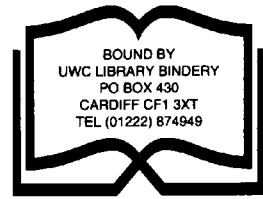


University of South Wales



2064717



**AN EVALUATION OF THE WORK OF
ARCHDEACON
WILLIAM PERCIVAL JOHNSON
IN NYASALAND
(1876 TO 1928)**

BERYL BROUGH

**A submission presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Glamorgan (Prifysgol
Morgannwg) for the Degree of Master of Philosophy**

October 1997

I WISH TO DEDICATE THIS WORK TO: -

MY HUSBAND, PHILIP, IN GRATITUDE FOR THE SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE HE HAS GIVEN TO ME

AND

THE VENERABLE D. GORDON JAMES, SOMETIME ARCHDEACON OF MARGAM, WHO FIRST INTRODUCED ME TO THE ONETIME ARCHDEACON OF NYASA.

I THANK THEM FOR MAKING MY TASK SO ENJOYABLE AND REWARDING.

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ABSTRACT

This submission, by an examination of the life and work of William Percival Johnson, who served with the Universities Mission to Central Africa, in Nyasaland, 1876-1928, tests the thesis of Professor Knorr that the missionary movement of the 19th century was an agency for the spread of the European imperialism.

It argues that priests and lay persons who served in Central Africa, with the Universities Mission, became part of an organisation whose conduct towards the country it served was very different from those of other missionary organisations.

The length of Johnson's service makes possible a study of missionary activity in Nyasaland over a long period. During this half century the politics and economy of the African continent changed dramatically, with the arrival of the European colonial powers. It will be shown that the life of Johnson provided a datum line by which to measure the true worth of one small Christian mission to one, relatively small, African state.

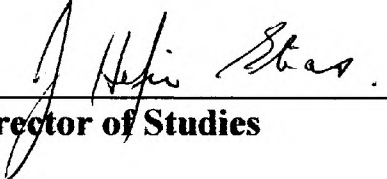
This submission will show that in Nyasaland, the Universities Mission, as represented by William Percival Johnson, had no intention of introducing European commercialism to the people. On the contrary, he and the Mission devoted themselves to the establishment of an African Christian Church, served by African priests and laity. To this end, Johnson translated the Holy Scriptures into the many native languages of the region. He established an education system, which, from the very beginning, trained and used native teachers.

His understanding and admiration of the African culture is well documented in his writings, wherein he attempted to convey to European readers the facts of African life, and to record, for the Nyasa people, their native stories and legends.

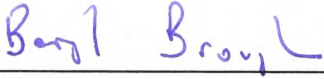
Whilst following the main thesis, it will also consider whether the response of the Anglican Church of St. Elvan, in Aberdare, to the missionary movement, was typical of that of the late 19th Century Welsh Anglican Church, as a whole.

Those who maintain that the 19th century missionary movement was an agent for European imperialism are shown, in the case of W.P. Johnson, and the Universities Mission, to be confusing *intention* with *consequence*. Although commercialism did indeed follow the introduction of Christianity, in the case of Nyasaland, at least, it followed in the wake of the peace that Christianity introduced, rather than being a direct consequence of the introduction of Christianity itself. It was the abolition of the slave trade, the prime intention of the missionary movement, which opened the way for other forms of commerce in Nyasaland which, due to the intervention of the Universities Mission, escaped some of the worst excesses of European imperialism.

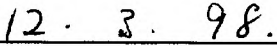
This is to certify that, except where specific reference is made, the work described in this thesis is the result of the candidate. Neither this thesis, nor any part of it, has been presented, or is currently submitted, in candidature for any degree at any other University.



Director of Studies



Candidate



Date

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

From 1876 until his death in 1928, the Venerable William Percival Johnson, DD., Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford, and one time Archdeacon of Nyasa¹ served as a Missionary under the auspices of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.² In his lifetime, he became an acknowledged and honoured pioneer in three distinct fields. Firstly, he was an outstanding and successful missionary, and as such is honoured today by the Anglican Church in the Republic of Malawi.³ To a large degree it was his work which laid the foundations for what was to become the Diocese of Nyasaland, and ultimately the Diocese of Lake Malawi. Secondly, his works of translation were extraordinary. Although he became proficient in many of the tribal languages of Central Africa, he devoted himself in particular to the study of Chinyanja, the tongue of the tribes living around Lake Nyasa. In addition to many commentaries and Catechisms, he translated into Chinyanja the whole of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Thirdly, although having no formal education as a cartographer or geographer he became, nevertheless, a very successful and much respected geographical observer. Within eight years of his arrival in Africa, his feats of exploration were such as to be formally recognised by the Royal Geographical Society.⁴

¹ *Hereinafter referred to as "Johnson"*

² *Hereinafter called the "U.M.C.A."*

³ *Archdeacon Johnson is included in the Calendar of Saints for the Province of Central Africa. A translation of page 101 of the Malawi Prayer-book reads: "11th October - William Percival Johnson, priest 1928. W (white). Archdeacon Johnson worked as a missionary for 50 years spreading the gospel on the shores of Lake Malawi ... Archdeacon Johnson was known as "The Apostle of the Lake."*

⁴ *On the 23rd June 1884 Johnson read a Paper before The Royal Geographical Society entitled "Seven Years' Travels in the Region East of Lake Nyasa"*

1.2 POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Lake Nyasa⁵ lies in the Great Rift Valley of Eastern Africa, between 9° S and 15° S degrees of latitude. It is approximately 365 miles in length with a width at its widest point in excess of 60 miles. It is the twelfth largest lake in the world. In 1616, a Portuguese trader, Gaspar Bocarro, became the first European to visit these waters, but it was not until 1722 that the area was first mapped. Dr. David Livingstone, the explorer and Scottish Presbyterian missionary, had his first sight of the Lake in September 1859.

At the time of Johnson's arrival in Zanzibar, only one tenth of Africa had been colonised⁶, but during his lifetime he witnessed the subjugation of the whole of the continent to the imperial powers of western Europe⁷. Before the end of the 19th century, France, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, Italy and Turkey were formally to acquire African colonies and protectorates. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, revolutionising the speed of communication between Europe and East Africa, and, thereby, opening up the area to European speculators and entrepreneurs as well as missionaries. However, in 1876 Africa had yet to be formally divided, by Treaty, between the European states. There was an exception, the area south of the Rovuma river, including the great Zambezi waterway, had already been claimed by the Portuguese as their territory, and was shown as such upon 18th and 19th century maps. Although they discouraged other Europeans from travelling into Central Africa via the Zambezi, the Portuguese did not maintain a formal presence in all of this huge area, merely occupying the coastal strip, from Cape Dalgado, south to the major ports of Mozambique and Quilimane. By this time Britain had become a great imperial nation, whose sovereign territories included sundry African coastal colonies, as well as India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Cape Colony, Hong Kong, and many islands. In 1877

⁵ *Now known as Lake Malawi, but in this work it is to be known as Lake Nyasa.*

⁶ *See Appendix 14*

⁷ *See Appendix 14*

Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and by the time of Johnson's death, in 1928, the British Empire covered more than one fifth of the world's land mass⁸. Nyasaland was proclaimed a British Protectorate in 1891.

1.3 THE MID 19th CENTURY RESPONSE TO THE MISSIONARY IDEAL

By the middle of the 19th century many Anglicans, in common with Christians of other denominations, had become imbued with a keen sense of Christian mission towards the "savages" who occupied the newly discovered heathen lands.⁹ For example, in November 1854, Bishop Selwyn¹⁰ preached four sermons at Cambridge when, inter alia, he informed the congregation that

"God had signalled that his Church should send messengers to the heathen until there was not a spot on earth which had not received a messenger of salvation"¹¹.¹²

Such was the public interest in missions that in 1860 the First United Missionary Conference took place in Liverpool, to be followed by similar events in London in 1878 and 1888.

⁸ See Appendix 14

⁹ *The Anglican "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts" (S.P.G.) founded in 1701, greatly increased its activity in the 19th Century sending Missionaries to India, South and West Africa, and Australia. In 1965 the SPG joined with the U.M.C.A. to form the U.S.P.G. (United Society for the propagation of the Gospel)*

¹⁰ *George Augustus Selwyn, educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge. Became first missionary Bishop of New Zealand in 1841.*

¹¹ *"History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa", Anderson-Morshead, Volume 1, p.2*

¹² *One who heard these sermons was Charles Frederick Mackenzie later to be consecrated in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on the Feast of the Circumcision 1861, the first "Bishop of the Mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyasa and River Shiré".*

The campaign for missionaries to Africa was given a tremendous boost by one whose travels, adventures and discoveries caught the imagination of the nation. Following the publication, in 1857, of his "Missionary Travels and Researches in Central Africa," the author, Dr. David Livingstone, was fêted as a national hero. He had explored the heart of Africa, and experienced, at first hand, the horrors of the slave trade. Livingstone returned to Britain convinced that the people of the African continent could only be saved from their misery by conversion to Christianity, which, he argued, would be followed by the introduction of civilised legitimate commerce, thus rendering unnecessary the need for trade in human beings. Livingstone, who had initially worked for the London Missionary Society, "*announced his intention of inviting the Church of England, represented by her two oldest Universities, to plant a mission in Central Africa.*"¹³ Accordingly, on the 4th of December, 1857 he made his famous appeal at the Senate House, Cambridge, saying :-

*"...I beg to direct your attention to Africa; I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open; do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you!"*¹⁴

1.4 THE 20th CENTURY RESPONSE

It has now become almost *de rigueur* for present day historians to portray the missionary movements of the preceding centuries as part of a mutually beneficial partnership with the colonial entrepreneurs who explored and exploited the newly discovered territories.¹⁵ It is argued that the missionary presence in a colonial territory

¹³ "*History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*", Volume 1, Anderson-Morshead., p.3.

¹⁴ "*The Bible and the Flag*". B. Stanley, p.12

¹⁵ "*The belief that 'the Bible and the flag' went hand in hand in the history of Western imperial expansion is fast becoming established as one of the unquestioned orthodoxies of general historical knowledge*". "*The Bible and*

produced "civilised" natives fashioned into the European mould, who were then used, as an elite labour force, by the white settlers. For example, it is the opinion of Professor Knorr that the missionary movement of the 19th century was

*"an aggressive, cultural imperialism, propaganda for the spread of European ideas and ideals over the face of the globe"*¹⁶

Further, in the last decades of the 20th century, films and programmes made for television, which undoubtedly reach a wider audience, have generally tended to show the early missionaries in a far from flattering light.¹⁷

1.5 'COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY' - THE FIRST REFERENCE

Livingstone's ideas were clearly defined and firmly linked commerce with Christianity.

*"Sending the Gospel to the Heathen must include much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm. The promotion of commerce ought to be specially attended to, as this, more speedily than anything else demolishes the sense of isolation which heathenism engenders, and makes the tribes feel themselves mutually dependent on, and mutually beneficial to, each other ... My observations on this subject make me extremely desirous to promote the preparation of the raw materials of European manufacturers in Africa for by that means we may not only put a stop to the slave-trade but introduce the negro family into the body corporate of nations, no one member of which can suffer without the others suffering with it ... neither civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone. In fact, they are inseparable"*¹⁸

¹⁶ "British Colonial Theories - 1570-1850." Knorr K. E., p.381

¹⁷ Pettiffer and Bradley's "Missionaries" for the BBC in 1990. "Rhodes" for the BBC in 1996.

