

CENTRAL AFRICA

1883-1964

The Monthly Magazine of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa

Introduction by
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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Central Africa, the monthly magazine of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa from 1883 until 1964, was an excellent example of the literary genre, missionary propaganda, and is today a valuable source for African history. It was written by (and for) educated, articulate and tolerant representatives of the British middle and professional classes which provided both the Society's membership and a significant proportion of its support. Although not entirely free of subjectivity, especially in relation to slavery and colonial rule, those who wrote in *Central Africa* generally showed great comprehension and sympathy in their accounts of African societies. As a result, many of their contemporary observations and even analyses are valuable sources for the colonial period in East and Central Africa. Equally important for the historian is the fact that the U.M.C.A. worked within very real geographical limits so that what may be sacrificed in a general African context is more than compensated for by the intensity of focus such limits provided. Geographically, *Central Africa* covered Zanzibar and Pemba Islands, Eastern and Southern Tanzania, North Moçambique, Malawi and Zambia. Chronologically, it (but not the Mission) emerged from the missionary fervour of the late Victorian Age and ended with the absorption of the U.M.C.A. by the larger Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1964. This covered the full span of direct Colonial rule in East and Central Africa, from Ngoni raids and 'Slave Trades Maps' which preceded it, to the Zanzibar Revolution and Zambian Independence which marked its end.

BACKGROUND

The U.M.C.A. as a missionary society dated from the "Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa" formed in 1858 in response to David Livingstone's appeal to the Church of England, through the universities, to take up missionary work in Central Africa. With characteristic mid-Victorian energy, the Society quickly organised itself, found a Bishop in the person of Charles Mackenzie of Zululand, and assembled a body of lay and clerical missionaries to bring Christianity and commerce to "the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire".

The story of the short, disastrous episcopate of Charles Mackenzie has been admirably told in Owen Chadwick's *Mackenzie's Grave* (London, 1959). A measure of its failure can be indicated by noting that, of the fourteen members who joined the Mission in 1860 and 1861, five (including the Bishop) "died in the Service of the Mission", five others were invalided home, and the remaining four retired from the Mission by 1864. Mackenzie's successor, William Tozer, moved the Mission from Magomero in the Shire Highlands first to Mt. Morambala, near the confluence of the Shire and Zambezi Rivers and then, in 1864, to Zanzibar Island. This second move, to a point far from the interior of "Central Africa", and a direct repudiation of Livingstone's mission theory, brought down the great explorer's wrath upon Tozer and the U.M.C.A. In this account of the Zambezi Expedition, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi* (London, 1865, p.574), David Livingstone wrote:

"...though representing all that is brave and good and manly in the chief seats of English learning, the Mission in fleeing (sic) from Morambala to an Island in the Indian Ocean acted as St. Augustine would have done, had he located himself on one of the Channel Islands, when sent to Christianize the natives of Central England. That is, we feel, the first case of a Protestant mission having been abandoned without being driven away."

Livingstone correctly saw Tozer's move as an admission of defeat. However, had the U.M.C.A. not retreated to Zanzibar it would have failed as utterly as did the rest of the Expedition. The Magomero period, and the disasters associated with it, grew in Mission legend into an Age of Heroes. On a more practical level, it was also recognised and appreciated as an object lesson for later, more successful efforts.

The decade of Tozer's episcopate, until 1873, marked the nadir of the U.M.C.A.'s fortunes. Survival was the Mission's purpose, and this it did succeed in doing through the efforts of three men, William Tozer and Edward Steere in Africa, and W.C. Capel, the Mission's Home Organising Secretary. Bishop Tozer was able to establish the Mission on Zanzibar by concentrating his efforts upon the abundant supply of freed-slaves on the island, and even managed to establish a station temporarily in Usambara in 1868. Capel's work in England was even more difficult than Tozer's in Africa. Not only did Livingstone's disparagement adversely affect the public support the Mission depended upon, but the late 1860s provided a less congenial atmosphere for missionary enterprises than had the years before. Consequently, it proved difficult to raise funds, find personnel or sustain the flagging interest of Mission supporters. Propaganda and some measure of tangible "success" Tozer supplied from Zanzibar; all of this Capel diligently published in the Annual Reports and Financial Statements, as well as an irregular series of *Blue Books* (1860-1873) and *Occasional Papers* (1869-1882).

From the middle of the 1870s the U.M.C.A.'s fortunes began to improve. There had remained through the previous decade a small band of supporters at Oxford and Cambridge who now were able to take advantage of the increasing interest in Africa that following Livingstone's death in 1873. Also, in that year Steere succeeded Tozer as Bishop and effectively severed the connection Tozer had signified between the U.M.C.A. and Livingstone's failure a decade earlier. The new Bishop was now able to recruit a generation of missionaries who would be responsible for many of the U.M.C.A.'s greatest successes. With interest (and financial support) reviving, and an increasing supply of both African and European personnel available, Steere was able to expand work on Zanzibar and Usambara. He was the first of the U.M.C.A.'s great peripatetic Bishops, tramping over vast areas in North-eastern and Southern Tanzania in search of suitable sites for mission centres. He also helped formulate a plan to send a community of freed slaves back to their homes around Lake Malawi to provide the nucleus of a Christian society there, but they refused to make such a long trip and stopped at Masasi, which became the base for extensive missionary work in Southern Tanzania in 1876. When Steere died in 1882 he was on the verge of a further expansion towards Lake Malawi.

