was then called a First Reader, translated in Shona as "Tsamba Yokutanga". This was basically a mixture of prayers, catechism and the New Testament writings such as the Gospels and letters<sup>402</sup>. Also published at this time was the first vernacular Hymn Book<sup>403</sup>. This translation was done from the Ancient and Modern hymnal, which the missionaries had brought into the country. It should be noted that even at this stage it was not all the hymns from that hymnal that were translated. The important thing however is that when we talk about the development of the indigenous hymnal, the year 1906, therefore becomes a critical date that one can point to as the beginning of the use of Shona Hymns in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

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<sup>401</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly*, No. 16, May 1896

<sup>402</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly*, No. 58, November 1906

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid*



It should be stated that each Bishop who came to serve in the Diocese of Mashonaland, ensured that the Translations Committee was maintained, because they realized that it was crucial if the church was to reach out to the locals in a meaningful way. As early as 1909, when Bishop Nathaniel Powell, the third Bishop of the Diocese of Harare, called for the third diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Mashonaland, the importance of the Translations Committee was reinforced<sup>404</sup>. From this synod onwards, the Translations Committee was now given a mandate to carry out its duties. This means that at every sitting of Synod, this committee had to submit a report of its work, just like all the other Diocesan Committees were required to do.

With the growth of the Diocese of Mashonaland in terms of lay members of staff, the year 1909 saw the coming of Miss Elaine M. Brewin to join St Faith's Mission. This lady teamed up with John Kapuya, who was already working at Epiphany as a catechist. Elaine Brewin joined John Kapuya and began to work there as a catechist as well<sup>405</sup>. Within a short space of time she married Canon Edgar Lloyd, and together they carried out an outstanding ministry at St Faith's Mission until she died suddenly on the 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1928. It should be mentioned that Mrs. Elaine Lloyd was a gifted person in many disciplines. She is remembered today as having been a great linguist. In this regard, together with her husband they compiled a book entitled "*Rwendo RweMukristu*", translated in English as "*The Journey of a Christian*". This was a collection of prayers and devotions in Shona<sup>406</sup>. Several elderly clergy who saw Mrs. Elaine Lloyd, such as Canon W.W.W. Nechironga says "the old Chimanyika Hymnal owes very much to her, a huge work but uncompleted, many of the old tunes had to be left to the old words, to her sorrow, but many she rewrote as well as retuned<sup>407</sup>". This is probably the reason why St Faith's Choir became well known in the Eastern region of the country for being the best Choir in the eastern region of the country.

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<sup>404</sup> Minutes of the Diocesan Finance Board [1903 – 1925] kept at the Diocese of Harare Archives.

<sup>405</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly*, No. 68

<sup>406</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly*, No. 68

<sup>407</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga on the 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004

Mrs. Lloyd therefore made a significant contribution to the development of the indigenous hymnal over and above everything else that she contributed during her time at St Faiths Mission. She certainly used her gift in music to contribute towards the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Her obituary notice brings out this contribution quite clearly when it states that, “she... revised the vernacular hymn-book, accompanying the words with tunes in Sol-fa notation. The words of previous versions were in many ways improved, the number of hymns increased, and a better selection of tunes was provided...<sup>408</sup>”. This was a major contribution to the process of indigenisation in Diocese of Mashonaland, which was made by a foreign person who used her gift in languages. It is not clear however if the translations that she made were of the best Shona, given the fact that this was not her mother tongue. Whatever the case may be the Shona hymnal was now in existence and Shona congregations now had their songs in their own languages.

However at St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga there was also an interesting development alongside the process of indigenisation of hymnody. A report is carried in the *Occasional Letter* of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord [CR Sisters from Grahamstown], that there was an experiment, which was done at that Mission towards developing indigenous music<sup>409</sup>. The letter says Padre Jones of the U..M.C.A Mission Station at Mapanza, in Zambia, was invited at St Augustine’s Mission. This man was considered as a leading authority on African music as such he was invited to come and glean local folk tunes for use in the new Hymn book which had just been published. He took with him a Tonga teacher who had already composed some music for Mass in Tonga language, and they formed a choir and tried to get traditional melodies from the students at St Augustine’s Mission. The letter suggests that the learners resisted this effort. It suggests that Padre Jones and the Tonga Teacher “...found themselves up against insurmountable prejudices. The Bantu song tunes were too closely connected in their minds with heathen rites and customs to be tolerated for use in church<sup>410</sup>”. This goes

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<sup>408</sup> Authur S. Cripps, “Obituary of Mrs. Elaine M. Lloyd” in *Transvaal & Southern Rhodesia*, January, 1928

<sup>409</sup> *Occasional Letter, of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown], October 1943

<sup>410</sup> Ibid

to show some of the stumbling blocks that militated against the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The point here is that the local people had been taught that anything African was evil, hence their resistance to incorporate the beautiful traditional melodies and tunes into church hymns. The wrong teaching that had been given to the local people with regards to their beliefs and traditions was destined to continue to stand in the way of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

However we need to point out that despite this draw back, this was an opportune moment to indigenise the hymns sung in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Padre Jones ended up changing the course of his approach. He ended up asking them to compose music to some given Shona words<sup>411</sup>. The report however suggests that this alternative move had surprising results. Two of the teachers in training were found to have great musical gifts and they went on to produce a lovely Agnus Dei, and some hymns were given some African flavour<sup>412</sup>. This effort resulted in most of the responses being sung to genuine African tunes. In this regard we can credit Padre Jones and the Tonga teacher for the contribution that they made to the process of indigenisation with regards to hymnody in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This was however mainly to do with the alignment of tunes to written English songs, as opposed to writing new songs.

The work of translation of scripture and songs went on as one Bishop gave way to the other. Lots of the different Service Books and hymnals belonging to different diocese came into existence as the church continued to grow. It needs to be stated here however that as the Diocese of Mashonaland grew, it became impossible for one Bishop to oversee such a huge and expansive area as mentioned in the earlier chapters. The period of Bishop Francis Paget's episcopacy brought significant growth in the diocese such that, the need for division was inevitable. As early as 1906, Bishop Thomas Gaul had also seen the necessity of the division of the Diocese, but it had not been done. However in 1947 Synod had recognized the urgency, such that Synod of 1949 went on to form a committee to raise funds for the Endowment Fund of the Diocese of Matabeleland.

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid

<sup>412</sup> Ibid

Another incentive for the division of the diocese was the idea of forming the Province of Central Africa consisting of the Diocese of Zambia, Malawi together with the proposed Diocese of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Episcopal Synod of the Province of Southern Africa met on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1952, and issued a mandate for the formation of the Diocese of Matabeleland. After that the Elective Assembly of the new Diocese of Matabeleland met on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 1953 and decided to delegate the choice of the new Bishop to the Archbishop of Cape Town.

This was done and Rev. James Hughes became the first Bishop of Matabeleland. Events leading to the formation of the Province of Central Africa now moved faster than before. The Province of Central Africa with its almost identical boundaries with the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was inaugurated on Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> May 1955<sup>413</sup>.

This information about the formation of the Province of Central Africa is important here in the sense that instead of paying allegiance to the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, allegiance had to be paid now to the Province of Central Africa. It needs to be stated here that the Anglican Church operates on the basis of decisions and liturgies approved by their respective Provincial Synods. This is a strength in one way but a weakness in another. It is a strength in the sense that there is commonality in all the Anglican Churches in that particular Province, but it's a weakness in terms of indigenisation, in the sense that it is difficult to introduce anything new and indigenous which the Provincial Synod will not have approved as appropriate for use in any of its constituent Dioceses.

It is in this context that we have to highlight the fact that within the Anglican Church the Provincial Synod<sup>414</sup> is the one that is tasked with the work of determining the governance of member Dioceses as well as the liturgy which each of the member dioceses use in their worship services. It should also be stated that each clergy who is ordained within any of

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<sup>413</sup> Geoffrey Gibbon, *Op. Cit.*, p114

<sup>414</sup> *Constitution and Canons: Church of the Province of Central Africa*, 1969 p9. This is an assembly of the Province, made up of the House of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity [being communicants] of the Province of Central Africa, constituted, convened, and held according to rules laid down in the Constitution and Canons of this Province. This is the legislative body of the Province, which considers any matter that are brought to it including matters of liturgical Changes.

the Anglican provinces, has to take an oath and subscribe to a declaration as laid down by that Province. With regards to the functions of the Provincial Synod, *The Constitution and Canons of the Province of the Church of Central Africa* stipulates that;

*The Provincial Synod shall have power to make such adaptations and abridgements of, and additions to, the services, of the Church as may be required by the circumstances of the Province provided that:-*

- (a) Voting in the Provincial Synod on any Resolution or Canon making such an adaptation, abridgement or addition shall always be by houses,*
- (b) Every such adaptation, abridgement or addition shall be regarded as provisional for experimental use only until a subsequent session of the Provincial Synod shall confirm, amend or reject it<sup>415</sup>.*

This means that any changes, improvements or adaptations of liturgies of worship, in the Anglican Church have to be approved by the Provincial Synod. In this regard when a priest is ordained and instituted within any diocese of the Anglican Communion, they are also expected to take an oath, promising that, they will preach the word of God and administer the Holy Sacraments and perform all other Ecclesiastical duties therein, according to the forms prescribed by the laws and Canons of the Church of their Province<sup>416</sup>.

This makes it quite difficult for any priest serving in any diocese of the Anglican Church to come up with their own liturgy of worship even their own songs for use in worship. If they write up any such liturgy it has to go through a process of approval, which usually takes several years, given the fact that Provincial synod only meets once a year, after the Archbishop has given nine months notice<sup>417</sup>. One such liturgy, which was approved for use by the Provincial Synod, is entitled "*Bhuku ReMunamoto WeVese*<sup>418</sup>". This is the

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<sup>415</sup> Ibid p12

<sup>416</sup> Letters of Institution for the Anglican Diocese of Botswana, which falls under the Church of the Province of Central Africa.

<sup>417</sup> *Constitution and Canons: Church of the Province of Central Africa*. P12

<sup>418</sup> This Book was approved by The Provincial Synod of the Church Province of the Province of Central Africa [CPCA], held in 1954 and 1962. It was then published in 1963, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [SPCK]. This is the Prayer Book, which the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare] has been using since its publication up until now. Mambo Press in Zimbabwe has since republished it in 1975, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1996 and 1999. All the liturgies that are used in the Diocese of Harare are

main liturgical book that has been in use in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland since its publication in 1963. If there is any part that has been played by the local African people, it was to translate some of the hymns which were in the Ancient and Modern, hymnal. Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze maintains that there has never been any local person who has written a hymn, which the church uses in its worship services. Most if not all of the songs that we use were simply translated from English hymnals and presented to us for use in the Church. One person who translated an English hymn into Shona was Canon Daniel Nhema<sup>419</sup>. He translated Hymn 111 in Bhuku ReMunato WaVese<sup>420</sup>. This helps one understand why the process of indigenisation seems to have been very slow in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland although there could be other reasons. So up to 1981, the above quoted Hymnal became the official Hymn Book in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland and there has never been any musician who has come up with new songs that Provincial Synod has been asked to approve for incorporation into the Diocese of Mashonaland's liturgy of divine worship. Having considered the process of indigenisation through the development of indigenous hymnody, let us now turn to the emergence of the Community of the Holy Name<sup>421</sup> [*Chita CheZita Rinoyera* – CZR], and discuss its impact on the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

### **5.3 The Emergence and Development of Chita CheZita Rinoyera [CZR]**

The *Chita CheZita Rinoyera* [Community of the Holy Name] is a religious order<sup>422</sup> of women, who have dedicated their lives to serving God in community life. The history of the emergence of this Community is closely linked with Fr. Barker CR, who was one of

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found there. In the same volume, there are hymns that have been translated from Ancient and Modern. These hymns are the ones that are still being used in the Diocese of Mashonaland

<sup>419</sup> Canon D. Nhema is one of the elderly clergy in the diocese of Harare, who was ordained in 1958 by Bishop Cecil Alderson and has served the Diocese faithfully up to the time of writing this thesis. He has also served in more than five Parishes in the diocese and has a lot of experience and experience in the diocese.

<sup>420</sup> Interview with Canon Mashingaidze, on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2007, at 6 Margate Avenue, Eastlea, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>421</sup> This is the earliest indigenous Community of Women who came together to form themselves into a religious Community, through the efforts and encouragement of Fr. Barker CR. This development is an expression of the indigenisation process that was taking place in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

<sup>422</sup> Religious Order is a term commonly used to describe a group men or women, who live under the traditional vows either of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, or of Obedience, Stability and Conversion of life. Technically those living in religious orders are referred to as monks [if male] and nuns [if female]

the CR Fathers stationed at St Augustine's Mission. According to Sr Dorriane CR<sup>423</sup>, this Community was formed in 1935 with the help of Fr. Barker CR<sup>424</sup>. The Community did not start with many people. It started with two novices namely Emily and Isabella, who were clothed on the Feast of St John the Baptist on June 24<sup>th</sup> at St Augustine's Mission<sup>425</sup>. Since the Sisters from Grahamstown were already at the Mission since 1916, it meant that this new indigenous Community had its mentors right at their doorsteps. Infact at the service of their clothing the Mother Superior of the CR Sisters at St Augustine's led the two indigenous women as they went through the service<sup>426</sup>. This was a new beginning in line with the process of indigenisation of religious Orders in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Nothing of this sort had happened anywhere in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Many people appreciated this development as expressed by one of the African teachers at the Mission who witnessed this occasion. Talking to one of the CR Sisters this teacher said, "Sister, today we have seen a new light come into our lives. We must pray for them so that they may have grace to go forward wholeheartedly and courageously, trusting in Him to whose Holy Name they are dedicated<sup>427</sup>," It should be stated in this space that there are distinctive stages, which one has to undergo in Religious Life.

As one makes inquiries to join a religious Order they are called a Postulant<sup>428</sup> after that stage they are clothed which means they become known as Novices<sup>429</sup>. This is the first stage where the new member is welcomed into the order, but they do not take any vows.

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<sup>423</sup> Sr Dorriane CR, is an elderly member of the CR Sisters from Grahamstown a religious Order that arrived in Zimbabwe in 1911 on the invitation of the Bishop to help with the work of the Diocese of Mashonaland. She was born on the 14<sup>th</sup> March in 1915 in London. She joined the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord in 1940, and she was posted to work at St Faith Mission in Rusape as a Domestic Science Teacher. After 12 years there she moved to St Augustine's Mission where she continued teaching Domestic Science to those training to be teachers. She only spent four years there. She has a wide experience of the development and impact of the Community of the Holy Name [CZR].

<sup>424</sup> Interview with Sr Dorriane CR, on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2006, at the Community's House in Grahamstown South Africa

<sup>425</sup> *Quarterly Letter of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord*, Grahamstown, July 1935

<sup>426</sup> Ibid

<sup>427</sup> Ibid

<sup>428</sup> This is used in Religious circles to refer to a person who is a candidate for admission into a Religious Order.

<sup>429</sup> A novice in religious life is a person admitted into a religious order for a period of probation before they can take vows. This is the time they are expected to study and experience the religious life before taking any vows.

The period of waiting for the next stage varies from one Order to another. Sr. Dorianne suggests that the period can range from one to two years<sup>430</sup>. However this was not the case with these two indigenous African women. They had to wait for a much longer time, before they could go through the next stage, of making their first Profession. The *Occasional Letter* of the CR Sisters from Grahamstown reports that these two women were only able to make their First Profession on the 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1941<sup>431</sup>. This means that they had to wait for a period of 6 years as Novices before they could be accepted as members of this First Religious Order amongst the local indigenous African women. The reason given for this long period of waiting was that “the whole idea of the Religious Life was so new and strange to the Bantu mind that only a long novitiate could ensure stability...<sup>432</sup>”. Good though as the reason may sound, the reason also indicates that those who began this order, such as Fr. Baker and the CR Sisters from Grahamstown who were mentoring them, had no confidence in these two women. However that lack of faith was proven wrong since the two proved that they were faithful and that they meant what they had decided to pursue in their lives. Now they were members of the Order and the CR Sisters from Grahamstown continued to train them and refine them into the dynamics of Religious life and discipline.

With the First Profession of these two Sisters, it meant that they had to be involved in some kind of work in the life of the Mission like what the other Religious Orders at St Augustine’s Mission were doing. For example the CR Fathers were in charge of the whole Mission, with some of them teaching and others, going on Treks in the local Communities<sup>433</sup>. The CR Sisters were in charge of the women and girls side of the Mission – St Monica’s, with some like Sr. Dorianne teaching Domestic Science, and others looking after the Orphans in St Josephs Orphanage, which they had at the Mission<sup>434</sup>. These CZR Sisters continued to help the St Augustine’s Community in

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<sup>430</sup> Interview with Sr Dorianne CR, on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2006, at the Community’s House in Grahamstown South Africa

<sup>431</sup> *Occasional Letter of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord*, October 1941

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>433</sup> Nicolas Stebbing CR, “*Religious life on Missions*”, in, Nicolas Stebbing [ed.], *Anglican Religious Life*, Dublin: Dominican Publishers, 2003, p45

<sup>434</sup> Interview with Sr Dorianne CR, on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2006, at the Community’s House in Grahamstown South Africa



diverse areas. Since they were not trained professionals like most of the members of the other Orders at St Augustine's Mission, they found their ministry being more supportive than stand-alone. They helped in the Church with cleaning, and serving at Eucharist, they also helped with the care of the little children in the orphanage. They also visited the local villages twice a week, looking up for the lapsed and the sick<sup>435</sup>.

From the onset the contribution of the CZR to the life of the Church and particularly its impact on the indigenous populace was already beginning to be seen. Even though the CR Fathers would go with the CZR Sisters on some of their Treks, it seems the bulk of real ministry was carried out by these Sisters who spoke the language of the local people. Nicolas Stebbing expresses his dismay in his critique of the work of the CR Fathers at St Augustine's Mission in Zimbabwe. He suggests that the CR Fathers maintained their cultural identity in such a way that they failed to merge with the society that surrounded them. He goes on to say very few of them gained more than a passing fluency in the local language since most of them could do little more than struggle through the Mass and sacraments despite spending many years amongst the local people<sup>436</sup>. If this is the case then the place of the CZR Sisters should be recognized as an indigenous Religious order that made a crucial contribution to the process of evangelism in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This points to the significance of the indigenous human factor, which we have intimated above in the case of the other indigenous clergy in the diocese of Mashonaland.

It should be noted however that the growth of the CZR was quite slow. This is so because extant records show that by 1942 there was only one aspirant, who had joined the Order, hoping that she would be clothed as a Novice by the end of that year<sup>437</sup>. It needs to be appreciated that the idea of a Religious life was still new to the local people and also that many parents looked forward to having their children getting married, since it was a rite of passage that also guaranteed ancestorship, in the African Traditional Religion.

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<sup>435</sup> *Annual Report of the Work of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord*, in the Dioceses of Grahamstown, Pretoria, Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe] and Northern Rhodesia [Zambia], March 1936.

<sup>436</sup> Nicolas Stebbing, *Op. Cit*, p46.

<sup>437</sup> *Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown] March 1942

Considering this it meant that joining such an Order was going against the traditionally accepted norms and traditions of one's family. However it came out in the interview that we had with the CZR sisters at St Augustine's Mission that it was Sister Stella Mary<sup>438</sup> who joined the Order in 1942. She was coming from a village called Zambe close to St Faith Mission in Rusape. Sister Stella Mary says she joined the Order in 1942 and she came from Zambe near St Faith Mission. She reported that she had heard about this Order from Sister Isabella one of the first two Sisters who started the Order<sup>439</sup>. Sr. Stella Mary remembers the fact that the Order grew slowly but they all seemed to have focus. They also had members joining from as far as Sophiatown in South Africa. There were two postulants who joined the Order from Sophiastown in 1944. These were Perpetua and Eva<sup>440</sup>.

Although most of the members who joined this Order were not well educated, some of them came with some better levels of education. There is a reference in the Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord, March 1946, that a novice had joined the teaching staff as a Form-Mistress of Standard 3 and that her salary was the first regular income for the Community<sup>441</sup>. Prior to this these Sisters were virtually dependent on the Mission for their sustenance. This is confirmed by Sr. Stella Mary who says "in the early days we did not have to worry about where our food was coming from because Fr. Baker who had started our Order made sure that we got everything that we needed from the mission. Even though we did some crop production, all that we produced was used to feed cattle<sup>442</sup>".

We need to state that as the group continued to grow slowly, their responsibilities also increased. As an indigenous human capital, their place in the growth of the Diocese of Mashonaland and particularly in the areas surrounding St Augustine's Mission was

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<sup>438</sup> Sister Stella Mary, is still alive at St Augustine's Mission. This interview was contacted with her and Sr. Annah Mary at St Augustine's Mission.

<sup>439</sup> Interview with Sister Stella Mary CZR and Sr. Annah Mary CZR on the 28<sup>th</sup> May at St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe

<sup>440</sup> *Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown] March 1946

<sup>441</sup> *Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown] March 1946

<sup>442</sup> Interview with Sister Stella Mary CZR and Sr. Annah Mary CZR on the 28<sup>th</sup> May at St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe

phenomenal. Added to their other church responsibilities the CZR Sisters also concentrated on working among women and girls preparing them for admission into the Catechumenate and Baptism as well as taking penitents classes. Fr. Baker also used to take some of the Novices, to minister to the Mother's Union in the Outstations<sup>443</sup>.

There is also a report that Sister Lucy did a lot of work to revive the Mothers Union in the Tsambe and Muchena villages, which was dying a natural death. At the same time we learn of the contribution of Sr Perpetua to the ministry of Sunday School at St Augustine's Mission<sup>444</sup>. More than just contributing to the ministry of the church in the areas surrounding St Augustine's Mission, these Sisters were also getting invitations to go outside the confines of the Mission. We hear that in 1950 Miss Barbara Tredgold invited Sister Emily and a Novice, to conduct a Quiet Day for women and girls at Runyararo, the Mission House in Mbare Township in Harare. On the other hand Sister Lucy and another Novice were also invited to Christ the King Mission to speak to a Mother's Union Convention, which was attended by 145 women<sup>445</sup>. This was indeed an appreciation of the indigenous process, which had resulted in the emergence of this group of indigenous Sisters. The Community of the Holy Name was therefore being used in the different parts of the Diocese of Mashonaland, which was a sign of growth.

Despite the positive developments within the Community as noted above, the growth of the Order continued to be slow. The challenge of going against cultural expectations for a person to be married at a certain age, seem to have worked against any moves to attract more members in the Order. On the other, hand Sr. Stella Mary, is of the opinion that their numbers did not grow significantly because even though a few joined, in the process others left the Order and went on to join the Roman Catholic Church or they decided to go and get married. Secondly there seem to be no concerted effort by the clergy in the Anglican Dioceses in Zimbabwe to help in promoting religious life so that those who feel

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<sup>443</sup> *Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown] March 1946

<sup>444</sup> *Annual Report of the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* [Grahamstown] March 1951

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid*

called to this life could present themselves and join the CZR<sup>446</sup>. On the other hand some people such as Canon Nathaniel Alban Makoni<sup>447</sup> feels that the slow growth of the CZR can be attributed to lack of education<sup>448</sup> on the part of the majority of the members. For Canon Makoni the Order seems to be riddled with prospects of real poverty which tends to drive prospective members away. This fact of stagnation in the CZR is also noted by Rev. A. N. Hobongwana<sup>449</sup>, who arrived at St Augustine's Mission in 1981, and worked there for ten years. He suggests that to an outsider, the CZR, "gave the impression of a dying Order...<sup>450</sup>". This impression should certainly not overshadow the successes that we have discussed above.

However one of the biggest challenges seem to be the foreignness of the idea of religious life in a cultural milieu which looked down upon a life of chastity especially on those who will have reached the adult age. On the other hand the issue of sustenance also presented a challenge to the growth of the Order. With the handing over of the Mission to the Diocese, when the CR Father's left for England in the early 1980's it meant the financial and material support which they used to get from the Mission dwindled to bottom level, as such the CZR sisters had to work for their livelihood. On the other hand the Order was affected by the usual disease, which affects many institutions. This is the disease of multiplication on the basis of power struggles. The Order started to divide itself into different smaller Orders, resulting in one Order stationing themselves at Bonda

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<sup>446</sup> Interview with Sister Stella Mary CZR and Sr. Annah Mary CZR on the 28<sup>th</sup> May at St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe

<sup>447</sup> Canon N. B. Makoni is one of the long serving early indigenous ordained clergy of the original diocese of Mashonaland. He was trained at St Peter's Rosettenville in South Africa and ordained deacon in 1959, and priest in 1960. He has served the church faithfully from then up to now. At the time of this research he was the Vicar General of the Diocese of Manicaland, which lies in the Eastern part of the Country where St Augustine's Mission is situated.

<sup>448</sup> Questionnaire by Canon N. B. Makoni, March 2006

<sup>449</sup> Rev. A. N. Hobongwana is a South Africa by birth. He was born in 1927 in a small township of Ndibeni in Cape Town. He went to school in England and served the Anglican Church for 11 years as a server and Reader. He then worked in Zambia as an Expatriate Teacher, during which time he was a Lay Minister and a Treasurer of the Anglican Diocese of Kitwe for 5 years. He joined St Augustine's Mission as an Expatriate Teacher in 1981 and stayed there for 10 years until 1991 when he left for South Africa. During that time he served the church as a Lay Minister. In 2003 Aaron was Ordained Deacon and he was ordained Priest in 2006.

<sup>450</sup> Questionnaire by Rev. Aaron Hobongwana, of Carthcart in South Africa, June 2006

Mission, another at St John's Mission Chikwaka and another in Bulawayo<sup>451</sup>. Although some people would perceive this as a sign of growth, it needs to be pointed out that these divisions were not done in good faith and these Orders now seem to be in competition with each other a point which defeats the original intention of those who started the Order.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have tried to show the fact that the early teachers, such as John Kapuya and all those who were either trained by the Missionary Priests or those who were trained at St Augustine's mission, need to be appreciated as an indigenous factor that made some contribution towards the indigenisation process in the Diocese of Mashonaland. In this connection we have tried to show the close connection that exists between the process of indigenisation and evangelism. In fact what should be borne in mind in any discussion of the process of indigenisation in the Church is that indigenisation is a necessary factor that makes evangelism possible. More than that, we have also highlighted the fact that these early teachers and catechists moved a step further to be ordained in order to serve their local population fully. That change from having European missionary ordained clergy to having the local ordained clergy was also a step, which contributed significantly towards the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. One of the indications of the impact of ordaining the local indigenous people was the putting up of Church buildings for the local indigenous people with St Michael's Church being the first in 1906 and its relocation to a new site in 1939. In 1945 another church for the indigenous people was build in Highfields and all these churches were served by the indigenous ordained priests. We have also discussed the development of indigenous hymnody, which occurred in the context of the translations, and the experiments that were taking place at St Faiths Mission as well as St Augustine's Mission. In this regard, we have established that the majority of the hymns that were used in the Diocese of Mashonaland were a direct result of translation from the Hymnals that the missionaries brought into the country. Lastly we discussed the development of the Community of the Holy Name [*Chita CheZita*

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<sup>451</sup> Interview with Sister Stella Mary CZR and Sr. Annah Mary CZR on the 28<sup>th</sup> May at St Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe

*Rinoyera]* as an example of the indigenisation of religious Orders in the diocese of Mashonaland. We discovered that the growth of this Order was not phenomenal, but that its presence had an impact on the mission of the Diocese of Mashonaland particularly at St Augustine's Mission and the areas surrounding that mission station. Having considered the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland in the above three dimensions, one can now proceed and consider the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland with regards to the episcopate.

## Chapter 6

### Indigenisation of the Episcopate

#### 6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter we tried to discuss the different levels through which one can identify changes in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, which could be seen as notable indicators of the initial stages of the indigenization process. In this chapter we move a step further to discuss the process of indigenization of the episcopate in the same Diocese. As pointed out above, the process of entrusting the local people, with ordination and eventually leadership, within the local congregations took a long time to come to realization. One had to minister, as an Assistant priest under a European Rector, for quite a long time before they were promoted to the position of Rector of a Parish. This even meant that young European clergy who had very little experience ended up being Rectors, of quite huge parishes, with some elderly indigenous clergy ministering under them. This phenomenon, affected the whole spectrum of the ordained ministry as we will try to discuss in this chapter. The indigenization of the episcopate simply refers to the process of identifying and consecrating the local clergy into the office of Bishops. In the absence of published information in this dimension of the History of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, much information in this chapter has been extracted from the National Archives in Zimbabwe, the Diocese of Mashonaland [Harare] Archives in Harare as well as interviews with some senior and retired clergy in Zimbabwe, as well as lay people who inform part of this development.

#### 6.1 Canonical Provisions to the Episcopal Office

In order to understand the process of indigenization, with regard to the episcopate, in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, one has to understand the Provincial provisions regarding this office. It should be understood that the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, is not an independent body. Instead it is part of the World wide Communion of Anglican Provinces, which are in full communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland therefore falls within the Province of Central Africa,

which is made up of the following countries, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Zimbabwe<sup>452</sup>. Like other Anglican Church provinces in the world, the Province of Central Africa is governed by way of its Fundamental Declarations, Constitution and Canons. In short these three instruments refer to the guiding doctrines and rules that have been put down to govern this province. A brief explanation of each of these three will suffice;

### **6.1. a Fundamental Declarations of the CPCA**

According to Prof. R.H. Christie, the Fundamental Declarations of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, mainly concern matters of faith and these can only be altered, changed or amended through a complicated procedure which involves the approval of not only the Provincial Synod<sup>453</sup>, but the Synods of all the Diocese that constitute this Province and the endorsement of the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>454</sup>. These declarations include, the faith of Christ as taught in the Holy Scriptures, preached by the apostles, summed up in the Creeds and confirmed by the undisputed General Councils of the Holy Catholic church<sup>455</sup>. It also includes the use of the Book of Common Prayer [BCP] and the acceptance of the ordering of Bishops, priests and Deacons<sup>456</sup>. In addition these declarations also include the fact that the Church of the Province of Central Africa accepts the Archbishop of Canterbury as holding the first place among the Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion<sup>457</sup>. This is to say that the Archbishop of Canterbury is a senior among equals in the Anglican Communion.

The declarations also shun any form of discrimination, on the grounds of racial difference only, in the membership and government of the church. In short these declarations provide the basis and terms of communion between the Church of the Province of Central

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<sup>452</sup> *Constitution and Canon: Church of the Province of Central Africa*, [1955], p1

<sup>453</sup> Provincial Synod is an assembly at Provincial level, of Bishops, Clergy and laity, being communicants of the Province of Central Africa, constituted and held according to the rules laid down in the Constitution of the Province of Central Africa. This is the legislative body of the Province of Central Africa. Every enactment of this Provincial Synod constitutes a Canon or rule of this Province. In simple terms this is the parliament of the Province.

<sup>454</sup> *The Link*, October 1965

<sup>455</sup> *Constitution and Canons, of the Province of Central Africa*, [1969], p3

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid*



Africa, the Church of England and the rest of the Anglican Communion. Other things may be different, but these declarations remain the same.

### **6.1.b Constitution of the CPCA**

The Constitution of the Province of Central Africa refers to the articles of the constitution or deed of association. This is a master document that sets out how the Anglican Church in the Province of Central Africa is organized. According to this constitution, it can only be altered by the approval of two successive sessions of Provincial Synod<sup>458</sup>. This means that every Diocese will have to give its approval of any changes that may be suggested by any member diocese. This document therefore seeks to spell out the different functionaries in the Province and how these functionaries carry out their business. This document helps to avoid confusion and disorder in the Church.

### **6.1.c. Canons of the CPCA**

This is the instrument which is used to govern the Province of Central Africa. According to definition provided in the *Constitution of the Church of the Province of Central Africa* ‘Canon’ refers to “any measure passed by Synod, which is intended to have a mandatory effect and to be part of the permanent corpus of ecclesiastical Law of the Province of Central Africa”<sup>459</sup>. In short Canons are a set of regulations passed by Provincial Synod, and are intended to form part of the permanent structure of the province. These Canons are also liable to change only by the approval of the Provincial synod.

These are the three instruments that guide the day-to-day administration of the Province of Central Africa. Each Diocese then formulates its Acts which are basically rules which are made by the local Diocesan Synod and which, in terms of the constitution of the Province, may only deal with matters concerning the Diocese and not matters concerning the province. These Acts must not conflict with any enactment of Provincial Synod. It is therefore within these instruments of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, that one needs to search in order to establish whether or not there was any provision, for

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<sup>458</sup> Ibid, p15

<sup>459</sup> Ibid

widening the net, with regards to the consecration of indigenous clergy to the office of Bishop in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

In order to do that, one has to turn to the *Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa*, a province which was founded in 1955. It should be noted that this province was formed, as a result of protracted negotiations between, the Provinces of Southern Africa, where the Diocese of Mashonaland belonged and the Province of Canterbury, where the two dioceses of Zambia and Malawi belonged. These two provinces had Canons in their laws, which provided for a Suffragan Bishop, Coadjutor Bishop, or Assistant Bishop. For example Canon 10, of the *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa*, provides for the election of the Suffragan Bishop after approval of such a decision by the Diocesan Synod and consideration by the Synod of Bishops<sup>460</sup>. If this was the case, it follows that the Diocese of Mashonaland had an instrument before it, which it could use, to identify, train and consecrate an indigenous clergy to understudy the missionary Bishops, and prepare them for eventual take over. Sadly this was not the case. Missionary Bishops continued to labour single handedly, covering expansive distances, a thing that they would have addressed had they made use of this Canon.

Be that as it may, after the formation of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, the pioneers ensured that a Canon providing for the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop, Coadjutor Bishop or Assistant Bishop be included also in their Constitutions and Canons. In this regard Canon 11 of the *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa* clearly stipulates that;

*When a Diocesan Bishop deems it necessary or desirable for the good of the Church that a Suffragan Bishop should be appointed, it shall be competent for him, after receiving the concurrence of the Diocesan Synod by resolution, to make application to Episcopal Synod for leave to appoint a Suffragan Bishop*<sup>461</sup>.

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<sup>460</sup> *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa*, [1960], p42

<sup>461</sup> *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa* [1976], p45

This Canon is very clear on the fact that should a Bishop identify the need; he simply needed to seek the consent of his Synod and take the issue to the Provincial Synod for approval. According to Canon 11 [7], of the *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa*, “a Suffragan Bishop shall be a Bishop of the Province... and he shall hold the Commission of the Bishop of the Diocese, and during the vacancy of the See, that of the Archbishop, and shall use his Episcopal powers, and exercise such authority and oversight for any work within the limits of the Diocese...<sup>462</sup>”.

In the same Canon, there is provision for the election of a Coadjutor Bishop<sup>463</sup>. A Coadjutor Bishop is simply an Assistant Bishop who has the right to succeed the seating Bishop whenever a vacancy arises in the Diocese, in which the Coadjutor Bishop is in office. This was also another avenue that could have been followed in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, given its size as stated in chapter one of this study.

The last option is that of the Assistant Bishop, which is also provided for in Canon 11 of the *Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa*<sup>464</sup>. This Bishop holds special letters of appointment issued by the diocesan Bishop and this person shall not be a member of the Episcopal Synod or be regarded as a Bishop of the Province. In other words this Bishop only helps the incumbent Bishop to carry out his pastoral responsibilities, without, having to play the full role of a Provincial Bishop.

These three options were there, in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, since its formation in 1891, but they were never utilized. The reasons for that are not clear. However, it is important to note that, after the division of the Diocese of Mashonaland on the 1<sup>st</sup> December 1952<sup>465</sup>, to form the Diocese of Matabeleland, Bishop Edward Paget, was relieved of a huge responsibility which gave him more time to concentrate on a much smaller area, but still the need was great considering the distances that he still had to travel. The Diocese of Mashonaland which still incorporated the whole of Manicaland

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<sup>462</sup> Ibid p46

<sup>463</sup> Ibid, p46

<sup>464</sup> Ibid, p47

<sup>465</sup> *The Link*, December 1952

region was still a huge area that could have been well ministered to by two or even more Bishops.

Although the idea of appointing a Suffragan Bishop, Coadjutor Bishop or Assistant Bishop, in the Diocese of Mashonaland, took a long time to be considered, it needs to be stated that as early as 1962, the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, was beginning to make noise along these lines. This point is captured well by the Editor of *The Link*, writing about the Archbishop's report to Provincial Synod of 1962. The Editor quotes the Archbishop stating that;

*The growth of the Church in this province calls not only for more priests, but also for more Bishops. The stage has come when Assistance is needed if the four Bishops we already have are not to be frustrated by overwork. The numbers in the Diocese of Mashonaland and the size of the Diocese of Zambia justify the consideration of applying additional Bishops to serve in these Dioceses. I would hope that a decision to appoint such Bishops might be coupled with a plan for the eventual division of these two dioceses<sup>466</sup>.*

In this regard the Archbishop was of the view that there was need to further divide the Diocese of Mashonaland and the Diocese of Zambia. However additional Bishops could also mean, appointing Suffragan, Coadjutor or Assistant Bishops. The importance of this comment by the Archbishop helps one to understand and put the appointment of the first Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland into the right context. As early as 1962, during the time of Bishop Cecil William Alderson, the idea of additional Bishops was already being nurtured by the Archbishop himself. It was a result of this need that the Diocesan Synod of Mashonaland in 1965, felt it necessary to begin discussing the possibility of appointing a suffragan Bishop "...to relieve our bishop of some of the immense amount of work and never-ending traveling that he has to carry out. A Suffragan or Assistant Bishop might be the best temporary solution<sup>467</sup>". Following the identification of this need the Bishop appointed a Commission to look into this aspect and report back to him in due course.

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<sup>466</sup> *The Link*, November 1962

<sup>467</sup> *The Link*, August 1965

After some research and analysis of the state of the Diocese, this Commission reported to the Synod held in May 1966, that in its view the Division of the diocese of Mashonaland would be desirable and that the new diocese would be more or less co-terminous with the Archdeaconry of Mutare, with its center in Mutare<sup>468</sup>. The Commission suggested that it had arrived at this decision, mainly considering the difficulty involved in finding money required annually to support a Suffragan Bishop<sup>469</sup>. This was true to a large extent considering the fact that the Mutare Archdeaconry, unlike the Harare Archdeaconry, had a much bigger African population, and consequently a lower income from assessments. This Archdeaconry was mostly rural; hence, its financial stability was not so strong and viable.

However in the Synod of 1967, a report from this Commission, and the Standing Committee's assessment of that report were made public. *The Link* reports that "Standing Committee has considered with care the division of the Diocese. The way is not yet clear, but the heavily increasing needs of the diocese must be met before long by its division or the provision of a Suffragan Bishop or Bishops<sup>470</sup>". The issue of financial sustainability almost threatened the whole process of moving towards appointing more Bishops as it were.

However, there was encouragement, in this regard from the Bishop's report to the synod of 1966. In his report he mentioned that "since our last session I have assisted in the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Josiah Mtekateka<sup>471</sup> as Suffragan bishop of Malawi. Zambia has already Bishop Philemon Mataka<sup>472</sup> as suffragan Bishop<sup>473</sup>". This shows that The Diocese of Zambia had realized this need and was running with it, before everyone else. Malawi had followed suit and now it was the turn of the Diocese of Mashonaland to consider the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop very seriously. The above two Suffragan

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<sup>468</sup> *The Link*, February 1966

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>470</sup> *The Link*, October 1966

<sup>471</sup> Rev. Josiah Mtekateka became the first Indigenous Clergy appointed Suffragan Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Malawi in 1965

<sup>472</sup> Rev. Philemon Mataka, became the first indigenous clergy to be appointed Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Zambia and indeed the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop in the Church of the Province of Central Africa.

<sup>473</sup> *The Link*, October 1966

Bishops, therefore becomes the first indigenous African Bishops to be consecrated in the Church of the Province of Central Africa. As far as the process of the indigenisation of the episcopacy in the Province is concerned, their names go down in history as pioneers of Indigenous Episcopal ministry.