¹⁸ "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa", D. Livingstone, p.28.

1.6 SUBMISSION

This work will seek to show that the Universities Mission for Central Africa, and in particular its servant William Percival Johnson, were not agents for imperialism, or interested in matters of commerce, but concerned only to bring to that part of Central Africa in which they worked the message of salvation offered to men by Jesus Christ, that the U.M.C.A. had a clearly defined policy of non-intervention in civil or commercial activities, and that their Mission personnel were required to assimilate themselves with the people they served by adopting as many of the native habits and customs as were appropriate.

1.7 THE FORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

That part of Livingstone's appeal concerning the spiritual needs of the negro family, and their place amongst the corporate body of nations did evoke an enthusiastic response. Amongst those activated by this appeal were some who had not previously been engaged in work overseas. For the first time, the Anglo-Catholic¹⁹ element of the Anglican Church became actively involved in the missionary field.²⁰ By the end of 1858

¹⁹ *"Anglo-Catholicism - the name given to the more advanced section of the High Church movement in the Church of England. From 1838, when the word first appears, its employment became general"*

"High Churchmen - the group in the Church of England which especially stresses her historical continuity with Catholic Christianity and hence upholds a 'high' conception of the authority of the Church, of the claims of the episcopate and of the nature of the Sacraments. Though the existence of the school can be traced back to the Elizabethan Age ... the actual title is not found till the end of 17th Century ... It was the 'Oxford Movement' which reasserted their position in the Church though only after the bitterest struggle."
Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Ed. by F.L. Cross & E.A. Livingstone. Second Edition. pp. 58 & 647

²⁰ *Prior to this time the only "High Church" missionary organisation was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which, although established as a colonial church society, ultimately came to rely upon the voluntary support of members of the Anglican Church. ("The Bible and the Flag". Stanley. p.61)*

the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa (soon to be known as "The Universities' Mission to Central Africa") had been formed, with the stated object of funding Anglican missionaries to Africa, to serve in whatever field was directed by Livingstone. By 1860 they were in a position to send out their first mission, under the leadership of a Bishop. On the 1st January 1861, in the Cathedral of St. George, Cape Town, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Natal, a former student at Caius College, Cambridge, was consecrated as the first Anglican Missionary Bishop "*to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shiré*". Bishop Mackenzie died one year later, to be succeeded in 1863 by William George Tozer, and in 1873 by Edward Steere, who was to be Johnson's first Bishop.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 THE RESPONSE OF WILLIAM PERCIVAL JOHNSON

In 1874 Bishop Steere, then based in Zanzibar, visited Oxford University to appeal for volunteers to join the Universities Mission in Central Africa. At this time Johnson was a student at University College. Born at Vernon Villa, St. Helens, Isle of Wight on the 12th March 1854, he was the third child of a family of four boys and a girl. When he was aged three his father died, and his mother (Mary Percival Johnson) moved from the Isle of Wight to settle in Bedford. There, William Percival attended the Bedford Grammar School, scoring two notable successes. Firstly, he became a skilled oarsman and, secondly, he secured the offer of a prestigious and lucrative appointment with the Indian Civil Service. In 1872, he went up to University College, Oxford, to prepare for his future work in India. However, in 1874, inspired by Bishop Steere's recruitment campaign, he relinquished his Indian Civil Service offer, with its not inconsiderable salary of one thousand pounds per annum, and its promise of further promotion, to join the U.M.C.A., where the conditions of service were penurious. Missionaries were paid nothing more than was necessary to furnish "*their needs on a simple scale*"²¹ Johnson was later to give an account of the circumstances which led to this monumental decision.

"Unless my memory deceives me, the first I ever heard of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa was a notice I saw stuck up when I was attending lectures on Sanskrit in Professor Monier Williams's rooms, after I had passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service. This notice, signed by leading men in the University, asked for volunteers for the Mission; just as in 1914 notices posted up asked for men for the War.

*It seemed just the opening I had wished for, and I resolved to go. In those days there was much discussion about the fundamental truths of revealed religion; Literature and Dogma had a great influence, and open scoffing was to be read in books and heard in talk. Therefore, many of us who believed in these truths were thankful for an opportunity of proving our belief practically. "*²²

²¹ "Towards Freedom". G.W. Broomfield. p.104.

²² "My African Reminiscences, 1875/1895" W.P. Johnson. pp.9/11

2.2 CHAUNCY MAPLES

This notice also attracted the attention of a fellow student and friend of Johnson's at University College, Chauncy Maples, and with the same result.

"This paper ... attracted first Johnson's attention and then my own" ... Johnson is going out to Africa with Bishop Steere, and, of course - I am going too."²³

In 1875 Maples was ordained Deacon at Cuddesdon,²⁴ following which he served as a curate in the Parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford. On the 3rd May 1876, he arrived in Zanzibar,²⁵ to be followed, on the 19th September,²⁶ by Johnson. Until the death of Maples, the lives of these two men were to be inextricably linked. The two priests enjoyed a mutually beneficial working relationship, both inspired by the same "High Church" ideals, and both able to recognise and accept the fact that to preach successfully to an African community they must leave aside any preconceived ideas, and abandon themselves totally to the needs of Africa and the African people. Maples, who was always to be Johnson's senior and superior in the Mission, ultimately becoming his Bishop, was not, however, to be the first of them to reach the Lake. Maples' parents, considering their son to be physically too weak to face the rigours of the Central African climate, extracted from Bishop Steere a promise that their son would not be sent to the interior until one year after his arrival in Zanzibar. In their ignorance they considered the climate of Zanzibar would be safer than that of the

²³ *"The Life of Bishop Maples". E. Maples. p. 9.*

²⁴ *A Theological College for the training of candidates for the Anglican Ministry, of a High Church impress.*

²⁵ *Central African Mission Diary (Zanzibar). Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Box A1(VA). Transcript copy of Diary".*

²⁶ *Central African Mission Diary (Zanzibar). Rhodes House, Bodleian Library Oxford. Box. A1(VA). Transcript copy of diary.*

interior ²⁷. It followed that as Maples was obliged to remain in Zanzibar and its immediate environs, the way was open to Johnson to succeed where the very first members of the Mission had failed. It was to be he who would make the successful, epic pioneering journey to the eastern shores of Lake Nyasa, and there firmly establish the presence of the U.M.C.A.

2.3 THE FIRST MISSIONARY PRESENCE IN NYASALAND

Johnson was not, however, to be the first Christian missionary to reach the Lake. Livingstone's appeal had also been taken up by his fellow Scots, and in 1875 and 1876, respectively, two Scottish Churches successfully established mission stations in the region of Lake Nyasa, but not on the eastern shore. In 1875, The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland was sited at Cape Maclear at the south-western end of the Lake, whilst one year later, the Church of Scotland established a settlement, to the south of the Lake, in the Shiré highlands, which they named "Blantyre". The expenses of the Free Church mission were met by a group of Glasgow businessmen, who were totally committed to the ideals of the missionary movement. These men brought to the lake a steamer, known as the Ilala,²⁸ which was used not only by the Mission, but also for commercial purposes.²⁹ In October 1875, using the Ilala, two members of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, one of whom was its leader, Dr. Laws, carried out the first circumnavigation of Lake Nyasa. Perhaps a note of envy may be detected in the U.M.C.A. report for 1876, for they relied solely for funding upon the support of the lay members of the Anglican Church, :-

"The Scotch again are making an experimental effort on the south west shore of Lake Nyasa, and if liberal expenditure be any gauge or

²⁷ *In fact, Maples suffered more attacks of fever in Zanzibar than he did when he reached the Lake.*

²⁸ *This was the first steam vessel to enter service upon any African lake.*

²⁹ *In 1878 the businessmen who financed the Livingstonia mission incorporated a trading company, ultimately to be known as the African Lakes Company.*

*guarantee of success the experiment should be largely successful.*³⁰

2.4 JOHNSON ARRIVES IN AFRICA

Soon after his arrival, on the 29th September 1876, Johnson was ordained Deacon in the Chapel of St. Andrew at Kiungani, Zanzibar, by Bishop Steere. This was one of the first manifestations of what was to be Johnson's life-long devotion and commitment to Africa, for, as Johnson was to relate, he could have been Ordained in England.

*"I was not at that time old enough to be ordained save by the Archbishop's licence, and when such a licence was kindly offered, it seemed a privilege to be ordained in Zanzibar by Bishop Steere, because he stood emphatically for the Universities' work in Africa; a blessed opportunity of showing some of one's loyalty. When, as they often do, people point out the advantage of a period of work in England first, before going out, I feel that it is no use discussing the matter, as it all depends on one's previous conceptions and what one's particular values are. If no new movements took place in the spiritual world, obviously there would be loss."*³¹

Chauncey Maples was ordained Priest on the same day.

2.5 THE TRADE IN SLAVES

At this time, in this area of Central Africa, the trade in slaves was rife. In the 1870's it was estimated that 10,000 slaves per annum passed through the township of Kota-Kota, on the mid-western shore of the lake. Certain tribes, notably the Magwangwara³² and the Yao, looked to slavery as a means of earning a living. They raided the settlements of other more peaceful tribes, took away men, women and children and sold them to Arab traders, who then marched the captives, through Portuguese territory, to the coast,

³⁰ *Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.*

³¹ *"Johnson of Nyasaland" Barnes, p. 25.*

³² *"Gwangwara" being the name of the tribe. "Ma" a prefix for "people of".*

for sale. The Portuguese raised no objection to the activities of the slave traders, and themselves used slave labour. Slaves were shipped to French plantations in the Indian Ocean Islands, to Arabia, South Africa, Brazil, India and China. As soon as the captives were loaded on to ships, however, their owners had to face the possibility of being challenged on the high seas by British men-o-war. Slavery had been abolished in the British Empire in 1833, and so British ships patrolled the Indian Ocean ready to challenge any vessels they considered might be carrying slaves. If a slave ship was encountered, the captives were freed, and many of them were placed into the care of the U.M.C.A. mission in Zanzibar. The Zanzibar mission responded admirably to this not inconsiderable challenge by establishing a settlement, at Mbweni, a few miles from the town of Zanzibar, which included a plantation, a school and a hospital, for freed slaves. Nevertheless, most former slaves wished to return to their families in their native villages,³³ and so it became the practice of the Mission to take freed slaves as members of any expeditions to the interior, with the hope of restoring them to their home villages, or at least settling them in their tribal homelands.

2.6 THE FIRST TREK INLAND

Immediately following his Ordination, Johnson undertook the first of his many African journeys. Accompanying Bishop Steere³⁴ and James Beardall, a lay superintendent, Johnson embarked upon an expedition deep into the interior of Central Africa, into the Yao country. Included in the party were a large number of Christian converts, former slaves whom the Bishop hoped to restore to their homes. This large party, which included native carriers³⁵ as well as the freed slaves, had to be fed and, in order to

³³ See Appendix I for statistics as to "freed slaves received" by the Zanzibar mission.

³⁴ Bishop Steere had made several journeys into the interior with the intention of reaching Lake Nyasa. He travelled via Lindi and Masasi to the township of Chief Mataka, (otherwise known as Mwembe). Mataka's town is about 70 miles from the south-eastern shore of the Lake.