England's interest in Africa in 1883 was substantially greater at the end of Steere's episcopate than it had been at the beginning, and it was effectively to tap this that the Mission's Editorial Secretary, R.M. Heanley began publication of *Central Africa*. It was to be a vehicle both of propaganda less expensive but more effective than the irregular *Blue Books* and *Occasional Papers*, and also of information in order to increase public awareness of Africa (*Central Africa*, 1, 1883, p.2; hereafter only the date alone or date and page numbers will be indicated). The new magazine maintained the length and much of the format of the *Occasional Papers*, including maps, woodcut prints and later photographs for illustration, but added much to the narrow focus of the *Papers*.

The magazine's ninety-one years of publication can be divided into four periods. The first, from 1883 until 1896 (reel 1 and part of reel 2) was a second Age of Heroes, greater than Magomero in its success and its scale. The year 1896 marked the end of this pre-colonial period with the British bombardment of the Sultan's Palace on Zanzibar; the establishment of effective British and German (but not Portuguese) control on the mainland; and the dilution of the U.M.C.A.'s earlier ascetic principles. The consecrations of new Bishops for both the dioceses of Zanzibar and Nyasaland this year took place in circumstances very different from the consecration of their predecessors. The second, or early colonial, period of rapid expansion extended from 1896 until the First World War (reels 2, 3 and 4) and was the golden age of Missionary Activity. This was marked by a rapid geographical and numerical expansion; generally encouraging results; and co-operation with, but not control by, secular authorities. The third, middle colonial, period extended from the First World War until into the Second (reels 5, 6 and most of 7) and was almost as much an extension of the first period

as it was a distinct unit. Now, however, as British money and personnel became scarcer resources, "expansion" of the exhilarating pre-war type became less important than consolidation; the results of earlier mistakes became obvious in "failures"; and the Mission grew less independent of the colonial authorities, especially in the control of education. More important, however, were the emergence of second and third generations of African Christians, and the development of an indigenous clergy which came to outnumber the missionary priests in Zanzibar, Masai and Nyasaland dioceses by 1939. The final period, from about 1943 until 1964 (end of reel 7, all of reels 8 and 9) was the age of "development" as the Mission became an integral part of British efforts to make the Empire a more efficient unit; and of the successor governments' (of Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi) efforts to continue this. Although external assistance remained important, this period saw an intensification of the African Church's replacement of the European Mission so that, although all the Bishops in 1964 were still European, only in Zambia were European clergy or laity still significant numerically.

1883-1896 ESTABLISHMENT

Central Africa was originally intended to be an integral part of the U.M.C.A.'s missionary effort, but necessarily a valuable historical source. Its purposes were twofold: to sustain the interest of existing supporters in mission work, and to attract new support. The best source of copy for this was missionary correspondence, which filled the magazine's pages during this period. Letters from missionaries in Africa were generally sent to the Mission Secretary, the most important of whom was Duncan Travers (1889-1925). He often listed correspondence received in the magazine, then passed much of it on to the Editor, R.M. Heanley until about 1910, and then himself until 1920. As a result, a significant proportion of the correspondence in the U.M.C.A. collection of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel archives has appeared in print. The purpose of publication was propaganda, so items detrimental to the U.M.C.A.'s image seldom appeared, although on occasion Travers blurred the distinction between personal and publishable, and reproduced material and viewpoints the authors had originally intended to be confidential.

Besides correspondence, the editors included extracts from other publications, such as the Blantyre Mission's *Life and Work in British Central Africa* (1891, pp.47-48) as well as articles on C.M.S. work in Uganda and Mombasa (1883, pp.135-136, 158-160; 1884, pp.189-190; 1885, pp.74-76, 154-155). It also drew upon U.M.C.A. publications in Africa, such as *Mzimulizi*, a Swahili magazine published at Zanzibar (1891, p.26) and the various publications of Chauncy Maples at Likoma (e.g. 1893, pp.104, 118). There were also at this time some commissioned articles such as Horace Waller's diatribes against the Portuguese (1888, pp.88-91; 1890, pp.9-10) and Chauncy Maples' excellent ethnographical series, *Papers from Mewala* (1886, 1887, various pages). Also directed at sustaining the interest of home supporters were annual lists of mission adherents, verbatim reports of speeches delivered at the Annual Meetings and Annual Reports. Occasionally, there were articles directed towards organisational and administrative matters in Britain (1884, pp.50-51; 1885, pp.12-13; 1887, pp.60-63) and even such oddities as Chauncy Maples' poetry.