However the situation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland was still under investigation through the Commission that the Bishop had set up. Despite this research, the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, The Most Rev, F. Oliver Green-Wilkinson, visited the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1967 on his pastoral visitation. After his tour of the Eastern part of the Diocese, he added his weight on the need for a Suffragan Bishop. He mentioned that he could appreciate that the province will have to think again about the needs of the Eastern part of the Diocese, either by the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop or by the creation of a new Diocese<sup>474</sup>.

The Archbishop's concern added more weight on the work of the Commission appointed by the Bishop and the Diocesan Standing committee to make concrete decisions on this matter. To this end the Diocesan Standing Committee acting on recommendations of the Commission passed a unanimous resolution in 1967 stating that;

*Standing committee notes and accepts the Bishop's desire to make provision for the division of the Diocese at the beginning of 1970. It recognizes that permission must therefore be obtained from Provincial Synod in 1969, and that the necessary resolution of Diocesan Synod must be passed in 1968, before the Lambeth conference and the interchange of visits between the Bishops of Oregon and Mashonaland. It therefore encourages the Bishop to take immediate steps;*

- *To publicize his intention and desire in this matter throughout the diocese and the church;*
- *To put to the clergy and laity of the diocese in the fullest and clearest manner, and as widely as possible, the total implications of the division, including the financial implications;*
- *To raise funds for the creation of the new diocese;*
  - 1] in the Diocese itself*
  - 2] in the church outside the diocese, within the concept of MRI*

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<sup>474</sup> *The Link*, September 1967

- *To secure the necessary legislation in the Diocesan Synod of 1968 and the Provincial Synod of 1969*<sup>475</sup>

Despite this recommendation to the Bishop and the bishop's hopes to retire when the above suggested new diocese would have been formed, the idea had to wait for another ten years until 1979 when two new dioceses of Manicaland and Lundi [now Central Zimbabwe] were formed. The main hindrance in establishing the diocese of Manicaland this early had to do with its inability to sustain itself financially. It was after this idea of a new diocese had come to a cropper that attention was shifted to consider the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop. This move was to be the responsibility of the next Bishop of Mashonaland, since Bishop Cecil William, suffered a heart attack, whilst attending a conference in Johannesburg on the 12<sup>th</sup> February 1968<sup>476</sup>, two years before his retirement. It was therefore Bishop Paul Burrough, the 7<sup>th</sup> Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland who had to work out an acceptable solution to the need for extra Episcopal personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland. This takes us to the discussion of the appointment and consecration of the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland – The Ven. Archdeacon Patrick Murindagomo

## **6.2 Appointment and Consecration of Rev P. Murindagomo**

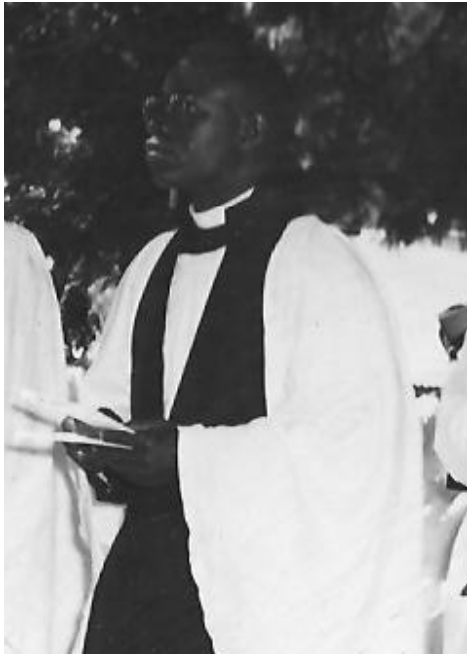
The appointment of Rev. Patrick Murindagomo, to the Episcopal office has to be understood within the context of progressive identification of sound leadership amongst the local and indigenous clergy. Patrick Murindagomo was one of the first group of indigenous people to be sent for theological training at St John's Theological Seminary in Lusaka Zambia, from the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1952<sup>477</sup>. Since he was originally from Chinhoyi area, his wife stayed with his parents when he went for his theological training.

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<sup>475</sup> Minutes of the Diocese of Mashonaland Standing Committee, kept at the Provincial Archives in Malawi

<sup>476</sup> *Partners in Rhodesia & Botswana: Organ of the Dioceses of Mashonaland and Matabeleland*

<sup>477</sup> Interview with Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze at Estlea Harare, on the 30 May 2007



*The Rev Patrick Murindagomo as a Priest in the Diocese of Mashonaland 1963.*

*[Picture courtesy of Mrs. Grace Murindagomo]*

In 1953, Patrick Murindagomo was made deacon at the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints in Harare<sup>478</sup>. Once more he joined the group of many indigenous men, who were identified and sent for theological training, and finally ordained by Bishop Edward F. Paget. Rev Patrick Murindagomo was sent to serve his diaconate under Canon Edward Chipunza at St Michaels Parish in Mbare from 1954<sup>479</sup>. His stint at St Michaels Mbare lasted until 1957, when he was transferred to St Andrews Chipashu in the Mhondoro Parish<sup>480</sup>. According to the Service register of the Cathedral Parish of St Mary and All Saints, Rev Patrick Murindagomo, is reflected as having been doing services on a regular basis from January 1959 up to 1970<sup>481</sup>. This is corroborated by Mrs. G. Murindagomo, who suggests that her husband [Rev. Patrick Murindagomo] was transferred to the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints in 1959 where he worked in that position for 11 years<sup>482</sup>.

Rev. Patrick Murindagomo's time at the Cathedral exposed him to some English services since the Cathedral Congregation was mainly English in its composition. It is however important to note that, although he was an Assistant Priest of the Cathedral Parish, he did not reside in the houses reserved for the Cathedral Clergy due to the policies of racial segregation which were in force during that time. Instead he was residing at House Number 11 Tredgold Street, Mbare in Harare, where his widow is still residing up to this

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<sup>478</sup> Interview with Mrs Grace Murindagomo, wife of Bishop Patrick Murindagomo, at Mbare, Harare, on 31 December 2003

<sup>479</sup> Diocese of Mashonaland *Clergy Directory [1954]*

<sup>480</sup> Interview with Mrs Grace Murindagomo [31<sup>st</sup> December 2003].

<sup>481</sup> Diocese of Harare Archives maintained at the Diocesan Office – Paget Pax House in Harare.

<sup>482</sup> Interview with Mrs. Grace Murindagomo



day. This means that he was residing outside the boundaries of the Cathedral Parish. This meant that he had to drive to the Cathedral whenever he was supposed to be at the Cathedral for his ministry.

With experience in the ministry of the church, Rev. Patrick Murindagomo's time at the Cathedral was marked by a swift rise in the life of the Diocese of Mashonaland. It needs to be pointed out that the Anglican Church operates on the basis of structures that are put in place for different purposes but all pointing towards the fulfilling of the mission of the church which is to spread the word of God and make disciples of all nations. It will suffice to highlight these structures, so as to appreciate the swift rise of Rev. Patrick Murindagomo's popularity in the Diocese of Mashonaland until that moment when he was appointed as the first Suffragan Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

### **6.2.a The Diocesan Synod**

This is the supreme legislative body of any Diocese of the Anglican Church. Its membership consists of the Bishop of the Diocese the House of Clergy and the House of Laity<sup>483</sup>. If there is a Suffragan Bishop or Coadjutor Bishop, they also form part of the House of Bishops. On the other hand all licensed clergy are members of the Diocesan synod. However the House of laity consists of lay representatives of Parishes, mission stations as well as church districts in the Diocese. Included in the lay membership are the members of the Diocesan Standing Committee as well as two lay Trustees chosen by the Board of Trustees<sup>484</sup>. Act 2.4, of the *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland* clearly stipulates that;

*Every ecclesiastical division of the diocese shall have the right to elect lay representatives to synod in accordance with the following scale;*

- (i) The cathedral parish: 4 representatives,*
- (ii) Other parishes and parochial or Mission districts; 2 representatives*
- (iii) Church Districts: 1 representative<sup>485</sup>*

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<sup>483</sup> *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including the Diocesan Regulations* [1974], p1

<sup>484</sup> *Ibid*, p1

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid*, p2

This Act goes on to stipulate that “such lay representatives ought to be in full communion within the Anglican Church, and they should also be above the age of 18 years”<sup>486</sup>. Over and above these requirements such a representative also need to be a registered member of their ecclesiastical division. All these lay representatives to synod are elected at the annual vestry meeting of their respective ecclesiastical division. This means that every ecclesiastical division will be represented at this supreme legislative body of the Diocese by its lay representatives as well as its local licensed clergy.

Although this is the supreme legislative body of a Diocese in the Anglican Church, it should be noted that it may not do anything which conflicts with the Canons of the Province within which that Diocese is a member. In this regard, any efforts to change Acts or introduce new Acts of the Diocese, will have to be taken up to the Provincial synod for further deliberation and final approval. As noted above it also needs to be registered that since there are three different levels of representation, namely that of the Bishop, the clergy and the laity, it means that the Diocesan Synod is constituted by three Houses in one chamber. In normal situations these three Houses sit together, debate together and vote together. However it is also possible that any House may request to withdraw with a specific intention to deliberate on its own. When such withdrawal is granted, the sitting of the Synod will be adjourned temporarily.

The Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland also stipulates that decisions of Diocesan Synod are arrived at by a simple majority vote of the members present at that sitting. However there is also a provision in Act 2.19 which allows any member of the Synod to call for a vote by Houses before the voting commences. Once this call has been made, a vote by Houses has to be done. The procedure for voting in each House is the same as that applicable to the synod itself, based on a simple majority. In this regard “no question shall be declared carried unless it has been passed by a simple majority in each House, taken in sequence, laity, clergy, Bishop<sup>487</sup>”. This simply means that once a question or vote is lost in any House, the voting will not proceed to the next House, as such the

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<sup>486</sup> Ibid, p2

<sup>487</sup> Ibid, p8

question will be declared lost. In this way one can appreciate the transparency that exists within the process of decision making in this supreme legislative body of the Anglican Church.

In this regard since every licensed clergy is a member of this body, it follows that Rev. Patrick Murindagomo, automatically became a member of this body from the moment he was ordained Deacon in 1953. In this body, everyone is free to participate in the discussions that will be on the agenda. It was in such a forum that strong personalities such as that of Rev Patrick, Murindagomo, Canon Edward Chipunza, and Canon W.W.W. Nechoronga were seen<sup>488</sup>. Extant documents show that these clerics were so fearless to the point of bringing issues of equity in terms of clergy welfare, to the table of discussion in the Diocesan synods. A good example is that of a motion that was proposed by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga for discussion at the Diocesan Synod of 1963. Canon Nechironga moved that;

*This synod believing that as a natural and economic status of African people in this country approximates more closely to that of the white people, so the stipends of the African clergy should approximate more closely to the stipends of the European clergy, instructs the Diocesan Standing Committee to divide the money available for clergy stipends in the year 1963 /4 beginning 1<sup>st</sup> July 1963, in such a way that an African clergymen shall receive two thirds of the amount receivable by a European clergyman of the same marital status<sup>489</sup>.*

This was indeed a huge request, to be made during those days when there were unprecedented levels of disparity in the stipends of clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. John Weller and Jane Linden maintain that at that stage a European priest was receiving an average of 725 pounds per annum whereas an indigenous priest was receiving 323 pounds per annum<sup>490</sup>. As such to move such a motion and more so to second it, was taking a bold step of faith, lest one was ridiculed or simply overridden as having been out of order. In this case Rev. Murindagomo seconded this motion and

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<sup>488</sup> Interview with Canon Madzivanyika on the 25<sup>th</sup> May 2007 at Southerton Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>489</sup> Minutes of the Diocese of Mashonaland Synod of May 1963 kept at the Diocese of Harare Archives

<sup>490</sup> John Weller & Jane Linden, Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984

indeed it sparked a very interesting debate, which resulted in a call to have the vote being done by Houses.

According to the *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland*, when such a call is made, voting has to be done by Houses, as such the first House to vote was that of the laity and the result was that 40 people said 'YES', against 31 who said 'NO'. This meant that the motion was carried to the next House which is the House of clergy. In the House of clergy 43 said 'YES' and 8 said 'NO', which also meant that the motion was carried<sup>491</sup>. The last House to vote was that of the Bishops, and in the presence of one Bishop, his vote was now the deciding factor. In this case the Bishop, The Rt. Rev. William Cecil Alderson voted 'NO' and the motion was lost. Although this was such a crucial issue to be raised at such a time, it seems the Bishop was not yet prepared to handle such issues. The reasons for his negative vote were noted in *The Link* of June 1963, but that is outside the purview of this discussion. We have simply raised this fact to show how Rev. Patrick Murindagomo, was beginning to engage in serious matters, that affected the life of indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, particularly in the context of the supreme legislative body of the Diocese of Mashonaland.

However one can appreciate the importance of this motion in the context of extant documentation which shows the difference that used to exist in terms of the clergy stipends in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. European clergy were paid a much higher stipend as compared to the local indigenous clergy. The table below compares the stipend scale between the indigenous Priest and the European Priest as well as the stipend between the Indigenous Deacon and the European Deacon;

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<sup>491</sup> *The Link*, June 1963

**Clergy Stipends of the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1974<sup>492</sup>**

<b>Indigenous Clergy Stipend</b>		<b>European Clergy Stipend</b>	
<b>Priest;</b> <b>[Married]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 588 pounds Stipend</li> <li>- Residence</li> <li>- 60 pounds per annum marriage allowance</li> <li>- Easter offering if incumbent</li> <li>- 24 pounds per annum per child up to the 18<sup>th</sup> birthday subject to 4 children at any time, inclusive of any between the ages of 18 and 21 as hereinafter provided</li> </ul>	<b>Priest;</b> <b>[Married]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1068.00 pounds stipend per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> <li>- 300 pounds per annum, marriage allowance</li> <li>- Easter offering if incumbent</li> <li>- 120 pounds child allowance per annum, up to the 18<sup>th</sup> birthday subject to a maximum of 4 children at any one time inclusive of any between the ages of 18 and 21 hereinafter provided</li> </ul>
<b>Priest</b> <b>[Unmarried]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 588 pounds stipend per annum</li> <li>- Easter Offering if incumbent</li> </ul>	<b>Priest</b> <b>[Unmarried]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1068.00 pounds stipend per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> <li>- Easter offering is incumbent</li> </ul>

<sup>492</sup> Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including the Diocesan Regulations, [1974], p69

<p><b>Deacon</b> <b>[Married]</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 588 pounds per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> <li>- 60 pounds Marriage allowance per annum</li> <li>- 24 pounds Child allowance per annum up to the 18<sup>th</sup> birthday subject to maximum of 4 children at any one time inclusive of any between the ages of 18 and 21 as hereinafter provided.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Deacon</b> <b>[Married]</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1068.00 stipend per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> <li>- 300 pounds per annum, marriage allowance</li> <li>- 120 pounds child allowance per annum, up to the 18<sup>th</sup> birthday subject to a maximum of 4 children at any one time inclusive of any between the ages of 18 and 21 hereinafter provided</li> </ul>
<p><b>Deacon</b> <b>[Unmarried]</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 588 pounds stipend per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> </ul>	<p><b>Deacon</b> <b>[Unmarried]</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1068.00 pounds stipend per annum</li> <li>- Residence</li> </ul>

From the above table one can establish that the indigenous clergy were short changed at all levels. Compared to a European priest, the indigenous priest received just about half of the stipend that the European Priest received per annum. The same applied to the indigenous Deacons. Although all the clergy were provided with accommodation, it must be borne in mind that most of the European clergy were either in urban areas, or mission stations where their accommodation had everything that would make them comfortable. The indigenous clergy stayed in some thatched huts, mostly in outstation that were

remote. On the other hand the marriage allowance was also terribly different. Given the fact that most wives of indigenous clergy did not have any form of professional training it meant that they did not have any employment to augment the meager stipend which their husbands were getting from the church. Such situations would have warranted a significant amount of money in the form of Marriage Allowance. However the situation was not seen in that way, by those in Charge.

On the other hand when one compares the Child Allowance, it also becomes clear that the scale was skewed to a large extent. The African child was given 20% of the amount given to the European child. In addition to that the African Clergy was already disadvantaged in terms of the number of children provided for in this scale. Most indigenous clergy of those days ended up having more than four children because family planning was not yet commonly used. This meant that only a fraction of the Indigenous priest's children were supported by the church. On the other hand most European clergy would not have more than four children which meant that most or all of their children were provided for and supported by the church.

At another level most European priests were the incumbents of most parishes and mission stations which follows that they were also the ones who received the Easter offering as stipulated in the Table above. The clergy list of the Diocese of Mashonaland of 1967 shows that out of 79 clergy of the diocese, there were 15 incumbents, out of which only 2 were indigenous<sup>493</sup>. The indigenous incumbents in that year were Rev. O. Mandihlare who was Rector of St Michaels Mbare, and Canon Edward Chipunza who was Rector of Holy Name Parish of Sakubva in Mutare. These two parishes were however quite poor financially which meant that they would not even manage to raise any significant amount of money to augment the meager stipends which their clergy could get through the Easter collections. On the whole the whole set up was skewed in favour of the European clergy, as such challenging such imbalances required people of substance to articulate that and second that motion a thing that could be done by a few clergy at that time one of whom was Rev. Patrick Murindagomo.

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<sup>493</sup> Clerical Directory of the Diocese of Mashonaland Diocese 1967

### **6.2.b The Cathedral Chapter**

This is another important structure in most Anglican Dioceses. In the Diocese of Mashonaland, it consisted of the Dean and four Capitular Canons<sup>494</sup>. On the same vein, Capitular Canons are elected from among licensed clergy of the Diocese by other clergy under the chairmanship of the Dean<sup>495</sup>. Once a priest is elected to the Cathedral Chapter, they will be conferred with the title ‘*Canon*’. In terms of the duties and responsibilities, of the Cathedral Chapter, they are mostly responsible for the Cathedral Church as well as all that goes on in that church. Act 4.4 suggests that “the Cathedral Chapter shall have power to make and amend the cathedral Statutes to regulate [a] the conduct of meetings of the Chapter and [b] the installation, dress and duties of the dean and chapter within the cathedral<sup>496</sup>”. In addition to this the Chapter is also tasked with the responsibility to ensure that nothing, by way of structural alterations or additions to the Cathedral building, or erection of new building within the precincts of the Cathedral is done without its permission<sup>497</sup>.

### **6.2.c The Bishop’s Senate**

This is one of the critical structures of the Anglican Church. In the Diocese of Mashonaland it consisted of all the members of the Cathedral Chapter, three priests elected by the House of clergy at each ordinary session of Diocesan Synod and not more than two priests appointed by the Bishop at his discretion as and when he deems it fit. Such priests should be holding office for as long as the Bishop decides<sup>498</sup>. This structure is usually tasked to act as an Advisory board to the Bishop on most matters that affect the Diocese or any matter that the Bishop may have referred to it. According to Act 5.1, the Bishop and the Bishops Senate relate in the following manner;

*[a] the Bishop’s Senate shall advise the Bishop on any matters which he may refer to it.*

*[b] The Bishop shall consult the senate before making any Clerical appointment.*

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<sup>494</sup> *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including the Diocesan Regulations*, [1974], p13

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid*, p13

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid* p13

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid*, p15

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid*, p16



*[c] The Bishop may consult his Senate and receive the advice of its members either at a formal meeting or in such other manner as he may wish.*

### **6.3.d Diocesan Standing Committee**

This structure of the Anglican Church is known as ‘*a synod in action*’. This is so because, it is constituted at an Ordinary Session of Synod and tasked with the responsibility to carry out the day to day running of the Diocese, on behalf of the Synod which does not meet so regularly. Acts 10.1 [a] , stipulates that this committee shall consist of,

*the Bishop, the Dean of the Cathedral, 6 elected priests, 8 elected lay people, and not more than 2 persons, being Suffragan bishops or Archdeacons of the Diocese appointed by the Bishop in terms of this Chapter, provided that all suffragan bishops and archdeacons are not already members of standing committee may attend and speak at meetings but shall have no vote<sup>499</sup>.*

The functions of Standing Committee are diverse. These includes, ensuring that the parishes are meeting their assessment obligations, following up on issues that may have been suggested at the previous ordinary session of Synod, as well as ensuring that the order and ethos of the Anglican Church is being maintained in the ecclesiastical divisions. Above all the Standing Committee can delegate some of its responsibilities, to specialized people, through the formation of Sub-Committees. For example Standing committee may appoint a Diocesan Finance sub-committee, composed of people who have some training in accountancy. This committee will have to report to the Diocesan Standing Committee.

As one can establish the whole machinery of the Diocese is made up different structures that enable it to carry out its mission. It is within this machinery that people of substance, are needed in order to air their views, and make significant contributions to the debates and deliberations that take place in these various structures. Membership in most of these different committees during the early days of the Diocese, was mainly from European clergy, although there was nothing written down to prevent indigenous clergy to be members. Those who finally found their way in these committees would have proven that they had the capacity to reason and engage others meaningfully at those levels.

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<sup>499</sup> *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including the Diocesan Regulations*, [1974], p27

To start with, whilst still serving at the Cathedral Parish of St Mary and All Saints, as Assistant priest, Rev. P. A. Murindagomo was appointed as Archdeacon of Mashonaland South in January 1966<sup>500</sup>. This appointment was quite a big step in the process of indigenization of the structures of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Rev Patrick Murindagomo, became the second indigenous priest to be appointed to such a high office, in the administrative machinery of the Diocese of Mashonaland. The first indigenous priest to be appointed into such as office was Canon Edward Chipunza who passed away on the 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1967<sup>501</sup>. This meant that after the passing on of Canon Chipunza, Patrick Murindagomo, remained as the only indigenous Archdeacon of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

According to Act17.1 [a], of the Diocese of Mashonaland, Archdeacons are appointed by the Bishop, from amongst the licensed clergy in the Diocese, who have enough experience in ministry<sup>502</sup>. Act 17.1 [b] continues to stipulate the duties of an Archdeacon so appointed as being responsible for;

- (i) *Examining the Parish registers, terriers, inventories, insurance schedules, e.t.c, the fabrics of churches and other immovable property, burial grounds and movable property.*
- (ii) *Inspecting, and if not satisfied, removing any books of account, cheque books and vouchers from any ecclesiastical division or diocesan institution within his archdeaconry*
- (iii) *Assume control [either by himself or through a person or persons appointed by him] of all the financial affairs of such ecclesiastical division or diocesan institution, for such a period as may be necessary when he considers it desirable*
- (iv) *Examining all plans for proposed building projects as submitted to him in terms of the Diocesan building Regulations and report thereon with his recommendations to the appropriate diocesan authorities.*

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<sup>500</sup> *The Link*, February 1966

<sup>501</sup> *The Link*, November 1967

<sup>502</sup> *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including the Diocesan Regulations*, [1974] p53

- (v) *Satisfy himself by inspection or otherwise that all buildings or other structures have been completed in accordance with the plans and specifications and financing as approved by Standing Committee and the Diocesan Trustees, and*
- (vi) *Requiring the delivery to himself or his authorized deputy of all or any of the movable property, and the keys to the immovable property of the church, and shall forthwith report to the Bishop and standing committee, every action taken under this section when he considers it desirable for the protection of the property of the church in any ecclesiastical division or diocesan institution within his jurisdiction*<sup>503</sup>

Such a job description for an Archdeacon was indeed a tall order, and it meant more responsibilities upon Rev. P. A. Murindogomo. As an Archdeacon, his new title was now ‘Venerable’. Within the context of the Anglican Church, Archdeacons are very powerful persons, who report straight to the Bishop on any matter that affects any ecclesiastical division within their jurisdiction. In other words they are like ‘*little bishops*’ in those geographical areas which they cover. This was indeed a good preparation for the elevation of Patrick Murindogomo to the office of Suffragan Bishop when the time came.

A further development in the life and Ministry of Venerable P. A. Murindogomo came in 1968 when he was elected as a Canon of the Cathedral Chapter. This election followed a notice issued by Bishop Cecil Alderson on the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1967, empowering the clergy who were going to be assembled together for a clergy retreat to “elect three grave and learned priests to be Canons of our Cathedral Church...<sup>504</sup>”. It should be stated here that up 1967, once a person was elected Canon, that appointment was for life. However that was changed to a seven year term in 1967<sup>505</sup>. Also up to this time only two indigenous clergy had served as Canons, and these were Canon Samuel Mhlanga<sup>506</sup>, who was elected to that office in 1942 and Canon Yakobo Mwela<sup>507</sup>, who was elected in

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<sup>503</sup> *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland including Diocesan Regulations* [1974], p54

<sup>504</sup> Notice to clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland to elect three canons, to the Cathedral Chapter, kept in the Chapter file At the Diocesan Archives in Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>505</sup> Letter to the Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints Harare, by the Diocesan Secretary of the Diocese of Harare, Mr. I. M. Maspero dated 7<sup>th</sup> November 1973, kept at the Diocesan Archives in Harare

<sup>506</sup> Canon Samuel Mhlanga was the first indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, ordained to the Diaconate in 1919, and ordained Priest in 1923.

<sup>507</sup> Canon Yakobo Mwela forms part of the third generation of indigenous clergy. He was of Malawi origin having left Malawi when he was 6 years of age He was trained at St Augustine’s Mission in Penhalonga

1961<sup>508</sup>. Indeed the election of these two early indigenous clergy of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland had opened a way for indigenous people to participate in the structures of their church.

Just as the Bishop had issued a notice for the election of three Canons, the clergy had to submit their nominations on or before the 10<sup>th</sup> January 1968<sup>509</sup>. The election itself was scheduled to take place at Peterhouse School in Marondera on the 15<sup>th</sup> January 1968 at 7.30pm<sup>510</sup>. This meant that written nominations that were duly seconded were to be sent to the Dean of the Cathedral in order for him to compile a list before the meeting at the appointed venue. Judging from extant documents, the process ensued, and the following nomination list was finally drawn up by the Dean, ready for the final election at Peterhouse School;

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and ordained Deacon in 1931. He retired from active ministry in 1967, having served the church faithfully for more than 40 years.

<sup>508</sup> Letter to The Very Rev'd S.M. Wood, Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, Harare, by the Diocesan Secretary of the Diocese of Mashonaland, Mr I. M. Maspero, dated 18<sup>th</sup> June 1968, kept at the Diocesan Archives in Harare

<sup>509</sup> Notice to clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland to elect three Canons to the Cathedral Chapter, kept in the Chapter file at the Diocesan Archives in Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>510</sup> Ibid

**Election of Canons to the Cathedral Chapter – 1968<sup>511</sup>**

*Please vote for three by placing a cross opposite their names*

<b>NOMINEES</b>	<b>Proposed By</b>	<b>Seconded By</b>
DEMADEMA. N	A.P. Hall  Z. M. Tekere	J. Burgess  G. A. P. Cooper
FENWICK. J. R	Y. Mwela	E. J. Beck
GILBERT. L. C	R.H. Clark  A. P. Hall  F. M. Pasipanodya	J. Burgess
HALL. A. P	P. A. Murindagomo  Z. M. Tekere	L. C. Gilbert  G. A. P. Cooper
HUNT. A.H.C	Y. Mwela	P. A. Murindagomo
MACHIHA. L	R. H. Clark  L.C. Gilbert	G. J. Wise
MANDIHLARE. O	M. S. Banda	F. M. Pasipanodya
MURINDAGOMO. P.A	L. A. W. Beck	G. J. Wise
NEAUM. D	L. A. W. Beck  R. H. Clark	G. J. Wise
NECHIRONGA. W.W.W	S. Mhlanga	A. H.C. Hunt
RUWENDE. G	Y. Mwela	Z. M. Tekere
TAMBO. C	E. Nyahwa  F. M. Pasipanodya  Z. M. Tekere	J. D. Taylor  G. A. P. Cooper
WHITE. R	D. E. Jenkins	A. R. Lewis
ZAMBEZI. M.D	D. E. Jenkins	A. R. Lewis

<sup>511</sup> Nomination list for the election of Canons of the Cathedral Chapter of St Mary and All Saints, Harare, maintained in the Chapter file at the Diocese of Harare Archives, at the Diocesan Office in Paget Pax House, in Harare

The above nomination list shows that the clergy were generally flexible to nominate and second anyone regardless of the fact that they were not of their race. One can see a European priest nominating an indigenous priest and another European priest seconding that nomination as shown in the case of Rev. M. D. Zambezi's [indigenous priest] nomination. However there are cases where a European priest nominated and seconded a European priest as in the case of Rev. R. White's [European priest] nomination. The same happened in the case of the nomination of Rev. G. Ruwende and Rev. O. Mandihlare [indigenous priests]. The odd one however is the case of the nomination of Rev. P. A. Murindagomo [indigenous priest], which was proposed and seconded by European clergy as well as the nomination of Rev. A.C. Hunt [European priest] who was also proposed and seconded by indigenous clergy. Whatever the reasons for these decisions, they fall out of the purview of this discussion. What is important for this study is to point out that out of the above nomination list; the three people who were elected to be Canons of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland in 1968 were Rev. L. C. Gilbert, Rev. A. P. Hall, and Rev. P. A. Murindagomo<sup>512</sup>.

This election of Rev. P. A. Murindagomo, to be the third indigenous Canon in the Diocese of Mashonaland, meant that he could now form part of the decision making team of the Diocese, in the Cathedral Chapter, as well as the Bishop's Senate. His influence in the Diocese of Mashonaland was going to be needed, especially to maintain the indigenous element in that structure, since the first indigenous Canons had already retired by this time.

#### **6.2.e Consecration of Ven. P.A. Murindogomo**

As noted above, the impending retirement of Bishop Cecil Alderson in 1970, was fast approaching, and the Diocese of Mashonaland had set up a committee to investigate the possibility of establishing a second Diocese in the Eastern part of the Country. The vision was to form a new diocese to be called the Diocese of Manicaland<sup>513</sup>. As noted above this

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<sup>512</sup> Letter from the Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints to the Bishop of Mashonaland, Bp Cecil Alderson, dated 25<sup>th</sup> January 1968, kept in the Chapter File, at the Archives of the Diocese of Mashonaland [Harare], maintained at Paget Pax House, in Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>513</sup> *The Link*, July 1967

idea did not materialize given the financial implications involved. The Eastern part of the Diocese was mostly rural as such it could not afford to raise the money required annually to support and provide for the needs of a diocese<sup>514</sup> as noted earlier.

However since Bishop Cecil Alderson, whose desire it was to formulate this new diocese, and take it as a visible sign of his retirement, died prematurely in Johannesburg, from a heart attack, it was Bishop Paul Burrough as highlighted above who had to pursue this further. In the meantime in 1970, Bishop Burrough transferred Ven. P. A. Murindagomo was to St Paul's Highfield where he became Rector. Rev. L. Mbuyayesango views this move as a way of empowering the indigenous clergy. He maintains that "it was during his [Bp. Paul Burrough] time that indigenous clergy started to be given positions of power such as being Rectors, as well as being appointed to serve in parishes that had been previously strongholds of European clergy, such as St Mary's Avondale parish, where Rev. Eliah Goto<sup>515</sup> was appointed to serve as an Assistant Priest<sup>516</sup>".

It is therefore within this context of empowering indigenous clergy that the appointment of Ven. P. M. Murindagomo has to be considered. On the other hand, one needs to consider the events that were taking place in the Church of the Province of Central Africa as well. For example Rev. Phелеmon Mataka of Zambia had been appointed and consecrated as the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop of Zambia on the 20<sup>th</sup> September 1964<sup>517</sup>. In Malawi Ven. Josiah Mtekateka had also been appointed Suffragan in two Dioceses, of Southwest Tanganyika and Malawi on the 6<sup>th</sup> December 1964, with only 30 minutes difference between the election times<sup>518</sup>. After a personal retreat he eventually decided for the Diocese of Malawi which was his home Diocese. Josiah Mtekateka was therefore consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Malawi in 1965, at Likoma Island<sup>519</sup>. Such

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<sup>514</sup> Report of the Commission set to investigate the establishment of a diocese in the Eastern part of the Diocese of Mashonaland, recorded in , *The Link*, February 1966.

<sup>515</sup> Eliah Goto, is one of those men who were send to St John's Theological Seminary in Zambia. He was ordained deacon in 1958, and made a priest in 1960.

<sup>516</sup> Interview with Rev. L. Mbuyayesango – [retired priest in the Diocese of Harare] at Waterfalls Harare on the

<sup>517</sup> Internet: <http://www.anglican-cathedral.org.zm/anglican-church-zambia.html>

<sup>518</sup> Mpassou, D. *Josiah Mtekateka: From a Priest's Dog-boy to a Bishop*. D. Mpassou in association with Bishop J. Mtekateka. Subscribers, P/A Chilema, 1979.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid

developments could have influenced the change of mind in the Diocese of Mashonaland, from carving out the Diocese of Manicaland into appointing a Suffragan Bishop who would then reside in Manicaland.

There is a sense of mystery in the minds of those who were there during this time regarding the real process through which Ven. P. A. Murindagomo was appointed as Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. Some like Rev. M. D. Zambezi suggests that “he was appointed because he appealed to the European clergy very well and since they were the decision makers then, they simply hand picked him as Suffragan Bishop<sup>520</sup>”. This feeling is supported by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, who maintains that “Ven. Murindagomo was appointed as Suffragan Bishop due to his subservience the European leadership<sup>521</sup>”. Whatever the reasons behind his appointment as Suffragan Bishop, Mrs. Grace Murindagomo states that prior to his appointment, her husband and Rev. Alban Makoni together with their wives were sent to England for a sabbatical lasting for six months<sup>522</sup>. The two clerics and their wives were to spend this time at the College of the Ascension, Selly Ork in Birmingham. From the interviews held with Mrs. Murindagomo and Canon Alban Makoni, it seems the purpose of this visit was not even made very clear to them. On one level they thought it was for exposure<sup>523</sup>, on another level, they also thought that it was to experience ministry as it is done in England<sup>524</sup> since most of their time was spend in the surrounding parishes in the villages and townships. For some like Canon G. Mashingaidze, “the two could have been sent to England for observation since it was only upon their return that we then heard that Patrick Murindagomo had been appointed as Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland<sup>525</sup>”.

Whatever the case may be, there is no extant documentation that spells out the reason for this sabbatical for these two clergymen. However these two clergymen and their wives

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<sup>520</sup> Questionnaire by Rev. M.D. Zambezi [December 2005] He is retired priest of the Diocese of Mashonaland, a contemporary of Bishop P. A. Murindagomo, who was ordained Deacon and priest together with Ven. Murindagomo. He is now retired and resident in Mutare, Zimbabwe.

<sup>521</sup> Interview with Canon Nechironga on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at Hatfiled Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>522</sup> Interview with Mrs Grace Murindagomo, ON THE 31 December 2003 at Mbare, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>523</sup> Questionnaire with Canon Alban Makoni, [February 2006] at Rusape, Zimbabwe

<sup>524</sup> Interview with Mrs Grace Murindagomo

<sup>525</sup> Interview with Canon Mashingaidze, on the 30 May 2007, at Eastlea, Harare, Zimbabwe



returned in July 1972, and continued with their ministry in their respective parishes. Meanwhile in January 1973, Bishop Paul Burrough, announced that Ven. P. A. Murindagomo had been appointed as the Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. This should not have gone down very well with most indigenous senior clergy in the Diocese at that stage. More so this seems to have not gone well with Canon Alban Makoni, whose comment on the appointment of Murindagomo seem to be pushed by malice. He says “Bishop Murindagomo was not appointed to be an Assistant Bishop, instead he was appointed to be a ‘*suffering*’ Bishop without any voice. He was the European people’s puppet<sup>526</sup>”.

Although there were such feelings amongst some indigenous clergy, those who knew him well, felt that he was the best candidate for such an office at that time. This comes out very well from Canon M. Madzivanyika’s comment on the appointment of Ven. P. A. Murindagomo, to be the first Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. He stresses the point that “Patrick Murindagomo was a quiet and reserved person, who only spoke when he had to. And even when he did that, whatever he said was sensible and constructive<sup>527</sup>”. He goes further to suggest that “Ven. Murindagomo was also a hard working priest who did not have many friends<sup>528</sup>”.

As we noted above the appointment of any person to such an office needed the approval of the Diocesan Synod before it is taken to the Provincial Synod for its endorsement. It is likely that this is the route that was followed. On the other hand the rules of the Elective Assembly [a committee that chooses bishops] do not permit any one to share the deliberations of an elective assembly<sup>529</sup>. As such all the reasons that people can give are based on guess work and speculation.

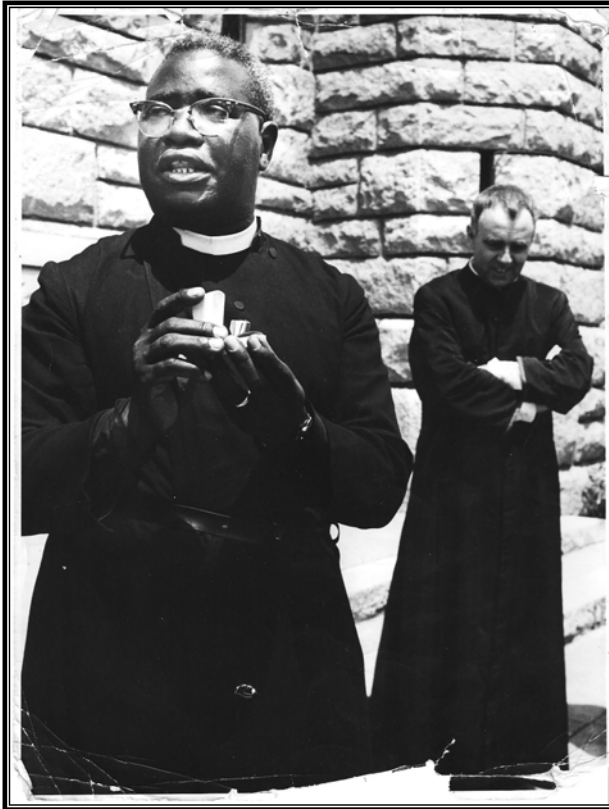
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<sup>526</sup> Questionnaire with Canon Alban Makoni, [February 2006] at Rusape, Zimbabwe

<sup>527</sup> Interview with Canon Milton Madzivanyika on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 2007, at Southerton Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>528</sup> Ibid

<sup>529</sup> Canon 6.10 [a] , of the *Constitutions and Canons of the Province of Central Africa* [1983], p27

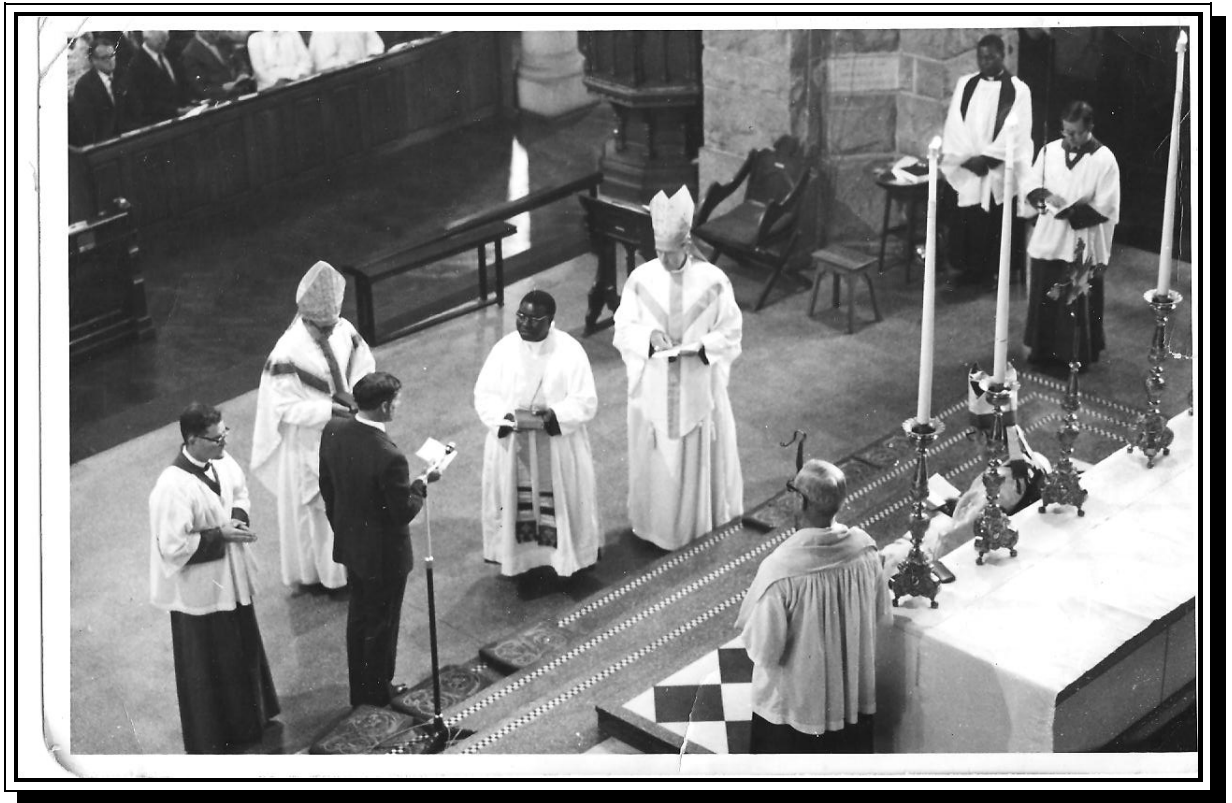


*The Ven. P. A. Murindagomo, is seen in this picture with the Dean of the Cathedral The Very Rev. S. K. Wood Showing his Episcopal ring just before his consecration as Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland [Picture courtesy of Mrs. G. Murindagomo]*

Following his appointment Ven. P. A. Murindagomo, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland on the 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1973 at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints<sup>530</sup>. Below is a picture depicting his consecration service.