³⁵ The native carriers were led by a David Chuma who had travelled with Livingstone, and indeed accompanied the explorer's body back to the coast, following his death at Chitambo.

obtain what little food the local inhabitants had to spare, barter goods needed to be exchanged. The expedition were therefore obliged to carry considerable quantities of these items with them.³⁶

Johnson's journey began aboard a British man-of-war, the "Flying Fish" which took the party south from Zanzibar, down the coast to Lindi. At Lindi Johnson experienced at first hand the horrors of inter-tribal war, for, shortly before his arrival, Yao people had raided the Arab owned sugar works, and killed several of the slave workers, by throwing them into the sugar vats. A strenuous trek through lands laid waste by famine then followed. Johnson had his first insight into the grim reality of life in this part of Central Africa. In addition to the threat of raids by hostile tribes, and the constant shortage of food, he experienced the threat to human life from the wild animals and reptiles of the continent.³⁷ . Finally, after fourteen days, the party reached Masasi, a settlement south-east of Lindi, and north of the Rovuma river.³⁸

2.7 THE FOUNDING OF THE MASASI MISSION

The released slaves begged the Bishop to remain at Masasi, where food and water were plentiful, where they were amongst their own people and where war was unknown. The Bishop's party were advised that to journey further into Nyasaland would be dangerous, if not impossible. A mission settlement was therefore established at Masasi. This first mission was ultimately to consist of houses built of mud and bamboo, each with a plot of land, fronting a wide road, at the end of which stood the Church. After a few weeks the Bishop returned to Zanzibar, leaving Johnson as head of the community. At this time Johnson had little or no languages and was obliged to preach to the people through the agency of an interpreter. On Sundays a short service was held, in the Swahili language, of which Johnson had already acquired a little knowledge whilst in Zanzibar.

³⁶ *Beads, soap, salt, trinkets and, most importantly, cloth.*

³⁷ *For example he killed a snake, which he measured, and found to be 8 ft long.*

³⁸ *See map, Appendix 2*

In stark contrast to the later years of Johnson's life, in these early times there was no translation of the English Prayer Book, and those natives who were catechumens had to learn all the services by heart. Johnson lost no time in studying the Yao language, as his friend Chauncy Maples reported in a letter dated 16th August 1877,

"I find that Johnson's chief work during the past nine months has been the study of the Yao language, in which he has made considerable progress."³⁹

In August of 1877 the Revd. Chauncy Maples arrived from Zanzibar to take charge of the Mission,⁴⁰ and he and Johnson enjoyed some time together before Johnson was forced to return to Zanzibar for treatment to the ulcers which had broken out upon his arms and legs. The U.M.C.A. Report for 1877 reads :-

"The Rev. W.P. Johnson, who has been spiritual head of the settlement at Masasi ,... was compelled by serious illness to go down to Zanzibar in November. Careful nursing and a good diet have done much to restore him to perfect health, but up to the date of our last advices he still remained at Headquarters".⁴¹

Johnson's journey back to Zanzibar was not an easy one. He was too weak to walk to the coastal town of Lindi, and had to be carried by native bearers. Having been assured that the voyage, by Arab dhow, from Lindi to Zanzibar would take no more than five days, he provisioned himself accordingly. In fact, the journey lasted for eighteen days, during which time Johnson once more had to endure great hardship.

On the 21st September 1878 Johnson was ordained Priest, and sent by his Bishop back to Masasi. He took with him a cow and her calf. The latter was ignored by the former, and Johnson was forced to carry it for most of the journey. The work of this Mission was quite successful, especially so because the newly ordained John Swedi, the first of the African deacons, joined the Masasi staff in the summer of 1879. The child, to be

³⁹ *"The Life of Bishop Maples". E. Maples. p.97.*

⁴⁰ *"My African Reminiscences". W.P. Johnson. p. 28*

⁴¹ *Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.*

known as John Swedi, had arrived at the Zanzibar Mission in 1865, one of a group of slaves discovered "*packed in an Arab dhow...in a space two feet high, in heat unimaginable...literally packed like herrings 300 human beings, fifty of whom were children.*"⁴² The arrival of John Swedi in Masasi, only sixteen years after the arrival of the U.M.C.A. Mission in Zanzibar, is evidence of the commitment of the members of the Mission to the ideal of the establishment of a truly African Anglican Church in Central Africa. At Masasi two first crops were harvested, one of rice but, most importantly, in June, the first baptism of sixteen adults had taken place. The success of the agricultural enterprises was achieved despite the fact that settlement was all the while plagued by wild animals. Leopards stole some of the goats, lions prowled by night, and attacks by hyenas were a continual threat.

2.8 MISSION POLICY AS TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND JOHNSON'S RESPONSE

Whilst at Masasi Johnson and Maples received guidance from Bishop Steere as to their conduct towards the native people. From the outset these men were left in no doubt as to how he wished them to conduct themselves. He wrote that :-

*"they must not keep too much to themselves, but live as much as possible among their people, with open doors, ready to listen to them at all times; that the ...work of ...translating the language was second to the religious teaching, and must not be allowed to interfere with it;....He also impressed upon them that in all cases of wrong doing towards themselves or the village people by outsiders, they were to get the chiefs to recognise it and leave the punishment to them...."*⁴³

That these principles were adhered to by Maples is evident from his writings of a few years later. In an article, written in 1882 for the monthly paper of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, entitled "*On the method of Evangelising uncultured races*", Maples wrote:-

⁴² *History of the U.M.C.A. Vol.1. Anderson-Morshead. p. 37.*

⁴³ "*Hero Man*", D.Y. Mills. p. 23. *Miss Mills joined the U.M.C.A. at Zanzibar in 1879, and was to work in Central Africa for nearly 26 years, returning home, to work in the London Office, in 1905.*

*"the European missionary must become an African to win Africans. He must, so far as is consistent with his Christian principles, assimilate himself to them. ... He must especially guard against appearing peculiar and strange. He must, having no sense of his own dignity, think nothing below it. Where he can adopt the native dress without giving offence to his own European brethren, as is possible in places remote from the haunts of white men, he should not be slow to do it. If it be possible to do so without injury to health, he should take native food and eat in native fashion. Above all, he should be careful always to think of his black flock as his brothers for Christ's sake, and to do nothing and say nothing to encourage the idea that white races are necessarily superior to black ones."*⁴⁴

These principles were clearly understood and willingly adopted by Johnson, and he unswervingly adhered to them throughout his life. He was to identify himself totally with the African people and the collection of his miscellaneous writings furnishes many examples of this. In 1881, two pencilled notes, both addressed to his Bishop, and written from Livingstonia, give a clear idea of Johnson's thoughts as to his relationship with the African people.

"...Dr. Laws is a "bwana mkubwa (a head man) we boast that we are not"

*"I hope to be off on Friday by the Ilala steamer. Mr. Fairley, who has just come out to take charge of her is down with fever but I hope will be well enough to take her....by Monda's, where I hope to disembark for Mataka's. ... You will sympathise I hope and approve my adding no comment on the work, etc. One difference is clear to both parties, that is, I wish to be under a native chief, many do not."*⁴⁵

By his reference to "no comment on the work" Johnson seems to be alluding to the method of operation at the Free Church of Scotland mission, which was very well organised, but along European lines. During their first years in Nyasaland, both of the Scots missions experienced difficulties in their relationships with the local tribes. At Blantyre, the Church of Scotland mission had behaved so badly towards the African

⁴⁴ *"Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples," Edited by E. Maples. p. 186.*

⁴⁵ *Rhodes House Library, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1-(V1B) "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".*

people, having assumed civil power over them, that, in 1881, the General Assembly of the Church was forced to intervene to put matters in order. At Livingstonia, the mission staff failed completely to establish a rapport with the local Yao people, and so in 1881, they moved to Bandawe⁴⁶, on the west coast of the lake, opposite Likoma island. Here they enjoyed better relations with the local tribe, the Tonga, who were under threat from slave traders, and welcomed the European presence.

At Bandawe, the settlement soon became a self-sufficient unit. In accordance with the "European" methods of this mission, Dr. Laws introduced the local tribesmen to currency, as a mean of exchange. Furthermore, the African Lakes Company traded in the area. This company had been formed by the same group of "*philanthropic Christian men in Scotland*"⁴⁷ who financed the Livingstonia Mission. They began their operations in the Shiré highlands at the south end of the lake, but, to further their interests in the ivory trade, they chartered the steamer "Ilala" and established a trading station at the northern end of the lake. In order to facilitate further expansion, they began the construction of a good road which would connect Nyasa with Lake Tanganyika. Ultimately, although it had been formed, and was intended to be operated first and foremost for humanitarian reasons, it became involved in transactions "*so transparently avaricious as to cause it to be openly accused of swindling*"⁴⁸. In contrast, the U.M.C.A. was never to become involved in any kind of commercial enterprise.

In a note to the Editor of the magazine "Central Africa" dated 1883 Johnson outlined his plans for the Lake, saying:-

"a good native teacher and his wife could under the system I have sketched, do work at Chiteji's, even better than a European. All honour to the Scotch Mission for what they have done, though they had queer

⁴⁶ See Appendix 2

⁴⁷ "*Missionary Heroes in Africa*". Lambert. p.88.

⁴⁸ "*Livingstone's Lake*" O. Ransford. p. 154.

times at first."⁴⁹

and in 1887, 13th August, Johnson wrote to the Secretary of the U.M.C.A. in London, the Revd. W. H. Penney, :-

*"... I see you go in for a gunboat and there seems a general feeling (amongst whites) that English force means the advance of Christ's kingdom. I can't see a glimmering of hope that way."*⁵⁰

Following the death of Johnson, in 1928, in a letter dated 22nd November, the Bishop of Likoma, Thomas C. Fisher,⁵¹ wrote :-

*"... as to the Archdeacon himself. The fundamental fact all through about him, without realising which no-one can understand the position at all, is and always has been his wish and determination to share the life of the African native as far as possible."*⁵²

All of these letters show that from the first days in Masasi until the end of his life Johnson never lost sight of that first advice sent to him by Bishop Steere. Further, Bishop Steere's views on the conduct of a missionary were also set down in the U.M.C.A. report for 1881, for the enlightenment of the supporters of the Mission at home.

"A missionary has no right to go with arms in his hands and force his way into a country where he is expressly forbidden to enter. Into such countries he ought to go, but only with words and deeds of peace, and

⁴⁹ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁵⁰ Rhodes House Library, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (V1B). 'Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson.'

⁵¹ Johnson's seventh, and last, Bishop.

⁵² Correspondence in W.P. Johnson's file at The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Waterloo Road, London. The U.M.C.A. and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel joined in 1965 to become "The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

ready to give up his own life for the faith, but under no circumstances to take the lives of others. In going into a foreign country, the first object of a missionary should be to make his converts good subjects of the state to which they belong. We find that in many places, instead of this missionaries aim at forming independent communities. St. Paul taught the slaves he converted to serve their masters better than they had ever been served before...."⁵³

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE MISSION'S FIRST ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE LAKE

The opening of the Masasi mission was looked upon as the first step towards the ultimate aim of reaching the lake. The Bishop and his fellow workers were only too aware that the U.M.C.A. had been formed with the declared aim of spreading the Christian message amongst “*the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyasa and the River Shiré*” No matter how successful the work of the U.M.C.A. in Zanzibar and the immediate coastal area might be, and it was proving to be very successful, Bishop Steere knew that the Mission had to establish itself on the shores of Lake Nyasa. It was to this end that the Bishop, from the moment of his first arrival in Zanzibar, had undertaken a series of long treks into the interior, viewing the country with an eye to the setting down of Mission stations and, of course, establishing a good route to the lake. He had travelled as far as Mataka's town, some seventy miles from the lake.