As the enthusiasm of the first groups of missionaries was gradually smothered by routine, correspondence from missionaries dried up as a major source and was gradually replaced by commissioned articles, reports, commentaries and extracts from African publications. During this first period, however, letters from missionaries still provided the major source of copy. These usually fell into two broad categories: initial reactions which were often enthusiastic and perceptive; and accounts of work in progress by veterans. Both, particularly the former, provide valuable sources for the student of African history. Examples would include the letters of W.P. Johnson on his initial journeys around Lake Malawi in the early 1880s (1883); Bishop Smythie's letters while travelling throughout his diocese (esp. 1885 and 1886); and the initial reactions of William Bellingham, W.P. Johnson and George Swinny at Likoma (1885-

1887) and A.F. Sim at Nkhota Kota a decade later. Less mission-orientated were the vast amounts of material relating to the Ngoni destruction of Masasi in 1882 (1883), and aspects of Ngoni-European relations on the eve of the Scramble (1885, pp.41-42; 1886, pp.179-181; 1887, pp.71-73). There were also accounts of pre-colonial conditions in Northern Tanzania (1884, pp.95-104, 147-149, 164, 167) and on Zanzibar (1884, pp.37-44; 1886, pp.150-151, 170-173).

During the two decades of its missionary work that preceded the scramble, the U.M.C.A. had worked successfully in an African-controlled environment, and expressed no desire for European rule. Events during 1888 changed all the assumptions that had been effective before, and Volume Six of *Central Africa* reflected the changes of that year. On the one hand, both the Bishop (p.78) and Horace Waller in England (pp.88-91) questioned the necessity of British occupation of the Lake Malawi area; while the brutal German occupation of the Tanzanian coast and the Bushiri "Rising" were commented upon, generally not in the Germans' favour (pp.81-86, 149-151, 161-163, 169-171; 1889, pp.3-4, 17-21). Yet on the other hand, there was an account (pp.24-25) of an essay competition in the Zanzibar school, entitled "Are African Races Profited by Foreign Rule?", to which the winning student answered in the affirmative.

All the issues from 1889 until 1896 contain first hand accounts of "Pacification" and "Effective Occupation" in Tanzania, Malawi and on Zanzibar. By 1890 the Anglican missionaries had recovered from their disappointment at the British failure to seize Tanzania and accepted German rule; for the first time (p.204) Christians were able to find employment in the modern sector which European rule imposed.

Although less than in later decades, there were occasional accounts of African society and religion, concentrating upon three aspects of particular interest to English missionaries: slavery and the slave trade, the nature of African worship, and witchcraft. The first of these led to such a revulsion on the part of the Europeans that little attempt was made to be objective - although there were exceptions, such as the accounts of freed slaves of their home life and enforced participation in the trade (1884, pp.124-127, 158-161, 181-186), and W.P. Johnson's perceptive article on the nature of domestic slavery among the "Nyanja" of the eastern littoral of Lake Malawi (1893, pp.104, 118). Much of the writing on sorcery and the problem of evil was similarly ill-informed, although two articles on Southern Tanzania (1887, pp.56-60; 1895, pp.40-43) are of value. On the question of offerings and worship in general, Chauncy Maples' article on African religious concepts and their relationship to Christianity (1891, pp.57-65) stood out from the rest, most of which related to "snake worship" and the Bondei "Spirit mountain", Mlinga (1885, p.85; 1886, pp.4-6; 1891, p.49).

1896-1914 EXPANSION

The second period lacked the excitement and missionary heroics of the first, but was important as the U.M.C.A. reached the effective limits of its geographical expansion by the outbreak of World War One. Of particular interest were detailed accounts of various areas, e.g. Zanzibar, Pemba and the Lake Malawi area at the beginning of colonial rule (1897, pp.99-112, 146-153, 177-182, 193-202; 1898, pp.41-47); the imposition of Portuguese control east of Lake Malawi (1901-1904); and natural calamities in Northern Tanzania and on Zanzibar (1899, 1904). More important were the accounts of Southern Tanzania from the beginning of German rule (1897, pp.143-146) through the Maji-Maji Rising and its aftermath (1904-1907) in detail. This important manifestation of African efforts to be rid of European rule took place within the U.M.C.A.'s area, so the pages of *Central Africa* provide one of the best primary sources for the Rising in English. The other important example of African opposition, John Chilembwe's Rising in Malawi was more peripheral to the Mission's interests, and so was recorded less fully (1915, pp. 115-121, 229-233).

A very different African reaction to colonial rule was labour migration from Malawi which served not only to turn this area into the "Imperial Slum" it became under colonial rule, but also to reorient it south and westward, away from the Swahili culture of the coast to the "culture" of the Rand, Rhodesia, and the mines of Zambia and Zaire. As early as 1900 W.P. Johnson commented upon the effects of travel upon Nyasa Christians (1901, pp.2-6), and later interest was focused upon the Nyasa Diaspora in South Africa (1909, pp.124-125; 1913, pp.171-177), Zambia (1911, pp.236-239) and even Katanga (1914, pp.3-6).