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<sup>530</sup> Interview with Mrs Murindagomo on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 2003, at Mbare, Harare, Zimbabwe



*The Suffragan Bishop Elect – Ven. P. A. Murindagomo, is seen above flanked by Bishop Paul Burrough on the right and Bishop Skelton on the left, as he took the Oath of Canonical obedience in the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints in Harare [Picture courtesy of Mrs. G. Murindagomo]*

#### **6.2. f, Ministry and Death of Bishop Murindagomo**

Following his consecration, Bishop P. A. Murindagomo, was immediately whisked away, to fulfill the Episcopal needs of the Eastern part of the Diocese where his ministry was needed most. In this way he was housed at St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga. Whilst there he carried out his ministry in the confines of the Eastern parts of the Diocese. However one day, whilst traveling from Chiredzi on business, Bishop Murindagomo was involved in a road accident, just a few kilometers from Norton Town<sup>531</sup>. Mrs. Murindagomo avers that her husband sustained some internal injuries which never healed

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<sup>531</sup> Interview with Mrs Murindagomo on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 2003, at Mbare, Harare, Zimbabwe.

properly since after that accident he used to have some slight coughs and used to complain of side pains<sup>532</sup>.

Mrs. Grace Murindagomo chronicles his death in a graphic way when she highlights the manner in which it all happened in such a sudden and unbelievable way. This came about in the context of his preparations to travel to United Kingdom, for the Lambeth Conference. The Lambeth convocation is a conference of the Anglican Communion which takes place once in every ten years and is usually held at the Lambeth Palace in England, hence its name. The Archbishop of Canterbury summons All Bishops of the Anglican Communion who are in good standing with the Church to this conference. In this sense Bishop Patrick Murindagomo was set to attend his first Lambeth Conference in 1978, hence he had to get some photographs taken in Mutare, with a view to get his passport and all the necessary papers ready for his journey.

However according to Mrs. Murindagomo's recollection, Bishop Murindagomo came out of the Photo studio sweating profusely<sup>533</sup>. The two decided to drive back to the Mission station. As they drove out of the city, Bishop Murindagomo quietly made a turn at Mutare General Hospital, without informing his wife what was happening or what he was feeling. Mrs. Murindagomo suggests that her husband parked his vehicle nicely in an empty parking bay soon after which he just became unconscious<sup>534</sup>. This was so quick for Mrs. Murindagomo, who rushed in the hospital to call upon nurses for help. At this stage Mrs. Murindagomo was oblivious of the fact that her husband had already passed on. Instead of calling her in and informing her of the death of her, husband, the Hospital staff phoned Fr. Prosser Kebble, the headmaster of St Augustine's Mission at that time, who then drove all the way to the hospital to inform Mrs. Murindagomo, of her husband's death.

Such was the sad end of Bishop Patrick A. Murindagomo, the first indigenous suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Bishop Murindagomo's death was received with

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<sup>532</sup> Interview with Mrs Murindagomo on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 2003, at Mbare, Harare, Zimbabwe.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid

<sup>534</sup> Ibid

shock in the whole Diocese. Some thought he had been bewitched, since they had not heard of his sickly condition prior to the news about his death. This is brought out by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga who maintains that “some people thought that Bishop Murindagomo was killed, while others said he was poisoned<sup>535</sup>”. Although there were such speculations, Mrs. G. Murindagomo, is sure that her husband died as a result of internal injuries that he had sustained as a result of the road accident he was involved in on his way back from Chiredzi in 1976. This was also confirmed by the postmortem which was carried out following his sudden death. This was indeed a premature end of what promised to be a fruitful Indigenous Episcopal ministry in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

The appointment and ministry of Bishop Patrick A. Murindagomo, has been seen in different ways by different people. Although extant documentation suggest that his appointment and eventual move to St Augustine’s Mission was meant to ease, the Bishop’s ever increasing responsibilities, some observers look at the issue differently. Canon D.M.G Nhema is of the opinion that;

*by appointing an indigenous Suffragan Bishop, the European Bishop, was saying, we are now working together, but that person so chosen was really for black people only, although that was never said, or stated in any record. In practice that is what we saw. This development was not out of love for the indigenous people at all. Instead the ministry of the Suffragan Bishop was to be the errand boy for the incumbent Bishop<sup>536</sup>.*

On the other hand some people thought that the war of liberation had began to send some shock waves to the European Bishop, and ministry was becoming almost impossible in certain areas, hence the need for a Indigenous Bishop whose life would not be threatened since most freedom fighters were indigenous people. This idea is put across very well by Canon W.W.W. Nechironga who states that;

*It was now necessary to bring in a Suffragan Bishop, because the Bishop now needed a messenger who could administer those sacraments reserved for the Episcopal office on his behalf. Such a person would then be send to those places where it was becoming unsafe for the European Bishop to visit. So the Suffragan Bishop would of necessity be someone to do the errands of the Bishop, especially*

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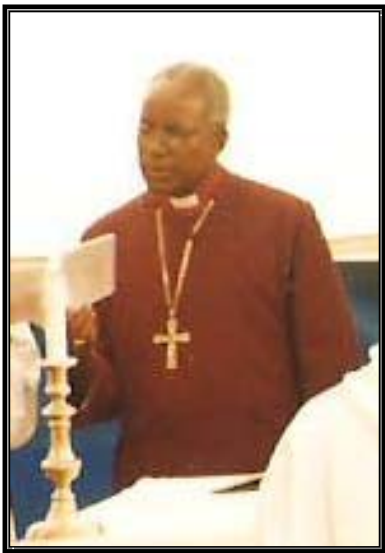
<sup>535</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>536</sup> Interview with Canon D.M.G. Nhema, on the 12 December 2004, at Cranborne, Harare, Zimbabwe

*in those dangerous and no go areas for the Europeans. It was simply a political move, meant to benefit the European Bishop*<sup>537</sup>.

Whichever way one would like to view this new development, one can see substance in the above two evaluations. Indeed the political climate was changing and movement for the European people in general including European church leaders was becoming compromised. In the same vein, considering the developments in the province with some Diocese such as Malawi and Zambia, having started bringing into the Episcopal fold the indigenous people, the Diocese of Mashonaland could have been spurred to go the same way, since it had been contemplating to divide the diocese into two. The death of Bishop Patrick Murindagomo meant that the Diocese reverted to the old situation, where there was no Suffragan Bishop. As a way to address that challenge Bishop Paul Burrough, however, decided to maintain this office by appointing another cleric to replace Bishop Murindagomo. This replacement came in the form of Rev. Ralph Peter Hatendi.

### **6.3 Consecration of P. R. Hatendi as Second Suffragan Bishop**



*The Rt. Rev. P. Hatendi. The second Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland and the first Indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland [Picture courtesy of Bishop Gaul Theological College Library]*

The story of the ascendance of Rev. Peter Hatendi, to the Episcopal office is graphically told by the man himself. It is a long history that has some mysterious dimensions attached to it. In order for one to appreciate this second generation to the process of indigenization of the episcopate in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, one has to go back to where it all began for Peter right up to the moment when he was appointed Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland in 1979

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<sup>537</sup> Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, interview on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe

including the time when he succeeded Bishop Paul Burrough as the Diocesan Bishop of the same Diocese.

Peter Hatendi was born, in Rusape area and grew up under the influence of the Anglican missionaries at St Faith Mission. In this sense he was baptized and confirmed within the context of St Faith Mission. After his schooling he went for teacher training at St Augustine's Mission like all the other people of his age in those days.

Peter Hatendi's journey in full time ministry in the Anglican Church started in 1956 when he was sent for theological training at St Peter's Theological College, Rosettenville in South Africa<sup>538</sup>. This was during the time of Bishop Cecil Alderson, who had adopted a policy of selecting and training more and more indigenous clergy. This is clear from the number of ordinations to the diaconate that he did in 1958. Out of nine men ordained to the diaconate, eight of them were indigenous and one was European<sup>539</sup>. After his ordination to the diaconate Rev. Peter Hatendi served his diaconate at St David's Mission Bonda, for one year. Having proved himself to the satisfaction of his mentor, Ven. Pat Mason, Fr. Peter Hatendi was ordained priest, on the 21<sup>st</sup> December 1958<sup>540</sup> at the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. As a newly ordained priest with very little priestly experience, Rev. Peter Hatendi continued to serve at St David's Bonda, but this time as a curate or Assistant Priest.

Rev. Peter Hatendi recalls his early years at St Davids Bonda, as being "formative and transformative"<sup>541</sup> in his calling. Under the guidance of Venerable Pat Mason, Archdeacon of Mutare and Rector of St David's Mission Bonda, Rev Peter Hatendi had numerous opportunities in which to learn and acquire the experience which he needed in order to become a fully fledged priest in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe. Rev. Peter Hatendi ministered at Bonda Mission for 4 years, after which he was moved to start a new church in a virgin area of Tanda at the end of 1961.

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<sup>538</sup> *The Link*, February 1959

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>540</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>541</sup>

This was indeed a new beginning and a new experience for Rev. Peter Hatendi. In such a situation one has to be prepared for the worst, as such Rev. Peter Hatendi had to venture into the unknown on his own leaving his family behind. For some time, he had to make do with some pole and dagga huts whilst proper structures of a church hall and the priest's house were being built. This was the humble beginning of St Mary's Anglican Church Mhandambiri in the Tanda reserve. Time seemed to have been moving very fast for Rev. Peter Hatendi, since he only spent one year in this new mission field, such that by the end of 1962, he was moved once more to stabilize a crisis situation that had arisen at Bernard Mizeki College<sup>542</sup>, the Anglican Church boarding school situated 20 kilometers away from Marondera town. This new appointment meant that he was to be the Chaplain and teacher for the primary school.

Politically this was a very difficult time in the History of Zimbabwe. The year 1962, goes down in history as the year when the ZAPU, was banned by the colonial Government. A new party ZANU was formed in 1963. However with the banning of ZAPU and the formation of ZANU, there was a widespread witch hunt, perpetrated by the colonial government on those that they suspected to have been involved in the banned political party and the formation of ZANU. It was in this context that Bishop Peter Hatendi was pre-warned by a colleague from the University of Zimbabwe that he had to leave the country otherwise he would get into serious trouble and eventually lose his life<sup>543</sup>.

As the net was closing in for Rev. Peter Hatendi and others in Zimbabwe, there was a Congress of the Anglican Church that was held in Toronto, Canada, in August 1962, as noted in Bishop Cecil Alderson's Letter<sup>544</sup>. Amongst the delegation to that Congress was Canon W.W.W. Nechironga who was going to be studying at St Augustine's Canterbury in the same year. This congress passed the motion on the need for there to be some cross cultural mission amongst the Anglicans in the world<sup>545</sup>. This came at the right time, since

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<sup>542</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003, at Avondale Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>543</sup> Ibid

<sup>544</sup> The Bishop's Letter in *The Link*, January 1967

<sup>545</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe



there was great need for clergy in some parts of the Anglican Communion. Not only clergy, but there was also a need for renewal and revival in some parts of the Anglican communion that were on the verge of extinction.

It is within this context that there was an experiment in Lincolnshire, called the “South Ormsby Group of Churches<sup>546</sup>”. This experiment involved bringing together five or more rural parishes under one or two priests. The background to this initiative was that throughout the English countryside, the small parishes that were once the bulwark of the Anglican faith were running empty and getting neglected, even though a handful of people managed to keep these churches alive. The numbers of church attendance generally dwindled as a result of the mechanization of England’s rural areas. This meant that the population started drifting to urban areas where people could get employment leaving the rural areas sparsely populated. This eventually affected many churches that used to fill up to the point of a church remaining with just about three families attending services every Sunday<sup>547</sup>.

It is within this “South Ormsby Group of Churches” experiment, that Rev. Peter Hatendi, found himself in, by the end of 1963. However Bishop Peter Hatendi decided to take this opportunity to improve his academic qualifications. After being there for three years he enrolled with Kings College in London for his Masters in Theology program. This was such a challenge for Rev. Peter Hatendi since he was ministering in the rural areas and studying at the same time. However he did not get discouraged, as evidenced by the fact that in 1967 he completed his studies and that paved a way for his next move in his ministry within the Anglican Communion.

Back in Zimbabwe the situation had not changed politically, if at all it had become worse than 1963 when Rev Peter Hatendi had left the country. There were serious racial tensions in the country which had led to a well calculated state sponsored violence on one hand, whilst on the other hand the indigenous people through a spirit of nationalism, had

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<sup>546</sup> Edmund Burke, “*England’s Dying Churches*” Internet:  
<http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,88816,839978,00,html>

<sup>547</sup> Ibid

resorted to an armed struggle<sup>548</sup>. The war of liberation was therefore gaining momentum as such Rev. Peter Hatendi sought some greener pastures, in Zambia. He was appointed lecturer in Old Testament at St Johns Anglican Seminary Lusaka, which had been opened in 1952 to train indigenous clergy for Zambia and Zimbabwe<sup>549</sup>. This institution ended up being a Provincial Seminary training indigenous clergy from the four countries that make up the Church of the Province of Central Africa, namely Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. Rev Peter Hatendi taught at this college from 1968 until 1972, when the college was closed due to the political “difficulties which were encountered by Zimbabwean students when they crossed the frontier<sup>550</sup>”.

The closure of the college during this period meant that Rev. Peter Hatendi had to venture into a new field altogether. Since the liberation war, was still raging in Zimbabwe, he could not cross the border and come back home. However God opened a new door for him. He got a job in Zambia as the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Zambia<sup>551</sup>. This was a three year contract job, which he carried out diligently from 1972 up to 1975. Upon the expiry of his contract, Rev. Peter Hatendi, decided to go to East Africa – Nairobi Kenya, where he was appointed as a Distribution Consultant for the Africa Region of the Bible Society. He served in this capacity until 1978 when his contract expired.

Even though Rev Peter Hatendi knew very well that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was now at its pick, he decided against all odds to return to Zimbabwe. This was in response to the call by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who had been made the President of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Bishop Muzorewa had called upon all Zimbabweans living and working outside the country to return home and help rebuild the country. However before making that decision Bishop Peter remembers that he had written to Bishop Paul Burrough on several occasions inquiring about any possibilities for him in the Diocese of

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<sup>548</sup> A. J. Chennells, “Anglicans and Roman Catholics before and after Independence”, *Zambezia* XV [1] Essay Review [1988], p77

<sup>549</sup> *The Link*, May 1953

<sup>550</sup> John Weller & Jane Linden, Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Gweru: Mambo Press, p78

<sup>551</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

Mashonaland but to no avail<sup>552</sup>. Whether Bishop Paul Burrough received the communications or not, is not clear since Bishop Peter suggests that he never got any response to any of his letters.

Be that as it may, with no job prospect in Zimbabwe and the liberation war raging on, Bishop Hatendi embarked on what he calls “*a long drive home*”<sup>553</sup>. This was indeed a long drive, in the sense that he drove all the way from Nairobi, through Tanzania into Zambia before getting into Zimbabwe. On the other hand the drive also became ‘long’ since he was driving a very old and slow vehicle – *Austin Cambridge*. Another factor that may have made the journey long again was the political environment in Tanzania as well as in Zimbabwe itself. It needs to be remembered that 1978 was the time when Idi Amin had just usurped power in Uganda and the Tanzanian forces were being moved to Uganda to quell that instability. Traveling during this period was not only slow but it was also very dangerous.

Rev. Peter Hatendi however managed to find his way to Lusaka, Zambia where he decided to reconnoiter on the situation in Zimbabwe before he could proceed. He was hosted by Bishop Philemon Mataka who was now the Bishop of Lusaka. Since he needed to be certain of his safety before leaving Zambia, Rev. Peter Hatendi ended up staying with Bishop Mataka for a couple of weeks. Bishop Hatendi maintains that he was waiting to hear from those connected with the liberation struggle as to when it would be safe for him to travel and which route would be safe to use<sup>554</sup>. Instruction then came through to Rev. Peter Hatendi that he had to leave, through the Kazungula boarder, so that he would circumvent the war zone which was around the Chirundu boarder post.

It was this long way home that brought in some mystery into Rev. Peter’s Hatendi’s journey back home. Oblivious of how to get the way, from Kazungula through to Victoria Falls, and then to Harare, Rev Peter Hatendi found himself on the Botswana side right inside the Botswana army camp. By now it was impossible to go back, since he did not

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<sup>552</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale , Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>553</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>554</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

have the necessary immigration papers needed by the Botswana immigration officials. The only way out of this mess was to get the required papers. It should be remembered that during those days, Botswana was not as developed as it is now. For example to phone from Gaborone to Francistown the phone had to pass through Bulawayo, where the telephone exchange was located. On the other hand most roads were still gravel which compromised traveling especially long distances.

With all these hurdles before him, Rev Peter Hatendi sought help at the nearest Post Office, where he remembers being assisted by a young Anglican Church member to phone the Rector of Francistown Parish, Canon W. Duiker<sup>555</sup>. It was when Rev. Peter Hatendi was frantically trying to get help that, he finally got connected to the Bishop of Botswana, Bishop Mallory, who instructed Fr. Hatendi to stay put, where he was until he received further instruction from him. Since they say ‘do not put all your eggs in one basket’, Fr. Peter Hatendi, kept trying to get through to the Diocese of Mashonaland until he succeeded. He was answered by Mr. Ian Maspero, the Diocesan Secretary. Unfortunately Mr. Maspero informed Fr. Peter Hatendi that the Diocese was not in a position to help him in any way. Instead he went on to inform Rev. Peter Hatendi, that he had good news for him. The Good news was that he had just been appointed as Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland.<sup>556</sup>

This was indeed the beginning of the mystery in his journey home. To start with when someone’s name has been nominated for a particular office like that of the Bishop, the concerned person should be consulted to establish whether or not they are willing to stand for election. If they are not consulted at this stage, they should be consulted when they are finally elected on whether they accept the result of their election<sup>557</sup>. It would appear all these procedures were not followed, since; this was news for Rev. Peter Hatendi. On the other hand we have mentioned above that his letters to Bishop Paul Burrough inquiring about possibilities of ministry for him were not responded to. All that he now

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<sup>555</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>556</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003 at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>557</sup> Canon 6.10, of the *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa*, [1980], p38

gets, after being told that the Diocese could not help him, was that he was to be the next indigenous Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. Bishop Peter Hatendi recalls his feeling at that moment, and says “I was flabbergasted to say the least. It was like a fairy tale to me, I could hardly believe it. All I needed at that time was to get out of Botswana and this news caught me unaware<sup>558</sup>”.

However mystery continued for Bishop Hatendi, in the sense that soon after putting down the phone, where he had been informed about his election, to be Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland, he received another phone call from Bishop Mallory in Gaborone, informing him that he needed to proceed to the immigration officials since his permit was now ready. Upon receiving the permit, Rev. Peter Hatendi embarked on the next stretch of his journey towards Francistown. Since the road was gravel in those days one had to drive quite slowly.

Bishop Peter Hatendi remembers that before traveling for a long distance, he had a problem with his vehicle. One of the front wheel springs collapsed and so that meant another halt for the next week<sup>559</sup>. This breakdown happened just a few kilometers from the small village called Pandamatenga. He therefore had to seek accommodation in this small village while he tried to get a replacement for the spring. Given the fact that Francistown was still a very small town, spares such as the particular spring that he needed could not be found there. The only place to get it was in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. On the other hand his permit was a one way permit which meant that if he left the car at Pandamatenga, he had to apply for another permit to allow him to come back and collect his car.

As a man of the cloth, Bishop Peter Hatendi, says he sought divine intervention, and interesting things began to happen. More mystery unfolded in his eyes, as he discovered that he could also be a blacksmith. Chronicling this mystery, Bishop Hatendi says “I managed to transform a spring from an old disused scotchcart to fit onto my car. I worked

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<sup>558</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>559</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

hard to fix the spring and when it was fixed I left for Francistown and drove up to Harare without any problems although I had bought a replacement in Bulawayo<sup>560</sup>.

From the above story, one can see that indeed, this was a “*long drive home*” for Rev. Peter Hatendi. It was a journey characterised by toil, hardship and some mystery. On one hand it gave Bishop Peter the resilience to press on despite the challenges of travel permit and break down of the car that he encountered on the way. This was the way in which the next Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland got to know about his next ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Upon his arrival in Harare, he had to present himself to the Bishop of Mashonaland and wait for further instruction. The year 1979, therefore becomes a life changing year for Rev. Peter Hatendi as he joined the Episcopal bench in the Diocese of Mashonaland. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1979 Rev. Peter Hatendi was consecrated as the second Indigenous Suffragan Bishop of The Diocese of Mashonaland at the Cathedral Church of St Mary and All Saints.

After consecration, began a new settled ministry for Bishop Peter Hatendi, who had brought with him a taste of the parish ministry in Zimbabwe, parish ministry in rural England, academic experience in Zambia and Christian business experience from Zambia and Kenya. Back in Zimbabwe he was confronted with the shackles of racism from the moment he was consecrated. Since his predecessor had agreed to turn himself into a rural Suffragan Bishop by going to reside at St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga, it followed that his successor would follow suit. This was not to be the case with Bishop Peter Hatendi. He refused to stay at St Augustine’s Mission. This brought in a problem which the Diocesan authorities had not anticipated, that of accommodating the new Bishop. The Diocesan authorities had worked on an assumption that accommodation was there at St Augustine’s Mission only to be shocked when the incumbent threw it back to them and refused to stay at that Mission Station.

Bishop Paul Burrough had to quickly find some alternative means of containing the situation. With no other Diocesan house vacant at the moment which he could quickly

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<sup>560</sup> Ibid

offer the new Suffragan Bishop to use, Bishop Paul Burrough, decided to use Bishop Peter Hatendi as a stop gap priest in Harare. One should remember that during those days, as mentioned above, there was a visible separation between European churches and indigenous churches. This racial arrangement was also sustained within the ambit of clerical appointments. European clergy were appointed to European parishes and indigenous clergy were placed in mission stations or high density suburbs such as Mbare and Highfiled, as well as Sakubva.

Bishop Peter Hatendi points out that with the housing predicament, which was facing the Diocese, Bishop Paul Burrough offered him a temporary house at St Peter's Mabelreign. He was appointed as a provisional Rector of that parish since they were waiting to get their European priest. Bishop Hatendi recalls how he was treated with such contempt by the parishioners who knew fully well that he was just a stop gap priest and their European priest was on his way<sup>561</sup>. Although he became the first indigenous priest to serve in this predominantly European Parish, he was not welcome in that parish. Before the end of 1979, the anticipated European priest arrived in Mabelreign, and Bishop Hatendi was on the move again to another parish that was waiting for its European priest. This parish was St Elizabeth of Hungary Parish in Belvedere, Harare. Just like the previous parish, they were waiting for their 'rightful' European priest. Bishop Peter was appointed as a provisional Rector of this Parish from late 1979 until 1980 when the anticipated rector arrived.

This was quite a humiliating experience for Bishop Peter Hatendi as he recounts, "I was then moved into the servants' quarters, with only two rooms, in order to pave way for the 'rightful', incumbent. This was despite the fact that I had a family<sup>562</sup>". Although in some contexts a person of the office such as that of Bishop Peter could have been well provided for, that was not the case with him. His Episcopal life started on a rough patch and it was bound to be like that for some time.

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<sup>561</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>562</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007, at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

Although Bishop Peter Hatendi was being made to suffer this level of humiliation, it should be stated that the political environment, was fast changing in the country. The year 1979, saw the signing of the Lancaster House constitution, which ushered in the end of the liberation struggle. Prior to the end of the Liberation struggle Bishop Paul Burrough had made his stand very clear through his utterances that, he was not in support of the methods used by the freedom fighters in the war, instead he spoke about reconciliation without realizing that the colonial government of that day was perpetrating some heinous acts which were never reported in the media. Bishop Paul Burrough's downfall therefore was speeded up when he preached in St Paul's Cathedral London in 1978, condemning the use of force<sup>563</sup>. This sermon caused a lot of outcry from Zimbabwe especially amongst the indigenous people including his Suffragan Bishop, Patrick Murindagomo, who distanced himself from the Bishop's opinions.

As such when independence finally came in 1980, it should have sent some shock waves for him such that he was left with only one option which was to resign his See even before his retirement time. In his memoir Angels Unawares, Paul Burrough had predicted that "the Tory government in Britain is determined to see the change from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe as a political triumph. Many more years must pass before the right assessment of that claim can be made<sup>564</sup>". This indicates that in many ways he was not willing to see a change in the state of affairs in Zimbabwe although some people felt that he was fighting any moves to tighten racial segregation. Given the new political environment, with the very people whom he had spoken harshly against, Bishop Paul Burrough, left the country in 1980.

It was only after the departure of Bishop Paul Burrough that, Bishop Peter Hatendi then moved to the official residence of the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland namely Bishop's Mount in Greendale Harare. As one can deduce, from the above discussion, Bishop Peter Hatendi's Episcopal ministry started on an uneven surface. Right from the moment he was consecrated Bishop; he was made to feel that he was

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<sup>563</sup> A. J. Chennells, "Anglicans and Roman Catholics before and after Independence", *Zambezia* XV [1] Essay Review [1988], p78

<sup>564</sup> Paul Burrough, Angels Unawares. Worthing: [Churman Publishing Ltd, 1988], p65



different from the European Bishop. Skin colour dictated the manner in which one was to be treated in those days.

#### **6.4 Bp R. P. Hatendi the first indigenous Bishop of Mashonaland**

The premature resignation of Bishop Paul Burrough meant that the Diocese of Mashonaland was left without a Bishop, although it had a Suffragan Bishop. According to the *Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa*;

*In the event of the resignation of a Diocesan Bishop, the Archbishop or Dean of the Province, after the acceptance of the resignation, by the Bishops of the Province, shall notify the same to the Diocese, and shall issue the notice of summons to the Elective Assembly, as provided in clause 5, to assemble not more than thirty days prior to the day upon which the See will become vacant<sup>565</sup>.*

This procedure was followed and in January 1981, Bishop Peter Hatendi was elected as the next bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Commenting on the rise of Bishop Peter Hatendi to the head of the Diocese, Canon G. Mashingaidze maintains that “when Bishop Peter became the Bishop of Mashonaland, it was an obvious move since he had been a Suffragan Bishop during Bishop Paul Burrough’s time. People also found no other choice to contest Peter Hatendi such that there was only one nomination in this elective assembly<sup>566</sup>”. Since Bishop Peter had accumulated some experience of the Episcopal office for the past three years as Suffragan Bishop, it only made sense to have him as the substantive Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. On the other hand Canon W.W.W Nechironga confirms the fact that Bishop Peter Hatendi was the most qualified indigenous cleric in the Diocese of Mashonaland at that time<sup>567</sup>. Armed with all these advantages, his election was a foregone conclusion that he would win the See.

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<sup>565</sup> Canon 6.6 of the *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the province of Central Africa*, [1980], p37

<sup>566</sup> Interview with Canon G. Mashingaidze, on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2007 at Eastlea, Harare Zimbabwe

<sup>567</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 19.12.2006, at Hatfield Harare, Zimbabwe



*[Picture courtesy of Bishop Gaul Theological Seminary Library]*

The year 1981 therefore opened a new chapter in the life of Bishop Peter Hatendi as the new Bishop of the Diocese of

Mashonaland. One of the first challenges that he had to deal with was what he refers to as “an outright resistance of his leadership from the European parishes as well as European Diocesan staff<sup>568</sup>”. This resistance came up in different forms. In the parishes, European churches, continued to dictate a priest of their choice and most of these were being hired from England. Any efforts to elevate the indigenous clergy to serve in these European parishes were resisted through and through. In fact Bishop Peter Hatendi concedes that he failed to change the situation<sup>569</sup>. Parishes such as St Mary’s Avondale, All Soul’s Mount Pleasant, Christchurch Borrowdale, continued to hire their clergy from England until well after independence.

On the other hand there was stiff resistance by the European Diocesan staff. For example when Bishop Hatendi ascended to the office of Bishop, several of them resigned including the Diocesan secretary, Mr. Ian Maspero. Some European clergy also followed suit. In some of them there was a deliberate disdain and contempt of African leadership.

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<sup>568</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007 at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>569</sup> Ibid

This is quite clear from the clash that Bishop Hatendi had with his Dean of the Cathedral church, the Very Rev J. Da Costa. Bishop Peter suggests that;

*he [Da Costa] wanted to keep me at a distance even though he was Dean of the Cathedral where my official seat was kept. He wanted me to visit the Cathedral by invitation from him, which I refused flatly. He had to make a choice either to co-operate and work with me or to leave. He chose the latter and left in 1982<sup>570</sup>.*

One can pick up this animosity easily from the correspondence that Dean J. Da Costa exchanged with some members of the Cathedral Chapter who were elected in 1982. This comes out clearly in a letter written to Rev'd Joseph D. Chipudhla, upon his election as a Canon of the Cathedral. The Dean writes and says; "Soon I shall have left this scene. I don't go because I want to. I go because I can not continue in the relationship which +Peter [Bishop Peter], maintains with me, [*I nearly said 'against me'*] much longer<sup>571</sup>". One can easily pick it up that the relationship was not very good between Bishop Peter Hatendi and his Dean. It would appear the Dean did not want to take instructions from his new boss and the new boss would not give in to that. In such a situation it is usually the weaker person who will have to yield and submit.

On another level Bishop Peter Hatendi recalls that there was also a general malaise among most European clergy and laity to the point that there were calls from those quarters, asking the Bishop to appoint a Suffragan [European] Bishop for the Diocese. Instead of giving in to such racist requests Bishop Peter refused to co-operate<sup>572</sup>. It was when he discovered that his efforts towards reconciliation were proving fruitless, that he adopted a new approach to his ministry which he refers to as "turning to where your ministry is required<sup>573</sup>". This ushered in a new dimension in Bishop Peter's ministry, where he concentrated on the indigenous parishes, and embarked on rebuilding those mission stations such as St Philips Guruwe and Daramombe which had been destroyed during the liberation struggle. Bishop Peter Hatendi therefore adopted what he described

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<sup>570</sup> Ibid

<sup>571</sup> Letter to Canon J. D. Chipudhla, dated 30<sup>th</sup> August 1982, kept in the Chapter File at the Diocesan Archives at Paget Pax House, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>572</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007 at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>573</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2007 at Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

as the “*Harambee*<sup>574</sup>,” model of development, which is a KiSwahili word meaning ‘pulling and working together<sup>575</sup>’. This involved borrowing money from the rich European parishes in order to save some projects that were going on in the poor parts of the diocese, especially projects that involved the rebuilding of churches that had been destroyed during the liberation struggle. This system was also tailor made to accumulate a very small interest and the repayment was to be made in installments over a period of time. Bishop Peter highlights the fact that this policy was quite successful since during his tenure as Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland the Anglican Church managed to reconstruct twenty six churches, both in rural and urban areas.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have tried to discuss the process of indigenisation of the episcopacy in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. In doing so we have tried to trace the ministries of Bishop P. A. Murindagomo, and Bishop P. R. Hatendi who were the first indigenous clergy to be appointed as Suffragan Bishops in the diocese of Mashonaland. We have tried to chronicle their different journeys to the Episcopal office, with one, Bishop P. A. Murindagomo, rising through the ranks of the church, and Bishop Peter, Hatendi just getting appointed when he was not even consulted. The two Bishops had different approaches to the Episcopal office, with Bishop P.A. Murindagomo, being flexible enough to accept residence at St Augustine’s Mission in the rural areas of Manicaland, and Bishop Peter Hatendi refusing to bow down to what he considered racially motivated arrangements such as being send to stay at St Augustine’s Mission. In the next Chapter we shall evaluate the process of indigenisation of personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

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<sup>574</sup>Martin Meredith, The State of Africa: A History of fifty Years of Independence, Johannesburg & Cape Town: Jonathan Hall Publishers, 2006, p265.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid, p265

## Chapter 7

### Indigenisation of Personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland

#### 7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have endeavoured to establish whether or not there was any process of trying to make the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland an African Church where the local people in this Diocese would feel at home when they worshipped their God in general. From the first chapter the thrust has been on establishing any indications or signs which one could point towards as being indicators of a process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. However in this chapter we now seek to evaluate the extent if any, to which the process of indigenisation of personnel may have taken place from 1891, when the Diocese was constituted until the year 1981. In order to do this we shall sub-divide the discussion under the following headings sub-headings;

- Catechists;
- The Ordained Clergy;
- The Episcopal Office;
- The Diocesan Secretary/ Administrator;
- The Diocesan Committees.

#### 7.1 Evaluation of the process of the Indigenisation of Personnel

In this study, the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland includes the dimension of human capital. 'Personnel' is taken to refer to human beings who worked either in full time or part time capacity for the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland during the period under investigation. In this regard one has to consider the different ministries that constitute the life of the Anglican way of life and analyse that to establish if there existed any traces of a process of indigenisation. This view therefore requires one to consider the composition of those who laboured to spread the Gospel of Christ such as catechists and the ordained clergy. In the same vein one also has to consider the lay people who worked in the Diocesan offices or served on the various committees that constitute the administrative machinery of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

Considering those who laboured in the vineyard in spreading the Gospel first, the catechists played a very crucial and yet unsung role. Let us consider their contribution first.

### **7.1.a Catechists**

In the context of Anglicanism, there are various ministries in which lay people are called to and can serve in the mission of the church. The expression '*lay people*' here refers to those people who carry out various ministries in the church without necessarily being ordained. In this regard within the Anglican tradition catechists are usually enthusiastic and committed people, often simple folk but always trained, who for all intents and purposes are what Fr. R. Roy Snyman, refers to as "priests on the sport, but not ordained"<sup>576</sup>. In the history of the implantation of the Diocese of Mashonaland as discussed in Chapter 2 above, it has become clear that these people are the ones who should be credited for the spreading of the Gospel amongst the indigenous people in Zimbabwe and all the other parts of the surrounding countries that formed the original Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It is clear that this Diocese grew through their faithfulness, for they evangelised, brought the heathen people to conversion, prepared them for baptism and confirmation, prepared them for restoration to communion after 'discipline', baptised them in emergencies [since ordinary baptism must be done by an ordained person], visited the sick, held baptism and confirmation classes, ran guilds, and buried the dead. In the far flung rural areas where most missionaries in the Diocese of Mashonaland loathed going and staying, these people were in actual fact the Priest's essential and most needed staff. These are the people who did the bulk of the ministry whilst the priest was enjoying the comfort of the mission house or the urban parsonage.

Indeed these are the people who knew the converts since they stayed with them, ate what they ate, and experienced the same joys and hardships as the locals did. In most cases if not all, extant records suggest that they walked long and far, to open up new mission stations. The priest would simply come to perform the sacerdotal sacraments of the

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<sup>576</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, *Travelling the Anglican Way: Understanding Anglicanism*, Port Elizabeth: Diocese of Port Elizabeth, 2004, p70

church for a very short space of time and disappear into thin air again. Although extant sources suggest that these people were paid, it was really pittance<sup>577</sup>. In most cases their sustenance was provided for by the local people, or they had to work for their own livelihood, the so called '*tent making ministry of St Paul*'. A good example is that of the early Catechists such as those shown in the list below. People such as Frank Ziqubu ended up getting too much involved in farming for his sustenance to the extent of giving his calling to spread the gospel<sup>578</sup>. Below is a list of catechists who were pioneers of missionary work in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland together with Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce, the first Bishop of this missionary diocese;

<b>Catechist's Name</b>	<b>Place of Ministry</b>
Bernard Mizeki Gwambe	Mangwende
Charles Makolami	Chiweshe, Mazoe
Frank Ziqubu	Makoni
Samuel Makosa	Chiota
Thomas 'Tom'	Makonde

Although these five men arrived in their different mission fields full of energy and zeal to do missionary work, not all of them managed to stay on as mentioned in Chapter 2 above. It was only Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu, who braved the winds of change even though Frank later gave up his calling choosing farming instead. What is important however is to note that this first batch of catechists were all foreigners to the people they were working with although they were of African descent. What we begin to see here is a process of africanisation of personnel. As noted in chapter 2 above, this concept is closely related to indigenisation. However we should hasten to say that these pioneer catechists had several challenges and hurdles to overcome which included the issue of language barriers, low stipends as well as the agony of loneliness since they were virtually dumped in those communities where they did not know anybody. These catechists had to learn

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<sup>577</sup> ANG1/4/4/1 Minutes the Conference of the Clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland held at the Anglican Cathedral, on Saturday April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1903. A catechist was to be paid five pounds per annum.

<sup>578</sup> Jean Farrant, *Mashonaland Martyr*, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, p230

quickly in order to fulfil their mission which was to convert the local people to Christianity. This research has established that except for Bernard Mizeki who originated from Mozambique, the rest were South Africans.

The Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland therefore saw the initial process of indigenisation of personnel through these six catechists, who, though not Zimbabweans, had a close affinity and identity with the locals since they were of the same pigment with the locals and shared numerous African cultural values. This meant that the catechists could easily identify with the local indigenous people with whom they shared a lot in common.

In this study we have considered the above six catechists as the *trail blazers* of the Gospel and indeed the first generation of the process of the indigenisation of personnel in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. The mission field was certainly not easy for these early catechists as mentioned above, however missionary work continued. The ministry of catechists was seen to be the vehicle without which the Anglican Church could not traverse across the entire country, given the numerous grass churches that were opened and the few ordained clergy on the ground. Most ordained clergy were Europeans from England and they easily fell victim to the tropical diseases such as black water, malaria or even suffer the dangers of the venomous snakes and carnivorous wild animals.