The Bishop's two predecessors had been unsuccessful in their attempts to establish the U.M.C.A. mission in the prescribed area. In 1861, immediately following his consecration, Bishop Mackenzie lost no time in setting out, from Cape Town, for the lake, with Livingstone as his guide for part of this journey. This expedition was a dismal failure. Although a mission station was established, in the Shiré Valley, in the area of the present day city of Zomba, the Bishop never reached the lake. Leaving men to man the first mission station, Bishop Mackenzie continued the trek towards his ultimate goal. He and his party were horrified witnesses to the excesses of the slave traders and tried, without success, to persuade a party of Yao raiders to cease their activities. Unable to help the persecuted natives in any other way, the mission party, very reluctantly, used arms to aid the persecuted tribes. Finally, a victim of starvation and disease, the Bishop died of fever in January 1862, to be followed to the grave by many others of his party. Charles Frederick Mackenzie was buried on the bank of the Shiré River.

Despite incredible hardships, the surviving missionaries continued their work at the

first settlement but this did not prevent the Mission's second Bishop, George William Tozer, moving the station south to Mount Morambala, in the area of the confluence of the Zambezi and Shiré rivers. However, this move was not a success, and in 1864 he withdrew the mission completely, settling hundreds of miles away on the Island of Zanzibar. This was to prove a controversial decision. Supporters of the Mission in England were unhappy about this retreat, their criticism being led by Livingstone, who compared the withdrawal to Zanzibar to St. Augustine basing himself upon the Channel Islands when he wished to convert the natives of Central England.

In all these circumstances, some nineteen years after the arrival of the Mission's first Bishop, the challenge of being the first U.M.C.A. Priest to succeed in establishing a presence on the shores of Lake Nyasa was open to Johnson. To this end, in 1880, and following in the steps of Bishop Steere, he left the Mission station at Masasi, and embarked upon his first great pioneering journey south-west in the direction of the Lujenda River, towards Mwembe, the town of the Yao Chief Mataka, and the southern tip of Lake Nyasa.⁵⁴ Johnson travelled along the same, or a similar, route to that travelled by Bishop Steere in 1875. He led his party into virtually unexplored country, with little idea of what he would encounter during his journey, He knew, however, that he was very likely to face warring tribes, slave raiders and their caravans, and native hostility towards himself and his party. Furthermore, he risked suffering as a result of disease, famine and attack by wild animals. Johnson's expedition was not well equipped, he took only the absolute essentials, including the very necessary barter goods. Only one man, Nakaam, a headman, who went with him as guide and overseer of the porters, carried a gun. Eventually, Johnson reached Mwembe, in central Yaoland, at the heart of slaving country, where he stayed for a year, preaching to the people, and attempting to establish a base for a future Mission. Mwembe was a considerable township, for in a letter of Bishop Steere dated 3rd November, 1880,⁵⁵ Johnson states that:-

⁵⁴ See Appendix 3

⁵⁵ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford, archives. File A1 (IX-XI).
"Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson."

"there are some 3000 houses in the place and many villages near. Dr. Livingstone counted 5000 in their old town. Perhaps this is owing to war - they were only driven here by the Gwangwara last year."

A letter written to Bishop Steere, dated 3rd November, 1880, from Mataka's town, describes Johnson's first dealings with the Chief Mataka.⁵⁶

"Mataka's town. November 3 1880

My Lord - I have left my letter to you till I know what to expect from Mataka. I have spent a long time getting here, stopping ten whole days at various places. These were, I hope, profitably explored (?) in becoming acquainted with the country and the people ... I spent this morning at Mataka's baraza - it is on an imposing scale, and the house is small, but he seems to be a sensible man, and not to aim at show. He came out quite the coast man in dress, and was very civil. He soon had a house ready for us, and sent a goat, milk, pombe (?) and a little sugar. Abdullah took him a Chief's cap, and John (a long Arab coat) which we bought, and told him whatever we wanted."

Mataka, the region's most important Chief, was initially quite friendly to Johnson, supplying him not only with the hut but a boy to wait upon him. Johnson later built a log Church, and started a school to which Mataka sent a number of boys to be pupils. Johnson soon had nine catechumens, taking instruction, and for these he fashioned crosses, cutting them out of the lid of an old biscuit tin. After several months at Mwembe, he made a further exploratory journey towards the south end of the Lake, returning along the course of the Lujenda River.⁵⁷

Despite his initial confidence in a steady supply of food at Mwembe, Johnson returned to find that a state of famine prevailed. Sharing the fate of the people, during this time he suffered terrible privations. For many weeks he existed upon one meal per day, comprising nothing more than grasses. Furthermore, the drinking water was bad, and the flies were a terrible hazard. Johnson's health began to fail, and this brought about

⁵⁶ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁵⁷ See Appendix 3

his first meeting with another great missionary pioneer, Dr. Robert Laws of the Free Church of Scotland Mission. Knowing that he would perish unless he received medical treatment, Johnson, suffering the effects of starvation, struggled across country to the Livingstonia Mission, which was then located at its first site, at the south-western end of the lake, at Cape Maclear, on Monkey Bay. It was during this journey he had his first sight of the Lake but he was too ill, and too worried about the attitude of the natives, to give much attention to this momentous event. Johnson remained with Dr. Laws for a month, growing stronger as a result of a return to a proper diet, and careful nursing. In a pencilled note written from Livingstonia and addressed to his Bishop, Johnson remarked "*Dr. and Mrs. Laws are very kind and the house quite in European style*"⁵⁸ Over the years these two men were to become great friends.

In a letter home, Chauncy Maples described the privations suffered by Johnson at the time of the famine in Mwembe.

*"Masasi, November 5th, 1881 - It is such a real treat to see Johnson again, and hold converse together as in old days. For months together at Mwembe he was sorely pressed by famine, with only one meal a day, and for many weeks that meal consisted only of leaves and herbs and grasses - not even pumpkins. Many people died of starvation there, and many shocking deeds were perpetrated. If ever missionary endured hardships in modern times, that missionary is my friend Will Johnson. He tells us the tale in his own simple, unadorned manner, but it is thrilling enough, however told. He tells of his sitting down eating, what there was, and then looking hungrily at the empty plate, and waiting till next day to waylay the women coming in from the fields with the herbs and leaves. The very skins of the last goats he killed were gnawed and eaten by poor skeletons who came by night to steal what they could for food. God has preserved Johnson's health in a wonderful way, though his poor ulcered hands were in such a state when he arrived at Livingstonia that Dr. Laws told him had he arrived a few weeks later he could not have answered for his life."*⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1(V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁵⁹ "Johnson of Nyasaland", Barnes. p. 44

Pencilled notes⁶⁰ written by Johnson, whilst he was reaching treatment at Livingstonia, dated the 16th and 21st February, 1881, respectively, and addressed to Bishop Steere, give a further insight into the conditions prevailing at Mataka's town during Johnson's residence there.

"Feb. 16th. I wish for once I could write clearly and briefly of the country etc. in which (I) have been for the last four months. But my mind is such a jumble of preaching, donkeys, disabled hands⁶¹ ., I feel I shall hardly go to the root of the matter.

I am very eager to hear from you in reply to my letter sent off after I reached Mataka's.

To explain Livingstonia at the head of this letter, about Xmas time ulcers came on the back of my two hands, I had dressed a number of bad ulcers daily and the flies had carried the poison to my hands, and just then my medicine (blue stone and zinc) came to an end. ... From one cause and another the caravan (?) to Masasi took two and a half months.... This left me short and the famine was sore in the land. Thus low diet and no medicine made my hands sore, and I decided to come here for medicine.

... My work here has been Mwembe itself and once a week at Macula where Mataka spends half the time, some ten miles from Mwembe.

M (Mataka) kept to his promise to hear in his baraza every Sunday. There is much trying and unsatisfactory in this but I did not wish to build any sort of Church if he will himself do it, and he assured Amdullah (besides assuring me repeatedly) that a house of God shall be built as soon as I return, as then men will have got some strength from the maize...

Makitumba, his head man,...and some few men came to an outdoor service in Yao on Sunday (distinct from that in M's baraza) and more came to class on Wednesday evening. I have advanced from house to house constantly, but with caravans going and coming the faces seem new each new round.

On the days I go to Nakawali I have two or three places to preach and pray at and the overseer there always gives up one or two houses to me. This is all a happy work though as yet I long for some signs of who are the Lords, not miracles or "conversions" but some more earnestness."...

Feb. 21st. I have settled at Mataka's town of Mwembe, not the old

⁶⁰ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁶¹ In particular, Johnson was plagued by ulcers on his hands.

place,⁶² they have twice been compelled to migrate by the Magwangwara. As the M (Mgwangwara) cleared Mataka's people out last year just after the harvest, I came in a sore time of scarcity but the millet and the maize harvest are plentiful...

I wish we could get a few Hindoos or Banyams to come and live under our protection and so give trade a healthier and surer basis, for lack of this men often are driven to ready ways of raising money, the easiest being to carry off some defenceless women and children, to join in raids for slaves or sell their own domestic slaves coastwards. Could we raise funds for industrial work under native workmen..."

On his return to Mwembe, from Dr. Laws, Johnson found that Chief Mataka's attitude towards him had changed, and for the worse; the Chief had turned hostile. Johnson ascertained that this was because the Mataka had heard of the release of slaves by the crew of a British man-of-war at the coast. The officers and men of the vessel, the "Ruby" had perhaps acted with too much enthusiasm in waging their war against slavers on land, instead of taking restricting themselves to action upon the high seas. Mataka felt that the British sailors must have had information as to the whereabouts of the slave caravan, and he believed Johnson to be the informer.

*"To the Bishop - August 29th (1881) - Mwembe
...the very happy event of the mail threatens to have a cloud. I hope we may see the silver lining soon. 2 or 3 letters referred ... to Capt Forte of HMS Ruby and his action as to a slave caravan here - slaves were not taken by force owing to some mistake. As far as I understand the caravan was partly Makanjila's partly Mataka's ... To-day I sent Mataka 2 cloths and a bottle of wine and went in the afternoon to visit him when he very temperately spoke of the above affair but said he must await more particulars. I am really unable to criticise, from Mataka's point of view "I" should seize "my" goods ...⁶³*

From this letter it can be seen that Johnson was somewhat in sympathy with Mataka. The Yao people survived by selling slaves, ivory and tobacco. As he observed, in a

⁶² Presumably "the old place" refers to the site of Mataka's town at the time of Bishop's Steere's earlier visit.

⁶³ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson."

letter to London, *"the first is being stopped, the second must die out, and the third cannot complete as yet."*⁶⁴ Mataka was largely under the control of the Arab slave traders. He had received a letter from one of the leading traders in Lindi ordering him to send Johnson from his settlement. Mataka ignored this instruction, and allowed Johnson to build his log Church. However, matters were finally settled when Johnson returned from a ten day preaching journey to find that his church and little hut had been destroyed, his animals taken, and his personal belongings scattered⁶⁵. Johnson was left with only those possessions he had taken with him on his preaching tour. Mataka held him prisoner for several days, and finally allowed him to leave, and to travel to the coast with a small slave caravan. His provisions for the journey comprised one small bag of beans. Although Johnson's Mission to Mataka's town failed, some indication of the difficulty in establishing a good working relationship with Chief Mataka is the fact that no other Christian Mission was to be established at Mataka's during Johnson's lifetime.