Although there continued to be some correspondence which reflected the enthusiasm and perception of initial reactions, particularly in Zambia, most accounts were now of missionary work under ideal conditions, e.g. Magila (Usambara) in 1897, 1901, 1903, 1904 and 1913; Zanzibar (especially Pemba) in 1898, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1913; and Zambia (1912, 1913, 1914). For the first time there were references to problems, such as female rites of passage at Lake Malawi (1900, pp.45-46) or the African clergy's discussion of the large question of Christian initiation at Masasi (1908, p.76). There were accounts of women's work at Zanzibar (1898, pp.125-137; 1909, pp.143-146); medical work (1908, pp.149-154, 299-302); education (1899, pp.37-39; 1902, pp.61-64; 1905, pp.85-91; 1906, pp.117-120; 1910, pp.263-267; 1912, pp.43-45), and the work of the African clergy, whether from a favourable angle (1898, pp.73-78; 1903, pp.185-186; 1909, p.194; 1912, pp.188-189; 1913, pp.141-145; 1914, pp.227-230, 276-278, 312-316) or unfavourable, as in the case of Frank Weston and the Masasi clergy (1911, pp.96-97). It was, for the U.M.C.A., not a difficult period, as it embraced the colonial ethos, and lost its earlier enthusiasm for an African church.

Again, much of the discussion of African institutions touched upon slavery, which gradually declined in interest (1897, pp.65-72; 1900, pp.208-210; 1903, pp.25-27; 1907, pp.47-50, 75-78, 94-97); or the complex of sorcery beliefs which touched upon the problem of evil, disease and medicine, and which continued to fascinate the Europeans (1897, pp.22-24; 1901, pp.12-15; 1903, pp.185-186; 1904, pp.250-251; 1906, pp.18-24, 253-256, 262-263; 1908, pp.327-329; 1909, pp.229-231; 1910, pp.171-177; 1911, pp.211-219; 1912, pp.7-11). There was little analysis attempted on the nature of African worship during this period, but there was now more interest in changes brought about by colonial rule which the U.M.C.A. had to deal with, or by the Mission itself (1904, pp.30-33; 1908, pp.218-219; 1913, pp.15-17).

1914-1943 CONSOLIDATION

As elsewhere, the golden age of missionary activity was abruptly terminated by the First World War. Never again would the fortuitous combination of accessibility of mission resources, African receptivity, and European massive self-confidence reoccur. But the U.M.C.A. was more directly affected by the war than were other Missions in less exposed situations. The largest of its three dioceses consisted of British Zanzibar and German East Africa (Tanzania), while the other two were almost as exposed in the contiguous British and Portuguese colonies to the south. The German mainland was cut off from Bishop Weston on Zanzibar early in the war, and many of the U.M.C.A. personnel interned by the Germans, so the flow of information from Masasi in the south and Usambara in the north dried up. The other dioceses were effectively placed on the front line of the war, with an increasing proportion of material in *Central Africa* relating to the course of the Europeans' tribal war from a British perspective. Silence from Zanzibar was of short duration. By 1917 the mission stations in the north and the south of the colony had been "liberated" by British and South African forces and the missionaries interned at Tabora were freed by the Belgians. From 1916 until 1922 the pages of *Central Africa* were filled, as they had not been since the turn of the century, with personal correspondence and reminiscences which recounted in some detail the deprivations and even occasional suffering of European and African Anglicans alike, all of which was underlaid with an increasingly rabid hatred of Germans. Although obviously very subjective, much of the material in *Central Africa* during this period provides a valuable contemporary source for the First World War in East Africa.

Among the reasons U.M.C.A. spokesmen advanced for opposing the return of German East Africa to its former European masters were their alleged racism and brutality, as well as their lack of suitability to exercise the "dual mandate" which was becoming associated with colonial rule (1917, pp.17-22, 98-102, 150-156; 1918, pp.49-53; 1920, pp.164-167). The Anglican missionaries were no more able than other Europeans to escape racial stereotypes, and they did not have a high regard for African capabilities. Nevertheless, their opposition to German racism and brutality led U.M.C.A. missionaries, in a sense, back to their pre-colonial roots and away from the strongly Eurocentric attitudes of the period from 1900-1914. Paternalism remained an integral part of the Anglican missionaries' cultural heritage, and on occasion there was denigration of African ability (1916, pp.177-179; 1917, pp.61-66, 210-215; 1918, pp.49-53, 162-165), yet there were elements within the Mission which saw the implications of opposition to German rule. The first indication of this change in attitude came in 1918 when the editor of *Central Africa*, C.G. Rawlinson, pointed out that, although there was much to attack in the German record in East Africa, the British in South Africa had done little better (1918, pp.178-180). This was reinforced by the U.M.C.A.'s brief association with the Rhodesian Anglican missionary, mystic and poet, A.S. Cripps, who did much to increase the awareness of readers of *Central Africa* of the realities of imperialism, particularly in Rhodesia (1910, p.81; 1916, p.142; 1919, p.134; 1920, pp.41-43, 88-92, 157; 1921, pp.29-30, 41; 1922, p.113). A similar anti-imperial strain had long existed on the fringe of the U.M.C.A. at home in the person of Canon H. Scott Holland, whose consistent opposition to the grosser manifestations of racism and of exploitation ran through his reported speeches (e.g. 1903, pp.107-108; 1905, pp.188-194; 1906, pp.178-184; 1912, pp.179-184. See also 1906, pp.264-265; 1910, pp.132-135).