The second generation of catechists therefore continued with the ministry that had been put in motion by the above five men. Below is a list of some of the catechists, whose names feature in extant documents of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, who dedicated their lives to serving the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland as catechists. We refer to this list as the second generation for lack of a better word, but in essence some of them are even more generations later. The list below is obviously not exhaustive since many names are missing from extant records. This is so because *The Southern Rhodesia CXXX*, suggests that in 1921, there was a total of 161 catechists as opposed to 205 catechists in 1924<sup>579</sup>. This shows that the number of catechists was

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<sup>579</sup> *The Southern Rhodesia, CXXX*, November 1924



growing fast. All these catechists were now indigenous people. Below is a list of some of the prominent catechists and the places where they served;

**Names of some of the Prominent early Catechists who served the Diocese of  
Mashonaland**

Name of Catechist	Area of Ministry
1. Josiah Ngubevana	St Columbus Bulawayo
2. John Mazoe	Nyamweda's Kraal
3. John James	St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga
4. Solomon	St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga
5. Edwin Dondashe	Mazwi's Kraal, Bembesi
6. Augustine Matyatya	St Aidans Mission Bembesi
7. William Mwana	St Aidans Mission Bembesi
8. Raymond Hwata	Makumbe's Village & Wreningham Mission
9. James Chigwada	St Bernards Mission Macheke & St Faiths Mission Rusape
10. Joseph Chigwada	St Bernards Mission Macheke & St Faiths Mission Rusape
11. Samuel Muhlanga*	St Michaels Harare, St Mary's Hunyani and Josph's Seke
12. Alfred Zvomuya	St Mary's Hunyani
13. Augustine	St Mary's Hunyani
14. Daniel Nesu	St Columbus Bulawayo
15. Stephen Ngata	St Columbus Bulawayo
16. Daniel Bukwele	Gwai Reserve
17. Atwell Gwele	St Columbus Bulawayo & St Aidans Bembesi
18. Leonard Sagonda*	St Michaels Harare
19. Andrew Monata	Shangani Reserve
20. Paulos Bajila	West Nicholson
21. Samuel Munyavi	Epiphany Rusape & First Caretaker at Mizeki's Shrine
22. Jacob Dyasi	Mazoe
23. Fabian Chitungu	Tsonzo Mutare

<b>Name of Catechist</b>	<b>Area of Ministry</b>
24. Noel Sadete	Matiza's Kraal
25. Basil Nyabadza	Matiza's Kraal
26. Nathaniel Murapa	Bonda Mission
27. Gabriel Sadangare	St Mary's Hunyani & Bonda Mission
28. Simeon Kachidza	Sanyatwe Kraal Nyanga
29. Basil Murapa	Mavhoko Kraal Mutare
30. Paul Machinga	Dzambacheka Kraal Mutare
31. Nathaniel Murapa	Bonda Mission
32. Gabriel Sadangare	St Mary's Hunyani & Bonda Mission
33. Simeon Kachidza	Sanyatwe Kraal Nyanga
34. Basil Murapa	Mavhoko Kraal Mutare
35. Paul Machinga	Dzambacheka Kraal Mutare

*\* Indicates the name of the catechist who later became ordained priests in the diocese of Mashonaland.*

The above table shows some of the prominent catechists whose ministry was recognised by the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland such that their names appear in different records for the great work that they have done. A good example is that of Josiah Ngubevana who began ministry as a catechist in a little hut-church in Bulawayo in 1897<sup>580</sup>. This is the small hut that grew into a huge mission station later called St Columbus in Bulawayo. According to Solomon Ngubevana, Josiah also ran a school at St Columbus which became an attraction to many young people during those days<sup>581</sup>. The church in those days played a double role of being a place of worship and a school at the same time<sup>582</sup>. This explains the reason why most catechists were also teachers.

<sup>580</sup> *The Link*, May 1950

<sup>581</sup> *St Carantoc's Church Centenary Celebrations 2007*, Solomon Ngubevana is a son to Josiah Ngubevana. He was born in 1888, and came to Mashonaland with his Father Josiah Ngubevana when he was 9 years. He is retired and currently lives in Blue Town, Francistown Botswana

<sup>582</sup> Interview with Rev. B. Makoni, on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 38 Central Rd, Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe

Most of these catechists dedicated the rest of their lives to the work of God whereas others got frustrated left their ministry and engaged in some other means of making a living. A good example of this is that of Daniel Nesu, who became catechist at St Columbus as far back as 1907 but later took up civilian work as a Court Interpreter and died in 1940<sup>583</sup>. Just like the case of the early catechists these men got frustrated by their working conditions as well as the pittance that they received as stipends.

However some of those catechists who refused to give up, continued and became the first indigenous ordained clergy of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. The table above shows two of such people. These were, Samuel Muhlenga and Leonard Sagonda. As discussed above Samuel Muhlenga became the father of the indigenous ordained ministry in the diocese of Mashonaland following his ordination to the diaconate in 1919, and his ordination to priesthood in 1923. In the same way, Leonard Sagonda became one of the second generation indigenous ordained clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland following his ordination to the diaconate together with his contemporaries namely Stephen Hatendi and Gibson Nyabako in 1923, and their subsequent ordination to priesthood in 1926.

The number of catechists continued to grow as indicated above resulting in more converts being made from amongst the indigenous people. With the growing number of catechists, who were mainly indigenous, it also meant that there was an effort to indigenise personnel at that level in the Diocese of Mashonaland. As mentioned above, indigenous catechists had all the knowledge of their kith and kin. As such they understood the nature and complexity of their challenges, understood their culture and shared the same language. More than that they also lived in the same locality, and grew up together with their followers. In fact one could actually surmise that some of these catechists and local peoples were also related at many levels. Such people would certainly make a huge impact in sowing the seeds of the Christian faith in the 'young' catechumens. Having evaluated the ministry of the catechists and their contribution to the indigenisation, let us

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<sup>583</sup> *The Link*, May 1950, p9

now evaluate the process of the indigenisation of the ordained clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

### **7.1.b The Ordained Clergy**

As noted above, some catechists ended up being ordained after attaining some theological training, either locally at St Augustine's Theological College in Penhalonga or in South Africa at St Peter's Rossettenville. The ordained ministry in the early days of the Diocese of Mashonaland was a special preserve for Europeans. Although we have noted that there were dedicated people such as Bernard Mizeki Gwambe, who was so dedicated to his work to the point of martyrdom, he was not considered for ordination. He died a catechist and yet his ministry in Mangwende and the Diocese of Mashonaland at large, was so immense such that the Church of the Province of Central Africa, of which the Diocese of Mashonaland is a member, later decided to have a shrine built up in his memory. To show how dear Bernard Mizeki Gwambe, is to the Anglican believers, they converge at that shrine once every year, a weekend close to the date when he was killed, [18<sup>th</sup> June], to remember his life and ministry. However one can safely say that the Diocese of Mashonaland was certainly slow in entrusting the office of the ordained ministry to the local populace. Whatever the reasons behind that, that falls outside the purview of this study.

However it is important to note that for the Anglican Church, the sacrament of ordination is very important since it is traced back to the apostolic times. In fact the A. Ehrhardt, postulates that the "apostolic succession is a method whereby the ministry of the Christian Church is held to be derived from the apostles by a continuous succession"<sup>584</sup>. This succession is usually believed to be maintained by a series of Bishops who are believed to have succeeded the apostles of Jesus Christ. In this regard it means that the Bishop's commission goes back to the apostles and also that they perform the functions of the apostles. In other words they inherit the Holy Spirit which empowers them to carry

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<sup>584</sup> A. Ehrhardt, "Apostolic Succession in the first two centuries of the Church", in F. L. Cross [ed.], The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p266

out their work. When they lay their hands on anyone's head in an ordination service, they will share this apostolic commission with that person.

Through this '*apostolic succession*' the Anglican Church believes that its Bishops draw their power from the apostles of Jesus Christ. It must be stated however that there have been queries regarding the validity of the Anglican Church Orders particularly from the Roman Catholic tradition. This has been challenged by many theologians including Rev. R. Roy Snyman, who insists that the first Archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine was consecrated by Pope Gregory, who in his letter of appointment in 601, states "and since the new church in England has now, through the goodness of God and your own efforts, been brought to the Grace of God, we grant you the privilege of wearing the *pallium*<sup>585</sup> in that church, wherever you perform the solemnities of mass. You are to consecrate Bishops ...<sup>586</sup>". This is also supported by Bishop Bramhall [1594 – 1663], Bishop of Derry [1634 – 1661], then Archbishop of Armagh, "*The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated*" [Oxford, 184] III, pp25 and 40 -1 and 57 – 8, who is quoted as suggesting that the story of the consecration at Nag's Head tavern is without foundation, but was put about by those who wanted to argue that a break in succession had made Anglican Orders invalid from the time of Archbishop Parker<sup>587</sup>. The Anglican Tradition believes strongly that its orders are valid.

These orders are that of the Bishop, priest and deacon. These three orders serve different but interconnected ministries in the Church of God as mentioned above. However the priest and the Deacon all draw their power from the Bishop. Be that as it may, the ordained ministry has specialised functions. For example a catechist can not bless anyone or any object. They can only baptise in cases of emergency. On the other hand they can not preside at a Eucharist Service. The Anglican Church subscribes to Pope Innocent III's

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<sup>585</sup> A Pallium is a special stole signifying the rank of Archbishop.

<sup>586</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, *Travelling the Anglican Way; Understanding Anglicanism*, Port Elizabeth, Diocese of Port Elizabeth, 2004, p11

<sup>587</sup> C.R. Evans & R. Robert Wright, *The Anglican Tradition: A Handbook of Sources*, London: SPCK/Fortress Press, 1988

[1198 – 1216] profession of faith prescribed to the Waldensians<sup>588</sup>, where he states clearly that “...we firmly believe and confess that nobody, however honest, religious, holy and prudent he may be, either can or should consecrate the Eucharist... if he is not a priest regularly ordained by a Bishop, visible and tangible<sup>589</sup>. This is to say that no matter how pious and knowledgeable of Eucharistic formularies and liturgical postures as well as gestures a catechist may be, they can not celebrate Eucharist unless they are ordained. This had its problems in the early days of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland where there were very few priests covering a very huge mission field. It meant that numerous members, especially those living far from the mission centre, went without the sacerdotal sacraments for a long time.

In order to evaluate the process of the indigenisation of clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, one needs to consider the fact that in the first few years of mission work, the entire House of clergy was composed of European clergy. The table below shows the attendance list of the first Diocesan Conference of the Diocese of Mashonaland held in 1902 at St Augustine’s Penhalonga which clearly shows that the entire diocese was composed to European clergy;

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<sup>588</sup> This was a heretic movement that existed in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> Century in Lyons. They became itinerant lay preachers, and exposed themselves to voluntary poverty and works of charity. This group of heretics also believed that it was possible for God only to ordain someone to be a priest, hence their insistence to preach when the Pope had instructed that they can only preach when invited by a visibly ordained priest.

<sup>589</sup> C.R. Evans & R. Robert Wright, Op Cit, p104

**Attendance list at the First Diocesan Conference of the Diocese of Mashonaland held at St Augustine's College Penhalonga on Saturday, Thursday 21<sup>st</sup>, 1902<sup>590</sup>**

1. The Rt. William Gaul [Chairman]
2. Ven. Archdeacon J. S. Upcher
3. Rev. W. L. Roxburgh
4. Rev. J. W. Leavy
5. Rev. J. Gillanders
6. Rev. R. Alexander
7. Rev. A. S. Cliffs
8. Rev. H. R. Guinn
9. Rev. H. P. Maud
10. Rev. M. Fuire
11. Rev. S. H. Etheridge [Secretary]

The table above clearly shows that the whole team was composed of European clergy all of whom were natives of United Kingdom. It should be stated that at that point in time none of them had a clue of the language of the local people. Keeping the mission church leadership in this state was certainly going to be counter productive. However as we saw in chapter 2 above this anomaly was swiftly attended to with the arrival of Hezekiah Mtobi from Grahamstown in March of 1896 and his eventual settlement in Mutasa's Village<sup>591</sup>. Once more we see the concept of africanisation taking place in the Diocese of Mashonaland. His contribution to the process of indigenisation of personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland should be viewed in this vein. However what becomes clear from existing records at the National Archives in Zimbabwe is that more and more European clergy arrived in the Diocese as shown in the table below;

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<sup>590</sup> ANG1/4/4/1 Diocese of Mashonaland, maintained at the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

<sup>591</sup> *Mashonaland Quarterly*, No. XVI, May 1896

**Attendance list of the Clergy to the First Synod of the Diocese of Mashonaland held at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, Salisbury, on Saturday April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1903<sup>592</sup>**

**Deacons**

1. Arthur Simbly Owen
2. Edgar Lloyd
3. Arthur Stewart Robbins

**Priests**

1. Rev. E. J. Parker
2. Rev. Arthur Shirley Cripps
3. Rev. John Hallward
4. Rev. E. H. Etheridge
5. Rev. Ronald Alexander
6. Rev. J. W. Leavy
7. Rev. J. Gillanders
8. Rev. James Alfred Walker
9. Rev. Frank Winch
10. Rev. James Hay Upcher
11. Rev. W. J. Roxburgh
12. Rev. J.S. Winbush

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<sup>592</sup> ANG1/4/4/1, Diocese of Mashonaland, maintained at the National Archives of Zimbabwe



The table above shows that in 1903, there were now three deacons and 6 new priests namely, E.J. Parker, A.S. Cripps, John Hallward, J.A. Walker, Frank Winch, and J.S. Wimbush. Although six men joined the Diocese one can see that five had left the Diocese. These five were R. Alexander, A.S. Cliffs, H. R. Guinn, H. P. Maud and M. Fuire. In all this development there was still no sign of having an indigenous person to be trained for ordination in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

In order to evaluate the process of the indigenisation of the clergy one has to start by considering the coming of Rev. Hezekiah Mtobi<sup>593</sup> who came all the way from the Diocese of Grahamstown to work in the new Diocese of Mashonaland. The coming of Rev. Hezekiah Mtobi should be taken as the beginning of the process of the africanisation of the ordained clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Since Rev. Hezekiah was a clergyman of African descent, he was not indigenous in Mashonaland as such his coming is better understood as setting in motion the process of the africanisation of the ordained ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland. As noted in Chapter 2 above, the concept of africanisation is closely related to the concept of indigenisation, which forms the basis of our research. It can be surmised therefore that the coming of Hezekiah Mtobi should have surprised many indigenous people who had never come across an indigenous African person putting on a clerical collar and ministering as an ordained priest. One can also surmise that his coming may have changed the indigenous people's perception of the ordained ministry, from seeing it as a special preserve for Europeans, to seeing it as a ministry that could be done by anyone including themselves. Rev. H. Mtobi unfortunately became mentally derailed and had to be taken back to his parents in Grahamstown in 1901<sup>594</sup>.

Having said that one can safely say that the first indigenous person in the Diocese of Mashonaland to join that club of the ordained clergy was Samuel Muhlenga. As

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<sup>593</sup> . *Mashonaland Quarterly* No. XVI, May 1896. Hezekiah Mtobi had been a member of the Holy Orders for seven years and had also worked as a Curate at Craddock before coming to join the ordained personnel of the Diocese of Mashonaland

<sup>594</sup> Jean Farrant, *Op. Cit*, p142

highlighted above, he was ordained deacon in 1919 after being sent for training for two years at St Peter's College Rossettenville in South Africa. It is within this context that as we evaluate the process of indigenisation of the clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland we have to appreciate the role played by theological colleges such as St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga, St Peter's Rossettenville, South Africa as well as St John's Seminary Lusaka. The majority of the indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland trained in these institutions as shown in the table below. The table below shows a list of indigenous ordained clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland, and the colleges, where they trained, the date of their ordination to the diaconate and to priesthood, from 1891 up to 1981;

**LIST OF INDIGENOUS ORDAINED CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF MASHONALAND FROM 1891 – 1981<sup>595</sup>**

<b>Name of Clergymen</b>	<b>Theological School Attended</b>	<b>Year ordained Deacon</b>	<b>Year Ordained Priest</b>
1. Muhlanga Samuel	St Peter's Johannesburg	1919	1923
2. Hatendi Stephen	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1923	1926
3. Nyabako Gibson	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1923	1926
4. Sagonda Leonard	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1923	1926
5. Sekgoma Peter. M	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1923	1926
6. Dube Ernest	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1926	1928
7. Matimba Elfric	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1926	1928
8. Pasipanodya Fabian	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1926	1928
9. Pswarayi Josiah	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1926	1928
10. Chipunza Edward	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1927	1931
11. Tarumbwa Lucian	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1930	1934
12. Mapuma Thomas	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1931	1932
13. Mwela Yakobo	St Peter's Johannesburg	1931	1932

<sup>595</sup> Clergy list from *The Link* 1950, 1955, 1959, 1961, 1980, 1981 and C. E. Baxter, *A Short History of The Diocese of Southern Rhodesia*, Bulawayo: O. Ellis Allen, 1922,

14. Tshabadira Samuel. M	St Peter's Johannesburg	1931	1932
15. Gwetu Paul	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1934	1936
16. Munyavi Francis	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1937	1938
17. Sekgoma Haskins	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1937	1939
18. Tambo Cyprian	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1937	1939
19. Machiha Langton	St Peter's Johannesburg	1940	1941
20. Chitsike Elijah	St Augustine's Penhalonga	1943	1944
21. Banda Martin	St Peter's Johannesburg	1950	1951
22. Mandihlare Oliver	St Peter's Johannesburg	1950	1951
23. Sitotombe E.	St Peter's Johannesburg	1950	1951
24. Tumbare Ambrose	St Peter's Johannesburg	1951	1952
25. Demadema Nathaniel	St Peter's Johannesburg	1951	1952
26. Musengezi Martin	St Peter's Johannesburg	1951	1952
27. Nechironga Webster	St Peter's Johannesburg	1951	1952
28. Murindagomo Patrick	St John's Lusaka	1953	1954

29. Tekere Zacharia	St John's Lusaka	1953	1954
30. Zambezi Michael	St John's Lusaka	1953	1954
31. Borerwe Noel	St Peter's Johannesburg	1956	1958
32. Chadambuka Phenias	St Peter's Johannesburg	1956	1958
33. Mpandanyama Gideon	St John's Lusaka	1956	1957
34. Ruwende Gideon	St John's Lusaka	1956	1957
35. Chatukuta Weston	St Peter's Johannesburg	1957	1958
36. Chitambo Walter	St Peter's Johannesburg	1957	1958
37. Hatendi Ralph P.	St Peter's Johannesburg	1957	1958
38. Chikandiwa Oneas	St John's Lusaka	1958	1959
39. Chirimuuta Elijah	St John's Lusaka	1958	1959
40. Goto Eliah	St John's Lusaka	1958	1959
41. Madzivanyika Milton	St John's Lusaka	1958	1959
42. Makoni Basil	St Peter's Johannesburg	1958	1959
43. Mutemararo Noel	St John's Lusaka	1958	1960
44. Nhema Daniel M. G.	St John's Lusaka	1958	1960

45. Zengeni W.	St John's Lusaka	1958	1959
46. Makoni Alban	St Peter's Johannesburg	1959	1960
47. Nyahwa Edward	St John's Lusaka	1959	1960
48. Bakare Sebastian	St John's Lusaka	1961	1962
49. Mutume Oliver	St John's Lusaka	1962	1963
50. Musiwacho Vasco	St John's Lusaka	1963	1964
51. Madziyire P.	St John's Lusaka	1965	1966
52. Mashingaidze Gabriel	St John's Lusaka	1965	1966
53. Nyahwa Stanley	CR College Mirfeild UK	1965	1966
54. Borerwe Jonah	St John's Lusaka	1966	1967
55. Kunyongana Amon	St John's Lusaka	1966	1967
56. Makoni Mark	St John's Lusaka	1966	1967
57. Mushambi David	St John's Lusaka	1966	1967
58. Samupindi Justin	St John's Lusaka	1966	1967
59. Madziyire Salathiel	St John's Lusaka	1967	1968

60. Murombedzi Julius	St John's Lusaka	1967	1968
61. Mamvura Leonard	St John's Lusaka	1968	1969
62. Mudzinganyama C. T	St John's Lusaka	1969	1970
63. Rabvukwa B.	St John's Lusaka	1969	1970
64. Chipudhla Joseph	St John's Lusaka	1970	1971
65. Simbabure Webster	St John's Lusaka	1970	1971
66. Gwatidzo S.	St John's Lusaka	1971	1972
67. Mbuyavesango L	St John's Lusaka	1971	1972
68. Mudzvovera P.	St John's Lusaka	1971	1972
69. Chifunyise Henry	St John's Lusaka	1972	1973
70. Gandiya H.	St John's Lusaka	1972	1973
71. Tandi Robert	St John's Lusaka	1972	1973
72. Chapeyama J.	In Service Training	1978	1979
73. Chidzedzedze C.	In Service Training	1978	1979
74. Chiyangwa N. S	In Service Training	1978	1979
75. Mafura T. S	In Service Training	1978	1979

76. Mavhudzi. C	In Service Training	1978	1979
77. Mutambirwa G. T	In Service Training	1978	1979
78. Mutasa G. P	In Service Training	1978	1979
79. Kunonga Nolbert	UTC – Epworth Harare	1979	1980
80. Manyau David	UTC – Epworth Harare	1979	1980
81. Tarenyika D. T	In Service Training	1979	1980
82. Dete Godfrey	In Service Training	1980	1981
83. Ureke Seth	In Service Training	1980	1981
84. Chad N. Gandiya	St John’s Nottingham UK	1980	1981
85. Madziro E.	In Service Training	1980	1981

The above table shows a steady increase in the number of indigenous ordained clergy from 1919 until 1981. It needs to be highlighted that most of these men who went for ordination training started off as teachers, became catechists and then were ordained. St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga, which had been a centre for education for the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland since 1897 also opened a small theological Seminary where some of the early indigenous clergy were trained. Having been under the Lichfield Evangelistic Brotherhood, since its formation, the Community of the Resurrection known



also as the Mirfield Fathers took over this Mission in 1915<sup>596</sup>. Under the CR Fathers St Augustine's became an exceptional centre for academic studies, resulting in the opening of a Teacher Training College for a considerable period of time and a theological seminary as well. Since St Peter's Theological Seminary in Johannesburg was run by the CR Fathers, it follows that St Augustine's Theological Seminary was run in the same manner with the same curriculum since it was the same Brotherhood that was in charge of this seminary. Although the lecturers were of European descent, coming from England, the learners had a familiar field in which to do their pastoral attachment. Over and above the conventional theological courses that they did in class, they had a familiar context within which to carry out ministry. The above table shows that 16 indigenous clergymen went through this seminary for their theological training. This was indeed a great step forward in the process of the indigenisation of clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

However since the Diocese of Mashonaland started as a Missionary Diocese, under the auspices of the Church of the Province of South Africa [CPSA], some of the early indigenous ordained clergy were trained at St Peter's Rossettenville in Johannesburg, which was the Provincial Seminary set up for the training of indigenous candidates for the ordained ministry<sup>597</sup>. The above table show that 18 indigenous clergy were sent for theological training at this seminary. Like St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga, this seminary was also run by the Mirfield Fathers who had come from England. Given this fact all of the lecturers were European which meant that they perpetuated a Eurocentric theological training to their students. Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, one of the clergy who trained at this institution maintains that "the curriculum was very English, mainly composed of courses such as Church History, New Testament, Old Testament, Theology, Hebrew, Greek, Pastoral Theology, Liturgy and practical attachment in the local churches and hospitals<sup>598</sup>". Although these men had their practicals amongst the local people in the Johannesburg area, that set up was not the same with the one they were going to minister to at home. The language was different so was the tradition of these people. However

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<sup>596</sup> John Weller and Jane Linden, *Op. Cit*, p70

<sup>597</sup> *The Link*, May 1953

<sup>598</sup> Interview with Canon. W. W. W. Nechironga, on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 38 Fairfield Rd, Hatfield Harare, Zimbabwe

most of these men graduated with Diplomas in Theology which enabled them to be ordained and minister to their people back home as well as enable them to proceed with their studies should they choose to do so. It can be deduced from the above that with the lecturers coming from England, there was very little exposure and opportunity for these students to do things from their African and indigenous experience. The services were mostly of the High Church as done in England<sup>599</sup>. So even though there were now indigenous clergymen in the Diocese of Mashonaland, the liturgy of worship remained deeply rooted in the Anglo-Catholic tradition as it was practised and done in England.

However when the Province of Central Africa was finally formed in 1955, the Diocese of Mashonaland forged new relations with its northern neighbours and decided to send its indigenous ordinands northwards instead of southwards for training<sup>600</sup>. This resulted in the sending of numerous ordinands to St John's Seminary in Lusaka Zambia as shown in the table above. The training started being a three year curriculum, but was increased to four years in 1956 and the academic entrance level was lower secondary standard<sup>601</sup>. However with the ever rising educational standards of the countries constituting the Province of Central Africa, in 1965, it became possible to set up a course leading to the Central African Diploma in Theology, which was at post Ordinary Level standard<sup>602</sup>.

On the other hand the staff remained European, which meant that the training they received was also mainly Eurocentric. This is evidenced by the Anglo Catholic tradition which the majority of these men are known for in the manner in which they conduct their Eucharistic services. The above table shows that the majority of the indigenous clergy [36] were trained at St John's Lusaka. However it should be borne in mind that although the students were indigenous, the fact that their lecturers remained European as such the product identified more with its producer. It was only in the 1960's that St John's Seminary started to have some indigenous African members in its faculty. People like Peter Ralph Hatendi, later first indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, was

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<sup>599</sup> Ibid

<sup>600</sup> *The Link*, May 1953

<sup>601</sup> John Weller and Jane Linden, *Op. Cit*, p178

<sup>602</sup> Ibid, p178

one of the first indigenous Africans who taught at St Johns Seminary<sup>603</sup>. However the sending of indigenous ordinands to Lusaka for theological training was only halted in 1972 due to the difficulties that the Zimbabwean ordinands faced in crossing to Zambia due to the war of liberation which was raging on at that time<sup>604</sup> in Zimbabwe..

This disturbance in the training of indigenous ordinands posed a very serious problem to the Diocese of Mashonaland resulting in the alternative option of sending ordinands to Epworth Theological Seminary which was originally a Methodist College, but now serving several denominations. According to John Weller and Jane Linden;

*The possibility of training Anglicans there had first been considered many years before, but had been turned down on theological grounds. However with the improvement of the ecumenical climate, and the inclusion of the Swedish Lutherans, whose church is an Episcopal one, among the participants at Epworth, the theological objections had diminished, and in 1970 the college invited Anglican participation<sup>605</sup>.*

However the political events in the country and Bishop Paul Burrough's often expressed opposition to the use of force in the independence struggle, compounded things when he was invited for a political debate on his political stance at Epworth Theological Seminary. John Weller and Jane Linden suggest that Bishop Paul Burrough was heavily criticised not only by the students but by at least one European member of staff<sup>606</sup>. That incident forced the Bishop to change his decision although two candidates had already been enrolled for their theological training at this institution. This is the reason why the above table shows only two clergy having gone through this institution to prepare for their ordination. In short the Epworth option conflicted with Bishop Paul Burrough's political stance as such the Diocese of Mashonaland was forced to find another viable alternative route to train its people. However on further analysis, it seems this route was going to create another problem especially in the area of Liturgical practice, since its ethos was mainly Methodist. The Anglican students would have found it difficult to learn their Liturgical practice in this environment.

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<sup>603</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter R. Hatendi at 16 Kenny Road, Avondale Harare Zimbabwe on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

<sup>604</sup> *The Link*, January 1977

<sup>605</sup> John Weller and Jane Linden, *Op. Cit*, p78

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid* p78

On the other hand with the closure of St John's Seminary and the raging war of liberation, it meant that most European Clergy who were serving in the outlying mission districts fled their stations leaving behind churches with no clergy. The few indigenous clergy that had been trained so far were not enough to cover all the gaps, more so the old pioneer indigenous clergy such as Samuel Mhlanga, Leonard Sagonda, and Stephen Hatendi had either retired or died. Bishop Paul Burrough was left with no option but to find an alternative route to train men for ordination through what was referred to as In-Service Training<sup>607</sup> also known as Non-stipendiary priesthood. This was basically done by way of identifying teachers and headmasters in the outlying schools who had some experience as Sub-Deacons and putting them to some form of training. The training involved some few practical lessons on how to celebrate Holy Communion, how to keep church records and several practical issues that pertain to the running a parish<sup>608</sup>. In short such clergy were just "*Eucharist clergy*" who had no clue in the rigours of theological engagement. One would not expect to engage into a sound theological discussion with such people since they lacked the tools and wherewithal of theological research and inquiry.

The above table shows that 11 people received their training through this model. However this model had its shortfalls since there was no theological foundation in its make up. This explains the reason why Bishop Peter Hatendi maintains that in addition to their lack of theological grounding, such clergy lacked the decorum of a clergyman, hence some of their sermons conflicted with the Gospel and the church practices. Bishop Peter Hatendi goes on to say that this was exemplified by some of them who overtly preached against the concept of tithing. They were also limited by the fact that their employers, not the church, decided where they would work; as such they were not available for pastoral functions during the working hours<sup>609</sup>. This is the reason why Bishop Peter Hatendi decided to discontinue this model of training as soon as he became

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<sup>607</sup> Interview with Canon. W. W. W. Nechironga, on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 38 Fairfield Rd, Hatfield Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>608</sup> Ibid

<sup>609</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Ralph Hatendi on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006 at 16 Kenny Road Avondale Harare, Zimbabwe

the incumbent Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Although the model looks attractive and simple as well as cheap to use, it requires a serious and rigorous selection process to ensure that only those who are truly called to such a ministry are considered and that such people continue to receive Post Ordination Training with a view to equip them with some important and fundamental theological tools.

With this predicament, Bishop Peter Hatendi eventually decided to transform St Barnabas Lay Training Centre in Westwood, Harare into a Theological Seminary. However there were viability problems that bedevilled this institution as shown by John Weller and Jane Linden who state that it started with nine students and one staff member. More so it also lacked facilities<sup>610</sup>. More than that Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, who was the first Warden and the only full time member of staff says there was also a clash of personalities between him and Bishop Peter, resulting in his sudden removal and replacement<sup>611</sup>. With all these problems the Westwood Institution was closed and in 1986 Bishop Gaul Theological Seminary was opened.

This College is situated just about 2km away from the University of Zimbabwe in Mt. Pleasant Harare. We will not go into details of this institution since it falls outside the purview of this research. However the above table also show that a couple of indigenous clergy were trained in England that is Chad Gandiya at St John's College in Nottingham and Stanley Nyahwa at the Community of the Resurrection College in Mirfield. This also shows that these two were trained outside of the local context where they were supposed to minister after their training. Such models of training and spiritual formation were basically foreign and yet the products were expected to go back home and be protagonists of indigenisation. This helps one to appreciate why even with lots of indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, the church remained Western, in almost every aspect of its existence.

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<sup>610</sup> John Weller and Jane Linden, *Op. Cit*, p79

<sup>611</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at 34 Fairfield Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe

Be that as it may the process of the indigenisation of the clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland can be seen as a long protracted effort to get the local men to lead the local churches, mostly those that composed of indigenous people. Indeed the colour of the clergy changed from European to indigenous as more and more men were identified and sent for training in either of the routes shown above. However these routes seem to have formed [*for lack of a better term*], ‘*European indigenous clergy*’ in the sense that the education they received was Eurocentric and not versatile to allow them to think outside the box<sup>612</sup>. Canon Mashingaidze concedes to the fact that when he trained in Lusaka at St John’s Seminary, they were just trained to do what they were taught by their European teachers and not to be innovative and creative as to come up with indigenous ways of worshipping the same God. This means that although there were several indigenous clergy in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland, they did not bring about any significant change to Anglicanism as found in the Diocese of Mashonaland. To use Canon Mashingaidze’s expression most of them were “averse to change and saw any calls for indigenisation as inimical to Anglicanism<sup>613</sup>”.

From the interviews carried out in this research it came out strongly that any effort towards indigenisation of the liturgy in the Diocese of Mashonaland was seen as syncretism. This concept is expressed succinctly by A. Shorter who says it is a situation whereby “Christian meaning is betrayed by an illegitimate symbiosis with cultural expressions<sup>614</sup>” But the problem is to do with who determines what is legitimate and what is not. All we know is that mission Christianity came clothed with numerous western cultural expressions and yet no one said it was syncretistic. This is why Luke Lungile Pato sounds right when he says “those for whom this causes problems of conscience need to be reminded that the idea of syncretism is often based on the ideological assumption that Christianity is a unified and unchanging phenomenon<sup>615</sup>” Such thinking is against the understanding of Jesus who incarnates himself in a particular space and time. People who

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<sup>612</sup> Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze, Interview, on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2007 at 6 Margate Road, Eastlea Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>613</sup> Ibid

<sup>614</sup> A. Shorter, *African Christian Theology: Adaptation or Incarnation?* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975, p12

<sup>615</sup> Luke L. Pato, “Anglicanism and Africanisation: the Legacy of Robert Cray”, in *Journal of Theology in Southern Africa*, Vol.101, July 1998, [49 – 57]

think that Christianity is a unified and unchanging phenomenon feel that any use of local instruments and liturgical items and dress should be discouraged by all means. This is the attitude that most of these indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland also entertained.

However in the words of Luke Pato, they failed to realise that this claim of syncretism is a stratagem to dismiss the validity and power of African religious symbols and ideologies<sup>616</sup>. For most of these indigenous clergy the Anglican Tradition which they had received had to be protected fiercely, a position which posed a huge stumbling block in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. In short the coming of indigenous clergy into the mission field in the Diocese of Mashonaland did not bring about any significant impact in Anglicanism as practised in Zimbabwe. This is also expressed well by Dr. James Gardom, in his farewell address to the community of Bishop Gaul Seminary when he says “when I arrived in Zimbabwe, and attended church at the Cathedral in Harare, I thought I was in St Paul’s Cathedral in London<sup>617</sup>”. Although this statement was made in 1996, 15 years after the end of the period under investigation, it points clearly to the fact that the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe was probably more English than the Church of England itself. This is a clear sign that what these indigenous clergy did was to maintain the status quo.

Be that as it may the table below shows a summary of the indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland and the route of ordination training that they pursued;

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<sup>616</sup> Luke L. Pato, “Anglicanism and Africanisation: the Legacy of Robert Cray”, in *Journal of Theology in Southern Africa*, Vol.101, July 1998, [49 – 57]

<sup>617</sup> Dr. James Gardom, Farwell Address to Bishop Gaul Community, on his Return to England on the 10<sup>th</sup> December 1996.

**Comparisons of the different routes of training for indigenous Clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland from 1891 – 1981**

<b>Name of Institution / Form of Training</b>	<b>Number of Clergy</b>
St Augustine's Penhalonga	16
St Peter's Rossettenville Johannesburg	18
St John's Lusaka	36
Epworth Theological Seminary Harare	2
In Service Training	11
St John's Nottingham UK	1
CR College Mirfield UK	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>

The above table shows clearly that St John's Lusaka was a fertile 'seed-bed' in promoting the process the indigenisation of the ordained clergy as shown by the number of indigenous clergy that trained there within a short period of 17 years. Prior to that St Peters Rossettenville also made its impact and produced 18 indigenous clergy for the Diocese of Mashonaland. St Augustine's mission was the earliest Seminary for the Diocese of Mashonaland. As noted above it produced most of the pioneer indigenous clergy for the Diocese of Mashonaland. The small number for Epworth Theological Seminary has been explained above.

On the other hand it was not usual for indigenous people to be sent for ordination training abroad. In most cases it was for further studies as shown above in the case of Rev W.W. Nechironga who was reported as being the first indigenous clergy in the Diocese of



Mashonaland to go to England for further studies in 1962. This explains the reason why there are only two ordinands who were trained in England, one at St John's Nottingham and the other at the Community of the Resurrection Theological Seminary in Mirfield. On the whole the process of indigenisation of the ordained clergy progressed smoothly from 1919 right up to 1972 when St John's Theological Seminary, Lusaka was closed. From that time up to the time when Westwood Training Centre and eventually Gaul House were opened, there was a huge gap which found the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland with numerous elderly indigenous clergy and very few young clergy.

### **7.1.c The Episcopal Office**

Bishops form another group of ordained clergy within the Anglican Tradition. According to the "*Lambeth Quadrilateral*<sup>618</sup>" of the Anglican Church, the three-fold ministry, of Bishops, priests and Deacons form one of the four elements of the church that mark a church as being true to biblical teaching and apostolic tradition<sup>619</sup>. In this sense the ordained ministry of the Anglican Church sets aside people to fulfil vocations from Jesus Christ and empower them to function as such. The Anglican Tradition does not see ordination as conferring rank and station on those ordained above those who are not ordained. The above evaluation of the ordained clergy has therefore taken into account both the priests and deacons. In this section we seek to evaluate the process of the indigenisation of the Bishops of the Diocese of Mashonaland which is the highest office in the ordering of ordained people in the Anglican Orders within any given Anglican Diocese. In Chapter 6 above we also highlighted the fact that in the Anglican Church there are different types of Bishops, namely Diocesan Bishop, Suffragan Bishop, Coadjutor Bishop and Assistant Bishop. Let us evaluate these below;

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<sup>618</sup> *The highest convocation of the Anglican Communion is the 'Lambeth Conference' so named after the place where the Archbishop resides in London – Lambeth Palace. This Lambeth Conference is a convocation of world wide Anglican Bishops that is held every ten years, with the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding over it, not as the 'Patriarch' of the Anglican branch of the Western Church, but as 'a first among equals'.*

<sup>619</sup> The other three elements are the Holy Bible, the Creeds and the Sacraments.

A diocesan Bishop is a consecrated person in charge of a bishopric<sup>620</sup>. In other words this is a person in charge of a diocese who in turn constitutes a Bishop of the Province. On the other hand a Suffragan Bishop is also a Bishop of the Province but holds the commission of the Bishop of that particular Diocese. This is to say that during the vacancy of that Diocese in which he has been appointed, he can exercise his authority and oversight<sup>621</sup>. Such a person therefore helps the Diocesan Bishop in running the Diocese. The Coadjutor Bishop however is a Bishop who also holds the Diocesan Bishop's commission but upon the vacancy of the Bishopric in which the Coadjutor Bishop is serving, he stands as the sole nomination in the meeting of the Elective Assembly<sup>622</sup>. The other difference between the Coadjutor Bishop and the other Bishops is that the Diocesan Bishop may not withdraw his commission from the coadjutor Bishop<sup>623</sup>. This means that he commands a certain level of authority in the Diocese which is different from the Suffragan and the Assistant Bishop. In the Anglican Church the title, Assistant Bishop is conferred on a Bishop holding special letters of appointment issued by a Diocesan Bishop. Such persons are not members of the Episcopal Synod and they are also not regarded as Bishops of the Province. In most cases such persons would be retired Diocesan Bishops. However the point to make here is that there is a diversity of positions that exist in the House of Bishops with varying degrees of authority. The table below will show the Bishops that served the Diocese of Mashonaland and their time frames;

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<sup>620</sup> *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa*, p6

<sup>621</sup> Ibid

<sup>622</sup> Ibid

<sup>623</sup> Ibid

**Bishops of the Diocese of Mashonaland from 1891 - 1981<sup>624</sup>**

<b>Name of Bishop</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Years</b>
1. Bp. George Wydham Knight-Bruce	Diocesan Bishop	1891 – 1895
2. Bp. William Gaul	Diocesan Bishop	1895 – 1907
3. Bp. Edmund Nathaniel Powell	Diocesan Bishop	1908 – 1910
4. Bp. Fredrick Hicks Beaven	Diocesan Bishop	1911 – 1925
5. Bp. Francis Edward Paget	Diocesan Bishop	1925 – 1957
6. Bp. Cecil Alderson	Diocesan Bishop	1957 – 1968
7. Bp. Paul Burrough	Diocesan Bishop	1968 - 1981
8. Bp. Patrick Murindagomo	Suffragan Bishop	1973 – 1978
9. Bp. Peter Ralph Hatendi	Suffragan Bishop	1979 – 1980
	Diocesan Bishop	1981 – 1995

The above table helps us to evaluate the process of the indigenisation of the Episcopal office. It is clear from the table above that this office was a special preserve of European Clergy from the beginning until the year 1973 when the first indigenous clergy, Rev. Patrick Murindagomo was elevated to the Episcopal office. It must also be borne in mind that the first indigenous clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland was ordained deacon in 1919. In other words it took 54years from that time before any indigenous person could be chosen even to the lowest Episcopal calling of a Suffragan Bishop. Even when Rev.

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<sup>624</sup> This information is drawn from a multiple of the Diocesan Magazine of the Diocese of Mashonaland , called *The Link*, as well as from G.E.P Broderick, A History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia [Unpublished Manuscript]

Patrick Murindagomo was elevated to the position of Suffragan Bishop, his influence was close to nothing given the fact that he was holding a commission from the Diocesan Bishop, [Paul Burrough] which commission could be withdrawn any time. Secondly he was virtually made a Bishop of the indigenous people only if one considers his location at St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga which was deep in the rural areas in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe. Indeed Bishop Patrick Murindagomo goes down in history as the pioneer of indigenous episcopacy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, but that move was for convenience as discussed in chapter six above. The war of liberation was making it extremely difficult for the European Bishop to move particularly in remote villages where the bulk of the Anglican Church members resided, without putting his life in danger.