In the early days of his ministry, Johnson, like David Livingstone before him, had to live and travel among the slave-trading Arabs and Yao raiders, and even on occasion to accept the escort of a slave caravan, without being able to do anything by way of protest against the slave trade beyond the occasional careful intervention on behalf of various individuals. Johnson and his fellow U.M.C.A. missionaries had no intention of becoming involved in tribal conflicts, for they wished the native people to accept them for what they were, men of God, and not look to them as super-warriors there to protect them in time of war. In a letter to Bishop Steere, written from Masasi in December 1881 on his return from Mwembe and the Lake, Johnson said:

"I met two caravans of slaves as I returned up the Lujenda, I came down from Mwembe with a third, passed a fourth on the way, and a fifth passes here to day, ..."

⁶⁴ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(VIB). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁶⁵ He found Mataka wearing his cassock. !

Johnson was always to be conscious of the lack of money available to the U.M.C.A. which relied for its support upon donations from the public, and this may have accounted in part for his austere way of life. Johnson did not journey in the lavish style of many Victorian explorers and travellers, who cushioned themselves against the extremes of Africa by carrying large supplies of canned and other provisions as well as sophisticated camping equipment, all of which had to be transported by numerous native bearers. The payment and provisioning of native carriers was an expensive undertaking, and therefore Johnson always kept his provisions and equipment to the minimum. Correspondence from this period of Johnson's life is full of reference to fiscal matters.

He ended a letter dated May, Monday 20th, (but no year quoted) from Mwembe to the U.M.C.A. London headquarters, as follows :-

"Please plead with the English Church Men to send freely and fight here for freedom through our Lord and Master."⁶⁶

and in letters to his Mother he wrote:-

"Taking the pen again, I am fairly off to Mwembe, Mataka's town. I have just replenished my inkstand with lime juice instead of vinegar. What shall I do for ink ? I returned the ink powder inadvertently in one of the two loads I had to leave....as long as I continue to draw stores from Masasi I must endeavour to do with as few things as possible, as the carriage will be I fear my most expensive item. "

"I got here (Mwembe) Wednesday, to-day is Sunday. I have had some time to look about. I have been glad to speak of our message to shoals of people ... they do not thoroughly understand my Yao but I believe sufficiently ... as to food I am thankful to say contrary to all I expected I shall do well. I have a plentiful supply of milk. Dry peas are available."⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Rhodes House Library, Oxford. File A1 (V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

⁶⁷ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (V1B). "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon W.P. Johnson".

A letter from Johnson written some years later, and printed in "*The Ousel*", the Bedford School magazine, on March 16th 1888, shows that other members of the Mission staff were prepared to make similar sacrifices in order to economise. Part of the letter reads:-

"... tonight we hope to reach Cape Maclear, taking two of our comrades on their way to England. They propose to walk ... to Blantyre, thus saving some £30 passage money ..."

3.2 THE 1882 EXPEDITION OF JOHNSON AND JANSON

During the journey back from the Lake, to Lindi, Johnson, with nothing to eat but his bag of beans, was obliged to carry a small boy who was too weak to walk. It took the party fifteen days to reach the Rovuma river, where, because of the threat of starvation, Johnson pushed on alone, towards Masasi. Whilst travelling through a village on the Rovuma, Johnson came upon a fellow missionary, camping by the river, the Revd. Charles Janson. Jansen, a former student of University College, was older than Johnson and had, prior to joining the U.M.C.A., spent some time as a Barrister. Janson was journeying to join Johnson at Mwembe. As missionaries were no longer welcome in Mataka's town, the two men returned to Masasi, and decided to seek the Bishop's permission to make a joint journey towards the Lake. Bishop Steere supported the plan, and on New Year's Eve 1881, Johnson and Charles Janson departed from Masasi for the lake. Accompanying the men were two married couples from Masasi, who intended to settle on the Lake, a partially trained teacher, as well as thirty Masasi porters, most of whom were Christians, and who were to return to Masasi once the party had reached the lake. On this, Johnson's second expedition to the interior, they travelled not by Bishop Steere's 1875 route, which had been taken by Johnson on his first journey, but by another established track, in all probability a slave route. The men passed to the north of the Steere route and the River Rovuma. They probably turned south-west along the valley of the Mejenje River to Chiwagulu, and then by way of Mount Mtonia to the eastern shore of the Lake, at Makanjila. From there they travelled

north towards Chitsei⁶⁸, a settlement opposite Likoma Island. Some of the settlements Johnson and Janson found were of a considerable size. At a place called Masanje's Johnson estimated there were at least 700 houses, and he informed the Mission Secretary in London that between Pachia and Chiteji's there were two or three places of the same size⁶⁹. Janson, however, was not to reach the end of this journey, for he died of fever, on 21st February, 1882. His body was buried at a place called Chia. Correspondence between Johnson and Bishop Steere conveys some idea of the hardships faced by both men at this time.

" Pachia, February 18, 1882.

... Janson has had a very severe attack here with all the symptoms of cholera; I wondered to see him get along from the first, so evidently oppressed and sickened by some of the work, but he was always...ready to push on ... We were making for Chiteji's town, represented as three days (with loads) from here, when he was seised with fever, then immediate diarrhoea, and vomiting totally uncontrollable, and now vomiting for four days, I cannot leave him for an hour..."

Pachia February 21 1882.

... Dear Janson fell asleep about noon today after a terrible morning of suffering ... alas!, one too often takes a man at his own valuing, and in his wonderful fortitude he had walked through and joked over, the pains of continuous diarrhoea, through rain and rivers and long sitting in wet clothes...."⁷⁰

3.3 THE FOUNDING OF THE U.M.C.A. MISSION IN NYASALAND

Following the death of his companion, Johnson was to journey alone for a further two years, spreading the Gospel and continuing the exploration of the lakeside and its hinterland. As he had done at Mataka's town, so Johnson settled at Chief Chiteji's township. Once more, he established a school, undertook preaching tours around the surrounding villages, and devoted a lot of time to works of translation. In particular,

⁶⁸ *Settlement of Chief Chiteji.*

⁶⁹ *"Johnson of Nyasaland". Barnes. p.47*

⁷⁰ *"Johnson of Nyasaland" pp. 49/50*

Johnson started to translate the Gospels into Chinyanja, so beginning his lifetime's work in this field.⁷¹ For Johnson this was a time of near total isolation from his colleagues in the U.M.C.A. In a letter written in September, 1882, to a fellow U.M.C.A. missionary in Zanzibar, Johnson stated *"I have not heard from Zanzibar or England for seven months"*.⁷² At Chiteji's Johnson found himself amongst a vastly different kind of people. Whereas the Yao people were hunters, aggressive warriors, raiders and slave traders, the lake people, the Nyasa tribe, were peaceful fishermen, croppers and keepers of cattle. However, Chiteji's tribe were subject to horrific raids by the Magwangwara, and this doubtless influenced the Chief in welcoming the presence of a white man in his domain. Fear of the raiders had caused the people to abandon the lake shore, to live either in the marshy area directly behind it, or to build houses upon piles placed in the lake, a little way from the shore. Almost opposite Chiteji's on the western shore of the lake stood the Free Church of Scotland Mission, at Bandawe⁷³, and occasionally the steamship Ilala would call in at Chiteji's to deliver mail to Johnson. A few miles off shore lay Likoma and Chizumulu islands. Using their canoes the Nyasas were easily able to criss-cross the Lake, at this its widest point, for they were able to use the two islands as stopping off points. This route was also used to transport slaves across the lake. Johnson was quick to recognise the advantages of setting up a mission station on the larger Likoma island, and this ultimately was to be the site of a Cathedral and the headquarters of the U.M.C.A.

3.4 JOHNSON'S EXPEDITIONS TO MEET THE SLAVE TRADING TRIBES

Dominating the early days of his residence at Chiteji's, was the suffering of the people at the hands of the raiders. Accompanying the Chief to view ruined villages, Johnson

⁷¹ *In this he was much assisted by a book prepared by a Mr. Riddel of the Scots Mission.*

⁷² *"Johnson of Nyasaland" p. 50.*

⁷³ *The Livingstonia Mission had removed from the original site at Livingstonia at the southern end of the lake. Later still the Mission was to remove further north to Kondowe.*

saw for himself the bodies of the slain and the burnt dwellings. Desperate to do something for these people, he bravely decided to meet with the Magwangwara aggressors.

"It seemed that the enemy had moved out of the village... so I followed after them to their camp, taking in my hand Keble's little book on the Eucharist, which I had been reading in the canoe. There did not seem to be a large party of them, I imagine well under a hundred, and when they saw me they came dancing out in a rough semi-circle. I wonder whether it was my little book, or my face, or my clothes, or what else was employed by God to check them; whatever it was they gave up dancing and sat down, and I sat down too, ...we had a rather lame talk, for we had not any ...common lingo...."⁷⁴.

During this meeting, Johnson promised to visit the tribe at their stronghold in the hills. So it was that in September 1882 Johnson, accompanied by men from the Masasi station, who had come to the lake to bring him letters, left to march north-east to the Rovuma River. The travellers followed a native track. Johnson recalls in his memoirs how they passed through villages of subject peoples that *"had been established as if by miniature Babylonian conquerors"*⁷⁵ Finally, Johnson and his party reached the headquarters of the chief, where they were treated well, and allowed a large hut in which to sleep. He distributed Bible pictures, and, with the aid of these simple illustrations, attempted to convey the message he had come to spread. The Magwangwara informed Johnson that they were compelled to resort to raiding because they, in turn, were attacked by the Nyaka-Nyaka tribe, who lived still further north. Johnson, in an attempt to create peace amongst the warring tribes, promised the Magwangwara that he would visit the Nyaka-Nyaka. Before he left, he was taken to see what the Magwangwara believed to be the source of the Rovuma river. After five days amongst these people, Johnson returned to his base.

The power and confidence of the Magwangwara raiders was such that whilst

⁷⁴ *"Johnson of Nyasaland." Barnes. p. 55..*

⁷⁵ *"My African Reminiscences". W.P. Johnson. p.94.*

entertaining Johnson at their headquarters, other members of the tribe were ransacking the Mission at Masasi, where seven people were killed, and forty were taken into captivity. The members of the Mission had only enough barter goods to redeem a few of the captives, and the rest, including six children, were taken into slavery.

One of the Masasi men who accompanied Johnson on the visit to the Magwangwara was Charles Nasibu, a freed slave, and a Christian convert, who had been cared for at the Mbweni settlement in Zanzibar. Johnson wrote the obituary to Charles Nasibu which appeared in the "*Nyasaland Quarterly*" for October 1910.⁷⁶ Writing of Nasibu's arrival at Masasi in those early days he said

"I can see Charles putting on his best kanzu and jacket to enter the Masasi township... such lululuta-ing⁷⁷ and such letting off of guns, etc. It was in the youth of the world and so was Charles... He came up to the Lake, after I had been many moons at Chiteji's, and he conducted me to the MagwangwaraOur visit was just at the time when our hosts...were "making hay" of the Mission station at Masasi, and Charles nearly died of thirst while dodging about in the forest to get back to Masasi safely. God bless you old friend...."