In recognition of the disturbing similarities between what they deplored in the departing German system, and what they saw in British attempts to derive maximum profit from their Imperial holdings, Anglican missionaries, led by Frank Weston of Zanzibar, opposed with vigour, and ultimately with some success, the implementation of African "forced labour" in East and Central Africa, although they were in no position to influence events further south (1920, pp.201-205, 226-228; 1921, pp.25-26, 164-168, 209-210; 1923, pp.161-162).

The dispute over forced labour provided one of the few examples of the Mission in conflict with the various administrations with which it was forced work. But this was by no means an indication of serious reservations being held by Anglicans concerning the principle of colonial rule. Rather than a radical attack upon the system which enriched their home supporters, it was a Christian attempt to mitigate the worst excesses of such a system in the defence of its (presumed) inarticulate African wards. During the interwar period as administration and exploitation (and hence integration into the world economy) grew more efficient, the Anglican missionaries fully supported government efforts, and reported on the material "advances" brought about by colonial rule, especially along the Tanzanian coast and on the Zambian Copperbelt where these were most evident. Issues such as indirect rule; the problems associated with labour migration from Malawi and Moçambique; the concept of "Trusteeship" and the question of African paramountcy; the emergence of an identifiable group of "new men" in Tanzania; the growing distinction between work in industrial, urbanizing and colour-conscious Zambia and elsewhere; and the ever-fascinating topic of education filled the pages of *Central Africa* during this period. As personal correspondence declined in significance as a source of copy, different ones were found. These were now, for instance, more commissioned articles on "everyday life in colonial times"; there was also increasing reliance upon published sources within Africa, in particular the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* which was the most regular and informative of the U.M.C.A.'s African publications. Improved transportation between Europe and Africa meant that there were not frequent lengthy reports by visitors from England on U.M.C.A. work. Finally, there continued to be verbatim reports from the Annual Meetings.

In all of this *Central Africa* provided a valuable source of the study of the gradual changes and developments of the seemingly dead interwar years. There was little of the drama, heroics or rapid change of the decades before the First or after the Second World Wars. Yet this period was important, and little of the later, more rapid movement of events is explicable without fuller awareness of the nature of change during the interwar lull. *Central Africa* is an excellent source for much of the changes of this period because of the wealth of detail its pages contain - ironically in response to a lack of more exciting material for home consumption. In three areas the magazine is of particular value. These relate to the disruptions and problems that developed as the effects of colonial rule became evident; the increasingly valuable ethnographical studies which now began to appear; and the material relating to earlier decades which the magazine now printed because of a lack of interesting contemporary material, and because it gradually developed a historical consciousness.

Several examples of disruptions and problems will suffice. One, unique to a small area in Malawi, was the reaction of the Chewa to the alien intrusion. They found within their own society the reserves for a spiritual resistance to the Mission as the most threatening aspect of the intrusion (1923, pp.77-78; 1932, pp.249-251; 1943, p.90). Similarly in opposition to European culture, yet different in that they drew spiritual strength from that alien source, were the Watchtower (e.g. 1925, pp.120-123; 1938, pp.127-128) and Mwana Lesa (1926, pp.54-57, 102-103, 138) movements in Zambia, and the various sorcery eradication movements - such as mchape chikanga - which afflicted the U.M.C.A. in all its dioceses from 1932 until 1935. More intimately related to Mission work were efforts made in Masasi Diocese to Christianize the Yae jando male initiation ceremonies (1923, pp.218-219; 1927, pp.192-194; 1931, pp.9-10). Also mission-orientated were social problems, such as those of the casualties of Malawi's labour migration, unmarried Christian women on Likoma Island called, appropriately, the "X-Girls" (1927, pp.231-233; 1928, pp.15-16).