On the other hand the ascendance of Bishop Peter Hatendi to become the first Diocesan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland should be seen in the context of the new Political dispensation that was prevailing. Although he was Suffragan Bishop already, the *Canons and Constitutions of the Province of Central Africa* provides that names of prospective candidates to the vacant See had to be put forward including that of Bishop Peter to stand a chance for being elected Diocesan Bishop of Mashonaland. The Elective Assembly was held in Harare in 1981 following the sudden departure of Bishop Paul Burrough and Bishop Peter Ralph Hatendi was elected as the first indigenous Diocesan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Considering his ministry as shown above in Chapter 6, there was nothing much that he introduced in the line of indigenisation of the Diocese of Mashonaland. He laboured to rebuild the diocese that had suffered from the liberation struggle which had just ended, by way of rebuilding churches that had been destroyed and building new churches where non-existed before. However when it comes to putting into motion any process of indigenisation it is clear that Bishop Peter did not spend his energy in that direction. In this regard D.W. Waruta is probably right when he says;

*African Christian leaders have retreated to their borrowed structures and styles and are not keen on disrupting the comfortable positions they enjoy. It is no exaggeration to say that African Christian leaders as Catholics are more Italian or French than Italians and Frenchmen, as Presbyterians more Scottish than*

*Scotsmen, as Lutherans more German than German, as Baptists and Pentecostals more American than the Americans and as Anglicans more English than the Englishmen*<sup>625</sup>.

This point has been supported by a number of clergy interviewed in this research, who worked in the Diocese of Mashonaland during Bishop Peter Hatendi's incumbency as Diocesan Bishop of Mashonaland. Rev. B. Makoni, Canon W.W.W. Nechironga and Canon D. Nhema concur that although Bishop Peter was anti-white in his administration, he also enjoyed a European life style. One would probably understand Bishop Peter's situation considering the fact that he had stayed, worked and studied in England for five years, from 1963 up to 1968<sup>626</sup>. On the whole it becomes clear that even though the Diocese now had an indigenous Bishop at the helm of its governance, and that the *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland* and the *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa* allows for indigenisation, "out-moded structures and styles were defended in the name of orthodoxy, apostolicity and universality<sup>627</sup>". On the whole the European Episcopal Structure and style that runs from the time of Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce right up to Bishop Paul Burrough continued to subsist in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare]. We now move on to evaluate the process of indigenisation of non-clerical personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland. To this effect we will evaluate the office of the Diocesan Secretary.

#### **7.1.d The office of Diocesan Secretary / Administrator**

Having evaluated the process of indigenisation of clergy and the Episcopal office in the Diocese of Mashonaland, it is now fitting to evaluate the process of indigenisation of the office of the Diocesan Secretary/Administrator. This is important given the fact that the Diocesan Secretary is a very central person in the running of Diocesan affairs. According to the *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland*, such a person should be "skilled in secretarial

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<sup>625</sup> D.W. Waruta, "Towards an African Church: A Critical Assessment of Alternative Forms and Structures", in J. N. K. Mugambi & Laurenti Magesa [eds.], *The Church in African Christianity: Innovative Essays in Ecclesiology*, Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1990, p30

<sup>626</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter Hatendi, on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004, at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>627</sup> D.W. Waruta, *Op. Cit*, p31

practice, who shall be appointed by the Bishop with the consent of Standing Committee<sup>628</sup>. This means that such a person need to be well versed in data collection since she or he will be Secretary to the Standing committee, Diocesan Trustees and such other Diocesan bodies as may be determined from time to time by the Bishop of the Diocese<sup>629</sup>. This office also requires someone who is trustworthy and of good integrity since the incumbent will also collect and receive money on behalf of the Diocese and will keep or cause to be kept, proper books of accounts and to prepare such reports and financial statements as may be required by Standing Committee or other Diocesan bodies<sup>630</sup>.

The incumbent also needs to be a human resources person, who will be in charge of the Diocesan Office with the powers to employ and dismiss members of the Diocesan office lay staff as well as fix the remuneration of such staff members and the setting of their conditions of service<sup>631</sup>. In addition to that, this office also demands someone who is highly conscientious and skilled in record keeping since such a person would also be “in charge of all title deeds, leases, bonds, certificates of occupation and contracts concerning church property, and all other records, papers and documents which may be committed to his or her care<sup>632</sup>”.

Lastly this office demands a person who is hard working and up to date with the goings on in the Diocese. The person must be able to keep a register of the clergy of the Diocese, lay officers and the holders of honorary appointments knowing when their appointments will lapse. Over and above everything else, the incumbent will act as the Bishop’s Assistant in the administration of the Diocese in such ways as the Bishop may direct<sup>633</sup>.

It is clear that the above job description is a tall order that requires someone whose personality is beyond question, someone who commands respect, and is highly qualified

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<sup>628</sup> Act 6.2 of *The Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland* [1974], p17

<sup>629</sup> Act 6.2.b [1], of the *Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland* [1974], p17

<sup>630</sup> Ibid

<sup>631</sup> Ibid

<sup>632</sup> Ibid

<sup>633</sup> Ibid

in public management, human resources as well as financial accounting. The incumbent must also be reliable trustworthy and knowledgeable in running religious organisations.

From the beginning the Diocese of Mashonaland started without a Diocesan Secretary since there were no fixed structures in the early days. Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce, almost did everything, since the demands of the office were still minimal with very thin staff on the ground. However as the Diocese grew in stature and staff, there was need to separate and establish the structures of the Diocese. Bishop William Gaul was responsible for the setting up of the Diocesan Structures as we have highlighted above. This process of establishing Diocesan structures started with the holding of the first Diocesan Synod in 1903<sup>634</sup>. It was at this stage that the need to appoint someone who would be responsible for the financial matters of the Diocese was raised as being critical.

The Bishop therefore appointed Mr. E. C. Baxter as the first Diocesan Secretary/Treasurer in 1903. Upon the retirement of Mr. Baxter the Bishop went on to appoint Mr. Godfrey King as the second Diocesan Secretary in 1933. Mr King had previously served the Diocese as the Diocesan Registrar<sup>635</sup>. The table below shows the names of people who have been Diocesan Secretaries of the Diocese of Mashonaland and the years they spend serving in that capacity;

**Diocesan Secretaries that Served the Diocese of Mashonaland from 1891 – 1981**

Name of Diocesan Secretary	Period in Office
Mr. E .C. Baxter	1903 – 1932 <sup>636</sup>
Mr. Godfrey King	1933 – 1941 <sup>637</sup>
Mr. C.C. Cheesman	1941 - 1955 <sup>638</sup>

<sup>634</sup> G. E. P. Broderick, A History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia [1874 – 1952], Unpublished Manuscript, p121

<sup>635</sup> *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1933

<sup>636</sup> E. C. Baxter, A Short History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo: O. Ellis Allen, 1922, p39

<sup>637</sup> *The Link*, May 1941

<sup>638</sup> *The Link*, September 1955

Brigadier L. J. Woodhouse	1956 – 1962 <sup>639</sup>
Mr. Ian. M. Maspero	1962 - 1982 <sup>640</sup>

The above table shows that since the beginning of the Diocese of Mashonaland, all the Diocesan Secretaries have been people of European descent. However Rev. B. Makoni believes that there is nothing wrong with that scenario since he believes in what he calls ‘*gradualism*’ a process whereby it takes long for people to be groomed for particular positions of high authority in the church<sup>641</sup>. His contention is that if there were no people who qualified for such a high ranking office in the Diocese of Mashonaland, there was virtually nothing that the Bishop could have done. Fr. Basil Makoni goes on to say in the 1970’s there were efforts to indigenise this office through the appointment of people like Eddie Mukwereza and R. Nyenya to work as Assistant Diocesan Secretaries<sup>642</sup>. Although the idea may have been to indigenise that office, it never materialised even when the first indigenous Bishop took over the leadership of the Diocese. Instead a gentleman with an Indian origin by the name of A. Chandra took over from Mr. I. M. Maspero.

Given the above scenario it is clear that one can not talk about any degree of indigenisation of this top office in the history of the Diocese of Mashonaland prior to 1981. The table above clearly shows that for all the time, the Diocese of Mashonaland was always having a European Diocesan Secretary right up to 1982. Since this research confines us to the period between 1891 and 1981, we will not go beyond the time frame shown in the table above. The last evaluation with regards to indigenisation of personnel is to do with membership of Diocesan Committees and we deal with that below.

### **7.1.e. The Diocesan Committees**

When one considers committees in the context of the Anglican Church, one must bear in mind that, the whole machinery of the Anglican Church works on the basis of committees. Each committee deals with specific areas in the life of the particular Anglican Organisation. For example the highest committee in the Anglican Communion

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<sup>639</sup> *The Link*, June 1962

<sup>640</sup> *The Link*, January 1982

<sup>641</sup> Interview with Fr. B. Makoni, on the 7<sup>th</sup> January, at 38 Central Ave, Hatfield Harare

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid*



is the Lambeth Conference, where all world-wide Anglican Bishops meet to deliberate on issues of mutual concern once in every 10 years. In this conference the 38 self-governing provinces from 164 countries, meet under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury who is accorded the “*primacy of honour*<sup>643</sup>,” amongst the Bishops.

At the Communion level there is also the Anglican Consultative Council [ACC], which is composed of lay, clergy and Episcopal delegates from every one of the 38 provinces in the Communion. This gathering meets once in every three years. From the Communion Level the structure goes down to the Provincial level where we have such committees as the Provincial Synod<sup>644</sup>, Provincial Standing Committee<sup>645</sup>, Electoral College<sup>646</sup> and the Episcopal Synod<sup>647</sup>.

From the Provincial level we go down to the different committees at Diocesan Level. Each Diocese in the Church of the Province of Central Africa [Anglican] is expected to have the following committees for its smooth running to be guaranteed; Diocesan Synod<sup>648</sup>, Diocesan Standing Committee<sup>649</sup>, Bishop’s Senate<sup>650</sup>, Elective Assembly<sup>651</sup>,

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<sup>643</sup> This means ‘*first among equals*’

<sup>644</sup> In the Province of Central Africa this is an assembly of the Houses of Bishops, clergy and Laity

<sup>645</sup> In the province of Central Africa this is an assembly made up of four Diocesan Bishops appointed by the Archbishop, two lay representatives from the Zimbabwean Dioceses and one lay representative from each of the dioceses of Botswana, Malawi and Zambia

<sup>646</sup> In the Province of Central Africa, this is a body that is tasked with the election of an Archbishop and it is composed on all the Bishops of the Province, together with one member of the house of clergy and one member of the house of laity from each diocese. These people should be elected at their diocesan synod.

<sup>647</sup> In the Province of Central Africa, this is a body whereby the house of Bishops of the Province sits by itself.

<sup>648</sup> In the Diocese of Mashonaland, this is the highest governing body made up of the House of Bishops, house of Clergy and the house of laity. Lay representatives are chosen at every Annual Vestry meeting in every ecclesiastical division in the diocese.

<sup>649</sup> In the Diocese of Mashonaland, this is a committee that is made up of the of Diocesan Bishop, the Dean, six elected members of the house of clergy and eight elected members of the house of laity and not more than 2 persons, being Suffragan Bishops or Archdeacons of the Diocese appointed by the Bishop. Standing Committee is also called “synod in action” in the sense that it is the one that carries out the administration of the diocese under the authority of synod.

<sup>650</sup> In the Diocese of Mashonaland, this is a small committee whose functions amongst other things are to advise the Bishop on any matters that he may refer to it and advise the Bishop on clerical appointments. Membership of this committee includes all the members of the Cathedral Chapter, three priests elected by the house of clergy at each ordinary session of synod and not more than two priests appointed by the Bishop at his discretion as and when he deems it necessary.

<sup>651</sup> In the Diocese of Mashonaland, this is a group of people set aside to elect a Bishop of the Diocese. This committee is made up of the following, Archbishop or Dean of the Province who are ex-officio members,

Cathedral Chapter<sup>652</sup>. All these committees are put in place to ensure that the mission of the church is accomplished with ease and that there is order in the church. It should also be stated that the Diocesan Standing Committee has the power to appoint some sub-committees where there is need. This committee is also referred to as '*the continuing synod*', or '*synod in action*'. This means that this is the highest committee, which can make decisions on behalf of Synod.

The process of indigenisation of personnel with regards to membership in the above committees can only be evaluated on the basis of the participation of indigenous people in these committees. One thing that should be borne in mind here is that participation in the Diocesan Synod for the ordained clergy is automatic, as long as one holds a licence from the Diocesan Bishop. To this effect we can say that the ordination of Samuel Muhlanga to the diaconate in 1919 also marks the beginning of the official participation of the indigenous clergy in such a committee. This is even highlighted by G.E.P. Broderick who says "at the synod held in Salisbury [now Harare] in September 1921 for the first time an African was present in the person of Rev. Samuel Muhlanga ...<sup>653</sup>". At the same meeting it was resolved that future synods must include indigenous delegates from the main mission stations such as Bonda, Penhalonga, Rusape, Harare and Bulawayo<sup>654</sup>. In this sense 1921 becomes a bench mark for the indigenisation process of the Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

With regards to other Diocesan committees, membership is through election at Synod or appointment by the Bishop in the case of the Bishop's Senate. In order to evaluate the process of indigenisation of committees in the Diocese of Mashonaland, a selection of Synod elections of Indigenous people to committees and sub-committees will suffice. In this selection we have selected synod elections of 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981 for the

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three Bishops other than the Archbishop, three clergy and three laity from the diocesan panels of electors other than the panel of the vacant Diocese, six clergy and six laity from the vacant diocese.

<sup>652</sup> In the Diocese of Mashonaland, this is a committee composed of the Dean and four Capitular Canons, whose task is to make and amend the cathedral statutes and to regulate the conduct of meetings of the chapter and the installation, dress and duties of the dean and chapter within the Cathedral. The Chapter may also apply for a faculty concerning the Cathedral of St Mary and All Angels, consent for any structural alterations or additions and consent for the erection of any new building within the cathedral precincts.

<sup>653</sup> G.E.P. Broderick, *Op. Cit.*, p253

<sup>654</sup> Ibid

Standing Committee and in some cases the sub-committees of Standing Committee set up thereafter. This will help us to establish whether or not there was a deliberate effort made within the Diocese of Mashonaland to see the local indigenous people taking up decision making positions with a view to allow the local people to be in charge of their church and administer it using their own indigenous ingenuity.

**(1) Synod of 1951<sup>655</sup>**

<b>Bishop's Senate &amp; Standing Committee</b>	<b>Indigenous Members</b>	<b>European Members</b>
	<p><b><u>Bishop's Senate</u></b></p> <p><b><u>Clergy</u></b></p> <p>Nil</p> <p><b><u>Laity [Standing Committee]</u></b></p> <p>Nil</p>	<p><b><u>Bishop's Senate</u></b></p> <p><b><u>Clergy</u></b></p> <p>Very Rev. O. Victor</p> <p>Ven. E.D.K. Wood</p> <p>Ven. E. Aldington-Hunt</p> <p>Rev. C. P.V. Mason</p> <p>Rev. P. L. Spencer</p> <p>Rev. G. H. Pugh</p> <p><b><u>Laity [Standing Committee]</u></b></p> <p>E. G. Palmer</p> <p>J. H.R. Shaul</p> <p>D. J. A. Lobb</p> <p>J. A. Tyrell</p> <p>C.G. Satterthwaite</p>

<sup>655</sup> Diocese of Mashonaland Synod Minute Book, September 1951, kept at the Diocesan Archives in Harare

	E.H. Sims
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The above table shows clearly that in the synod held in 1951 no indigenous person was yet ready to be entrusted with membership into the Bishop's Senate or the Diocesan *Standing Committee*. The entire membership was European. This is despite the fact that 29 years had lapsed since the ordination to priesthood of Rev. Samuel Muhlenga in 1923 and the subsequent ordinations of indigenous clergy until then. The interesting development however is shown in the sub-committee of Standing Committee formed that same year called the *Social and Industrial Council*. This was an inter-racial group of ten or a dozen people, appointed by synod that acted for the Diocese on social questions, and had as its special responsibility scrutinising, Bills Reports and administrative regulation, whether of Government or Municipality<sup>656</sup>. The table below will show that this was a popular committee for the indigenous people;

<b>The Social &amp; Industrial Council</b>	<b>Indigenous Members</b>	<b>European Members</b>
	<u><i>Clergy</i></u>  Rev. E. K. Chipunza	<u><i>Clergy</i></u>  Ven. E. D. K. Wood  Rev. G. Gibbon
	<u><i>Laity</i></u>  Chief Mangwende  S. Chavhunduka  A. Mwamuka	<u><i>Laity</i></u>  Miss B. Tredgold  G. Clutton-Brock  W. A. Moubray

<sup>656</sup> *The Link*, January 1953

The above table shows that this committee was popular with indigenous representation. The reasons for this popularity are not very clear. However it can be seen that the indigenous people were not yet being incorporated into the nerve of the church particularly the committees that controlled the affairs of the church such as the *Standing Committee* and the *Bishop's Senate*.

However extant records show that in 1961 there was a little improvement in the state of indigenous representation in the *Standing Committee*. The Tables below will show this improvement, especially in the *Standing Committee*, as well as the *Provincial Synod* and the *Social and Industrial Council*. The number of indigenous members increased as shown bellow;

**(2) Synod of 1961<sup>657</sup>**

<b>Standing Committee</b>	<b>Indigenous Members</b>	<b>European Members</b>
	<u><i>Clergy</i></u> Nil	<u><i>Clergy</i></u> Very Rev. O. Victor Ven. E.D.K. Wood Ven. E. Aldington-Hunt Rev. C. P.V. Mason Rev. P. L. Spencer Rev. G. H. Pugh
	<u><i>Laity</i></u> Mr. C. Chipunza	<u><i>Laity</i></u> Mr. J.R. H. Shaul Brigadier L.J. Woodhouse Colonel J.F. M. Openshaw Mr. C. G. Satterthwaite

<sup>657</sup> Diocese of Mashonaland Synod Minute Book, September 1961, kept at the Diocesan Archives in Harare

		Mr. W.A. Moubray
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The improvement shown in the above table is that of a single lay member of Standing Committee being incorporated with no changes in clergy membership. Indeed such would be a lonely voice which was likely to be swallowed by the rest should he decide to champion issues of indigenisation in the committee's sittings. However when one considers the membership of the *Social and Industrial Council* of the same year it becomes clear that there were some significant changes in indigenous membership.

<b>Social &amp; Industrial Council</b>	<b>Indigenous Members</b>	<b>European Members</b>
	<u><i>Clergy</i></u> Canon E. Chipunza	<u><i>Clergy</i></u> Ven. E.D.K. Wood Rev. R. G. Gibbon
	<u><i>Laity</i></u> Mr. S. Chavhunduka Mr. C. Chipunza Mr. A Mwamuka Mr. D. Sagonda	<u><i>Laity</i></u> Miss B. Tredgold Mr. G. Clutton-Brock W. A. Moubray

The above table shows an almost balancing representation of both indigenous and European members which was not common in other committees. This trend of an increased membership of the indigenous people on the *Social and Industrial Council*

continued. The same slow increase of indigenous people on the *Standing Committee* also continued. The table below shows the position of *Standing Committee* membership after the Synod held in October 1971. It can be seen from the table that the situation was now reaching a level of equal representation from both divides. This was indeed a development worth recognising with regards to the indigenisation of the administrative machinery of the Diocese of Mashonaland. This development is graphically shown in the table below;

**(3) Synod of 1971<sup>658</sup>**

Standing Committee	Indigenous Membership	European Membership
	<p><u>Clergy</u></p> <p>Ven. P. A. Murindagomo</p> <p>Ven. E. Chitsike</p> <p>Rev. M. Zambezi</p> <p><u>Laity</u></p> <p>Mr. P. H. Mukudu</p> <p>Mr. C. Chipunza</p>	<p><u>Clergy</u></p> <p>The Very Rev. S. M. Wood</p> <p>Ven. C. P. V. Mason</p> <p>Rev. S. Hall</p> <p><u>Laity</u></p> <p>Mr. H. W. Stevens</p> <p>Sir. R. Sullivan</p> <p>Mr. D.H. Yates</p> <p>Miss. B. Tredgold</p>

<sup>658</sup> Diocese of Mashonaland Synod Minute Book, June 1971, kept at the Diocesan Archives in Harare

Although the above table shows a balanced picture regarding the membership of the Standing committee, one should bear in mind the fact that even when the membership was getting to be at par, the level of participation in the deliberations was not yet at par. Rev. M. Zambezi avers that the European members were still dominating discussions to the point that even when it came to voting on issues, the vote was always in favour of maintaining the status quo<sup>659</sup>. This state of affairs could be explained by the fact that most of these indigenous members were headmasters who had been trained in mission schools and influenced by European tradition which means that although they were indigenous, their world view was now influenced by western factors to a large extent.

However when one considers the *Standing Committee* of 1981, it continues to show that when it comes to numbers, the Diocese of Mashonaland was indeed moving towards indigenisation with more indigenous people now sitting on this committee and the numbers of European members shrinking, as shown below;

<b>Standing Committee</b>	<b>Indigenous Members</b>	<b>European Members</b>
	<u><i>Clergy</i></u>	<u><i>Clergy</i></u>
	Rev. J. Chipudhla	Rev. R.H. Clark
	Rev. M. Makoni	Rev. J. C. G. Strickland
	Rev. M. Madzivanyika	
	Rev. G. Mashingaidze	
	<u><i>Laity</i></u>	<u><i>Laity</i></u>
	Mr. P M. Bwanya	Mr. S. W. Gibson
	Mr. O. Kuwana	Miss. B. Tredgold
	Mr. R. D. Nyenya	

<sup>659</sup> Questionnaire by Rev. M. Zambezi, December 2005, Mutare, Zimbabwe



	Mr. A. Mwamuka	
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This development could be a result of the new political dispensation that was ushered in 1980, when Zimbabwe became an independent nation. Several Europeans both in civic society and in the Church left the country, since they were uncertain of this new indigenous political leadership. On the other hand more and more indigenous people had attained high professional qualifications, with some like Mr. A. Mwamuka having risen to become well to do business people in Harare. The motif of nationalism therefore characterised the church as well, since this was also the year when the Diocese of Mashonaland had its first indigenous Bishop, in the form of Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

The foregone evaluation has shown that the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland was slow. It has been established that there were numerous catechists mostly in the outlying areas where the ordained clergy loathed going. These people carried out an effective ministry amongst the local indigenous people. It has also come out clear that the ordination of the local people started very slowly with the ordination of Samuel Mhlanga in 1919 resulting in more clergy being ordained in the 1950's and 1960's given the numerous Mission Districts and Rural churches that were established in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The indigenisation of the Episcopal Office also took a long time even though the Canons and Constitution of the Diocese of Mashonaland provided room for the appointment of persons to act as Assistant, Suffragan or Coadjutor Bishop. It has also been established that the Office of Diocesan Secretary/ Administrator was never indigenised during the period under study. However there was a steady process of indigenising Diocesan Committees although it was mostly in those committees that did not have a direct bearing on the day to day running of the Diocese such as the Standing Committee. On the whole, there is evidence of the process of indigenisation in four of the five areas investigated above. We can now proceed and evaluate the process of indigenisation in the area of Liturgy and Diocesan Acts and Constitutions.

## Chapter 8

### Indigenisation of Liturgy & Diocesan Acts and Constitutions

#### 8.0 Introduction

Having evaluated the process of the indigenisation of personnel in its different dimensions it is logical now to evaluate the process of indigenisation with regards to liturgy and architectural developments since these indigenous personnel did not function in a vacuum. In this chapter we will therefore evaluate the process of indigenisation of;

- Liturgical music and instruments
- Liturgical gestures
- Liturgical language
- Liturgical vestments
- Liturgical colours
- Eucharistic elements
- Church architecture

#### 8.1 Indigenisation of Liturgy

In order to understand the process of the indigenisation of liturgy in the Diocese of Mashonaland, it is better to start by way of understanding what theology means. According to John Macquarrie, the word '*theology*' can be defined as "the study, which through participation in and reflection upon a religious faith, seeks to express the content of this faith in the clearest and most coherent language available"<sup>660</sup>. Liturgy therefore is the practical part of theology which amounts to the people's form of worship. In this connection it relates to the way in which people worshiped in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This comes out clearly when we consider the definition of the word "*liturgy*".

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<sup>660</sup> J. Macquarrie, Principles of Christian Theology, London: SCM Press, 1966, p1

In its Greek, form, the word ‘*liturgy*’ simply means ‘*the work of the people*’. In its original usage this word was used to describe any kind of public work, not only religious, but as time went on it began to relate to temple and church services<sup>661</sup>. In the Anglican Church, the word liturgy has come to refer to the way to conduct the Holy Eucharist service, which is the chief act of public worship in the Anglican Church. Having said that let us therefore start by evaluating the process of the indigenisation of Church music in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

## **8.2. Church Music and instruments**

In Chapter 5 we discussed the development of hymnody in the Diocese of Mashonaland and discovered how the development of hymnody went through leaps and bounds right from the inception when the Diocese of Mashonaland was planted in 1891. At this early stage most if not all the hymns were brought into the country through the Hymns Ancient and Modern hymnal which the missionaries brought with them. However J. Lenherr is also right when he says “the expansion of hymnody in the Shona language was complicated by the variety of Shona dialects, and different missions working in different areas tended to work independently of each other<sup>662</sup>”. With numerous languages in the Diocese of Mashonaland, which covered the whole of present day Zimbabwe, parts of Mozambique up to Beira as well as the Tati Concession in Botswana up to Shashe River, it was impossible to come up with one hymnal for the whole Diocese.

However J. Lenherr notes that a lot of work in hymnody was done in the Eastern part of the Diocese of Mashonaland. He avers that a great number of hymn-books in the Manyika dialect were published for use in the Anglican Church. He points out that the first hymns in Shona were found in 1898 in the booklet, Martins and Evensong...Hymns in Shona, the language of Mashonaland<sup>663</sup>. Next in line of publication was the fourteen

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<sup>661</sup> F. L. Cross [ed.] The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p988

<sup>662</sup> J. Lenherr, ‘*The Hymnody of the Mission Churches among the Shona and Ndebele*’, in M.F.C. Bourdillon S.J, [Ed], Christianity South of the Zambezi, [2<sup>nd</sup> Edition], Gweru: Mambo Press, 1977, P106

<sup>663</sup> J. Lenherr, ‘*The Hymnody of the Mission Churches among the Shona and Ndebele*’, in M.F.C. Bourdillon S.J, [Ed], Christianity South of the Zambezi, [2<sup>nd</sup> Edition], Gweru: Mambo Press, 1977, 107

hymns given in Minamoto neZviyimbo zveVana Vesangano [Prayers and Songs for Church Members] published in 1901. All these pioneer hymnals were a simple translation from Hymns Ancient and Modern. It is important to note that this hymnal has continued to be the source book for texts and tunes in all Shona hymnals up to the present day.

The development of hymnals was also taken a step further in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, by people such as A. S. Cripps who, being a poet himself, also wrote some hymns. In addition to A. S. Cripps, J. Lenherr, points out that in 1943, there was an introduction of a new approach to music in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, brought about by Fr. A. M. Jones, who was visiting St Augustine's Mission with a friend from Zambia named R. Kabondo. These two men had come all the way from Zambia to introduce the students at St Augustine's Mission to African Style of hymnody. J. Lenherr continues to note that in the couple of weeks that these two men were at St Augustine's Mission, students managed to produce a number of new hymns<sup>664</sup> that were "in harmony and in the ma-Choir style<sup>665</sup>". This new development led to the publication of another hymnal at St Augustine's Mission entitled, Mitoo YoKuimba Misa [Mass Songs]<sup>666</sup>.

This was indeed a welcome development in the production of local hymns. One of the earliest indigenous musicians in the Diocese of Mashonaland was M. Manyau. He wrote a four-part hymn and composed a tune for the Kyrie<sup>667</sup>.

With all these developments it must be reiterated that the growth and development of indigenous hymnody in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland was very slow. One can say that in the mid 1950's there was more of revision and consolidation bringing about some certain degree of stagnation in the indigenisation of music in the Diocese of Mashonaland. The innovative spirit that characterised the Diocese of Mashonaland in the 1940s has not been supported and promoted. There has not been any serious attempt to

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<sup>664</sup> Ibid

<sup>665</sup> *Newsletter of the African Music Society*, July 1950

<sup>666</sup> J. Lenherr, 'The Hymnody of the Mission Churches among the Shona and Ndebele', in M.F.C. Bourdillon S.J, [Ed], Christianity South of the Zambezi, [2<sup>nd</sup> Edition], Gweru: Mambo Press, 1977, 107

<sup>667</sup> J. Lenherr, 'The Hymnody of the Mission Churches among the Shona and Ndebele', in M.F.C. Bourdillon S.J, [Ed], Christianity South of the Zambezi, [2<sup>nd</sup> Edition], Gweru: Mambo Press, 1977, 107

repeat the innovations of that time. What has finally been put together for use in The Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland is a revised and enlarged hymn book entitled Ndwiyo Dzomuchechi [Songs of the Church], which reached its final form in 1966 and has been reissued since then. This edition has 268 hymns, with ten of them translated by indigenous people<sup>668</sup>. Over and above translation, J. Lenherr also maintains that over twenty tunes were created by the indigenous people, though remaining western; they used the African solo-chorus pattern<sup>669</sup>.

As one evaluates the development of hymnody in the Diocese of Mashonaland, one should consider the fact that since Christians have always mingled and stayed together, especially in urban areas and villages, there has always been a great deal of exchange between and amongst denominations. Although each denomination has tended to work on its own, on developing hymnody, there has been a lot of exchange going on. On the other hand the stagnation of the 1940s with regards to writing hymns from an indigenous perspective using indigenous reflection on God's creation, seem to have lacked meaningful support.

This is articulated well by Bishop R. P. Hatendi who accepts that even during his time as incumbent Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, there was no concerted or organised programme of nurturing and supporting the indigenous musicians to compose hymns that could be used in divine worship. Instead the trend has been to duplicate one stanza choruses that have crowded the missionary landscape mostly coming from the new age churches. In most Churches Choirs have disappeared making it difficult to teach the whole church a hymn so that it could be sung during divine worship. On the whole there has been very little development in terms of the composition of indigenous hymns in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Linked to the process of the indigenisation of liturgical music, is the whole area of instruments used in singing liturgical music. When the Anglican Church came to

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<sup>668</sup> Bhuku ReMunamato WeVese, London: S.P.C.K, 1963, reprinted by Mambo Press, Gweru, Zimbabwe, 1975, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1996, 1999.

<sup>669</sup> J. Lenherr, Op. Cit, p111

Mashonaland, it came with all its paraphernalia. It came with its traditions, dress, music as well as musical instruments. The early missionaries brought with them what they used back at home in their traditional set up. In this regard the use of organs and flutes as well as guitars was considered as being Christian. Since most of these early missionaries did not know the African indigenous tradition, they decried any attempt to use African instruments in divine worship.

Many churches in Zimbabwe, are still discussing the use of African instruments during worship services in their churches. It is important to note the different types of African instruments that are used these days in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland [now Diocese of Harare] and evaluate whether or not there has been any success in using them in divine worship.

### 8.2.a Drums and Shakers<sup>670</sup>

The first instruments which we will consider are the African drums and shakers. The African drum is made out of a log with an opening in the middle and one end is covered tightly with a piece of cow hide. The picture on the right hand side shows a couple of African drums of different sizes. On the other hand a shaker is made of a dried cucumber whose inside staff is removed and replaced with numerous pellets as shown in the picture below. This instrument also comes in different shapes and sizes, which also determines the sound which they produce.



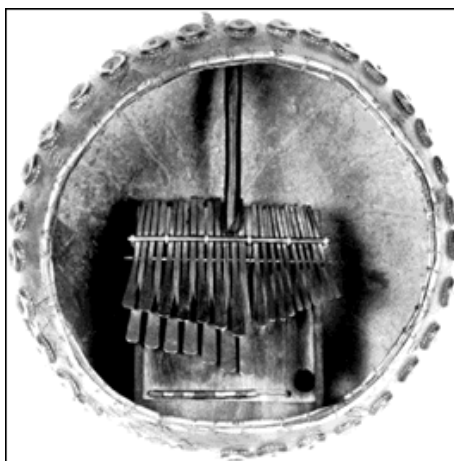
These two instruments are very popular especially amongst the Shona people. Initially drums were forbidden in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, on the basis that they were being used in the traditional

<sup>670</sup> <http://www.kalimba.co.za/african%20instruments.htm>

ceremonies to appease the ancestors<sup>671</sup>. This was certainly a wrong interpretation of the use of drums by the missionaries. A drum is the embodiment of an accompaniment of singing that invigorates the participant to jump in dance to the music being sung. When beaten well to good singing, drums have helped many Choirs to produce good of music. It is important to note that the negative attitude shown by most early missionaries towards anything African, changed to acceptance of such things as time went on, as a result of more education and understanding of the African people by the Europeans.

### **8.2.b *Mbira*<sup>672</sup> or ‘African Piano’**

Another African musical instrument used by the Shona people in the Diocese of Mashonaland is the ‘*Mbira*’. This instrument is made out of a piece of wood on which small pieces of metal of different sizes are fastened together one after another in one file or two files as shown in the picture on the right hand side. A dried cucumber is then prepared, by way of removing the seeds inside and opening it on one side to allow the *Mbira* to be inserted inside this big shell so that it produces good and loud sounds. Within the indigenous African society, this instrument is used on special occasions, provided good players are at hand. The instrument requires some great skill for one to be able to play it to the music being sung.



Although in some denominations such as the Roman Catholic Church this instrument is being used, no attempt has been made in the Anglican Church to use it. Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi feels that this instrument has been used mostly at the traditional ceremonies of invoking ancestors; as such it has not been taken kindly by the early missionaries as well as generations of Christians that have come and gone in the Anglican Diocese of

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<sup>671</sup> Interview with Canon. W. W. W. Nechironga, on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 38 Fairfield Rd, Hatfield Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>672</sup> <http://www.kalimba.co.za/african%20instruments.htm>

Mashonaland<sup>673</sup>. This seems to be the biggest blow in the process of indigenisation. Many people think that there is no continuity between African indigenous life and the Church. Many feel that one can not be both an African who is proud of his or her heritage and tradition, and be Christian at the same time. For such people in order for one to be Christian they ought to be European first. They float in the mentality of the Biblical Peter, which believed that anyone who wanted to be a Christian needed to be Jew first [Acts 15].

### 8.2.c *Hwamanda*<sup>674</sup> ‘Horns’



*Hwamanda*, or horns have also been used mostly in the churches where drums are permitted. This instrument is made from the horns of a Kudu and can be of different sizes, which means they can produce different sounds as well. The horn is perforated towards its pointed end.

In order for the instrument to produce the desired sound, one has to blow into the horn from the perforation. In order to blow this horn one requires a lot of energy. A good melody is usually produced when there is a number of this instrument of different sizes being blown. The instrument also requires great skill to produce good sounds in harmony with the music being sung.

This instrument was mostly connected with the Shona traditional ceremonies where people would pray for rain and in harvest thanksgiving. This instrument has also found its way into the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, but with very small success. Many people still regard this instrument with reservation since it has been associated with ancestral worship, as such they loathe using it in their churches preferring rather to use western trumpets. It needs to be pointed out that despite this link with the ancestral worship, the *Hwamanda* produces an equally good sound which enriches religious music

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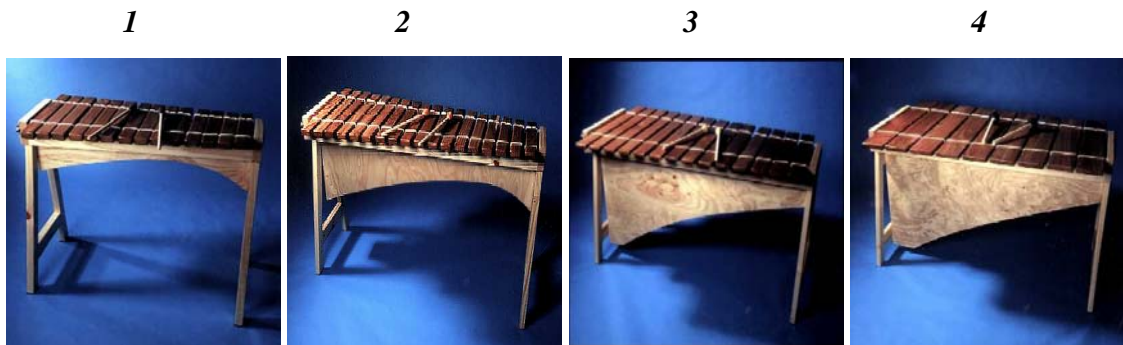
<sup>673</sup> Interview with Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 16 Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe.

<sup>674</sup> <http://www.kalimba.co.za/african%20instruments.htm>



in the same way that the western trumpets do. In fact where this instrument is played well, to the African rhythm in general and Shona rhythm in particular, a good rendition is produced and people's spirits are lifted. Below we will consider the *Marimba*, instrument.

#### 8.2.d *Marimba*<sup>675</sup> or xylophone



*Piccolo Marimba*    *Soprano Marimba*    *Tenor Marimba*    *Baritone Marimba*

The above set of Marimba shows that they are made of wood. This is confirmed by Andrew Tracey, a specialist in the manufacturing of this instrument who suggests that “marimbas are handcrafted, with kiaat wood keys and traditional buzzers<sup>676</sup>”. He goes on to suggest that this instrument is an ensemble of four instruments producing different tones such as soprano, tenor, baritone and piccolo<sup>677</sup>. In such an assortment each instrument takes a distinct role, thereby producing a good sound. This instrument also comes in different sizes and shapes which determines the sound that they produce. According to Andrew Tracey;

*The soprano is the lead instrument and usually plays melody, but can also be used to improvise. The tenor is the rhythm instrument, playing either enhancing or contrasting patterns within the overall timepiece. The Baritone or double bass supply the bass line or cross rhythms in the lower range. The piccolo is primarily used to improvise, but can be used to help the lead<sup>678</sup>.*

<sup>675</sup> <http://www.kalimba.co.za/african%20instruments.htm>

<sup>676</sup> Ibid

<sup>677</sup> Ibid

<sup>678</sup> Ibid

It is important to note that the use of marimba in Zimbabwe is a development of the 1960s. Andrew Tracey maintains that this instrument may have been introduced in Zimbabwe within the last two centuries either from the Tonga people in Zambia or the Chopi people in Mozambique<sup>679</sup>. Be that as it may, once the instrument was introduced in Zimbabwe, it became popular as a traditional music instrument. Although the church did not incorporate this instrument immediately for use in its divine worship, other sectors such as schools started to use it. By 1981, there were very few Churches in the Diocese of Mashonaland that used this instrument in their divine services other than mission churches such as St Johns Chikwaka, St Faiths Rusape as well as St Augustine's Penhalonga.

Although marimbas are such a good set of music instruments which many churches are now using in their services of divine worship today, they were also loathed by some people who thought that they make too much noise and also that they did not have roots in England where the Gospel was coming from. It remains to be stated that a good and balanced use of Marimbas, especially in the singing of responses during the Eucharist service, has been met with a lot of jubilation by many parishioners in most Anglican Churches today. Like any other musical instrument, the marimbas also require a high level of dexterity.

Although it is wonderful to have the use of traditional music instruments in church, one should be aware of the fact that most churches can not afford to buy them. The reality in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare] with regards to the use of musical instruments is that most European churches, have maintained their pianos and organs up to this day, whereas most indigenous churches have moved on to incorporate their indigenous musical instruments such as the drums, shakers, marimbas [though not very common] as well as *hwamanda*. We will now move on to consider the indigenisation of liturgical gestures.