Notwithstanding the activity on the western shore, where good trade routes existed, the Bandawe mission prospered and the African Lakes Company traded, Johnson remained isolated on the eastern side, where he represented the only European presence. He travelled up and down, trekking from one village to another, preaching to the small numbers of people willing to listen, and all the while surveying the land with an eye as to its suitability for future mission activities. In a letter to the Revd. W. H. Penney,⁷⁸ dated 27th December 1882, Johnson suggests the setting up large stations, one on the east side of the lake, and another "*upland...in the fertile country above Losefa (say one and a half days from the lake shore)*".⁷⁹ He mentions that the population is

⁷⁶ *Photo-copy of publication held in the National Archives of Malawi, Zomba.*

⁷⁷ *A cry of joy made only by the women of the tribe.*

⁷⁸ *Secretary U.M.C.A. Home Committee.*

⁷⁹ *"Johnson of Nyasaland" Barnes, p.52.*

considerable, with many large villages situated on the lake shore.

Keeping his promise to the Magwangwara, Johnson undertook a much longer and more dangerous journey; travelling to the far north end of the lake on the Africa Lakes Company steamer "Ilala" Johnson set out to find the war-like Nyaka-Nyaka people. In his memoirs Johnson placed the time of the commencement of this journey as "*before Whitsuntide 1883*"⁸⁰ Landing at Karonga, on the north-west side of the lake, he crossed the Songwe River, in the land of the Wa-Konde tribe, then trekked around the north end of the lake, and struck out for the north-east. Johnson's search for the Nyaka-Nyaka proved fruitless, for African tribes were often called different names by different people. After crossing many swollen rivers and encountering all kinds of difficulties, Johnson came upon the Wa-Bena tribe. He formed the opinion that these were the people who had been raiding the Magwangwara. The Wa-Bena people would not allow Johnson to travel further north, and so he abandoned his journey, deciding to return south to Chiteji's village via the east side of the lake. This territory was virtually unknown to Europeans. Johnson came across many small settlements established in the reeds alongside the lake, in the lee of the Livingstone mountains. Afraid of raiders, many of these people had built their houses on piles in the water, working on the land by day and swimming back to their homes at night, taking their animals with them. When there was no track alongside the lake, Johnson borrowed a canoe and was paddled for part of his journey. There is evidence that these lakeside people ultimately fell victim to the raiders, because when Johnson returned to the area, some twenty years later, he found no signs of any of these settlements, and upon enquiry as to the whereabouts of these people, was told "*they are dead*".⁸¹

Excluding the steamer journey to Karonga, Johnson had travelled nearly five hundred miles through unknown country. Throughout his journey he had taken every opportunity to spread the Christian message, but the fruits of his labours did not seem

⁸⁰ "*My African Reminiscences*". W.P. Johnson. p.98.

⁸¹ "*My African Reminiscences*" W.P. Johnson. p. 104.

great. He returned to Chitesi a sick man, and so was taken across the lake to Dr. Laws at Bandawe. As soon as he had fully recovered from his illness, Johnson decided to take another trip on the "Ilala", this time travelling to southern end of the lake, sailing down the River Shiré, and then walking into the hills, to the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre, which was led by Dr. David Clement Scott. A quantity of mail awaited Johnson; this gave news of the death of Bishop Edward Steere, in Zanzibar, on the 27th August 1882, and contained a telegram from Mission headquarters asking him to return to England to report upon his activities, and to consult with them. However, before obeying these orders, Johnson decided on one more exploratory journey, this time in the south-eastern area of the lake. He was thus returning to the area where, in 1876, he had gained his first sight of the Lake although, as noted earlier, he had been too ill to be much interested. Johnson wished to reacquaint himself with this area, in order to be better able to report to his new Bishop.

Following this journey, Johnson returned to Chiteji 's village, to bid farewell to the Chief, and then journeyed south, by boat and on foot, until he reached Blantyre, trekking onwards by the overland route to the port of Quilimane. This journey was not without difficulties. Johnson knew nothing of the route to be taken, and was in the hands of a native guide, who assured him he knew of a road to the south. Nights were interrupted by the roar of lions, and large numbers of rhinoceri were encountered. Many large streams and marshes had to be crossed, at the confluence of the Chilwa, Ruo, other small rivers and the Shiré. Johnson continued to preach the Gospel message wherever he could. As they drew nearer to the coast they met up with an Arab slave caravan of over one hundred people. From Quilimane Johnson sailed to Zanzibar, from whence he would sail to England.

3.5 THE RECRUITMENT OF TEACHERS IN ZANZIBAR

Whilst on the Island of Zanzibar, Johnson visited the Mission College of St. Andrew's at Kiungni, where he preached to the trainee native teachers. Johnson informed them of the need for teachers in Nyasaland, and asked for twelve volunteers to go with him

to Nyasaland, when he returned from England. One of these young men, Augustine Ambali,⁸² was later to write :-

*"In 1883 the Rev. W.P. Johnson visited Zanzibar and came to Kiungana.... and he told us details about his journey and the country and that it is very darkness indeed, no light at all there at Nyasaland.... .and he asked if they (the teachers) would like to go to be teachers there... And he will come back again when he comes from England and he will take them with him to Nyasaland to help him preach the Gospel and to teach the boys in school... he said to us, I want you to go with me to Lake Nyasa and if you arrive there to teach your brothers and sisters the good news of the Gospel; this was his sermon"*⁸³

⁸² *Augustine Ambali was to become one of the first students at St. Michael's Theological College, which was opened at Nkwazi, Likoma Island, in 1905.*

⁸³ *"Thirty Years in Nyasaland" by Augustine Ambali". Published by U.M.C.A. copy extract National Archives of Malawi, Zomba, Malawi.*

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 JOHNSON'S FIRST VISIT TO ABERDARE

In the Autumn of 1883 Johnson sailed for England, after an absence of eight years. His new Bishop, his second, was Charles Alan Smythies who had been the Vicar of Roath, Cardiff, and who was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Cuddesdon Theological College, Oxford. Charles Alan Smythies was consecrated "*Bishop of Zanzibar and the lands around Lake Nyasa*".

During his furlough Johnson made his first acquaintance with South Wales and the Parish of Aberdare, which had already experienced the influence of the Oxford Movement.⁸⁴ His brother Harry, a former student of Clare College, Cambridge, and Cuddesdon Theological College, had been appointed a Curate in Aberdare in 1880. Later, in 1892, he was to be appointed the First Warden of St. Michael's Theological College, which, before its removal to Llandaff, was sited at Abernant House in Aberdare. Mrs. Johnson had also taken up residence in the town, at Darren House in Clifton Street.

There is evidence to show that Johnson did not regard his days in Aberdare as a time for relaxation, for it was reported in the Aberdare Banner of Faith for April 1884⁸⁵ that:-

"The Bishop of Llandaff has licensed the Rev. W.P. Johnson, BA., as one of the Assistant Clergy of this Parish during his stay in England. "

⁸⁴ "*Aberdare had experienced the Oxford Movement almost first-hand, when Evan Lewis had been its Vicar for seven years after 1859. Lewis' elder brother had been received into the Roman Catholic Church with Newman in 1845. ... And vestments were worn for the first time in the parish Church at Christmas 1887. In 1889 altar lights were first used at St. Elvan's (Aberdare).*" "*Archbishop Green, His Life and Opinions*". A.J. Edwards. p.25.

⁸⁵ *Parish of Aberdare, archives.*

4.2 THE APPEAL FOR A STEAMER

In earlier correspondence Johnson had already expressed his conviction that some kind of boat was needed to enable the Mission to carry out its work successfully. In a letter to the Revd. Penney, addressed from Chiteji, and dated April, 1883, Johnson said :-

"I think besides the boat I wrote about last mail, (a Berthen collapsible boat) I require a large dhow that could be built up here at small cost were a carpenter sent and bolts via the Zambezi There is plenty of wood. If, we had such a large dhow, anchored at Bembe harbour, (the best in the lake) and three days only from the Angone we could well have a large station there of returned Nyassa slaves. I wish the authorities of the coast could see their way to the sending back the slaves here, whether to their chiefs, or to a mission central station here. Again, if to the latter, they would be thankful for the rate of wages here, which no coast man will hear of, and no slaver would venture to come near the place. The dhow would be quite safe from any enemies here and might make one or two trips in a year.

Surely there must be English clergy coming out, and I hope to see the Angone (Kaffir) catechist whom Bishop Steere told me he had written for.

I had hoped to baptize some Catechumens this Easter but one does indeed need to lay foundations here.

My school gets on fairly, but out-door building, touring, teaching, &c. is too apt to end in none being worth much. I have translated a good deal. I will send some if you can get it printed, it is very different (dialectically) from the West and South Nyanja...⁸⁶

However, by the time he reached England, he had abandoned his earlier ideas of using a canoe, or a smaller sail driven boat to make short journeys on the lake, and decided that nothing less than a steamer would be adequate for the work he had in mind. To this end, he had taken with him to England three native youths whom he wished to have trained in seamanship. Hamisi, a Zanzibari, had accompanied Johnson on his 1883 trek north of the Lake to visit the Nyaka-nyaka, whilst Manwere and Tumani, were of the Nyasa tribe, engaged by Johnson in Blantyre, and who had worked as porters on his 1883 expedition from Blantyre into the territory to the south east of the Lake. A keen supporter of the U.M.C.A. the Rev. A. Stallard of Brixham accepted responsibility for

⁸⁶

Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(IX-X1).

the boys and their training.⁸⁷

Johnson baptised the boys in St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, giving one the baptismal name of "Elvani", as reported to the people of the Parish in their magazine:-

*"The Members of the Guilds will be glad to hear that the boy Elvani, for whose support they subscribe, was baptised on February 3rd."*⁸⁸

The February 1884 edition of "Central Africa"⁸⁹ announced that

"The Rev. W. P. Johnson, with the hearty (sic) approval of the Bishop, asks for a steamer which will be used as a Mission Ship and Training home for African Teachers, who shall be landed and settled in villages bordering on the East Coast of the Lake, and visited by means of the Steamer at regular intervals. It is proposed to call the steamer the "Charles Janson". The cost will not be less than Five thousand pounds. Special contributions are invited at once and it is hoped that Mr. Johnson...may take the parts of the Steamer out with him when he returns ..

The April edition of "Central Africa" contained a detailed report by Johnson, as follows:-

"In taking up my pen, I have a clear objective in view. It is to convey to you what I have felt in really becoming acquainted with one of the great arteries of Central Africa. After seven years passed and between Nyassa and the East coast of Africa I have learnt to realise how truly our Bishop can be Bishop of Central Africa, if we follow the wide views of Livingstone, Mackenzie, and Steere. They have insisted on restoring the released slave to his country; on establishing a native staff of teachers, and in time, a native ministry; on mastering native dialects; and establishing friendly relations with rulers and encouraging peace ... But what we should first develop is a sea system, namely, a large training

⁸⁷ See Appendix 4, being a transcript of a document contained in the Archives of Brixham Museum, for an eye witness account of this event.

⁸⁸ According to B. H. Barnes, Johnson's biographer, Elvani was baptised on 29th October 1884.