Both ethnographical and historical studies were written by Africans and Europeans. The basic purpose of the former was to facilitate missionary work through comprehension of African societies, and so they were generally less subjective than earlier ethnographic work. If approached with some caution, they provide valuable information on the nature of various societies during this period. An interest in ethnography only began to grow as the missionaries became aware of their own limitations, and the effects of their erroneous perceptions of African societies. Slavery was no longer of practical importance, so disappeared from *Central Africa*. The complex of sorcery beliefs began to assume more significance as the Christian missionaries' failure to overcome the fear associated with such beliefs became apparent. There was a continuing debate in the pages of the magazine on the nature of such beliefs which demonstrated a greater sensitivity to African culture than was manifested before the First World War. This began as early as 1915 (pp.262-267) with an admission that such beliefs retained a powerful influence on Pemba Island, through several broad discussions of sorcery in both its historical and contemporary contexts (1921, pp.104-110; 1930, pp.27-28, 47-48; 1933, pp.33-34; 1935, pp.155-158, 179-181, 223-225; 1937, pp.187-188) to an excellent series by Fr. John Munday in 1941 on Lala (of Zambia) beliefs. The appearance of "modern" sorcery eradication movements which offered very effective challenges to the Mission in the middle 1930s, followed by increasing anthropological awareness of the nature of African societies and beliefs did much to enhance the value of such articles. Occasionally there were extended discussions of tribal groups, such as Canon Dale's "The Bantu" in 1924; Canon Samwil Sehoza's valuable series on his own people, "The Beliefs of the WaBondei" in 1929 and 1930; Canon Hellier's lectures on the tribes of Zanzibar diocese (1932); and a brief article on "The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia" (1933, pp.83-87). More common were accounts of specific aspects of a society and the possible relationship of these to Christianity. Various articles were written on the Nsenga (1915, pp.217-220; 1916, pp.122-127; 1925, pp.232-234, 254-257), Lala (1926, pp.63-65; 1938, pp.13-14, 27-29) and Tonga-Ila (1917, pp.251-254; 1935, pp.227-229, 256-258), of Zambia, the Nyanja/Chewa of Malawi (1931, pp.82-84; 1940, pp.9-11, 41-42); and most importantly, on the people of

Northern Tanzania (1915, pp.131-133; Sehoza's series in 1929 and 1930; 1932, pp.147-149, 233-234; 1937, pp.193-194, 207-209; 1938, pp.137-138). Finally, a completely new area was opened up with an intellectual awareness of the value of anthropological work for the Mission, through reviews of some of the earlier classics (1921, pp.75-78; 1924, pp.235-238), articles by anthropologists such as Audrey Richards (1935, pp.235-236); and by missionaries such as J.A. Oldham of the International Missionary Council (1936, pp.101-103) and L.B. Harries of Masasi Diocese (1942, pp.119-120) who called for greater intellectual commitment to the study of African societies.

The historical material printed consisted to a considerable extent of reminiscences, either directly by W.P. Johnson on the period 1875 to 1895 (1898, pp.110-115) and J.E. Hine (1915, pp.235-239, 256-261; 1916, pp.116-121); or indirectly by means of book reviews (e.g. 1921, pp.54-57; 1922, pp.45-46; 1923, pp.36-38) or obituaries, often of Africans (1913, pp.141-145; 1924, pp.181-183; 1931, p.117; 1940, pp.55-57; 1944, pp.60, 84). There were several histories of mission stations, of which Herbert Barnes' account of Chipila, Zambia was the best (1925, pp.92-99, 138-143), but which covered, at one point or another, stations in all the dioceses. Of greatest value were African autobiographies (Augustine Ambali in 1916 being the best example) and reminiscences which usually related to the founding and early history of various stations in Malawi's Tanzania and Northern Moçambique (1929, pp.207-210, 234-235; 1930, pp.237-238; 1931, pp.69-71; 1934, pp.221-222; 1935, pp.95-97, 254-255; 1937, pp.67-72; 1941 various on Korogwe; 1943, pp.6-8, 55-59).

1943-1964 DEVELOPMENT

The Second World War was a less painful experience for the U.M.C.A. than had been the First. The comparatively placid life of missionaries in wartime was reflected in the pages of *Central Africa* which, by contrast to the First World War, shrank in size. East and Central Africa were backwaters in this war with the only local excitement being provided by the internment of Germans at Ndola (1939, pp.257-258) and the North-eastern African campaigns of 1941-1942 (1942, pp.30-31, 49-50). As in the First World War, Africans took a prominent part in the defence of the British Empire, although this time they were not forced to operate in the squalid conditions that had marked portering in the 1914-1918 war, and they travelled as far as Burma in the King's African Rifles and the Northern Rhodesia Regiment (1943, pp.137-138; 1944, pp.91, 113-114; 1945, pp.17-18, 34-35, 74).

Although there was no one of John Chilembwe's stature to disturb the British war effort, there was a general awareness on the part of the Europeans that the mass of the African population was more aware of world affairs than had been the previous generation, and there was no evidence of a desire by the Europeans to return to the tranquillity of the interwar period. Soldiers who had helped to defend the Empire in North Africa and South Asia, and even villagers whose horizons had been broadened by radio and newspaper dissemination of British war propaganda perceived the contradictions between the ideals they were supposed to be defending and the reality of colonial rule. Similarly, few of the missionaries in Africa wanted a return to the poverty and waste of the 1930s, while their supporters in England had a more secular attitude than had earlier generations, and expected the Mission to participate in economic and social "progress".

Partly in response to criticisms that colonial policies emphasising peace, order and good government rather than positive government were leading to stagnation, but more because of post-war Britain's desire to derive maximum benefits from its neglected tropical estates, the colonial administrations now put more emphasis upon planning, and it was more generally accepted than it had been that the U.M.C.A. would fit into the new context of the more rational exploitation, or "development" of human and natural resources in Africa (1944, pp.4-5, 51-52; 1945, pp.75-82, 121-125; 1946, pp.4-6, 11-12, 75, 115-117, 125-126). There was also some comment upon race relations in this new context (1943, pp.49, 59; 1945, pp.49-

50), but as there was no longer any need for forced labour, and there were assumed to be economic benefits for Africans as well as Europeans, there was none of the conflict that had accompanied more primitive "development" after World War One.