### **8.3 Liturgical gestures**

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<sup>679</sup> Ibid

Worship in any context is not done in any way that one chooses. There is usually a way in which things should be done and the position in which one should take when doing certain things. On the other hand there is also a language which one must use to express whatever they are saying in their worship. It is within this context that we want to evaluate liturgical gestures used in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Below is an evaluation of some of the gestures used in the Diocese of Mashonaland

### **8.3.a Bowing**

Liturgical gestures amounts to how people present themselves during divine worship. It should be stated that these liturgical gestures vary from one denomination to another and from one parish to another within the same denomination. This is mainly caused by the different teachings that the clergy receive from different theological institutions. Be that as it may one of the liturgical gestures that characterises Christian worship is ‘bowing’. There are several areas that require bowing in the Anglican Church Tradition. For example in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, like elsewhere, adherents bow as they approach altar and when the name of Jesus Christ is mentioned in the context of divine worship. According to Fr. R. Roy Snyman, the Anglicans worldwide also bow before the altar to acknowledge the sovereignty of Christ as the King and they also bow at any mention of ‘*gloria*’ or the ‘*doxology*’ in liturgical rites<sup>680</sup>. It should be mentioned however that bowing is not foreign in Africa, people bow when they meet those whom they respect especially the Kings and chiefs. This is also a sign of humility. In this regard we can safely say that there is continuity between this Western Tradition of bowing and the African way of bowing.

### **8.3.b Genuflection & Prostration**

Associated with the manner of bowing is genuflection, from the Latin words *Genus* and *flecto*, which simply means “*I bend my knee*”<sup>681</sup>. This is a great form of adoration. In the presence of the sacrament, when going to the altar for Holy Communion, and before returning, this mark of deep respect is mainly offered to Jesus. This action is not

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<sup>680</sup> Rev. Fr. R. Roy Snyman, *Op. Cit*, p74

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid*

common amongst the local Shona people. However its twin behaviour, prostration, is known in the local indigenous traditions when approaching the king mostly. This prostration has been maintained in the Diocese of Mashonaland, for occasions such as ordination service.

### **8.3.c Making the Sign of the Cross**

This is the other liturgical gesture used in the Diocese of Mashonaland which is also associated with worship rites. This sign is often used by some devout worshippers at different stages during divine worship. This involves the making the sign of the cross of Jesus from the forehead down to the stomach and then from the left shoulder, to the right shoulder and back to the heart. This sign of the cross has five points that one must take note of; the head, stomach, shoulder, shoulder and back to the heart. Rev. R. Roy Snyman maintains that this whole act says to the worshipper and any other; “I am redeemed by the cross of Christ and his five wounds; I am grateful for it, and I proclaim my allegiance unashamedly<sup>682</sup>”. Such a liturgical gesture has no equivalent and corresponding action in the indigenous traditional rites since it is a specific reference to the Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified.

### **8.3.d Standing and kneeling**

Over and above the above liturgical gestures, there are also worship positions that one should be aware of lest they find themselves out of tune with the rest of the congregation. It is important to note that some of these gestures were common in the local indigenous Shona tradition, which meant that ‘baptising’ them into the Divine worship services in the Diocese of Mashonaland was not difficult. Fr. R. Roy Snyman puts it succinctly when he says “stand to praise and honour; sit to listen; and kneel to pray<sup>683</sup>”. Indeed worship is a moment for God and our body language should indicate this reality. In this regard the normal practice in the Diocese of Mashonaland, is that people stand whenever they sing, sit when they listen to the readings of the day and the sermon of the day, and kneel when they pray. These actions have similarities with the traditional rites in the local

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<sup>682</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, *Op. Cit*, p74

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid* p74

indigenous Shona traditional religion. In the local indigenous traditional rites people kneel when they offer prayers to their ancestors<sup>684</sup>, which is what Christians in the Diocese of Mashonaland also do. They also stand and dance when they sing to their Lord. When the ancestors speak to the indigenous people through their mediums, the listeners usually, sit or kneel. These rites and actions are still in existence amongst the Anglican Church believers today, which indicates that they have been inherited from time immemorial. Changes are now coming with the influence of the New Age Churches, which will require its members to stand to pray instead of kneeling to pray. In addition to all these liturgical gestures people also stretch their hands to the Lord, as well as clap hands when they receive the Holy Sacrament. The gesture of clapping hands is known amongst the Shona people to express appreciation and gratefulness over whatever one will be receiving. Young children in the Shona traditional culture are taught this gesture and one is expected to grow into it. Hands are also clapped to express joy, especially during the singing of songs.

#### **8.4 Liturgical language**

Associated with liturgical music, and liturgical gestures is the whole issue of liturgical language. For any authentic process of indigenisation to take place the issue of the indigenous language is very critical. Patrick C. Chibuko is right when he suggests that “language communicates the soul and spirit of the people and exposes their secret sentiments<sup>685</sup>” However as noted above when the Anglican Church arrived in Mashonaland, its messengers were both of African descent like Bernard Mizeki Gwambe and of European descent, like Bp. George Wydham Knight-Bruce. All these early missionaries did not know the language of the locals. They all had to learn quickly so that they could become useful in their missionary endeavours. Without knowledge of the local language it was not possible to carry out mission work in the Diocese of Mashonaland. As such we learn from G.E.P. Broderick that Bernard Mizeki Gwambe became a

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<sup>684</sup> M. F. C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1991,p213

<sup>685</sup> Patrick, C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in *AFER* 43 no 1-2 F-Apr 2001,p2-27

champion of the Shona language which led him into becoming a vital member of the early Translations Committee in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>686</sup>.

The issue of language is therefore critical in any effort to convert people. The converts need to hear the Gospel in their own language and thought patterns. In addition the converts need to conceptualise God in their own cultural milieu in order for them to make connections with that deity. In order for one to appreciate the importance of language in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland, one has to consider the Shona indigenous world view. M.F.C. Bourdillon, suggests that the Shona people, like many other African peoples believe in a remote high God, who is known by various names, including; *Nyadenga*, or *Dedza* [Lord of the sky], *Musikavanhu*, [Maker of people], *Chikara* [One inspiring awe], *Dzivaguru* [The great pool], *Chirazamauya* [The one who provides for good and bad], *Mutangakugara* [One who existed at the beginning], and *Mwari* [a personal name]<sup>687</sup>.

Indeed when the first missionaries of the Anglican Church arrived in Mashonaland, the local Shona people already had a concept of God whom they called with all the above names until they settled on the name *Mwari*, which M.F.C Bourdillon suggests was the name spread and popularised by the missionaries<sup>688</sup>. However this God of the Shona was similar to the God of the Missionaries in his attributes. For example, this God knew everything, saw everything and was responsible for the weather, the fertility of the land, the wild forests and character traits of humanity<sup>689</sup>. This God however was considered to be too lofty and remote to concern himself with the problems of individuals as such the Shona people did not worship him directly. However the Shona people had their tribal and ancestral spirits whom they venerated and communicated to frequently. In such a world view, the Shona worshipers in the Diocese of Mashonaland borrowed a lot from the traditional world view. To begin with the name of God, was borrowed from the traditional personal name of God namely *Mwari*. In addition to that the Shona

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<sup>686</sup> G.E.P.Broderick, A History of the Diocese of Mashonaland [1874 – 1952], [Unpublished Manuscript, USPG Library, UK], p66

<sup>687</sup> M.F.C. Bourdillon, The Shona Peoples, Gweru: Mambo Press, p277

<sup>688</sup> Ibid p277

<sup>689</sup> M.F.C. Bourdillon, The Shona Peoples, Gweru: Mambo Press, p277

worshippers also borrowed some of the liturgical gestures such as the clapping of hands, kneeling, prostrating and bowing as discussed above. In this regard one can easily suggest that there was mission by translation as articulated by Lamin Sanneh<sup>690</sup>.

As early as the 1895, we have seen how a small translations committee was put together and translation work was going on at St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga and at St Faith Mission in Rusape. Translations of prayers, psalms, as well as hymns then followed until the whole Book of Common Prayer was completed and some hymn books were put together as noted above. It must be stated that these initial translations were into the Shona language which was the language spoken in the geographical area known as Mashonaland. It was through the work of translations as we discussed above that there was a remarkable spread of the Gospel and more mission stations were opened. Given this state of affairs one can safely say that as far as translating the language was concerned Anglican worship got indigenised to a large extent.

The Anglican church of the period under study was using the traditional Shona names for God in its liturgy of worship as well as its liturgical music. On the other hand it also incorporated some of the liturgical gestures that were also found in the local traditional religion. With the passage of time the work of the Bible House also helped to make the Bible available in the local languages. Given the above assessment one can safely say that the process of indigenising language has been successful in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland to a large extent. Having evaluated the language issue, we now move on to evaluate the process of indigenisation of liturgical vestments in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

### **8.5 Liturgical Vestments**

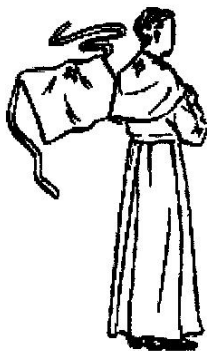
The inherited tradition in the Anglican Church world over is that when celebrating Holy Communion, the priest must be dressed properly in proper liturgical vestments. When a priest is celebrating Holy Eucharist, the priest is supposed to be covered with garments,

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<sup>690</sup> Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, Maryknoll New York: Orbis Books, 1989, p50

to hide the priest's human personality and proclaim that the priest is '*liturgising*' [for lack of a better word], so that Jesus Christ might be seen as High Priest<sup>691</sup>. This is certainly not a new thing since in some professions we see that they have uniforms which people can identify easily. For example one can easily identify a soldier or a police person by what they are putting on. In the same manner, a priest must be identified when the priest is about to celebrate Mass. In this evaluation we want to establish whether or not such liturgical vestments used by the priest in a Holy Eucharist service have been indigenised or not. We shall briefly consider the six items that the priest must wear before they celebrate Holy Eucharist. We need to state that each of these liturgical vestments symbolises something in the life of Jesus Christ. Below we briefly look at these six items and proffer an evaluation regarding the process of their indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. We will also endeavour to show some sketches of each of the items of these vestments before it is worn and also when it is worn. This will help us to understand the liturgical item in question. We will start by looking at the Amice.

### 8.5.a The Amice: Symbol of the Helmet of Salvation<sup>692</sup>



The amice is simply a rectangular piece of white linen with two strings at the upper corners which a Priest or Deacon uses underneath his or her alb to cover the neck so that the Roman collar of the cassock and his other vestments hanging on the neck are hidden and protected from being soiled by the priest's or deacon's hair. While vesting it, it is placed over the head until all other vestments have been put on. It is then turned back and hangs like a small hood. The word '*amice*' comes from the Latin *amicire*, meaning "to cover"<sup>693</sup> and, because the heads of criminals condemned to death were covered in linen, the amice recalls the humiliation and mockery which was put upon Christ. [Lk.22.64]. The sketch above shows the amice before it is put on and when it is put on. When the priest or deacon puts

<sup>691</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, *Op. Cit.* p47

<sup>692</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

<sup>693</sup> F. L. Cross [Ed. ], *Op. Cit.* p52

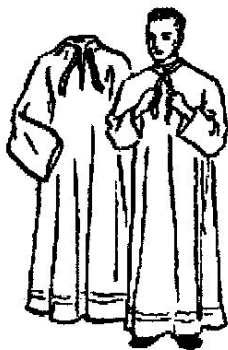


the amice on, he or she kisses the Cross on the Amice and says this prayer: “*Place upon me, O Lord, the helmet of salvation, that I may overcome the assaults of the devil*<sup>694</sup>”.

When one considers this item of liturgical vestments, one will discover that it has not been tempered with as far as indigenization is concerned in the Diocese of Mashonaland. If any changes have been made to its shape and size, it has been the developments and changes ensuing from England. There has been no change influenced by the local context in this item of liturgical dress. Like other liturgical vestments, such an article of liturgical dress has been made in England and brought to the Diocese of Mashonaland for use mostly by those missionaries recruited from that part of the mission field. In this regard we can not point to any process of making it indigenous. All we can say is that it has remained a foreign item of liturgical vestment.

### 8.5.b The Alb: Symbol of Purity<sup>695</sup>

The alb is the long white, robe-like vestment worn by all clerics at liturgical celebrations



(celebrant, con-celebrant, deacon, or acolyte). The alb (from Latin word *alba*, meaning "white") can be traced to the ancient Roman alb worn under a cloak or tunic; its colour symbolizes purity<sup>696</sup> and its form recalls that described in Ezekiel 28:4. As the Priest or Deacon puts on his or her alb, the cleric prays, *Purify me, O Lord, and cleanse my heart; that, being made white in the Blood of the Lamb, I may come to eternal joy*<sup>697</sup>. Those who want to see in the

vestments of the Clergy at Holy Communion some representation of the instruments of our Lord's passion, see the Alb as the robe in which Herod's soldiers dressed Jesus when they mocked him [Lk. 23:11]]. The sketch above shows the alb before it is worn and when it is worn.

<sup>694</sup> *St John's Newsletter, No. 174, March 1962*

<sup>695</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

<sup>696</sup> F. L. Cross [Ed. ], *Op. Cit.*, p32

<sup>697</sup> *St John's Newsletter, No.175, April 1962*

This item of liturgical dress, like the amice, has not changed in any way that takes into account the local environment. It has remained in the same fashion and style in which it was when the missionaries first brought it in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Most clergy actually obtained their liturgical vestments from England since they thought; only such were the genuine liturgical vestments<sup>698</sup>.

In the context of evaluating the process of indigenization relating to this item of liturgical vestments, one can safely say that there has been no visible process of indigenization that has taken place. It has remained in the form in which it was brought into the country by the early missionaries. The only difference that one can point to these days is probably that the church now uses the locally manufactured fabric to make this and other liturgical vestments due to the ever rising costs of importing those made in England. Otherwise most indigenous clergy from the Diocese of Mashonaland felt predisposed to acquire their liturgical vestments from England. The next liturgical vestment which we will evaluate is the girdle.

### 8.5.c The Girdle or Cinture: Symbol of Chastity<sup>699</sup>

As shown in the diagram below, this is an article of liturgical attire, which is used to



confine and hold the loose flowing Alb and prevent it from impeding the movements of the wearer. Whereas in the Western Church anyone can gird their albs with the girdle, in the Eastern Church it is only the priests and the bishops who are allowed to gird their albs<sup>700</sup>. With [Lk. 12: 35 – 40], in mind, the girdle or cincture is held to symbolize spiritual watchfulness. It is also representative of the rope with which our Lord was tied up with for

his scourging<sup>701</sup>. The prayer used when putting it on speaks of the girdle as a sign of

<sup>698</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 38 Fairfield Rd, Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>699</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

<sup>700</sup> *St John's Newsletter*, No. 176, May 1962

<sup>701</sup> *Ibid*

chastity and temperance, both of which can only be achieved by spiritual watchfulness. The following is said when the girdle is being worn “*Gird me about or Lord with the girdle of purity, that the virtues of chastity and temperance may be mine*”<sup>702</sup>”

Girdles also came in different styles and materials, but they usually take the colour of the alb [white]. In the early days such an article of liturgical vestments, was also imported for use in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Like other liturgical vestments the only development and change that has taken place since the beginning of the Diocese of Mashonaland is that it is locally manufactured using local fabric. Be that as it may, the shape, colour and style remain the same as it is in England. To refer to such mediocre change as a process of indigenization of the girdle, would be like trying to get a needle from a haystack. We feel that there has not been any meaningful indigenization in this article of liturgical vestment in the Diocese of Mashonaland. An innovative way would have been to find ways of processing some animal hide to make a girdle or anything else that is locally produced such as tree bark. The next article of liturgical vestments that we shall consider is the *maniple*.

#### **8.5.d The Maniple: Symbol of the acceptance of Suffering**<sup>703</sup>

The maniple is a narrow strip of linen, of the same colour as the chasuble, suspended



from the left forearm so that it falls equally on both sides of the arm. It is to remind the clerics that they must patiently bear the cares and sorrows of this earthly life in the service of God and for Heavenly reward<sup>704</sup>. The Bishop puts on the maniple at the Altar after the Confiteor [*confession prayer*]; other clerics put it on in the sacristy before the service begins. As the cleric puts on the maniple, he or she kisses the Cross on the maniple and prays the following prayer:

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<sup>702</sup> Ibid

<sup>703</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

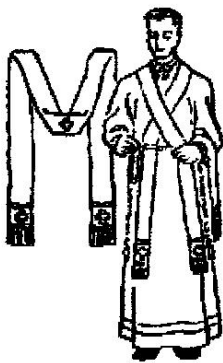
<sup>704</sup> *St John's Newsletter, No.177, June 1962*

*“May I be worthy, O Lord so to bear the maniple of tears and sorrow that I may with joy receive the reward of my labour”<sup>705</sup>*. The sketch above shows the maniple before it is put on and when it is put on.

Like the other articles of liturgical vestments evaluated above, this article of liturgical vestments has not undergone any meaningful changes influenced by the local context other than the fact that instead of getting it from England, ready made, it is now being manufactured locally. One can therefore not suggest that there has been any discernible indigenisation process of this article of liturgical vestments during the period under study. As in the above articles of liturgical vestments a maniple could have been made from the animal hide which was used to make dress traditionally in Mashonaland or any other locally made materials used to make vestments. We will now turn to the fifth article of liturgical vestment used by the priests or bishops – the *Stole*.

#### **8.5.e The Stole: Immortality and the yoke of Christ<sup>706</sup>.**

The stole, matching the liturgical color of the day, is a long, scarf-like vestment worn over the alb and under the dalmatic/chasuble. The priest wears the stole around his or her neck so that it hangs equally down his or her chest in front or forms an X-shaped Cross; the deacon wears his or her stole over the left shoulder and tied at his or her right side; the Bishop wears his or her stole so that it hangs equally down his or her chest. This is also a vestment which represents the clergy person’s authority. The sketch on the left hand side shows the stole and how it appears when it has been worn by a priest.



As he or she puts on the stole, the priest or Bishop kisses the Cross on the middle of the stole and prays the following prayer silently: *“Restore to me, O Lord, the stole of immortality, which was lost through the guilt of our first parents: and, although I am unworthy to approach Your sacred Mysteries, nevertheless grant to me eternal joy”<sup>707</sup>*.

<sup>705</sup> *St John’s Newsletter, No.177, June 1962*

<sup>706</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

<sup>707</sup> *St John’s Newsletter No. 178, July 1962*

Results of the survey carried out in this study reveal that, like the above liturgical vestments, this article of clerical dress has not undergone any process of adapting to the local context. It has remained in the form and shape in which it was brought into the Diocese of Mashonaland for all the time under study. The only minor changes had to do with the use of local cloth to make such an article of liturgical dress. On the whole it remained a foreign piece of dress with no roots or connections to the local context. The last article of liturgical vestments which we will discuss below is called a *Chasuble*.

#### 8.5.f The Chasuble<sup>708</sup>

In Latin this is called *Casula*, *planeta*, or *paenula*<sup>709</sup>. This is the principal and most conspicuous vestment for the celebration of Mass, which covers all the other vestments which we have evaluated above. Liturgists such as Fr. R. Roy Snyman, suggests that this vestment was simply an adaptation of the secular attire commonly worn throughout the Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries. It has been identified with the ordinary outer garment of the lower orders<sup>710</sup>. As can be seen from the sketch below, it consists of a circular [*or square*] piece of cloth in the centre of which a hole is made, through which the head should pass. The picture below shows the chasuble before it is worn and after it has been worn.



When putting on the Chasuble, the priest says; “*Or Lord whose yoke is easy and whose burden is light, enable me so to bear it that I may obtain your grace*”<sup>711</sup>. Most Chasubles were made of silk and of different liturgical colours. Like all the other articles of liturgical vestments evaluated above, research has shown that this article of liturgical vestment has not succumbed to any form of local transformation. It continued to exist in three shapes which may be

<sup>708</sup> <http://www.fisheaters.com/vestments.html>

<sup>709</sup> F. L. Cross [ed.], *Op. Cit*, p325

<sup>710</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, *Op. Cit*, p48

<sup>711</sup> *St John's Newsletter*, No.179, August 1962

described as Gothic, Roman or Eastern. There is no indication that its shape and style has been influenced by the local context.

On the whole the above evaluation of the process of indigenization of liturgical vestments has shown that the vestments used in the Diocese of Mashonaland did not change to take the local dress code. Many people will argue that there was no local dress code in Mashonaland, except the traditional animal hides that the early local people used to put on. Indeed such skins could have been processed and used to make such religious vestments in the Diocese of Mashonaland. However since Mashonaland was a British colony, the liturgical vestments also remained stubbornly British. Luke L. Pato is therefore right when he says one of the challenges to indigenization within the Anglican Church is the fierce loyalty of many Africans to the received Anglican Tradition<sup>712</sup>. In this sense the Diocese of Mashonaland received the above liturgical vestments when missionaries arrived from England, and have remained holding onto the same even when the Diocese began to have indigenous clergy as we noted above. Whereas one would have expected the indigenous clergy to initiate the process of the indigenization of their liturgical vestments they chose instead, to ‘drink from the old and familiar wells’. In the words of Patrick C. Chibuko, they upheld the mantra “the old is better<sup>713</sup>”. However attached to the area of liturgical vestments is the whole gamut of liturgical colours and their meaning as used in the Anglican Church in general and the Diocese of Mashonaland in particular. Below we evaluate these in the context of the process of indigenization in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

## **8.6 Liturgical Colours**

It must be stated from the outset that there has not been serious research in this area which means that the written resources are very scant. However the researcher has relied on interviews and the existing literature on the internet to draw up this evaluation. The Anglican Church worldwide generally permits the use of five colours in the sacred

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<sup>712</sup> Luke Lingile Pato, “Anglicanism and Anglicanism: A Legacy of Robert Gray”, in Journal of Theology in Southern Africa 101, July 1998, p49-57

<sup>713</sup> Patrick C. Chibuko, “A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation”, in AFER 43, no 1-2, Feb-Apr, 2001, p2-27

vestments namely white, red, black, green and violet. Gold may be used as a substitute for white, red or green<sup>714</sup>. However each of these colours has its own meaning in different traditional contexts. It should be stated that the normative meaning of these colours as maintained in the Anglican Church in general and the Diocese of Mashonaland in particular is mainly western. It should also be borne in mind that colour in this sense is symbolic and the fundamental characteristic of symbolism is communication. That is to say the use of colour in divine worship should create meaning to the believers.

We should also mention here that the concept of colour amongst the Shona people was not well pronounced until the arrival of traders who brought the different shades of calico and bartered it with the local produce which the traders needed in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. This taken into consideration helps to explain the reason why the western symbolism of liturgical colours seem to have characterized the Anglican worship from the time the Diocese of Mashonaland was started right up to the present day.

However in the context of the western categories of symbolization, the sacrifice of Mass is offered for different purposes and in honour of many classes of Saints. These are all designated and symbolized by the colour of the vestment which the church prescribes for each service. The table below shows the colours that are used in the Anglican Church and the times when they are used<sup>715</sup>;

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<sup>714</sup> An Anglican Prayer Book 1989, Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Jeppesstown: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005, p29

<sup>715</sup> Rev. R. Roy Snyman, Op. Cit., p49

### Liturgical Colours used in the Diocese of Mashonaland and their Meaning<sup>716</sup>

Liturgical Colour	Symbolism and When Used?
1. White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used when the church denotes purity, innocence, or glory e.g. on the Feast of Our Lord, and of the Blessed Virgin, on the festivals of Angels and of All Saints who are not martyrs.</li> <li>• Colour of the Resurrection and so used for requiem masses.</li> </ul>
2. Red	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Colour of fire and blood. It is used in Masses of the Holy Ghost, such as on Pentecost, to remind us of the tongues of fire, and on the feasts of all saints who shed their blood for their faith. Also used on Good Friday and Palm Sunday</li> </ul>
3. Purple / Violet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expressive of penance. It is used during Lent and Advent [except on Saints days] and also on the sorrowful festival of the Holy Innocents.</li> </ul>
4. Green	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Denotes that growth and increase of the church and is also symbolic of hope; used at various times of the year, on days that are not Saints days.</li> </ul>
5. Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is a traditional colour for requiem Mass.</li> <li>• Symbolizes the nothingness of humanity</li> <li>• It is our sack cloth and ashes</li> </ul>

As shown in the table above, different colours represent different things in the life of the Anglican Church. Similarly the indigenous people in the area covered by the Diocese of Mashonaland also derived meaning from certain colours around them. In fact it should be mentioned that colour also has a symbolic meaning in almost every African culture and each colour conveys peculiar information when it is displayed or shown at significant places or situations. This categorisation varies from one group of people to another such that there may be some difference in meaning from one group to another. The table below

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<sup>716</sup> An Anglican Prayer Book 1989, Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Jeppestown: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005, p29



shows a summary of Prof. G. Chavhunduka's understanding of the meaning and symbolism of the four most popular colours amongst the Shona people<sup>717</sup>;

### Colours and their Meaning amongst the Shona People

Name of Colour	Meaning and Symbolism
Red	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Associated with blood and sacrificial rites</li> <li>• It is a spiritual colour with very powerful religious significance</li> <li>• Used to signify danger hence used at the homes where there is a funeral</li> </ul>
White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is a symbol of purity and joy</li> <li>• Usually worn at funerals for old people as a celebration of the deceased's life.</li> </ul>
Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is symbolic colour for funerals, it is an official mourning cloth, especially for people who died at an unripe age.</li> <li>• Black also symbolizes an intensified spiritual energy and communion with the ancestral spirits.</li> </ul>
Green	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is associated with vegetation, planting and herbal medicine.</li> <li>• It symbolizes growth, vitality, fertility, prosperity, fruitfulness, abundant health and spiritual rejuvenation</li> </ul>

Comparing the above two tables on the meaning and symbolism of colours it is clear that they are continuities and discontinuities. For example whereas the colour red is used to symbolize blood and fire, in the western categorization, the same colour symbolises suffering amongst the Shona people. This is found in the beads used by the Shona people as well as the *retso*, piece of cloth for the *shave* spirits. This is probably why the Shona people would say “*Ndakaona nhamo tsvuku*” translated – (I suffered terribly). This shows that the colour red represents suffering. That also explains the reason why a piece of red cloth is put at the entrance of a homestead where someone has passed on. This is to say that the family is suffering because of the loss of their loved one. On the other hand the Shona people also associate the colour red, with lightning. The flash of lightning is

<sup>717</sup> Interview with Prof. G. Chavhunduka on the 9<sup>th</sup> January 2008, at 156 The Chase, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe

believed to be closely affiliated to the colour red such that when it rains and the rain comes with lightening, old Shona people would ask their family members putting on Red cloths to remove them, lest the house will be struck by lightening<sup>718</sup>.

In the same vein the colour black is used in most Christian traditions for funeral situations. The same applies to the traditional Shona belief systems. Black is therefore a colour that symbolises bereavement, loss hence it's a colour of death. In the Shona tradition when a husband loses a wife they put a black patch on their jacket or shirt. Similarly a woman who has lost a husband would put on a black dress, black duet or even black shoes to tell the on lookers that they are in a period of mourning for a loved one. When a Shona person sees someone dressed in that way they will know that such a person is mourning. This is also supported by J.C. Kumbirai who suggests that when a person dies the Shona people believe that his or her spirit is black (*mutema*) until the time when this spirit is brought back home through the *Kurova Guva* (to dance at the grave) ceremony<sup>719</sup>. J. C Kumbirai goes further to say "that death casts a spell, a black spell, on the deceased and all his belongings. That is why the deceased's hut and his belongings have to be purified by sprinkling some herbal medicine over them. All those who have been to a funeral must wash themselves of this black spell before they return to their homes<sup>720</sup>", lest they carry the black spell with them and suffer death in their own homes. Therefore black symbolises stark humanness amongst the Shona people. In the same vein black seems to symbolise the same in the western symbolization although there may be slight differences in degree and meaning. This explains why the Anglican Church has always used the colour black during funeral services to express that nothingness of humanity.

Be that as it may, one should hasten to say that just like culture is not static, symbolism also changes as people progress and continue to assign meaning to their surroundings.

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<sup>718</sup> The researcher grew up in Murimi Village in Tandi area, Rusape Zimbabwe with his Grandmother, Mrs Joyce Chigweshe, who died in 2001 at the age of c120 years. Whenever it started raining, she would ask anyone putting on any red piece of cloth to remove it immediately because she believed that the colour attracted lightening.

<sup>719</sup> J.C. Kumbirai, "Kurova Guva and Christianity", in M.F.C Bourdillon SJ [ed.], Christianity South of the Zambezi, Vol 2, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1977, p123 - 130

<sup>720</sup> Ibid

Recent trends in Liturgical innovation and theological inquiry has started to discourage the use of black colour in services of the departed, and began to encourage the use of the colour white. As noted above, the western understanding of the colour white has always been that it symbolises purity and joy, hence its use in joyful occasions such as Christmas, and the Saints Days, as well as any services to mark Feast of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. Recent developments have encouraged the use of white for the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the same sense, since Christians believe that the dead will rise, the current trend in the Anglican Church is to use the colour white for a funeral service to communicate hope in the resurrection of the dead. However we should also state that the colour white is also found in the religious dress of the ancestors to express ancestral immortality. Therefore in terms of indigenization of this colour we can safely say that there have been some continuities and discontinuities between the western and the local Shona symbolism. However the Diocese of Mashonaland has maintained the western symbolism of white in its worship services.

On the other hand the green colour is understood in the western context to express growth and increase of the church and is also symbolic of hope. This is the colour that is used at various times of the year, on days that are not Saints days<sup>721</sup>. However amongst the Shona, the colour green is associated with vegetation, planting and herbal medicine. It also symbolizes growth, vitality, fertility, prosperity, fruitfulness, abundant health and spiritual rejuvenation. In short the green is a colour for life. In terms of indigenization of this colour, there is a sense in which the Diocese of Mashonaland has maintained the use of this colour in its western expression.

In this regard one can safely state that there has been a lot of borrowing going on between the Christian tradition represented in the Diocese of Mashonaland, regarding liturgical colours, and the meaning of colours amongst the local Shona people. With this borrowing it means that when the church interprets colours, there is a sense in which the local

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<sup>721</sup> An Anglican Prayer Book [Church of the Province of Southern Africa], Jeppesstown: Harper Collins Publishers, 1989.

people will understand certain aspects of the above colours. Let us now consider the process of indigenization of Eucharistic elements.

### **8.7 Indigenization Eucharistic Elements**

The Anglican tradition world over, has always maintained that the celebration of Holy Eucharist forms the integral part of its worship services. In fact membership of the Anglican church in the Church of the Province of Central Africa is defined by the fact that one has been baptized and confirmed and shall have received Holy Communion three times at least during the preceding year at the hands of some priest<sup>722</sup>. This Holy Sacrament is celebrated using unleavened Bread (wafers) and wine. Traditionally the Anglican Church uses bread [wafers] and wine that were imported from South Africa. The question which one may raise is ‘could the missionaries not find any local indigenous elements that could be used to represent the body and blood of Jesus Christ?’. The New Testament clearly tells us that Jesus used the everyday elements that were found in his community, to institute this service of Holy Eucharist [Matt.26:26 – 29]. He did not have to import the bread and wine for that occasion. We are told that he took the ordinary unleavened bread and the grape wine to institute his Eucharist. In the same vein the Shona people have a variety of every day food and drink types, which could have been adapted and used in the celebration of Holy Eucharist such a traditional beer as well as *sadza* [thick porridge].

It should be stated that this area of indigenization has been a matter of serious debate, where several African theologians like Jose’ Antunes da Silva<sup>723</sup> have written upon. Jose rightly notes that;

*The Church has always taught that the sacraments have their origin in the life and mission of Jesus. This is particularly emphasized in the case of the Eucharist where we are invited to do the same as Jesus did. He took bread and wine and gave them to His disciples and told them to do the same in His memory. The Church, therefore, prescribes the use of bread and wine for the validity of this sacrament. The bread must be made of wheat, since this is what Christ used. In the Latin Church, this bread must be unleavened. The wine must be made from*

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<sup>722</sup> *Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa*, April 1996

<sup>723</sup> Jose’ Antunes da Silva, was a Divine Word Missionary born in Portugal, who once served as a missionary in Ghana.

*grapes, pure and incorrupt. For the validity of the Eucharist, the two elements must be present because a real meal consists of food and drink*<sup>724</sup>.

The issue still remains that of relevance of using materials that are imported leaving the local materials that are easily accessible. If God translates God-self into the local context, making himself available in the mother tongue of the people and in the familiar surroundings of the people, then it must be possible that the local food and drink should be used in Holy Eucharist instead of importing foreign food and drink. In fact Jose rightly states that “bread and wine are powerful signs of a familiar and fraternal meal in the Mediterranean context. In sub-Saharan Africa these products are unknown. If they signify anything at all, they are a sign of a foreign presence, not of a familiar meal<sup>725</sup>”. If this is the case then we should advocate for the use of the local staple food and drink in the Eucharistic celebrations. In Mashonaland the staple food was *sadza* [thick porridge] especially made from rapoko *Zviyo* or *Rukweza*. The staple drink is traditional beer or *Maheu*. All these are readily available amongst the Shona people.

Theologically speaking, if one believes in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, it follows that they will realise the sense in calling for change in the elements used for the Holy Eucharist. Just as the Son of God was incarnated in the culture of Israel, the Church must also incarnate in every culture. Those who favour change say that the Church should, in every place, take the food of that culture and use it in the Eucharist. If Christ has to become African, why shouldn't we use the food and drink of the African people? It also follows that if the Church is universal we should not stick to the use of foreign food at the expense of the local. In fact it simply goes to show that there are some foods that are inferior which God can not accept a notion which militates against the nature of God who is incarnational in character.

This brings us to evaluate the practice in the Diocese of Mashonaland. From the early days of the Diocese, wafers [bread] and wine have been imported from South Africa as stated above. However after the establishment of the *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*

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<sup>724</sup> Jose' Antunes da Silva, “Bread and Wine for the Eucharist: Are they Negotiable”, in *AFER* 34 no 5 O 1992, p258-271

<sup>725</sup> Ibid

[Community of the Holy Name], at St Augustine's, Penhalonga, they started to produce wafers that were now being used in the Diocese of Mashonaland<sup>726</sup>. Although the wafers were now produced locally, they remained foreign in the sense that they were made in exactly the same way that they were made in South Africa were they originally came from. In the same manner, with the industrialization taking place in Zimbabwe, some winery factories were established which produced wine that found its way into the churches in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Although this wine was now being produced locally, just like the wafers, this alcoholic beverage remained foreign since the Mashona people had their own traditional drink. So in terms of indigenization of the Eucharistic elements one can safely say that these survived any winds on change. They have remained that way, up to the present day. The sad thing is that despite the fact that the church is being run by indigenous African Bishops with almost 100% indigenous clergy, everyone seems to be in a zone of comfort where such issues are not even raised for discussion. We can now move on and evaluate the process of the indigenization of church architecture

### **8.8 Indigenisation of Church Architecture**

Church architecture refers to the shape and style in which Churches are built. History has shown that churches are built in different sizes and shapes. In many cases it is the taste of the incumbent priest that is captured in the church architecture that is eventually constructed. However P. Hammond is right to suggest that, "If you are going to build a church, you are going to build a thing which speaks. It will speak of meanings and of values and it will go on speaking. And if it speaks of the wrong values, it will go on destroying. There is a responsibility here<sup>727</sup> .

It is true that by looking at a church building one is bound to get some meaning or value of that piece of architecture. It is important to state that in the Diocese of Mashonaland, most of the churches were also used as schools<sup>728</sup>, hence their architecture was that of an oblong –classroom like shape. However it needs to be reiterated that a church needs to

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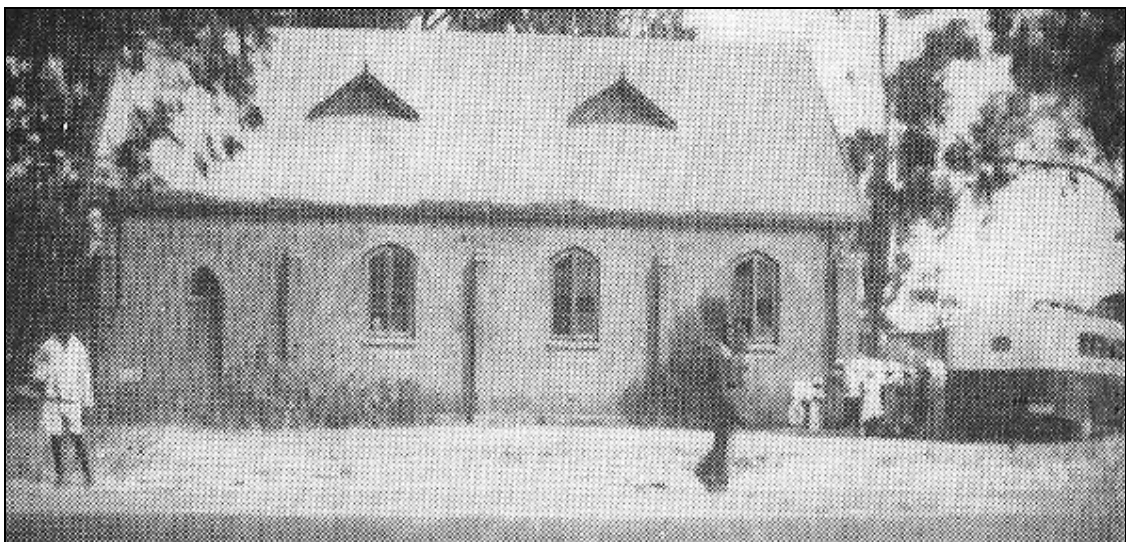
<sup>726</sup> *The Link*, February 1952

<sup>727</sup> P. Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, London: Architectural Press, 1960,p9

<sup>728</sup> Interview with Canon G. Mashingaidze, on the 30<sup>th</sup> June 2007 at 6 Margate Eastlea Harare, Zimbabwe

communicate what it stands for, as place for worship understood by the local people. It is an anomaly to build churches, whose architecture is foreign to the indigenous people, who may fail to get into the correct mood to connect with their creator. It is within this understanding that Henry Byekwaso, suggests that some churches built in some places have conveyed meanings and values that are unfortunately alien to those which the church exists for, not only proclaim but also to manifest; churches which deny the doctrine preached from their pulpits, and obscure the essential meaning of the communal acts which they should serve and articulate<sup>729</sup>.

This means that the architecture of the church building needs to come from the local people's architectural innovation which conveys meaning to them. However, most church buildings that were constructed in the Diocese of Mashonaland were put up using the British church architecture. A good example is one of the first church buildings, St Michaels Church<sup>730</sup>; build in 1906 along the present day Robert Mugabe Rd<sup>731</sup>. The picture below shows the original St Michaels Church built for the indigenous population in Harare. This picture shows that the church was built using a typical western architecture.



*St Michaels Church*

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<sup>729</sup> Henry Byekwaso, "Building a Church: Things to remember", in *AFER*, 29 no 6 D 1987, pp326-338

<sup>730</sup> St Michaels Church was the first church build for the Indigenous people in the city of Salisbury [now Harare]. This picture appears in *The Link* of January 1947

<sup>731</sup> *The Link*, January 1950,

Such architecture was certainly foreign to the Shona people of that time. Their architecture was mainly that of rondavels, made of pole and dagga, and a thatched roof. A hut made in this way, communicated shelter and a holy place for the Shona person especially the one that was used as a kitchen where there was an altar, upon which the family would talk to its ancestors.

However it should be stated that although the majority of the churches were built using the British architectural designs, there were two exceptions in the Diocese of Mashonaland worth mentioning here. Despite the fact that these two exceptions were influenced by European clergy, they tried to capture the local indigenous world view of the Shona people to a large extent.



*A. S. Cripps' Church of Stone Built at Daramombe in Chivhu*<sup>732</sup>

The picture on the left shows the first of these two churches that was built by Arthur Shirley Cripps at Maronda Mashanu Mission in Daramombe, Chivhu. Douglas Steere, refers to A.