⁸⁹ Malawi National Archives, Zomba.

ship in a harbour on the east side of the Lake and a steamer, to ply up and down the East Coast of Nyassa, a distance of over three hundred miles ... To make a training ship work well we must have a steamer; we must be able to rely on stores and communication; we must be able to show the natives that we are not fugitives, but that we represent a great body - the Church in all other lands. The native is too accustomed to half welcome, half enslaved refugees from war, and to see the villainies of bankrupts from the coast. I once overheard an intelligent Mohammedan teacher explaining to his following that only those Europeans who had failed elsewhere came out to these parts. With this steamer we could have native agents at the large villages all up the east side of Nyassa. We must not demand too high a standard, though perfection must be our aim. These teachers could be visited monthly, often have a European with them, and have times for further instruction themselves, either on the steamer or the training ship. They could get up the dialects, teach A, B, C schools, introduce useful seeds, accustom the natives to what we want, and gradually come to have prayers, and gather catechumens round, or at least find out who are well disposed to the stranger. Thus the jealousy of a resident European would be avoided ... We must have, not one or two Europeans here and there, but a wide spread native element, a brotherhood of Christians. We must bring material help as much as we can, or we shall expect them to be willing to be martyrs before they are believers; we must speak a common language, and respect native rulers ... I have heard it calculated that about £5,000 would put such a steamer as we need on the lake, and another £1,000 would start the training ship. A large steamer would be economy in the end, as it will cost no more to keep up; while very plainly fitted, it would then always give workers a comfortable home, and work, teaching, translating, &c., might be carried on during the cruise. W. P. JOHNSON." ⁹⁰

4.3 JOHNSON CALLS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIVE MINISTRY

In this his first report to the Mission's home supporters, Johnson was emphatic in his belief in the need for a *native ministry*, thus placing himself in the vanguard of the movement which would later be epitomised by the phrase "Africa for the Africans". Further, he drew the attention of the readers to the poor moral character of many of the Europeans working in Central Africa at that time. This theme he repeated in a paper he read later in the year to the Carlisle Church Congress, and in stronger terms.

⁹⁰

"Central Africa" April 1884, pages 56-59. Archives U.S.P.G. London.

*"Wherever our commerce has reached there is a street of brothels and drink shops. The Devil needs no organisation."*⁹¹

*"In Quilemane the back parts were full of drunken beings; wages are paid in spirits. Europeans are borne about in palanquins, many of them convicted criminals, and from thence European vice wells up through the country."*⁹²

The November 1884 edition of "Central Africa"⁹³ gave a detailed report of the U.M.C.A.'s twenty-third Annual General Meeting, which was held on Wednesday 11th June 1884 in the Banqueting Room of St. James' Hall at which the Bishop of London presided. Johnson also gave a detailed summary of his work and linked this with the need for a steamer to further the work of the Central African mission.

"The Bishop of London said that many friends of the Mission had felt the interval between Bishop Steere's death and the selection of Bishop Smythies painfully long. He could assure them that no time had been wasted, but over and above the qualities required in a Bishop for an English diocese, there was required in a Bishop for Eastern Africa a rare union of physical strength and administrative talent, and many perfectly ready to go were found on medical examination to fail in that requisit (sic). In Bishop Smythies he believed they had found a worthy successor to his three great predecessors - Mackenzie, Tozer, and Steere - whom he prayed God might bless with health and strength and success in his labours for many years to come.

The Rev. W. P. JOHNSON, who was received with loud applause, said that there were three main elements in the life of the people which it was absolutely necessary to grasp - the state of the villages, the influence of the caravans, and the raiding of the robber tribes. With regard to the villages they were in a state of chronic famine, and food he found by bitter experience was often not even to be purchased in them, and rice was an absolute luxury there. Among many incidents that he mentioned of life in these villages was the frequent carrying off of children by hyaenas, and he related how once on the giving up of the

⁹¹ *Foreign Missions - a paper read at the Carlisle Church Congress by the Rev. W.P. Johnson.*

⁹² *Report contained in the Aberdare Banner of Faith - November 1884, re: Johnson's presentation of a paper to the Carlisle Church Congress.*

⁹³ *"Central Africa" November 1884. p. 115/119. Archives United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Waterloo Road, London.*

hut he was using to some new-comers he had to share quarters with a donkey and some sheep. In the night he was disturbed by the vigorous kicking of the donkey, and in the morning discovered that a hyaena had scabbled its way into the hut, and carried off a sheep from under his bed. Mr. Johnson mentioned the great size of some of these villages, one of which contained 6,000 huts, and it was but one the of many scattered over the length of the Eastern Coast of the Nyassa, which was at least equal in extent to the Eastern Coast of England, and all of which might be readily reached by means of a steamer. Another chief feature in African life was the influence of the caravans which were perpetually passing up and down the country. It was a terrible hindrance to preaching the Gospel, even when the caravans were the Missionary's own. Even if the caravan consisted of good men, they were full of the news of the country through which they had travelled, and this news was likely to take precedence of the good news he had to deliver. So strongly had he felt this, that when Bishop Steere permitted him to go forward to Nyassa, he determined to take only five men with him from Masasi, four carrying loads and one as leader. Even these he sent back when he arrived at Mataka's. Then there were the slave caravans. When he said that he knew of wives torn from their husbands, married to no less than six different men on the journey and finally sold as concubines when they reached the coast, he had but touched the fringe of the deadliest influence of caravan life on the country. He had perforce to travel with a slave caravan, and had seen that of which he spoke. Yet these caravans were to Africa what railways, steamboats, and canals are to England, and under Christian influence might at last be purified. People spoke sometimes of the Gospel following in the track of trade. If by this for Africa it was European trade that was meant, he did not believe it. The importation of spirits and gunpowder was, in his opinion, likely to be even more deadly than the slave trade itself. The trade of Africa was the caravan trade, and if this could be freed from Arab influence, the Gospel might well follow in its track. Thirdly he had to deal with the influence of the raiding tribes. In our autumn of 1882 he heard one morning that mournful cry of "War War" which told that the raiding Gwangwara, were upon them. When he noted the desolation it caused, and saw the dead bodies of the slain, and marked the utter terror of those that remained, what could he do but go across to the enemy and endeavour to make peace. Though he could not prevent his own friends spearing the wounded Gwangwara on the way, yet when he arrived alone they received him kindly. He was able to make himself understood with some difficulty, and he promised to visit them in their own home. This he did in the autumn of 1882, when though they were then preparing for the raid upon Masasi, they received him heartily. They finally promised to think better of their ways if he could free them in their turn from the terror of the Nyika-Nyika, for even these robber tribes are preyed on by those stronger than they. So to these too he went in turn, every step bearing witness to

the harried hunted condition of the inhabitants. What was then the remedy and his scheme of action ? A steamer for the Lake such as was now being built. Already the Rev. G. H. and Mrs. Swinny with a Zulu boy had left England to commence work amongst the Gwangwara, and he asked for a steamer that they might be kept regularly supplied with stores and not be left, as he had been for seven months, destitute and nigh to starvation. He asked for a steamer that he might be able to visit the various villages without need of a caravan, and reach the sources on the west side of the Lake whence slaves were now brought over in small parties to make up great caravans on the eastern coast, and lastly he asked for a steamer which should enable the Missionary to live free from the difficulty of being the possession of any particular village, and yet, able quickly and easily to visit many villages in which native catechists might be placed, and stations formed along the coast. Mr. Johnson concluded a speech of an hour's duration with an allusion to the great kindness he had constantly received at the hands of the Scotch Mission and the Glasgow Trading Company, and reiterated his firm belief that Nyassa would be won for the kingdom of Christ if the Church were but faithful to her high calling, and the opportunities God was now offering to her.. "

Johnson's scheme obviously met with some opposition, and his answer to this is summed up in a letter written in the autumn of 1844 to Mr. Penney, the Secretary, written from Darren House, Aberdare, and dated "Eve of All Saints"

"To. Mr. Penney,

...I will try to write about the steamer....I wish I could feel really sympathetic with the friendly and doubtless well-meaning critics... If I could only rely upon the steamer being kept up as to Capt. Engineer and repairs, I thoroughly believe in the feasibility of reaching all the villages and many smaller ones, and finally inland country and the Gwangwara.... We ought to visit each position once a month at least and reach the place about a given day, then the teacher would be in perfect safety...Now, with a steamer, we can carry a considerable number of people and have room for a regular life of education...each teacher might remain for a short or longer period and come into personal intercourse with the priest in charge, translation work could be carried on, and after a few voyages the various villages would realise our presence as a united body of evangelists ... and receive our teachers as a body of men whose headquarters is the steamer whose arrival is certain and regular. Secondly, let us have some settlement beginning on Likoma for stores, invalids and a school."⁹⁴

4.4 THE ADDRESS TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Just twelve days after addressing the Annual Meeting of the U.M.C.A., Johnson addressed the Royal Geographical Society . On the 23rd June 1884 he delivered a paper entitled "*Seven Years Travels in the Region East of Lake Nyasa*" In his introduction, the President of the Society spoke of the important services rendered to the cause of geography by missionaries, mentioning, besides Johnson, Dr. Livingstone, Dr. Laws, and Chauncy Maples. The President then went on to make the pertinent point that although Johnson had not travelled for geographical purposes, he "had brought home a great deal of geographical knowledge".⁹⁵ Johnson had located the then unknown sources of the Rovuma and Lujenda rivers, and as a result of his notes a map was compiled and published at the same time as his Paper.⁹⁶

In retrospect, it can be seen that Johnson's early years in Africa laid the foundation for all of the Mission's future work in Nyasaland. Although he was not have been aware of it, he had already become one of the pioneer missionaries of the U.M.C.A., a worthy successor in title to Mackenzie and Tozer, and an inspiration to future workers. Bishop Steere and the Revd. Maples had indeed carried out many notable journeys of exploration, with a view to reaching the lake, but it was Johnson who had finally broken through and established the Mission's presence there. During his lone exploration of the lands of the Nyasa, Angoni, and Wa-Bena tribes he was all the while formulating working plans for the future activities of the Mission. Learning from his own suffering, and realising the difficulties of communication in such a huge area, he finally came to the conclusion that the waters of the lake must be used as the highway to the people; and so he arrived in Britain, on his first furlough, determined that the

⁹⁵ *Article printed in 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society' 1884 pp.534,535*

⁹⁶ *The History of the U.M.C.A., Vol.1., Anderson-Morshead .p.120 erroneously claims that Bishop Smythies discovered the source of the Lujenda in November 1885, some two years later.*

Mission should have a steamer. To this end he had already made prudent preparations; in Zanzibar he had appealed for native teachers to join him on his return to the lake. He had brought to England three natives youths to train as crew for the ship, and he was to spend his furlough in writing and speaking to supporters of the Mission in order to raise funds for the vessel.

Volume 3 of "Central Africa" dated 1st January 1885 provided a breakdown of the expenses relating to the provision of the "*Charles Janson*". She was built at the Yarrow yard, and the total amount for building, freight to Quilimane, stores, tools appliances and barter goods, passages and outfits for the Nyasa party, as well as Insurance, was £4,230 16s 0d. The same article reported that as at the 30th November 1884 donations had amounted to £3,212 10s 7d. There was accordingly a shortfall of just over one thousand pounds.