There were two major historical processes during this period for which *Central Africa* provided a contemporary source of information - economic development and accelerated modernisation on the one hand; and the nationalist acceptance of this but denial of its colonial purpose on the other. Minor themes included the Mission's rapid transformation into a Church under the dual pressure of ailing home support and nationalism, missionary work and problems, and a declining but still interesting amount of anthropological and historical material. As during the first period, events in Africa provided sufficient material of both secular and missionary interest to obviate the necessity of the third period for commissioned articles. It is interesting to note, however, that more of the secular and political material originated in England than in Africa, and was primarily devoted to the reorientation of the Mission in changed conditions, and the education of English public opinion.

The first of the major processes, especially with relation to Zambia and the massive changes that took place there in the last two decades of colonial rule, provided more a constant background for U.M.C.A. activity than a focus - unlike the situation in Southern Tanzania. Here the Groundnut Scheme of the late 1940s promised a rapid transformation of this area, but proved in the end a monumental failure, with *Central Africa* providing a source for the Scheme's beginning, problems, and collapse (1947, pp.116-119; 1948, pp.41-45, 57, 65-66, 121-123; 1949, pp.31-32, 132, 173-174; 1950, pp.33-35; 1951, pp.11, 50). The U.M.C.A. was swept up in the British government's enthusiasm for such development, and by 1951, was faced with the prospect of massive losses of its own investment in the area (1951, pp.72-75). A smaller but more successful scheme at Mzuzu in Northern Malawi also took place, but this was more remote from direct U.M.C.A. involvement (1950, pp.68-69, 75, 78). Other manifestations of accelerated economic change included a Rice Co-operative at Nkhota Kota in Malawi (1940, pp.99-100; 1949, pp.26-27); a water system for the Makonde Plateau (1953, pp.36-39) and the opening of the port of Mtwara (1954, pp.263-264), both in Southern Tanzania.

Of far greater significance were the political changes of the post-war decades which, while maintaining the momentum of economic transformation begun by the colonial authorities, transferred its implementation from them to the successor governments of Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi. Initially, in the euphoria of economic and social change, there was little discussion of African nationalism, except on the theoretical level (1949, pp.108, 141-144; 1950, pp.36, 137-138), although African opposition, particularly in Zambia to the proposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was noted in passing (1947, pp.22-24; 1949, pp.176-177; 1950, pp.12-13; 1952, p.9). Proposals for an Anglican "Province of Central Africa" contemporaneous with the unwanted political Federation presented the U.M.C.A. missionaries with a serious challenge - to which they responded with platitudes and palliatives (1952, pp.42-43, 229-230; 1953, pp.46-47, 131, 291-292, 255-259, 283-285; 1954, p.14; 1955, pp.9-10; 1956, pp.198-199, 277). The U.M.C.A. appeared to pass furthest from the realities of Central African politics during the lull that followed African failures to prevent the Federation, and Dr. Banda's return to Malawi in 1958 (e.g. "Christians against Mau Mau" in 1954, pp.159-162; 1956, pp.88-90, 110-112; 1957, pp.127-159, an attack upon "African agitators" in 1958, p.200; and the 1955 and 1957 issues which were given over extensively to eulogies for the Province of Central Africa, and self-congratulation on the U.M.C.A.'s Centenary). However, as early as 1958, Bishop Thorne was cooling towards the realities of Partnership and Federation (1958, p.57) while the 1959 and 1960 issues were full of articles and editorials by the General Secretary on the situation in Malawi and Zambia; there was growing evidence of the Society's recognition of the inevitable victory of African nationalism, and consequently opposition to the Federation.

After the climax of 1959 and 1960, the U.M.C.A. showed itself able to accept political reality, and so welcomed Tanzanian Independence (e.g. 1962, pp.27-28; see also 1953, pp.198-202 and 1959, pp.83-84); was not too upset by the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 (1964, pp.8, 51-52, 137, 152) and expressed optimism about the future of Zambia and Malawi (1964, pp.37-38, 58-59). It is interesting to note that the Mission was also able to adapt to the very different realities in Moçambique and, while gently deploring some aspects of Portugal's civilising mission, was able to work within their constraints (1960, pp.36-38; 1962, pp.179-180; 1963, p.54).

During this turbulent period, the U.M.C.A. was not just an observer of economic development and the triumph of African nationalism. It was also a minor participant in the changes that took place, fulfilling, in its own terms, its function as it rapidly transferred responsibility to the African Church. While this was partly a result of a continuing decline of English support, and a need to strengthen local sources of income and personnel (1943, pp.117-120, 123-124; 1946, pp.13-14; 1949, pp.125-126; 1951, pp.88-89; 1952, pp.164-166, 192-196), it was also a return to the Mission's original purpose, albeit rather late in the day (1946, pp.57-58; 1948, pp.46-49, 124-126; 1950, pp.86-87; 1964, pp.181-183), finally culminating seventy years after the ordination of the first African priest, in the appointment of Africans to positions of real responsibility, first as Archdeacons (1961, p.9) and then ordination as Bishops (1963, pp.9, 69-71).