S. Cripps as “*God’s Irregular*”, since in everything that he did, he sought to avoid anything European instead he wished to promote the African in his/her context. Douglas Steere states that Arthur S. Cripps “...went about the building up of the Wrenigham missionary station itself and erected a school, a dormitory and a *very quaint church* which, like all of Cripps’ churches, made some use of the *rondavel type* of African hut in

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<sup>732</sup> NAZ Collections [92 Cripps Fr. A. S] 46, ‘1965 – 01’ / 8746



its design<sup>733</sup>”. More than just building this church in a rondavel shape, he also made use of the local materials, such as stones, and grass. Douglas Steere gives a vivid picture of this church when he says “...he fashioned the Maronda Mashanu church with its five pillars of stones, its rondavel ...its rugged altar with a clay floor studied with pebbles, and an almost Hindu freedom for the birds to share in its worship as they wheeled in and out and were looked upon not as intruders but as our sisters the birds<sup>734</sup>”.

*The interior of A. S. Cripps’ Church of stone built at Daramnombe Chivhu, showing some of the five pillars and the Altar above A.S.Cripp’s grave<sup>735</sup>.*



This church was built in 1912 and Bishop Peter Hatendi who became the first indigenous Bishop of

the Diocese of Mashonaland said he used to visit this church and hold a Eucharist service there once every year. For him the place was full of holiness and many local people identified with this church and took turns to preserve it in its original form<sup>736</sup>. This is therefore a good example of a church that was influenced by the traditional architecture as exemplified by the Great Zimbabwe ruins which A. S. Cripps appreciated during his life time. In fact it is Frank Willett, who also says that the best known architectural monument in the whole of Africa is the Great Zimbabwe<sup>737</sup>. No wonder why Cripps decided to make use of that architecture, since the local people would identify with it easily. This is therefore a good example of the indigenisation of church architecture in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

<sup>733</sup> Douglas Steer, *God’s Irregular Arthur Shirley Cripps: A Rhodesian Epic*, London: S.P.C.K, p44

<sup>734</sup> Douglas Steer, *God’s Irregular Arthur Shirley Cripps: A Rhodesian Epic*, London: S.P.C.K, p44

<sup>735</sup> NAZ Collections [92 Cripps Fr. A. S] 46, ‘1965 – 01’ / 8747

<sup>736</sup> Interview with Bishop Peter. R. Hatendi, at 16Kenny Road Avondale, Harare, Zimbabwe on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 2006

<sup>737</sup> Frank Willett, *African Art: An Introduction*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1971,p16

The other church, which was built and designed in a typical African architectural innovation, was St Faith Mission Church. This Church was built during the Rectorship of Canon Edgar Lloyd and dedicated in 1909<sup>738</sup>. Below is a picture showing the interior of this Church with some of the indigenous decorations;

On closer inspection one can see the banners hanging in the nave of this church with pictures of local animals found in Rusape area during that time. Those who have been in this church say that on these banners, were inscribed the totems of the local tribes and the gates to the sanctuary were made of assegais, instruments which were common to the local people<sup>739</sup>. In the picture above one can also see a traditional drum standing just



beside the lectern on the far right hand side. It is said that this drum was used to hold the candle by which the bible was read<sup>740</sup>. Such an architecture and internal decorations and designs were made in an effort to express the indigenous African worldview.

The whole indigenous outlook of St Faith Church built by Canon Lloyd is

described succinctly by Bishop St. John Evans who propounds that St Faith Church building “was surely one of the most remarkable churches in Africa. It violates nearly all architectural canons, but holds together, apparently by faith. Its style is completely African ... the dark interior breathes an air of mystery and reverence, and the rough floor

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<sup>738</sup> *The Link*, August 1960

<sup>739</sup> Interview with Canon W.W.W. Nechironga, on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 2006 at 34 Fairfield Road Hatfield, Harare, Zimbabwe.

<sup>740</sup> *The Link*, August 1961. The picture above is taken from the same magazine.

is worn by the feet and knees of thousands of African worshippers”. Such a description brings out the manner in which this Church building was built with the local context in mind. As if the above comment is not enough, one can also get a complete picture of the indigenous nature of this church building by considering the observation made by Canon S. J. Christelow in an obituary which he wrote following the passing on of Canon Lloyd in 1953. This is what Canon Christelow had to say;

*His building was certainly not with an eye to permanence, but to express native thought and bring to a higher spiritual level some of the in born talents of the African. With materials found ready at hand, white quartz, coloured earth, spear heads and native drums, Lloyd would bring them all into his picture...Totem signs all over the church added to the effectiveness together with all the banners representing the out-stations. It was allowing the African a free expression of his mind and in this way he helped to build up an African contribution to Christian faith and practice<sup>741</sup>.*

As noted in Chapter 3, it should be reiterated that Canon Edgar Lloyd was a ‘disciple’ of A.S.Cripps hence his approach to church architecture and indeed his ministry was very close to that of his master and mentor. These are the only churches in the Diocese of Mashonaland which resembled the local context in their architectural designs and furnishings. In this sense we can say that the process of indigenising church architecture was quite slow. The sad thing however was also that even when the local indigenous clergy were now in positions of authority they did not think of coming up with indigenous architecture that would capture the minds of their local flock. Instead we see that most if not all the churches built during their tenure, followed the British architecture. Associated with architecture is the whole area of religious art. Below we will evaluate the impact of art on the development of indigenous liturgical art in the Diocese of Mashonaland

### **8.9 Development of Indigenous liturgical art**

As noted above some of the churches that were built in the Diocese of Mashonaland were adorned with some pieces of art such as those banners at St Faith Mission Church as well as drums and other symbols such as that of the African Madonna and her child. Oscar Wemter S.J is correct to suggest that “religion and art have been close, in fact almost

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<sup>741</sup> G.E.P.Broderick, Op. Cit, [unpublished manuscript], Appendix 21

identical for much of their history<sup>742</sup>”. As people think about their objects of faith they tend to create images of those beings. It is therefore true that any form of art serves a purpose. For example liturgical art is intended to communicate a message to those that come in contact with it during divine worship. Although there has been Shona traditional art, before the coming of colonialism, it seems this was not well developed.

The development of indigenous liturgical art in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland is mostly associated with Canon Edward Peterson, who had come all the way from Potchefstroom in South Africa, with a specific intention to work in a Home which was established at Westacre for delinquent boys. When this project failed, Canon Edward Peterson remained at Westacre to start Cyrene Mission which opened its doors in 1940 as a central school for the encouragement of African arts and crafts<sup>743</sup>. Being an ordained priest himself Canon Edward Paterson was destined to put into motion the development of indigenous art. In his own words Canon Paterson postulates that “we started in our first term of 1940 the encouragement of art – resolved to make Cyrene an artistic vacuum into which no air might flow from world art – very curious to see what might happen<sup>744</sup>”. In other words he started with people who did not have any clue in the world art and wanted to nurture creativity which is the essence of art.

Like any other undertaking of this nature, within the first few months there was no significant achievement. However after a year Canon Paterson states that “we had a few things worth showing to our Bishop, who has from the first seen our geese as swans<sup>745</sup>”. In fact Cyrene art developed so fast such that in 1943, there was held their first exhibition at which they had good sales. The following exhibitions were held in 1945, in Bulawayo, Harare, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg<sup>746</sup>. Canon Paterson goes on to mention that the success story of Cyrene mission was soon to be seen when the S.P.G, helped them to set up an exhibition in London by the end of 1947. Amongst some of the

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<sup>742</sup> Oscar Wemter S.J, “Zimbabwean art in Christian Symbolism”, in *African Ecclesial Review*, 31 no 3 Je 1989, pp161 - 167

<sup>743</sup> G.E.P. Broderick, A History of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia, [Unpublished Manuscript], p297

<sup>744</sup> *The Link*, May 1950

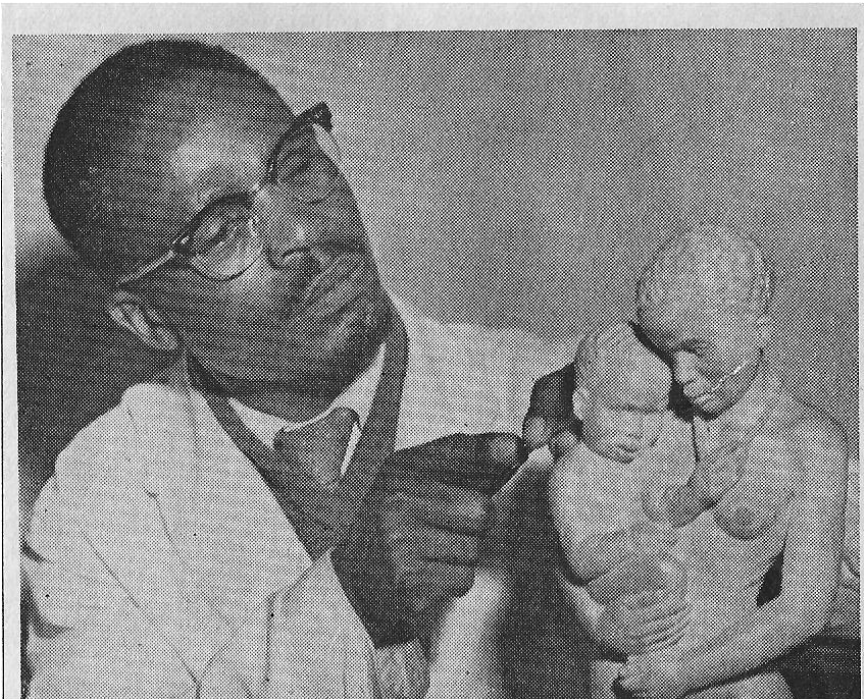
<sup>745</sup> *The Link*, May 1950

<sup>746</sup> *Ibid*

items that they produced were works of drawings, water-colour drawings, wood and stone sculpture<sup>747</sup>. All these items were done in typical African style hence capturing the African worldview.

It should be stated however that it was not only Cyrene Mission that produced good pieces of liturgical art. Extant records show that St Faith Mission also had some good liturgical art that was done by Mr. Job Kekana<sup>748</sup>. Below is the picture of Mr. Job Kekana putting finishing touches on an African Madonna and Child<sup>749</sup>. Job Kekana was a wood-carver who worked closely with Canon Paterson in the production of Indigenous images that ended up in church locally and abroad.

However the classic development of indigenous art also comes out clearly when one considers the Bishop's Crosier that was designed by Canon Paterson when he was at Cyrene Mission and carved by Job Kekana at St Faith Mission. This crosier was carved with the specific



intention that it would be used by the incumbent Bishop of Mashonaland. It was made out of Lemon – wood<sup>750</sup>. The picture below shows the top end of this Bishop's crosier with its indigenous images depicting Biblical personalities and angels.

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<sup>747</sup> Ibid

<sup>748</sup> *The Link*, November 1961

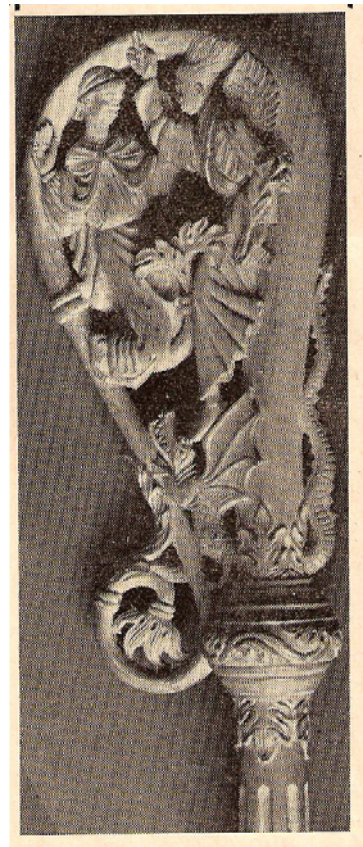
<sup>749</sup> Ibid

<sup>750</sup> Ibid. This picture of Mr. Job Kekana was taken from the same magazine.



A closer inspection of this crosier will show the Angel Gabriel with an indigenous African face announcing the incarnation to an indigenous African Mary. This was indeed the highest levels of trying to express the incarnation of God amongst the indigenous Shona people. This Crosier became a very important piece of Episcopal office such that when Rev. H. St. John Evans, formerly Archdeacon in the Diocese of Mashonaland, became Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of St John's in the Eastern Cape in South Africa in 1951; he was presented with the same. However upon his death in 1956, this Crosier was bequeathed to the Diocese of Mashonaland for use by its future Bishops<sup>751</sup>.

The development of indigenous liturgical art in the Diocese of Mashonaland can also be seen through the participation of the Anglican Art teachers and students in the Annual National Arts workshops that were started in 1960<sup>752</sup>. The workshops involved other churches such as the Methodists, Lutherans as well as Music and Art Colleges such as Kwanongoma College of Music as well as Nyarutsetso Art School [Anglican] and Serima Mission [Catholic]. Such workshops brought several people across the country who were either teachers or student teachers. At such workshops they would spend a week together working in different groups, usually in the three areas namely drama, music and art. The purpose of such workshops was “to give anyone in the country interested in art, music and drama, an opportunity to learn more about their particular interest, and to develop



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<sup>751</sup> *The Link*, September 1962

<sup>752</sup> *The Link*, July 1964. In this issue there is a report of the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Arts Workshop that was held at Nyatsime College in Chitungwiza Township.

techniques and skills in expression especially in the service of the church<sup>753</sup>. At most of these workshops new indigenous music would be composed and new methods of using art and religious drama to teach faith and enhance Christian worship, were also explored.

Through these workshops indigenous art gradually crept into the church especially when churches started to buy and use some of the pieces of art produced at such workshops. In 1967, there was a report in *The link*, to the effect that three or four missions in the country were now using painted drums full-time at their Eucharist as well as other services<sup>754</sup>. Added to the production of these beautiful indigenous drums, the participants also made banners which were intended to decorate the interior of their Churches.

On the whole one can safely say that there was a steady development of indigenous liturgical art in Zimbabwe from as early as the 1940s when institutions such as Cyrene mission were established. People such as Canon Edward Paterson[Anglican], and Father John Groeber, of Serima [Catholic], are household names of art teachers who knew that here in Africa the word of God must be made the local flesh, not somebody else's flesh. According to Fr. Oscar Wemter S.J, these two understood and taught their learners that Jesus Christ was the same Lord and Saviour everywhere and yet a different Lord and saviour everywhere<sup>755</sup>. Having evaluated the development of indigenous liturgical art and especially the role played by Cyrene Mission, we can safely move on to evaluate the process of the indigenisation of the *Acts and Constitutions of the Diocese of Mashonaland*.

### **8.10 Indigenisation of Diocesan Acts and Constitutions.**

Since its formation in 1891, the Diocese of Mashonaland adopted its Acts from the Church of the Province of Southern Africa [CPSA]. An "Act" refers to any decision of synod which is intended to have a mandatory effect as part of the law of an individual

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<sup>753</sup> *The Link*, July 1964

<sup>754</sup> *The Link*, October 1967

<sup>755</sup> Oscar Wemter, S.J, "Zimbabwean Art in Christian Symbolism", in *African Ecclesial Review*, 31 no 3 Je 1989, pp 161-167

Diocese in the Anglican Communion<sup>756</sup>. On the Other hand the word “*Constitution*” means a set of rules that binds the said Diocese or Province<sup>757</sup>. These two instruments facilitate the smooth running of the Anglican Church. As such they are open to revision and amendment where necessary. However the amendment of these Acts can only be done by “a two thirds majority vote of members of Diocesan Synod present in synod, or by a two thirds majority vote of the members of synod present in each House of synod if a vote by Houses is called for<sup>758</sup>”.

Perusing through the minutes of the synods done between 1891 and 1981, there is evidence that some changes were effected to the Acts of the Diocese of Mashonaland. However most of these changes had nothing to do with the topic under investigation. As such we will not waste our time evaluating them. However a few amendments to the Acts that have a bearing on the process of indigenization includes a suggestion by Rev. A. S. Cripps that European Clergy ministering in certain areas should be required to learn the indigenous language of that area<sup>759</sup>. This amendment was adopted and implemented. Although many European clergy such as A. S. Cripps ended up speaking fluent Shona, others did not bother to do what this Act stipulated. Since there was no mechanism to enforce that provision, most European clergy just continued to minister in their mother tongue.

It is also important to note that the first eleven synods of the Diocese of Mashonaland, [1903, 1906, 1909, 1912, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1924, 1927, 1928, and 1929] endorsed the amendment on having a Translations Committee, in which, there was a representation of both European and indigenous people<sup>760</sup>. This committee was tasked to prepare translations where they were needed into the native languages that were used in the Diocese of Mashonaland. This again was a positive way of indigenizing the Acts of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

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<sup>756</sup> *Acts and Constitutions of the Diocese of Mashonaland*, 1975 pi

<sup>757</sup> *Ibid*, pii

<sup>758</sup> *Ibid* piii

<sup>759</sup> ANG/1/4/4/1, NAZ [Minutes of Diocese of Mashonaland held in 1903]

<sup>760</sup> AB 1225 – Diocese of Southern Rhodesia maintained at Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg South Africa



As the years went by more synods took place and some amendments with a bearing on the process of indigenization of Acts were also adopted. A classic one was the resolution of 1918, synod which accepted the future representation of indigenous people in Synod. It was suggested that delegates should be elected by certain missions recognized by Synod as of sufficient standing. This was indeed a positive amendment in line with the process of indigenization of Diocesan Committees as shown above. Following this amendment *The Southern Rhodesia*, of November 1921, records that at the Synod held in Harare in September of 1921, for the first time an African was present in the person of the Rev. S. Muhlanga, and it was also reinforced that in future indigenous delegates for Synod should be drawn from mission stations such as Bonda, Penhalonga, Rusape, Harare and Bulawayo<sup>761</sup>. On the whole there is no evidence of significant changes to the Acts and Constitutions of the Diocese of Mashonaland that have a bearing on the process of Indigenisation of the very Acts and Constitutions. This is evidenced by the fact that to date the Diocese of Harare still uses the Acts and Constitutions that were last reprinted in 1975.

### **8.11 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have basically evaluated the process of indigenisation in three interrelated areas namely liturgy, architecture and Church Laws. With regards to the process of the Indigenisation of liturgy in its various expressions such as church music and musical instruments, we have established that there was minimal progress in having indigenous music developed as well as the use of indigenous musical instruments. Most of these instruments were viewed as diabolic since the same were used in traditional ceremonies. However we have also established that in terms of liturgical gestures, there is continuity between some of the western and local liturgical gestures. We also established that there is continuity and discontinuity in the use and meaning of liturgical colours in the Diocese of Mashonaland. This chapter has also made it clear that in terms of liturgical vestments there has been very minimal Indigenisation, given the fact that up to this date, there are some clergy in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare], who still import

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<sup>761</sup>Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, *Op. Cit*, p253

liturgical vestments from England. The only Indigenisation related to liturgical vestments is probably expressed in the use of the locally manufactured fabric to produce these vestments. This chapter also established that there was no effort made to indigenize the elements used for Holy Eucharist. However in the area of church architecture and religious art, we discovered that there were great strides made, and we were able to show case some of the pictures to this effect. However with regards to the Acts and Constitutions of the Diocese of Mashonaland, we established that there were numerous amendments made, although very few of those had a direct impact on the subject of indigenisation. On the whole one can safely say that indeed there were some efforts undertaken towards indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland although the process was very slow or non-existent. Having evaluated the different dimensions of Indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare] we can now proceed to stipulate the findings of this research and make suggestions for a way forward.

## Chapter 9

### Recommendations and Conclusion

#### 9.0 Introduction

Having investigated and evaluated the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland from 1891 up to 1981, we now seek to draw our conclusion and make recommendations for future research in this field of study. In doing that we will highlight the findings of this whole research before we suggest a way forward in this area of study. Below we state the findings of this research.

#### 9.1 Research Findings

One of the initial findings of this research stretches to a few years beyond the constitution and establishment of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. This is to do with the fact that Africanisation as a form of indigenisation played a major role in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. Africanisation as defined in chapter two above has to do with a realisation that Africa is a rich and fertile ground upon which God can reveal *Godself*. It is a realisation that Africa has all that it needs to access God and enjoy the privileges of being God's creation. It is also a realisation that African thought, patterns, language and personnel are good enough to promote the spread of the Gospel message to their kith and kin. In this sense indigenisation and evangelisation are closely related, in the sense that one – evangelisation is spreading the Gospel, whereas the other

– indigenisation has some element of spreading the Gospel but in a way that makes the recipients ‘feel at home’.

It is within this context that this research has established, from the onset that without the local African people, helping to spread the Gospel, the whole process would have been doomed. This is a reality that Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce understood very well thereby ensuring that even on his initial journey to reconnoitre Mashonaland in 1888, he enlisted 10 servants and carriers to help him on his journey. If one considers the distribution of these servants, as discussed in chapter 2 above, one can realise the wisdom in Bishop Knight-Bruce. He made sure that he had servants from each of the tribes that he was going to have contact with. For example he had a couple of Tswana servants, one Ndebele and one Shona speaking person amongst them.

Since Bishop Knight-Bruce was European in origin, he certainly needed some people to interpret for him when he spoke to the Chiefs that he was going to come across. These servants were therefore critical in that regard. More than just being there to interpret what the Bishop would be wishing to convey to a given chief, since these servants looked like the local people in Mashonaland, in their physiology and skin colour, it was going to be easy for the local people to build trust in the Bishop since it would show that similar people to them were also trusting the Bishop. The Bishop’s servants therefore became African agents of indigenisation and should be considered as such when we consider the history of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, as we have shown above.

Another example of Africanisation as a form of indigenisation has been brought out clearly in the African catechists that accompanied Bishop Knight- Bruce, when he finally left Bloemfontein to start his new Diocese in Mashonaland. This research has shown that Bishop Knight-Bruce sought the help of catechists such as Charles Makolami, Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu, Samuel Makosa and Tom. These were men who had been trained as catechists in South Africa, and who had offered their services in this newly found Diocese and gave up their comfortable lives to go and minister to people who did not

even speak their languages. Such men had to learn the local language quickly in order to be useful in the mission field. Some of them such as Bernard Mizeki turned out to be well polished persons whom even the government could rely upon, for translation particularly in the High Court in Harare.

More than just making it easy for the local indigenous people to accept the Gospel on an identity ticket, these early catechists proved to be very key people in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. They became the nucleus of the early Translations Committee which worked so hard to make the prayers, hymns and Bible available to the local people in Shona. Such was not a mean contribution to the process of indigenisation. This amounts to the process of indigenising the liturgy of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. The translations of scriptures and liturgies continued to take place for as long as the need arose.

Still on the aspect of Africanisation as a form of indigenisation, this research has also shown that the ordained ministry amongst the indigenous people started as early as 1919, when Samuel Muhlenga was ordained Deacon. That was the beginning of a huge growth in indigenous clergy who were sent for training either at St Peter's Rossettenville in Johannesburg or at St Johns Seminary in Lusaka. This growth constitutes the fact that indeed there was indigenisation of personnel at the level of the ordained ministry.

This study has also established that even before the Diocese of Mashonaland started identifying people for the ordained ministry, as early as 1896, there was an ordained priest of colour in the Diocese, by the name of Rev. Hezekiah Mtobi. His presence therefore showed beyond any reasonable doubt that the indigenous people were capable and could qualify for the ordained ministry. Although the growth of indigenous vocations to ordination was slow in the early days, this study has shown that there was a tremendous increase of indigenous clergy in the late fifties and the early sixties.

This study has also shown that there are some European Clergy and laity who contributed immensely to the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland. As far as the

contributions made by European clergy are concerned, the names of Arthur Shirley Cripps and Edgar and Elaine Lloyd went a long way. It has been shown in this study that A. S. Cripps identified with the indigenous people right from the time that he settled in Chivhu. He stayed in the same houses as those used by the indigenous people, he ate what they ate and appreciated every aspect of their livelihood other than polygamy, which he deplored in very strong words. This study has therefore shown that although A. S. Cripps was a European priest, he had zeal to make Africans feel at home in their church. He is the first European priest to challenge his kith and kin at the Diocesan Synod of 1903, to learn the language of the indigenous people where they were ministering. More than that, he also built a church at Maronda Mashanu, using the plan of a typical indigenous rondavel, using stones. The architecture of this church indicates that there was an effort to indigenise church structure in the Diocese of Mashonaland. This was indeed an indication of Fr. A. S. Cripps' desire to indigenise the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

This research also established the immense contribution made by Edgar and Elaine towards indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. These missionaries were based in Rusape at St Faith Mission, and one of their contributions towards indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland was through the work of translations. As mentioned above the translations work in the Diocese continued under different people, but Edgar and Elaine were also part of that process. These two also wrote a devotional book in Shona entitled "*Rwendo RweMuKristu*". In this way the Anglican ethos was being put across in the language of the local people thereby making them feel at home in their own church.

We also found out that Canon Edgar Lloyd added another niche to the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland through the church that he built at St Faith Church. The architecture of this church was in cruciform but using African thought patterns and artistic skills. It was also thatched and everything used to build this church was found locally. The picture shown above in chapter 8 shows the inside of this church with its indigenous decorations. Banners with the local people's totems were hung

in the church. Spears and arrows, as well as drums were also placed in that church. Such a development should be seen as being in line with the process of indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

It has also emerged in this study that there has been very little if any process of indigenisation in the area of hymnody in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Efforts were made at St Augustine's and St Faith's mission to come up with locally invented tunes that were then incorporated into church music, but there has not been any effort to write hymns that would have been put together into the hymnal used in divine worship. All that we have discovered in this study is that all the hymns that were used when the Diocese was planted right up to 1981, are mere translations from the Hymns Ancient and Modern. There has been a marked degree of stagnation in this area such that some hymns that are contextually irrelevant to the context of Mashonaland continue to be sung even to this very day. A good example is Hymn 67, '*In the bleak mid-winter*'<sup>762</sup>, which virtually praises God for the beauty of the falling snow. This song has been translated into Shona and is found as hymn 33<sup>763</sup> in the Shona hymnal. This hymn is still sung in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare], even though chances of getting snow in such a climate are next to nil. Although there have been musicians of repute in the Diocese of Mashonaland, it is clear that the Church hierarchy did not tap into that talent and put into place strategies of encouraging such people to write hymns that would capture the local people's conceptualisation and communion with God.

This study has also shown that there has been a concerted effort to indigenise some Orders in the Diocese of Mashonaland such as the Order of religious Sisters. It was revealed that the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection, from Grahamstown, arrived in Zimbabwe in 1910 to start their work of mercy and education. The following year the Mirfield Fathers of the Community of the Resurrection also arrived at St Augustine's to start their ministry in education as well as pastoral work. This study revealed that this form of life moulded around the vows of chastity, poverty and celibacy,

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<sup>762</sup> Hymns Ancient and Morden, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1982, p49

<sup>763</sup> Buku reMunamato WeVese, London: S.P.C.K, 1963, p21

did not appeal to the majority of the indigenous population. This is indicated by the length of time that it took before a Community was started for the indigenous people in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

The Community of the Holy Name [CZR] only came into being in 1935, after a couple of women Emily and Isabella came together under the direction of the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection from Grahamstown to form the first indigenous Order of celibate woman in the Diocese of Mashonaland. This study has however shown that instead of growing and spreading in and around the Diocese, this Community has actually dwindled to the point that it is nearing extinction. There are basically no new ladies joining and some of those who joined are actually leaving the Order. In short we can safely say that this study has shown that there was no progress as far as indigenisation is concerned in this area of the Diocese of Mashonaland.

Although there was not much progress made in the area of religious life in the Diocese of Mashonaland, it should be highlighted that this study has shown that there was an effort made in indigenising the Episcopal office, which is the office of the Bishop. We have seen that even though the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, allow for the election and consecration of a Suffragan, Coadjutor, or Assistant Bishop, that provision was never utilised in order to allow the local indigenous people to take up positions of authority in the Diocese of Mashonaland, until the year 1973. The appointment and consecration of Bishop Patrick Murindagomo in 1973 seem to have been instigated by other forces that had nothing to do with a desire to put into motion the indigenisation of the Episcopal office in the Diocese of Mashonaland. As highlighted in Chapter 6 above, the raging war of liberation and the ever growing Episcopal needs in far and out laying areas seem to have pushed for the move to have a Suffragan Bishop. Be that as it may, the coming of Bishop Patrick Murindagomo as the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland marked a significant development in the process of the indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.



It also emerged that even when Bishop Murindagomo suddenly passed on after a short illness, he was succeeded by Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi, as Suffragan Bishop in 1979. In 1981 Bishop Ralph Peter Hatendi became the first indigenous Diocesan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, following the sudden resignation of Bishop Paul Burrough. This was indeed a significant expression of the process of indigenisation of the Diocese of Mashonaland in the area of personnel although it seems to have been by default and not by design.

This study has also revealed that there was a very slow process of indigenising the structures and committees of the Diocese of Mashonaland. Membership of important committees like the Standing Committee, the Bishop's Senate and the Elective Assembly, gradually started to have indigenous people from the 1950s onwards. With more indigenous men coming for ordination training, it also meant that membership of the Diocesan Synod gradually became indigenised, since every ordained clergy holding the Bishop's license automatically becomes a member of the Diocesan Synod. The first indigenous member of the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Mashonaland however was Rev. Samuel Muhlenga who became a member following his ordination to the Diaconate in 1919.

On the other hand this study also showed that the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland did not take place in the office of the Diocesan Secretary. From the beginning the Diocesan Secretary was always a European, right up to 1981, when Mr. Ian Maspero resigned in protest against Bishop Peter Hatendi. It has been established in this study that this office, took a long time to be entrusted to an indigenous person.

However when it comes to liturgical practice, in terms of the use of different colours to symbolise certain seasons of the liturgical year as well as liturgical action, this study revealed that, there are some similarities in terms of what certain colours symbolise. Certain religious action such as kneeling and prostrating also has similar meaning in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

This study also revealed that there has been a slow movement in the process of indigenising music instruments in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. It became clear that for a long time the indigenous musical instruments were relegated to being seen as demonic instruments as such they were not allowed to be used in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. Instruments such as the traditional drum, the shakers were all considered to be unsuitable for use in the Anglican Church from the beginning until the 1930's when it was discovered that there was nothing intrinsically wrong with the use of traditional drums in divine worship. However not all traditional instruments have been accepted for use in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland as indicated above.

This study has also revealed that there has been no process of indigenising liturgical dress in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland. From the onset, the early Missionaries brought religious regalia made in England, suitable for the cold weather obtaining in England. The same religious vestments were brought into the Diocese of Mashonaland without taking into account the differences in weather and climatic conditions. For the whole period under study in this research, up to this day, the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland [*now Harare*], still uses the liturgical dress as received from England when the diocese was first formed. The only difference is probably that, instead of the liturgical dress being made in England using English fabric, it is now being made from similar cloth made in Zimbabwe.

Last but not least, this study has also shown that although there have been amendments to the *Acts and Constitutions* of the Diocese of Mashonaland, these amendments have not taken into consideration the culture and practice of the indigenous African people. Hence some people have noted correctly that worship in the Anglican Cathedral in Harare is more English than worship in St Paul's Cathedral in London.

## **9.2 Way Forward**

Having evaluated the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland in the previous Chapter and stated the findings of this study in this chapter, we now move on to suggest our view of a way forward in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican

Diocese of Mashonaland. To do this we shall consider each and every component of the life of this Diocese as discussed in the Chapter 8 above.

### **9.2.a Indigenisation of Personnel**

This study revealed that with regards to the training of indigenous clergy, there was an upsurge from the 1950s up to the 1970s. However from the 1980's this trend stalled. On the other hand we also noted that even though indigenous clergy were identified and sent for theological training, all of these Theological Seminaries were run by Europeans and their members of staff were mostly European with very few Africans whose training was also European. For example St Peter's Rossettenville was run by the CR, Fathers from Mirfield England. The same Fathers were also in charge of St Augustine's Theological Seminary at Penhalonga in Manicaland. St John's Seminary in Lusaka Zambia was also headed by Fr. John Weller, a European priest. This scenario simply meant that the products of these colleges would come up not only being theologians but theologians with a European flair.

It is with this observation in mind that we believe that for a proper indigenisation to take place, it must start with the mindset of the characters involved. Having indigenous clergy who were trained in European style and levels of theologising would not guarantee any meaningful process of indigenisation. Indeed the clergy were indigenous but they continued to think, and function, within the confines and parameters of European thought systems. This is the reason why, for most of these early indigenous clergy, if the liturgy is abridged and changed to adapt to the indigenous people's taste, they feel very disappointed and upset because for them things should be done in a certain way in which they were trained by the European Theologians.

Given this observation we therefore suggest that for a proper indigenisation process to take place not only should indigenous people be identified for training, but indigenous theologians who have a good grasp of indigenous tradition and practices. In addition to that competent indigenous theologians should be identified to train these people. This training should also take place within the local context so that, whatever the ordinands

learn, that could be implemented immediately in their practicum. The idea of training clergy away from their area of ministry like in South Africa, where people had different traditions complicates the situation and militates against the process of indigenisation. Without taking steps in this direction the process of indigenising personnel in the Diocese of Mashonaland will remain superficial and cosmetic.

### **9.2.b Indigenisation of Liturgy**

In this section of our study we considered the liturgical aspects of the Church such as music, musical instruments, language, and religious gestures. We also considered liturgical vestments as well as liturgical colours. We will now make our suggestion for a way forward in these areas as far as the process of indigenisation is concerned in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare];

With regards to the liturgy of divine worship, there seems to be a lot that still needs to be done in order for the local indigenous people to feel at home when they worship God in their churches. The whole liturgy of the Holy Eucharist needs to be looked at, from the position of the indigenous traditions and practices. Although translations of the Service have been done, but such translation failed to take into account the local context. For example when the service starts the priest should greet people and welcome them to the sacred service of Holy Eucharist. We believe that this occasion needs to be couched in the local indigenous tradition of greeting people and welcoming them to a religious function of this nature. Traditionally one would greet the people using their indigenous language as well as clapping their hands and the people would also do the same. The European practice of having the Priest stand behind the altar and repeat the following words which are directly translated into Shona, *Tenzi Ngaave Nemi*, “The Lord be with You”, and the people respond *Ngaave nemiwo*, “And also with you”, is a clear indication that the people who translated these liturgies lacked the wherewithal of what proper indigenisation entails. Such is a meaningless manner of greeting one another to the local indigenous people. In fact if consideration is taken of some thorough-going local forms of greeting, in some contexts people greet each other clapping hands and mentioning their

totems. Since the congregation is made up of people with different totems, we suggest that a common totem like “*vatenderi*” [translated - believers] be used in worship situations to address the congregation.

It is our contention therefore as a way forward in the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Harare, that proper training of clergy be put into place so that they are able to come up with liturgies of divine worship that are still canonically acceptable, but contextually relevant. The traditions of the local people should be couched into the liturgy of worship if the service is to make the local people feel at home.

The same goes with the music that is sung during divine worship. As we noted above, the music has remained very western, and out of touch with the local context. Music that was written to praise God, within particular geographic and socio-political contexts very different from the local contexts were just brought into the Diocese and directly translated into Shona. Hymns such as 67, “*In the Bleak mid-winter*”<sup>764</sup>, directly translated into Shona, Hymnal “*Kare kare Chando Chakachena kwazvo*”<sup>765</sup>, is a good example of a hymn that is out of touch with the Shona people who live in a different geographical landscape that is not prone to snow. In fact if it were not for what people see in televisions and read in books, they may not even know what snow looks like. Given the fact that these hymns were written by the British people, they made sense to their local context since they captured the local reality and saw the place of God within those weather patterns and geographic seasons and features. A wholesale transposition and translation of such hymns into the local indigenous context leaves a lot to be desired. This amounts to transliteration, which is basically translation at the crude and contextless level which amounts to diffusion. The Hymns Ancient and Modern is replete with such hymns, which do not have a correlation to the local contexts as such the Diocese of Mashonaland should review this situation closely.

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<sup>764</sup> Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised, Norfolk: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1875

<sup>765</sup> Buku ReMunamato Wevese, London: S.P.C.K, 1963

It is within this context that we suggest as a way forward, that the Diocese of Harare adopts a vigorous program of grouping all the gifted musicians in the Diocese, provide them with further training in the need to conceptualise God in African perspectives using African and particularly Shona, thought patterns and come up with music that encapsulates such conceptions. Such an exercise requires enough funding, since not many people would love to do anything without being rewarded for it. The Diocese therefore needs to make a deliberate move to challenge its local musicians who litter the churches, to make their submissions to a team of theologians who will study the new hymns to ensure that they are theologically sound. This team must also include musicians who will also ensure that the new hymns meet the standard expectations of what constitutes a hymn.

There is also need to ensure that such musicians have knowledge of tapping into the African traditional lyrics, and tunes, so that the new hymns capture the local context in its totality and ensures that the indigenous people feel at home in their church. There are many geo-physical features in Zimbabwe such as sacred mountains, caves, trees, valleys waterfalls as well as sacred wells that could inspire some sound religious music which could then be written and sung in church during divine worship.

The same goes with the musical instruments that are played in most Churches in the Diocese of Harare. The use of organs and pianos is foreign to the local context. There is need to ensure that people are taught, to accept the fact that any instrument can be played in the church of God. This is so because there are still some people who loathe the use of certain musical instruments because they were told by certain missionaries that such instruments were evil. The use of traditional musical instruments such as *marimbas*, *mbira*, *bosvo*, *ngoma*, *hosho* and *hwamanda* should be encouraged. In fact people should be taught to play such instruments.

The other area that requires our comment and proposal for a way forward has to do with liturgical gestures. It is clear from the foregoing study that worship in the Diocese of Harare has been very Eurocentric in many ways. Liturgical gestures have to do with what

people do with their bodies when they worship. Africans are naturally active people as, such they are given to dancing to music. However the European way of worship came and imposed itself on the local people who enjoyed dancing. This practice of dancing to religious singing was discouraged and eventually discontinued. People now just stand to sing without making any movements with their bodies. This is very unAfrican in nature. If indigenisation is to be true to the word in the Diocese of Harare, people should be allowed to express their excitement through dance.

On the other hand there are certain postures that people take when they are engaged in worship. Such liturgical gestures also need to be reviewed and put in tandem with the local tradition regarding worship postures. In the Shona people's religious tradition, people kneel when they offer their prayers to their ancestors. They stand to sing and dance, they also sit to listen to religious instruction. In all these areas it seems there is continuity with the Christian tradition as it was brought to the Diocese of Harare. However the system of standing when the Gospel is being read, and when the final blessing is being given raises some problems. Such could be done when people are sitting, so as to ensure continuity with the local traditions.

### **9.2.c Indigenisation of liturgical vestments**

This is an area that still requires a lot of work with regards to the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Harare. As shown above, most of the religious regalia are a direct replica of what is used in the European Anglican Church tradition. The only difference is that the fabric is now locally produced. Although there is no traditional dress in Zimbabwe, that one could point to other than the old animal skins that our forebears used to wear, the use of western vestments in an African context militates against the process of indigenisation. There is need for the Diocese of Mashonaland to ensure that it makes use of the African colours designs and symbolism in its liturgical vestments and church calendar.

There are some countries that produce African material such as the Java material the Tie and Die material which could be used to make some religious dress such as Chasubles, Maniples and Stoles. Well processed animal skins could still be used to make some of these religious items of dress. Our suggestion for a way forward in this regard is that there is need for a serious study of the symbolic meaning of these religious articles of dress that are used in the Anglican Church, so that items with similar symbolic meaning could be used in their stead. In addition to that locally acceptable religious colours should also be used to depict the various liturgical seasons in the life of the church.

The same goes with some religious items that are used in the Diocese of Harare such as the Chalices used at the Eucharist, the wafers, the wine as well as the Tabernacle or the Aumbry. Indigenous household items were usually made from clay. The same could be used to make chalices and patens.

#### **9.2.d Indigenisation of Eucharistic Elements**

The elements of Eucharist such as wafers and wine also require some change. If Jesus used what was traditionally common in his day to capture the reality of his death and new life in resurrection, indeed we do not see any reason why the Diocese of Harare should import wafers, and wine from elsewhere without settling on the elements that are locally available and locally produced. The basic food for most indigenous people in the Diocese of Mashonaland is *Sadza*, and their traditional beverage is traditional beer, *maheu*, or even fruit juice such as orange juice.