There continued, along with a growing preoccupation with economic and political change, interest in problems relating to the Mission's primary purpose. Some, particularly those relating to marriage, the situation of women, and social disruptions of African society by both colonial rule and Christianity (e.g. 1943, pp.33-34; 1945, pp.2-5; 1946, pp.141-142; 1949, pp.59-62, 75-76; 1952, pp.86-88; 1954, pp.99-100, 123; 1955, pp.171-172; 1964, pp.182-183) were ultimately beyond the control of European missionaries, although experiments associated with an African order of nuns in Tanzania (1952, pp.119-120; 1953, pp.308-309) and the continued efforts of the Mothers' Union to reconcile Christian and traditional African principles (e.g. 1943, pp.66-67; 1950, pp.65-67, 170-173; 1951, pp.119-120, 224-226; 1953, pp.105-108; 1955, pp.12-14; 1962, pp. 181-183; 1963, pp.186-187) were of significance. There also continued to be problems associated with aspects of traditional society and through which the Anglican missionaries had long opposed, although these were more nuisances than threats now (e.g. vinyau in Malawi, 1943, p.90; 1949, pp.26-27; and various situations related to the control of evil in Malawi and Tanzania, 1944, p.134; 1946, p.132; 1952, pp.99-101, 107; 1961, pp.43-44). Zambia, the most economically developed of the U.M.C.A.'s mission territories, had rather different problems relating to Watchtower (1948, p.89; 1950, pp.234-235; 1954, p.217; 1955, pp.42-44) and the more advanced state of social disruption the mines and urbanisation brought (1945, pp.51-55; 1950, pp.103-107; 1951, pp.76-77; 1962, pp.37-39).

Although primary missionary work of the nineteenth century variety was just beginning along the Rufiji in Tanzania as late as 1962 (pp.84-85, 102-103), more significant during this period were innovations such as the interdenominational United Mission to the Copperbelt, educational work through the Student Christian Movement in Zambia (1961, pp.84-86, 106-107); religious radio broadcasting in Tanzania (1963, pp.21-23); uncharacteristic (for the U.M.C.A.) efforts to arouse enthusiasms in Malawi (1955, pp.15-19; 1956, pp.207-208), and at the very end of the U.M.C.A. period, in an apparent reversal of almost a century of efforts to create a highly educated, professional priesthood, a growing realisation of the need for a voluntary clergy irrespective of educational standards in both Zambia and Malawi for economic and social reasons (1963, pp.122-124, 184).

Historical and ethnographical studies continued to be printed, but the rush of economic and political changes provided more interesting copy, so these were less important than during the previous period. There were, however, articles and series on, e.g. points of contact between

Christianity and traditional religious concepts (1943, pp.3-5; 1944, pp.27-28 and an extended series on medicine and sorcery; 1952, a series on African Christians and the sacraments); African music (1946, pp.49-52; 1955, pp.134-137); Bantu linguistics (1955, pp.65-69); African notions of social behaviour (1956, series) and of justice (1956, pp.27-28). Works of historical interest invariably related to mission stations (e.g. 1944, pp.122-123; 1945, pp.114-115; 1950, pp.174-178; 1951, pp.107-110, 124, 182-187, 199-203, 220-223; 1953, pp.327-334; 1955, pp.155-157, 187-189; 1959, pp.138-139; 1963, pp.35-39, 165-167; 1964, pp.5-6) or obituaries of individuals (1946, pp.43-45; 1947, pp.14, 29-30; 1952, p.255). There were also articles of more general interest such as Malawi in the 1890s (1944, pp.97-99); trade between China and East Africa (1945, pp.137-138); and extracts from the Kilwa District Book (1954, pp.137-140).

During the late 1950s and early 1960s the magazine slowly shrank in size as increasing costs, decreasing supplies of copy (which in turn reflected the growing importance of the African Church at the expense of the Mission), and declining interest in missionary endeavours squeezed the Society. It was becoming obvious in the early 1960s that, whatever historical justification there had been for the U.M.C.A. as a distinct Anglican missionary society, there was little now. It was working closely with the other high church society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and duplicating some of the latter's functions. At a time when the "market" for missions was expanding, this was not important, but it led to duplication and inefficiency in the shrinking market of the early 1960s. With the retirement in 1961 of the General Secretary, Canon Brookfield, after twenty-five years in the office, sufficient break was made with the Society's history for the new Secretary to begin negotiating union with the S.P.G. (1962, pp.51-52). This went on for two years, and was occasionally mentioned in the magazine (1963, pp.115, 131-132; 1964, pp.25, 136, 164, 179-180) until it was accomplished in 1964. The U.M.C.A. merged with the S.P.G. to form the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and *Central Africa* disappeared, to be replaced by the *U.S.P.G. Network*.

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