If indeed the blood of Jesus should be represented by some alcoholic beverage, we do not see the reason why the African traditional beer can not be used at the Eucharist in the Diocese of Harare as well as using *Sadza*, as the body of Christ. We make this suggestion fully aware that there are some hygienic concerns to be taken into consideration. We also suggest the use of Maheu or orange juice for those who may not be given to take alcoholic beverages since these are readily available in Zimbabwe.

#### **9.2.e Indigenisation of Church Architecture and Décor**



On the other hand the Tabernacle or Aumbry, places where we reserve the Blessed Sacrament, can also be formed and moulded in such a way that resembles the local indigenous storehouses where our ancestors kept their valuables such as the hut where grain was stored *Tsapi, or hozi*. We therefore suggest that these places where Blessed Sacrament is kept should be made into some typical traditional African huts that could even have some thatch on their roof and some lockable door as usual. Such could remind the worshippers that it is okay for them to worship God from where they are and as they are with all that they have.

The same idea goes with the architecture of the Church buildings in the Diocese of Harare. Most of these Church buildings have no resemblance to the traditional architectural skills of the local people. We suggest therefore that Church buildings should capture the imagination of the local indigenous people. As such they should be built in a circular shape, that depicts the African hut and the altar, which depicts *chikuwa* in Shona language should be attached to one part of the circumference of that church with the priest standing behind the altar in the typical traditional position of offering prayers to the ancestors with everyone behind the priest.

#### **9.2.f Indigenisation of the Diocesan Acts and Constitutions**

As noted above there has been no movement at all in this area towards indigenisation. The reason given is that any attempt to localise the fundamental declarations of the Anglican belief will alter the stability of the communion. In that regard any change suggested to the Acts of the Diocese will have to be approved by all other Diocesan Synods of the constituent Dioceses of the Church Province of Central Africa as well as the Provincial Synod itself. The whole process is long and tedious, which frustrates anybody or any Diocese that may think about changing its Acts for any reason. However the same Acts and Constitutions allow for trial liturgies on the permission of the Bishop of that concerned Diocese. This is the avenue that could be exploited. However the only problem is that it depends on the disposition of the concerned Bishop. If that Bishop is averse to indigenisation then every effort of ingenuity and creativity towards indigenising the Diocese will collapse prematurely.

In this regard our suggestion of the way forward is to plead with Bishops that they allow creativity and ingenuity in their Dioceses and permit any application for trial liturgies that their clergy and laity may come up with. If this is done well and yields good results, then such liturgies could be taken up for approval at provincial synod when they have something to show case. We also suggest that a group of indigenous lawyers and liturgists come together and begin to look at those Acts that would need to be contextualised, and see how that could be done without altering the fundamental declarations of the Anglican Communion.

### **9.3 Conclusion**

In this study we have traced the history of the process of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare] from 1891 up to 1981. In that process we realised the initial efforts that were put in place by Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce, by way of inviting some African catechists from South Africa to accompany him to his new Diocese. We also established how these people worked hard to sow the seeds of the Gospel, even to the point of martyrdom like in the case of Bernard Mizeki. We also established the fact that even though the Anglican Church was initially dominated by European Clergy, there were others who sought to ‘diminish when the local indigenous people increase’. Such people as A. S. Cripps, and Edgar and Elaine Lloyd worked so hard to make the Anglican Church African. We also established the role played by the village schools and the teachers and catechists in the process of evangelisation as well as making the new converts ‘feel at home’ in this new religion. This study has also established that indigenisation also ensued in the work of translation that began with Bishop George Wydham Knight-Bruce and his initial catechists, Bernard Mizeki and Frank Ziqubu, right through the whole period under study.

We also established the development of the local clergy as a form of indigenisation and the role they played in the Diocese of Mashonaland serving on different committees of the Diocese. The consecration of Bishop Patrick Murindagomo in 1973, as the first indigenous Suffragan Bishop in the Diocese of Mashonaland and the eventual election of

Bishop Peter Ralph Hatendi in 1981, as the first indigenous Diocesan Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland were also significant steps in the direction of indigenisation of the Diocese of Mashonaland. On the other hand it should be stated that from 1891 right up to 1981 there were some areas in the life of the Diocese of Mashonaland that remained too Eurocentric. These areas include the area of liturgy, music, musical instruments as well as liturgical vestments as well as the Diocesan Acts and Constitutions.

On the whole, although one could trace some indications of indigenisation in the Diocese of Mashonaland [now Harare], it remains to be stated that there is still a lot that needs to be done, to make the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland truly local especially now with industrialisation and the world becoming a global village. These challenges make it almost impossible to have a truly indigenous Church which means future study should focus on what kind of church should we have in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century that will make everyone feel at home, regardless what race, class, sexual orientation or country they may be originating from. That is a subject for future research.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview with Canon W. W. W. Nechironga 2004

1. It would appear the African clergy took quite sometime to be entrusted with the offices of Rector, or Priest In Charge. Would you like to share your opinions on this one? Do you agree? Why was the situation like that?
2. In your opinion if the Anglican was brought in this country by a local Black clergy, do you think that the way we worship would have been different?
3. If Indigenisation is a process of making Christianity fit into the local situation, what would you say about the leadership of the following in view of Indigenisation;  
+ Edward Paget  
+ Cecil Alderson  
+ Paul Burrough
4. In 1939 St Augustine's Mission was opened as the first secondary school open to Africans. In your opinion what impact if any did that school have on the process of indigenizing the Anglican Church?
5. The CR Fathers were in charge of this school since 1915 up to 1983. In your assessment, did they contribute anything towards indigenizing the Anglican Church? Why in your opinion did they have to leave?
6. The CR Sisters of Grahamstown also came and did a lot of work in the Anglican Church. In 1941, there were two women who professed as members of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*. In your opinion how successful were such initiations of first order ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland.

7. Barbra Tredgold is known for making things happen at Runyararo Center in Mbare. What was happening at Mbare? Did this place contribute anything in the process of Indigenisation in the Anglican Church?
8. At the end of + Paget's time as Bp of Mashonaland he is said to have done massive work, including training clergy. From the 30 clergy (including one African) whom he inherited, the number had risen to 120 (including 35 Africans – you being one of them), Any comment about this development? What was the Bishop's perception of African ministry, and Indigenisation at Large?
9. Regionally Priests were trained at St Augustine's Penhalonga, St Peter's Rossettenville and St John's Lusaka. Where else were clergy being trained regionally ? Why was training in such places discontinued by the diocese of Mashonaland?
10. Epworth Theological College was an ecumenical seminary and yet the Anglican Church did not send its students there why?
11. Westhood St Barnabas Center was established during + Burrough's time. Why? Who were the lecturers there? Do you remember any names of priests who trained there? What form of curriculum did they follow? How good was this curriculum? Why was it discontinued?
12. The process of Indigenisation is generally looked at , at different levels namely;
  - # Personnel
  - # Liturgy – music, regalia, instruments, language
  - # Theology
  - # Constitution
13. In your opinion would we say that the diocese of Mashonaland has been involved in any form of Indigenisation?
14. Do you think Indigenisation is important for the church anywhere in the world?
15. The church recorded huge numbers of converts in the initial stages of the missionary enterprise. Later on people started drifting away from the mainline churches to form the AIC's . What would you attribute as the reason for that change?
16. If the church in Africa were to retain its people, what should it do?

## **Appendix 2**

Interview with Mrs. G.Murindagomo Jan 2004

1. How old are you?
2. When were you married
3. Where did you husband train for his ministry?
4. Where and when was your husband ordained to deaconate?
5. Where did you and your husband work during your husband's life?
6. What was the composition of the Church in terms of blacks and white during your husband's time as a priest?
7. When was your husband chosen as Bishop?
8. Where did you stay when your husband was Bishop?
9. Did your husband do any Confirmations, ordinations and consecrations or chair any synod as a Bishop and where did he do this if he did any of the above.
10. What can you say about the ministry of your husband as Bishop, what challenges, frustration, or joys did he face?
11. Who was the European Bishop during your husband's time and how did they relate with your husband?
12. Who elected your husband to be Bishop and why?

13. Would you say that the election of your husband to be Bishop was a preparation for a church that was to be led by Africans?
14. How many Black priests were there in this diocese when your husband was elected Bishop?
15. What can you say about the Anglican Church as Europeans and the Anglican Church led it as Blacks led it. Any differences for the good or the worse?

### **Appendix 3**

#### **Interview Questions for Clergy**

1. When were you ordained to Deaconate?
2. Which Parishes did you serve in and for how long where you in each of these parishes?
3. How many dioceses where there in the Anglican Church when you where ordained?
4. Who ordained you and where were you ordained?
5. Where did you train for your ministry and for how long
6. When was the diocese of Southern Rhodesia formed and for how long did it last?
7. When was the first division of this diocese?
8. When can we start talking about the diocese of Mashonaland?
9. How would you describe the initial composition of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of clergy and laity?
10. How would you characterize the growth of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of conversions particularly of the locals?
11. How would you describe the position of the Anglican Church during the Federation?

12. Briefly characterize the composition of synods that you attended prior to Independence?
13. Characterize the nature of the Church during the UDI, in terms of composition of the African clergy and the laity?
14. Would you say there was any efforts by the Church to indigenise it, if yes , how was this happening?
15. Characterise the process of the indiginisation of the church if there were any indications of this in the Anglican Church?
16. Towards Independence there were efforts to bring the Africans into positions of leadership, what would be your comment on this aspect?
17. Characterise the ministry of Bp Murindagomo in view of the composition of the church at his time?
  - Bishop Murindagomo was set up as Suffragan Bishop to appease the now growing complaints raised by blacks. He would portray the church now as beginning to realize that the leadership had to be shared between blacks and whites.
18. Why was it necessary at his time to bring in the fold an African Suffragan Bishop and what were his responsibilities.
19. After Bp. Murindagomo, there was elected Bishop Peter Hatendi as the Bishop of Harare. How did this happen?

## **Appendix 4**

### Interview Questions for the Laity

1. What is your name?
2. When were you born?
3. When did you get baptized and active in church affairs?
4. Do you know anything about Bernard Mizeki, or any of the early Black Catechists?
5. What roles have you played in the Church up to this point, offices that you held and how long you held those offices?
6. What can you say about the Anglican Church during the federation?
7. What can you say about the Anglican Church during the UDI?
8. What was the rate of growth of Africans in the Anglican Church from the time of the federation?
9. Who in your position were the decision makers in the Anglican Church from the time the diocese of Southern Rhodesia was formed, during the federation during the UDI and thereafter?
10. What is your understanding of indigenization?
11. At what point would you say the Anglican Church began the process of indigenization if it did at all?

12. Towards Independence an African Suffragan Bishop, in the nature of Rev. Murindagomo was chosen. What is your comment on his ministry was he a Bishop for all and sundry or he was for the blacks only?
13. Was Bp Murindagomo allowed to do particular services that are commensurate with the office of the Bishop like confirming, ordaining, consecrating as well as chairing synods?
14. When Bishop Murindagomo died, he was succeeded by Bishop Peter Hatendi, do you have any recollections about his time, good or bad?
15. In your view did he engage in the process of indigenization?
16. If your answer is “yes” in what ways?
17. In your view, is there any difference between the Anglican Church as it was under European leadership and the Anglican Church as it was under African leadership?
18. Would you agree that the Anglican Church was an appendage of the colonial system, and why?
19. When you consider, the way we worship, do our business as the Anglican Church, do you see anything African and Zimbabwean in it?
20. In your view what would complete indigenization of the Anglican entail?



## **Appendix 5**

### Questionnaire for the Ordained Clergy

20. What is your name?
21. When were you born?
22. When were you ordained to Deaconate?
23. Which Parishes did you serve in and for how long where you in each of these parishes?
24. How many dioceses were there in the Anglican Church when you were ordained?
25. Who ordained you and where were you ordained?
26. Where did you train for your ministry and for how long
27. When was the diocese of Southern Rhodesia formed and for how long did it last?
28. When was the first division of this diocese?
29. When can we start talking about the diocese of Mashonaland?
30. How would you describe the initial composition of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of clergy and laity?

31. How would you characterize the growth of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of conversions particularly of the locals?
32. How would you describe the position of the Anglican Church during the Federation?
33. Briefly characterize the composition of synods that you attended prior to Independence?
34. Characterise the nature of the Church during the UDI, in terms of composition of the African clergy and the laity?
35. Would you say there was any efforts by the Church to indigenise it, if yes, how was this happening?
36. Characterise the process of the indigenisation of the church if there was any indication of this in the Anglican Church?
37. Towards Independence there were efforts to bring the Africans into positions of leadership, what would be your comment on this aspect?
38. Characterise the ministry of Bp Murindagomo in view of the composition of the church at his time?
39. Why was it necessary at his time to bring in the fold an African Suffragan Bishop and what were his responsibilities.
40. After Bp. Murindagomo, there was elected Bishop Peter Hatendi as the Bishop of Harare. How did this happen?
41. It would appear the African clergy took quite sometime to be entrusted with the offices of Rector, or Priest in Charge. Would you like to share your opinions on this one? Do you agree? Why was the situation like that?
42. In your opinion if the Anglican Church was brought in this country by a local Black clergy, do you think that the way we worship would have been different?
43. If indigenization is a process of making Christianity fit into the local situation, what would you say about the leadership of the following in view of indigenization;
  - + Edward Paget
  - + Cecil Alderson
  - + Paul Burrough

44. In 1939 St Augustine's Mission was opened as the first secondary school open to Africans. In your opinion what impact if any did that school have on the process of indigenizing the Anglican Church?
45. The CR Fathers were in charge of this school since 1915 up to 1983. In your assessment, did they contribute anything towards indigenizing the Anglican Church? Why in your opinion did they have to leave?
46. The CR Sisters of Grahamstown also came and did a lot of work in the Anglican Church. In 1941, there were two women who professed as members of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*. In your opinion how successful was such initiations of first order ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland?
47. Barbra Tredgold is Known for making things happen at Runyararo Center in Mbare. What was happening at Mbare? Did this place contribute anything in the process of indigenization in the Anglican Church?
48. At the end of +Paget's time as Bishop of Mashonaland he is said to have done massive work, including training of clergy. From the 30 clergy (including one African) who he inherited, the number had risen to 120 (including 35 Africans – you being one of them). Any comment about this? What was the Bishops perception of African ministry, and indigenization at large?
49. Regionally Priest's were trained at St Augustine's Penhalonga, St Peter's Rossetenville and St Johns Lusaka. Where else were clergy being trained regionally? Why was training in such places discontinued by the diocese?
50. Epworth Theological College was an ecumenical seminary and yet the Anglican Church did not send its students there. Why?
51. Westwood St Barnabas Centre was established during +Burroughs time. Why? Who were the lecturers there? Do you remember any names of priests who trained there? What form of curriculum did they follow? How good was this curriculum? Why was it discontinued?
52. The process of indigenization is generally looked at though different levels namely;
  - a. personnel
  - b. liturgy – music, regalia, instruments, language
  - c. Theology
  - d. Constitution

In your opinion would we say that the diocese of Mashonaland has been involved in any form of indigenization?

53. Do you think indigenization is important for the Church anywhere in the world? If 'yes' in what ways?
54. The church recorded huge numbers of converts in the initial stages of the missionary enterprise. Later own people started drifting away from the mainline or mission churches to form the AIC's. What would you attribute as the reason for that change?
55. If the church in Africa were to retain its people, what should it do?

## **Appendix 6**

### Interview with Sr. Dorriane CR - Grahamstown Community

56. What are your full names?
57. When where you born?
58. Were you ever trained for ordination?
59. What is your country of origin and when did you join the CR Sisters
60. How long have you been a member of this community?
61. The CR Fathers were in charge of St Augustine's Mission since 1915 up to 1983. In your assessment, did they contribute anything towards indigenizing the Anglican Church? Why in your opinion did they have to leave?
62. The CR Sisters of Grahamstown also came and did a lot of work in the Anglican Church. In 1941, there were two women who professed as members of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*. In your opinion how successful were such initiations of first order ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland?
63. At the end of +Paget's time as Bishop of Mashonaland he is said to have done massive work, including training of clergy. From the 30 clergy (including one African) who he inherited, the number had risen to 120 (including 35 Africans – you being one of them). Any comment about this? What was the Bishops perception of African ministry, and indigenization at large?
64. The process of indigenization is generally looked at though different levels namely;

- a. personnel
- b. liturgy – music, regalia, instruments, language
- c. Theology
- d. Constitution

In your opinion would we say that the diocese of Mashonaland has been involved in any form of indigenization?

- 65. Do you think indigenization is important for the Church anywhere in the world? If yes in what ways?
- 66. The church recorded huge numbers of converts in the initial stages of the missionary enterprise. Later own people started drifting away from the mainline or mission churches to form the AIC's. What would you attribute as the reason for that change?
- 67. If the church in Africa were to retain its people, what should it do?

## Appendix 7

### Interview Questions for The Rt. Rev. Dr. R. P. Hatendi

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself;
  - a. *When were you born?*
  - b. *When were you ordained deacon/ priest?*
  - c. *Where you trained for the ordained ministry and who ordained you?*
  - d. *When were you chosen Bishop?*
  
2. What is your understanding of Indigenisation?
  
3. In your opinion has there been any Indigenisation in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe since its arrival?
  
4. If 'yes', in what areas?
  
5. If 'no' what should be done to indegenise the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe?
  
6. In your opinion is it a good thing to indigenise the church?
  
7. What is your perception of the work done by the early missionaries who came to work for the infant church in Zimbabwe?
  
8. Some of the early Missionaries who served in planting the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe include,
  - Arthur Shirley Cripps
  - Edgar and Elaine Lloyd

Have you heard about these people?

9. Arthur Shirley Cripps

- a. Tell me what you know about this person?
- b. When he arrived he was sent to work at Wreningham Mission in Chivhu on 'temporary' basis and to learn Shona. What can you say about his ministry in Chivhu?
- c. As a follower of Francis of Assisi, Cripps shared a simple life of the local people and eating what they ate and giving the clothes off his back if someone seemed to need them more than he did. Do you have any comment about this side of Arthur's life?
- d. Can comment on Cripps as a political activist?
- e. Arthur teamed up with his Methodist friend John White to oppose the Hut Tax, which was designed to make the Africans become perpetual migrant workers. In your view how successful was this Endeavour?
- f. Arthur resisted the mode of education that the government proposed and advocated for an alternative model in which the church would control the education process. Would you like to comment about this?
- g. Comment on Cripps desire to Africanize the Anglican Church, especially when you consider things such as architecture, theology, liturgy church constitution.
- h. Cripps built a number of schools where Africans were taught. Although such schools were loathed by government they seem to have been vehicles of Christianizing the local people. Do you know of any teachers who worked in Chivhu during this time? What were their names, where did they come from? Where were they trained and how successful was their ministry?
- i. Whilst blind his friend Leonard Mamvura became his aid/nurse until the time of his death. Can you say something about the relationship between Cripps and Leonard?
- j. Can you say something about Cripps regarding his attitude towards Indigenisation of the church?
- k. His funeral was conducted by African clergy whom he had drawn into the priesthood [Fr. Cyprian Tambo celebrated, mass the next day]. How did Arthur attract these local people to the ordained ministry?

1. After Cripps died he was idolized as seen in his name being used to name roads and homes. Comment on the impact of Cripps on the spirituality of Anglican Christians in Chivhu?

10. Edgar and Elaine Lloyd

- a. Tell me what you know about these two people?
  - b. After ordination Lloyd was sent to work at Epiphany under Upcher and then moved to St Faith Mission and here he built a church which was described by once local historian as “*surely one of the most remarkable churches in Africa. Its style is completely African. The dark interior breathes an air of mystery and reverence, and the rough floor is worn by the feet and knees of thousands of African worshippers*”. What is your comment about this church in relation to the process of Indigenisation of the church in the diocese of Mashonaland?
  - c. A sawing school was started at St Faith Mission, with Mutwa Lily [Bernard Mizeki’s Widow] who had been trained at St Augustine as the teacher in 1907. What is your comment about this development in relation to the process of Indigenisation?
  - d. Lloyd then got married to Elaine Brewin who had also joined the mission as a missionary. This lady is said to have been well gifted. What do you know about her?
  - e. Comment about her gift in art – pottery and her attitude towards Shona culture? What was the impact of this to the process of Indigenisation of the church?
  - f. Comment on her linguistic skills and music skills? How did these skills contribute to the process of Indigenisation?
  - g. What is your overall comment about the contribution of this couple towards the process of Indigenisation in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe?
  - h. Who were the African Teachers whom they worked with? Were did they train? How successful [if so] were they?
11. What is your understanding of indigenisation of authority structures in the Church?
12. In what ways do you think this has been achieved in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland from the beginning 1891 up to 1981?



13. Some people uphold your ascendance to the bishopric of the Diocese of Mashonaland as an indication of indigenisation of authority structures. What is your comment on that perception?
14. Can you comment on the process that led to your election or appointment as the second suffragan of the diocese of Mashonaland?
15. Can you comment on the process that led to your election as the first indigenous Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland?
16. During your time as Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland, what sort of initiatives did you embark on if any that you can point to as having supported this process of indigenisation?
17. In your view and experience what sort of stumbling blocks did you encounter if any, in making the African black people feel at home in the Anglican Church particularly in the Diocese of Harare?
18. What is your comment on the process of indigenisation in the diocese of Mashonaland as far as the following is concerned;
  - a. Personnel?
  - b. Theological trends e.g. liturgy, music, instruments, rites of passage, language and regalia.
  - c. Constitutions and Acts of the Diocese
  - d. Membership of the Church
19. In your own opinion, do you think indigenisation is a good thing for the church?
20. If so, how do you think the Anglican Diocese of Harare can be fully indigenised?
21. What do you foresee as some of the stumbling blocks to achieving a fully indigenised church in the Anglican Diocese of Harare?

## **Appendix 8**

### **Questionnaire for Fr. Kibble Prosser CR – Former Headmaster St Augustine’s Mission Penhalonga**

- 1.** Would you give me your brief autobiography especially answering questions such as; when you were born? Where you were born? When you joined the CR brothers? Where you trained for the ordained ministry? When you were ordained deacon and priest? Where you have worked since ordination? When you came to join St Augustine Mission in Zimbabwe and when you left?
- 2.** How would you describe the church in Zimbabwe at the time when you joined St Augustine, with regards to composition of clergy i.e. ration between black and white laity and clergy?
- 3.** Mashonaland diocese used to cover the whole of the region which is now called Zimbabwe and Botswana. When you joined that diocese what was the situation like regarding the division of the diocese?
- 4.** The CR Fathers were in charge of St Augustine Mission since 1915. Could you reflect on some of the things which the Fathers aimed to achieve during their early years at St Augustine?
- 5.** In the missionary activities of the CR Fathers in the surrounding areas did they try to indigenise the Christian religion? If yes in what ways?
- 6.** It would appear the African clergy took quite sometime to be entrusted with the offices of Rector, or Priest In Charge. Would you like to share your opinions on this one? Do you agree? Why was the situation like that?
- 7.** In your opinion if the Anglican was brought in Zimbabwe by a local Black clergy trained from England, do you think that the way people worship in the present Anglican Church would have been different? Explain your answer?

8. If Indigenisation is a process of making Christianity fit into the local situation, what would you say about the leadership of the following Bishops of Mashonaland in view of Indigenisation;
- + Powell
  - + Beaven
  - + Edward Paget
  - + Cecil Alderson
  - + Paul Burrough
9. In 1939 St Augustine's Mission was opened as the first secondary school open to Africans. In your opinion what impact if any did this have on the process of indigenizing the Anglican Church?
10. The CR Fathers were in charge of this school since 1915 up to 1983. In your assessment, did the CR Fathers contribute anything towards indigenizing the Anglican Church? Why did your Order leave St Augustine after serving for so many years?
11. The CR Sisters of Grahamstown also came and did a lot of work in the Anglican Church. In 1941, there were two women who professed as members of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*. In your opinion how successful were such initiations of first order ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland?
12. Barbra Tredgold is known for making things happen at Runyararo Center in Mbare. What was happening at Mbare? Did this place contribute anything in the process of Indigenisation in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland?
13. At the end of + Paget's time as Bp of Mashonaland he is said to have done massive work, including training clergy. From the 30 clergy (including one African) whom he inherited, the number had risen to 120 (including 35 Africans), any comment about this development? What was the Bishop's perception of African ministry, and Indigenisation at Large?
14. Regionally Priests were trained at St Augustine's Penhalonga, St Peter's Rossettenville and St John's Lusaka. Where else were clergy being trained regionally? Why was training in such places discontinued by the diocese of Mashonaland?
15. Epworth Theological College, was an ecumenical seminary and yet the Anglican Church did not send its students there why?

- 16.** Westwood St Barnabas Center was established during + Burrough's time. Why? Who were the lecturers there? Do you remember any names of priests who trained there? What form of curriculum did they follow? How good was this curriculum? Why was it discontinued?
- 17.** The process of Indigenisation is generally looked at , at different levels namely;
- Personnel
  - Liturgy – music, regalia, instruments, language
  - Theology
  - Church Constitution
- 18.** In your opinion during your time in Mashonaland would you say that the diocese was involved in any form of Indigenisation? If so what was that?
- 19.** Do you think Indigenisation is important for the church anywhere in the world?
- 20.** The church recorded huge numbers of converts in the initial stages of the missionary enterprise. Later on people started drifting away from the mainline churches to form the African Initiated Church's (A.I.C's). What would you attribute as the reason for that change?
- 21.** In your opinion if the church in Africa were to retain its people, what should it do?

## **Appendix 9**

### **Interview Questions for the CZR Sisters St Augustine's Mission Penhalonga**

1. When was the CZR formed and for what reasons?
2. Who started the Order and who have been the Mother Superiors since then up to 1981?
3. What kind work did the CZR Sisters do since its formation up to 1981?
4. What are some of the success stories of the CZR Sisters?
5. What are the challenges that the CZR came across since its formation?
6. Detail the places where the CZR has ministered and what success has it made?
7. What have been the reasons that have led the Order to remain small in its membership?
8. What kind of work does the CZR Sisters do now?
9. In what ways can you see yourselves as a true result of indigenisation of the Order's in the Anglican Church?
10. Explain why there have been numerous other Orders, which have grown in Zimbabwe, such as that at Chikwaka and the other at Bonda?
11. Can you explain how the CZR has grown over the years, and give figures of the Number of sisters at each given point.
12. What are some of the reasons why some sisters left the Order?

13. How do you see the future of the Order in terms of growth?
14. What relationship was there between the CR Sisters from Grahamstown and the CZR when the CZR was formed?
15. What contribution does the CZR Sisters make to the life of the Diocese?
16. Where does your financial support come from?

## **Appendix 10**

### Interview with Canon Gabriel Mashingaidze May 2007

1. Comment on the development of indigenous clergy in the diocese of Mashonaland such as John Kapuya and the benefits that the church accrued from that?
2. In your opinion what was the role-played by Catechists and teachers in the process of indigenisation in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Mashonaland/Harare?
3. Who are some of the catechists and Teachers whom you remember who contributed to the spreading of the Gospel during your time in school?
4. Comment on the emergence of the CZR at St Augustine's Mission
5. What impact did their ministry bring in the Anglican Church and in the local community at St Augustine's Mission?
6. In your view what was the impact of the CZR on the indigenisation of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe.
7. Comment on the development of the local hymns in the diocese of Mashonaland? Who were responsible for this process?
8. In your view what was the contribution made by Edward Paget to the indigenisation of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland.

9. What was the impact of the training of the local clergy in the process of indigenisation?
10. What contribution was made by Bp Alderson to indigenisation?
11. What was the contribution made by Paul Burrough to the process of indigenisation?
12. Comment on the training and influx of the black clergy in the church?
13. Comment of the first Black clergy and their influence?
14. Comment on the theological trends of the theological schools where most African clergy of the Diocese of Mashonaland were trained?
15. How was Murindagomo chosen to be Suffragan Bishop?
16. Comment on Bp Hatendi's time as Bishop of Mashonaland?

## **Appendix 11**

### **Questionnaire for the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Bakare February 2006**

1. What is your name?
2. When were you ordained to Deaconate?
3. Which Parishes did you serve in and for how long where you in each of these parishes?
4. How many dioceses where there in the Anglican Church when you where ordained?
5. Who ordained you and where were you ordained?
6. Where did you train for your ministry and for how long
7. When was the diocese of Southern Rhodesia formed and for how long did it last?
8. When was the first division of this diocese?
9. When can we start talking about the diocese of Mashonaland?
10. How would you describe the initial composition of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of clergy and laity?
11. How would you characterize the growth of the diocese of Mashonaland in terms of conversions particularly of the locals?
12. How would you describe the position of the Anglican Church during the Federation?
13. Briefly characterize the composition of synods that you attended prior to Independence?



14. Characterise the nature of the Church during the UDI, in terms of composition of the African clergy and the laity?
15. Would you say there was any efforts by the Church to indigenise it, if yes, how was this happening?
16. Characterise the process of the Indigenisation of the church if there were any indications of this in the Anglican Church?
17. Towards Independence there were efforts to bring the Africans into positions of leadership, what would be your comment on this aspect?
18. It appears when Bishop Knight Bruce came to inaugurate the new Diocese of Mashonaland he was accompanied by five African Teacher – Catechists, namely Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu, Charles Makolami, Samuel Makosa and Tom (whose surname is not recorded). We only hear a lot about Bernard Mizeki, do you have any information of the other four? Where did they minister? Did they succeed in their ministry? What was their fate?
19. I read that Frank Ziqubu was stationed in Makoni district. Do you have any knowledge of where exactly he was situated, that is to say which place can we identify today as his mission station?
20. Bernard Mizeki was murdered in 1896 and there is mystery on what happened on that day. What can you say about Bernard Mizeki's ministry? How successful was he? How important is he in the life of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe? What is your version of the mystery surrounding his death and disappearance?
21. History records that in 1898, the Lichfield Brotherhood began building up St Augustine's mission as a major educational center. Who were these people and do you know where they were coming from?
22. In 1906, the original St Michaels church was built for African, people in Manica Road (now Robert Mugabe road). Do you know where exactly this location is?
23. In 1919, the first African deacon in the diocese of Mashonaland , Samuel Mhlanga was ordained. Where did he come from? Where did he attend his school? Did he have any previous work experience? How did he come in touch with the Anglican Church? Where did he train for priesthood? Which parishes did he minister to as an ordained person? Being the only indigenous clergy, how effective was his ministry? Do you have any information on where he died and whether he has any family that is still living that could help me find more information about him? If yes, please provide me with their contact details if you have them?

24. Rev. Mhlanga, has been described as “a worthy founder” of the African priesthood of the African Church in Zimbabwe. Would you agree with that conclusion?
  
25. Three deacons were ordained when Samuel Mhlanga was priested, in 1923, namely Gibson Nyabako, Leonard Sagonda, Stephen Hatendi. Do you have any information on Gibson Nyabako? Where did he minister? How was his ministry? Where and when did he die? Leonard Sagonda, became, Canon and very influential in the church. Was he connected at all to the late Mr. Sagonda, who served as Churchwarden at the Cathedral?
  
26. Where did you train for your ministry and how long did it take? Who ordained you priest and where did you serve during your tenure as a priest?
27. By 1957, when Bishop Paget retired, history says there were many churches built, parishes formed and the number of clergy had risen from 30 (including one African) to 120 (including 35 Africans). Do you have any idea of which parishes were these, and who were these priests?
  
28. In 1973, Bishop Murindagomo, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. In your opinion why was this move taken? Who did it benefit? Are you able to chronicle his ministry as Suffragan Bishop? In your opinion was he fulfilled?
  
29. In 1978, Murindagomo died and you were consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland in 1979. Where you appointed or selected? In your opinion why were you appointed / selected?
  
30. Bp Peter Hatendi was selected to preach at the service of thanksgiving for independence in 1980. What impact did that service have on the relations between the Anglican church and the state?
  
31. In 1981 many things happened, in the way of indigenizing the Anglican Church. There was the enthronement of Bishop Peter Hatendi to become the bishop of Mashonaland, succeeding Burrough. Would you know why Bp Burrough resigned? How was Bp Hatendi chosen to succeed him? Was it through the normal selection process for a Bishop, or it was by virtue of his being Bishop already and was therefore just consecrated, since the see was vacant?
  
32. The year 1981, also saw the formation of the two diocese of Lundi and Manicaland, and the subsequent, consecration of Bishops Siyachitema, and Masuku, as Bishops of these dioceses respectively. This basically meant that there were now three African Bishops out of Four in Zimbabwe. What can you say about this scenario with regards to the process of indigenizing church leadership

in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe? What were some of the problems that the African leadership encountered, after taking over from European, missionary Bishops?

33. Would you have any information regarding the establishment of St Barnabas Training Center as a place for the training for African clergy. How effective was it? Who were the people running it? Who were the students who trained there? Who were the lecturers?
34. What is your own comment about the process of indigenization in the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland up to the year 1981?

## Appendix 12

### Questionnaire for the Rt. Rev. Dr. P. R. Hatendi December 2004

35. It appears when Bishop Knight Bruce came to inaugurate the new Diocese of Mashonaland he was accompanied by **five** African Teacher – Catechists, namely Bernard Mizeki, Frank Ziqubu, Charles Makolami, Samuel Makosa and Tom (whose surname is not recorded). We only hear a lot about Bernard Mizeki, do you have any information of the other four? Where did they minister? Did they succeed in their ministry? What was their fate?
36. I read that Frank Ziqubu was stationed in Makoni district. Do you have any knowledge of where exactly he was situated, that is to say which place can we identify today as his mission station?
37. Bernard Mizeki was murdered in 1896 and there is mystery on what happened on that day. What can you say about Bernard Mizeki's ministry? How successful was he? How important is he in the life of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe? What is your version of the mystery surrounding his death and disappearance?
38. History records that in 1898, the Litchfield Brotherhood began building up St Augustine's mission as a major educational center. Who were these people and do you know where they were coming from?
39. In 1906, the original St Michaels church was built for African, people in Manica Road (now Robert Mugabe road). Do you know where exactly this location is?
40. In 1919, the first African deacon in the diocese of Mashonaland, Samuel Mhlanga was ordained. Where did he come from? Where did he attend his school? Did he have any previous work experience? How did he come in touch with the Anglican Church? Where did he train for priesthood? Which parishes did he minister to as an ordained person? Being the only indigenous clergy, how effective was his ministry? Do you have any information on where he died and whether he has any family that is still living that could help me find more information about him? If yes, please provide me with their contact details if you have them?

41. Rev. Mhlanga, has been described as “a worthy founder” of the African priesthood of the African Church in Zimbabwe. Would you agree with that conclusion?
42. Three deacons were ordained when Samuel Mhlanga was priested, in 1923, namely Gibson Nyabako, Leonard Sagonda, Stephen Hatendi. Do you have any information on Gibson Nyabako? Where did he minister? How was his ministry? Where and when did he die? Leonard Sagonda, became, Canon and very influential in the church. Was he connected at all to the late Mr. Sagonda, who served as Churchwarden at the Cathedral during your reign as Bishop? Do you have any other information on him which might be useful in my study, of the process of Indigenisation in the diocese of Mashonaland? Are you related to the Stephen Hatendi who was ordained this year? There is not much recorded about him, do you have information on his ministry? The churches where he served? When and where he died?
43. You trained for ministry at St Peter’s Rosettenville in South Africa. Do you have a list of those who trained from there, either before you as well as after you? How long was this training? For how many years did the diocese send its candidates there? Why the dioceses stop sending candidates there for training?
44. By 1957, when Bishop Paget retired, history says there were many churches built, parishes formed and the number of clergy had risen from 30 (including one African) to 120 (including 35 Africans). Which were these parishes, and who were these priests?
45. In 1973, Bishop Murindagomo, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland. In your opinion why was this move taken? Who did it benefit? Are you able to chronicle his ministry as Suffragan Bishop? In your opinion was he fulfilled?
46. In 1978, Murindagomo died and you were consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Mashonaland in 1979. Where you appointed or selected? In your opinion why were you appointed / selected?
47. You were selected to preach at the service of thanksgiving for independence in 1980. Who chose you? How did you feel to be chosen for such a daunting task? What impact did that service have on you? The Anglican Church and its relations to the state? How did it impact on your Bishop Burrough?
48. In 1981 many things happened, in the way of indigenizing the Anglican Church. There was your enthronement to become the bishop of Mashonaland, succeeding Burrough. Why did Burrough resign? How were you chosen to succeed him? Was it through the normal selection process from a Bishop, or you were by virtue of being Bishop already just consecrated, since the see was vacant? What was the

composition of African clergy at the dawn of your consecration as Bishop of Mashonaland?

49. The year 1981, also saw the formation of the two diocese of Lundi and Manicaland, and the subsequent, consecration of Bishops Siyachitema, and Masuku, as Bishops of these dioceses respectively. This basically meant that there were now three African Bishops out of Four in Zimbabwe. What can you say about this scenario with regards to the process of indigenizing church leadership in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe? What were some of the problems that you encountered as African Clergy, taking over from European, missionary Bishops? Any happy stories?
50. Share with me the establishment of St Banabas Center as a place for the training of African clergy. How effective was it? Who were the people running it? Who were the students who trained there? Who were the lecturers?

## **Appendix 13**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE REV'D A. HOBONGWANA [RSA] 2005**

1. What is your name?
2. When and where were you born?
3. When did you become active in church affairs?
4. What role have you played in the church up to this point, and which offices have you held in the church and for how long?
5. When did you join the St Augustine Penhalonga community, and how long were you there?
6. What is your understanding of indigenisation?
7. During your time at St Augustine Mission how was the Anglican Church in terms of membership, i.e. between blacks and whites?
8. How can you describe the graduands of St Augustine's Mission, in terms of their role in the church? Were they European Christians in black skins or were they black Christians in black skins?
9. St Augustine's Mission also served as the first seminary to train black clergy in the diocese of Mashonaland. During your time there was this still functional? If so what is your comment on the calibre of the clergy who were trained there in terms of their churchmanship regarding indigenisation?
10. Who was the Bishop of Mashonaland during your time at St Augustine's Mission?
11. In what ways did he promote the process of indigenisation if he did at all?

12. It would appear the African clergy took quite sometime to be entrusted with the offices of Rector, or Priest in Charge. Would you like to share your opinions on this one? Do you agree? Why was the situation like that?
13. In your opinion if the Anglican Church was brought in Zimbabwe by a local Black clergy, do you think that the way we worship would have been different? If so in what ways?
14. In 1939 St Augustine's Mission was opened as the first secondary school open to Africans. In your opinion what impact if any did that school has on the process of indigenizing the Anglican Church?
15. The CR Fathers were in charge of this school since 1915 up to 1983. In your assessment, did they contribute anything towards indigenizing the Anglican Church? Why in your opinion did they have to leave?
16. The CR Sisters of Grahamstown also came and did a lot of work in the Anglican Church. In 1941, there were two women who professed as members of *Chita CheZita Rinoyera*. In your opinion how successful were such initiations of first order ministry in the Diocese of Mashonaland?
17. At the end of +Paget's time as Bishop of Mashonaland he is said to have done massive work, including training of clergy. From the 30 clergy (including one African) who he inherited, the number had risen to 120 (including 35 Africans – you being one of them). Any comment about this? What was the Bishops perception of African ministry, and indigenization at large?
18. Regionally Priest's were trained at St Augustine's Penhalonga, St Peter's Rossettenville and St Johns Lusaka. Where else were clergy being trained regionally? Why was training in such places discontinued by the diocese?
19. Epworth Theological College was an ecumenical seminary and yet the Anglican Church did not send its students there. Why?
20. Westwood St Barnabas Centre was established during +Burroughs time. Why? Who were the lecturers there? Do you remember any names of priests who trained there? What form of curriculum did they follow? How good was this curriculum? Why was it discontinued?
21. The process of indigenization is generally looked at though different levels namely;
  - a. personnel
  - b. liturgy – music, regalia, instruments, language
  - c. Theology
  - d. Constitution



22. In your opinion would we say that the diocese of Mashonaland has been involved in any form of indigenization?
23. Do you think indigenization is important for the Church anywhere in the world?
24. The church recorded huge numbers of converts in the initial stages of the missionary enterprise. Later own people started drifting away from the mainline or mission churches to form the AIC's. What would you attribute as the reason for that change?
25. If the church in Africa were to retain its people, what should it do?