These accounts evidence the fact that the response to Johnson's appeal had been tremendous. A note in the April 1884 edition of "*The Aberdare Banner of Faith*" advises readers that

"during the last week he (Johnson) has received promises amounting to Seven hundred pounds towards the steamer for Lake Nyasa."

4.5 ABERDARE'S RESPONSE TO THE MISSIONARY CHALLENGE

From the various copies of "*The Aberdare Banner of Faith*" it is possible to trace the nature of response to the late 19th century missionary challenge in the Parish of Aberdare . In July 1884 the St. Elvan's Juvenile Branch of the Church Temperance Society "*rendered a Service of Song...the proceeds of the Entertainment ...to be given to the Mission Ship for Lake Nyasa*". The August 1884 edition of this magazine contained an insert which was distributed nationally, by the U.M.C.A., and which called for artisans to volunteer to assist the Lake Nyassa Mission. Part of this reads:-

"How often do we hear and read that England is becoming too

cramped, too overpopulated to furnish a sphere for young men of spirit and activity ... From the labourer upwards, people are saying 'what shall we do with our sons ?' ... What shall they do? The call comes from Central Africa - the great Lake Nyassa, Englishmen, born and bred are working there now, gentlemen and mechanics, both begging for helpers ... Men, you are all wanted, ... Simple Christian men, willing to give their lives to the glorious "success" of gaining souls for the kingdom of God ... Mr. Johnson ... describes the life for European new-comers to his Nyassa shore. 'The Carpenter would teach natives this trade ... Elementary teachers ... could take up each a dialect ... We might aim to have a printing press, and that would need a printer ... Will you not volunteer to this working ground, young men of England?.

The next month's edition of the Magazine reported that forty men, from different parts of the country, had responded to this call .

The Parish Magazine for November 1884 published two items which illustrate the admiration felt for Johnson and for the work of the U.M.C.A.. One article headed "S. John Baptist Missionary Association" reported the presence of Johnson and Chauncy Maples in Aberdare to address a Missionary Association meeting.

"Mr. Maples began by setting forth the obligation of mission work, and said that no other argument need be used in a meeting like the present one, than the highest one of all, namely, that our Lord ordered His Church to do this work. He bade His Apostles go "into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," saying also " As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you" ... There is a popular fallacy that the African is very happy as he is and wants to be left alone. One month spent in Central Africa might leave this impression; but a year or two shows it to be untrue. The causes of this are chiefly the prevalence of witchcraft and the frequency of the raids by such tribes as the Gwandwara ... The Rev. W. P. Johnson addressed the meeting. He said: "The last time I listened to an address from the voice we have just heard, was in a room with stone walls and thatched roof, about the size of the room we are now in. It had just been built, and we passed in procession down the road reclaimed from the forest and planted with coast trees. In order, and with suitable words, the communicants were admitted to the upper part of the Chancel; then the catechumens, men preparing for baptism, and lastly the hearers, men, gathered for the time-being from the heathen. That church had been built by the speaker himself and his Christians, it has since been burnt by the Zulus ... Mr. James Lewis, of Plasdraw, then spoke with great feeling of Mr W. P.

Johnson's work in Aberdare. He came home for a rest, and his holiday had been one of ceaseless activity, both in the parish and throughout England. It would be a lasting reproach to Aberdare if something definite were not done to help on the work in Africa. He therefore proposed that a Missionary Association be formed in this parish to be called the S. John Baptist Missionary Association. There was a collection for the Nyassa steamer made at the door which amounted to £14 7s 0½d.⁹⁷

The second item referred to Johnson's departure from the town.

"Before this number of our Magazine issues from the press, the Rev. W. P. Johnson will have left England. I have no words to express how great a privilege it has been to have him among us even for so short a time as from January till the end of October. Though he might have spent his time at home in enjoying that rest he so much needed, he took his full share of parochial work, and whenever he left us it was to attend meetings elsewhere to plead for the Mission, to the work of which he has devoted his life. His one aim was to do his Master's work. We all, laity and clergy, look back upon the ten months he spent with us as a time when we saw realized a life of the highest self-sacrifice and self-denial; and may God grant that the brightness of his example may stir in us a deep longing to share somewhat of the spirit which animated him. I venture to commend my beloved brother to the prayers of the Parishioners of Aberdare. R. B. JENKINS.⁹⁸

4.6 RETURN TO AFRICA

On the 31st October, 1884, Johnson sailed from London aboard the "Hawarden Castle" for the journey via Cape Town and the Zambezi to Zanzibar. Part of the ship's cargo comprised of the 380 packages which made up the "Charles Janson". Accompanying Johnson were a Mission party made up of a ship's Captain, an Engineer and his assistants and three carpenters. The "Charles Janson" was to be deposited at Quilimane, whilst Johnson proceeded to Zanzibar "for help and instructions".

The mission party, and the cargo of many packages, each one of a size small enough

⁹⁷ *Parish of Aberdare, archives. Aberdare Banner of Faith, November 1884.*

⁹⁸ *Parish of Aberdare, archives. Aberdare Banner of Faith, November 1884*

to be carried by a porter, and containing pieces of a giant jigsaw puzzle which, when assembled, would make up the "Charles Janson", were disembarked at Quilimane on 7th December 1884. Leaving his companions, Johnson travelled on to Zanzibar, to consult with his Bishop, to bring back those African teachers who had earlier promised to work with him beside the Lake, and to recruit the necessary porters. A letter from one of the native teachers, published in an 1885 edition of "*Central Africa*"⁹⁹, reads :-

"Kiungani House, January 1st 1885.

"Now I will tell you that I am going to Nyasa to help my brethren ... I am going with Mr. Johnson to build a house. Our Father will be pleased if some become Christians. Now I go to Nyassa to help to deliver our brothers ... I ask you to ask my friends in England to pray for me that Almighty God will guard me there. To-morrow we go on board the ship. ... Salaams to all my friends in Jesus Christ our Lord. ... BASIL KAM'NA."

The journey from Quilimane to the Lake was not easy, and for this purpose Johnson had chartered a small steamer the "Somtseu". From Quilimane the vessel had to negotiate the dense weeds of the Kongoni river before sailing into one of the seven channels at the mouth of the Zambezi. There then followed a difficult journey up this river, with its ever changing sandbank formations, to its confluence with its northern tributary, the Shiré. This river, flowing from the Lake, was not, however, navigable for the whole of its length. For sixty miles, a series of cataracts¹⁰⁰ rendered the waterway impassable, necessitating the use of porters to carry the cargo overland to Matope, from whence the Shiré was navigable all the way into Lake Nyasa.

4.7 THE ONSET OF BLINDNESS

Johnson, however, was not to make this journey, for immediately upon his return from

⁹⁹ *U.S.P.G. archives, London.*

¹⁰⁰ *Named the "Murchison cataract", in honour of his friend, Sir Roderic Murchison, by Livingstone, in 1859 but now known as the Tedzani falls..*

Zanzibar he suffered a serious attack of "Ophthalmia".¹⁰¹ Totally blind, he was forced, in January 1885, to return to England for medical attention. To treat the corneal ulcers, two operations were necessary, the first undertaken at the London residence of the surgeon, Mr. Nettleship, and the second at St. Thomas' hospital, London. For the rest of his life Johnson was blind in one eye, and had very limited vision in the other. This eye was fitted with an artificial pupil, which was incapable of contraction or dilation.

*"In consequence, when looking at near objects (when the normal pupil contracts) the artificial pupil let in too much peripheral light, and so Johnson used to put his two fingers together and make a narrow slit through which he looked to read, the fingers cutting off all the light above and below ... Johnson was very blind in the dark because the artificial pupil could not dilate any more"*¹⁰²

4.8 THE ASSEMBLING OF THE 'CHARLES JANSON'

In the absence of Johnson, Mr. Bellingham, one of the lay workers, supervised the building of the "Charles Janson", at Matope. Bellingham's letter to the Revd. W.H. Penney, the Mission's Home Secretary, gives some indication of the reaction to Johnson's absence.

*"Matope June 9th 1885 ... we were very sorry to hear the sad news of Mr. Johnson. It is indeed sad to think he should never see the steamer. I am happy to tell you all is going on well. The Chas. Janson is now looking very much the same as she did in Yarrow's yard. I have had to put my hand to it for Read soon gets the fever and Robinson is very often down. The boys are working well ... We find Read very hard to please as to food ... we all feel for him (Mr. Johnson) very much and are so very much cut up at his sudden call back from his work ... "*¹⁰³

Despite the sickness which struck down so many of the party, the work advanced well,

¹⁰¹ *In the late 19th century the term "Ophthalmia" was used to describe any inflammation of the eye.*

¹⁰² *Johnson of Nyasaland, Barnes. pp. 71 and 72*

¹⁰³ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(V1B).*

and on the 6th September 1885 the steamship "Charles Janson" (usually referred to by mission members as the "C.J.") was dedicated by Bishop Smythies.

Notwithstanding his disability, Johnson was able to convince the Mission's Home Committee that he was fit to return to Africa. Once more he departed for Zanzibar, and was accompanied by George Sherriff, a Brixham trawler man, the designated captain of the "Charles Janson". Sheriff was the first of a number of Brixham men who, over the years, served with the Nyasa mission.¹⁰⁴ In May 1886, led by Bishop Smythies, Johnson, Sherriff, five priests and a native deacon, departed from Zanzibar to Lindi, and then overland to the Lake, a distance of four hundred miles. Sherriff left the main group at Lindi, and went to Matope, where the new steamer lay, but Johnson was once more to be frustrated in his attempt to take possession of this vessel. At Newala, a sub-station of Masasi, he fell ill, with an outbreak of ulcers, and was forced to return to the coast. On this occasion he refused to return to England, and went to Cape Town for treatment. It fell to Chauncy Maples to leave his work at Masasi mission, and to follow his Bishop to the lake.

In the Autumn of 1886 Johnson returned, and was at last able to see the new steamer. On the upper reaches of the Shiré, he joined his old friend Chauncy Maples, lately appointed Archdeacon by Bishop Smythies, on board the "C.J.". Together they sailed into the lake and up to the island of Likoma, where Archdeacon Maples had established a base. The Likoma Island mission was sited opposite Chiteji's village on the eastern shore, where only a few years earlier, Johnson, the lone pioneer, had made his base.

¹⁰⁴

There is a memorial tablet in All. Saints' Church, Brixham, inscribed "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of George Sherriff and Harry Partridge who laid their fishermen's skills at the foot of the cross. Their bodies now rest at Likoma on Lake Nyasa Central Africa ... " This memorial was removed to All Saints' Church upon the closure of St. Peter's Brixham, where it was originally sited.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 MAKING THE CHURCH VISIBLE IN THE LAND

For Johnson, there now followed a period of eleven years, 1886 to 1897, the “Halcyon Days”¹⁰⁵ as his former missionary colleague and biographer, Father Barnes, described them, when, using the “C.J.” as his base, he set about the enormous task of finally and firmly establishing the U.M.C.A.'s presence along the eastern shore of the lake. The area covered by the steamer extended from an area slightly north of Likoma island, nearly one hundred miles down the eastern coastal strip, to Losefa. Mr. Bellingham, the first Captain of the steamer, gave some idea of the total lack of even the basic teaching aids in those early days, in an 1886 edition of “*Central Africa*”¹⁰⁶

I was at a loss to know what to use as A.B.C. ... after thinking and hunting about, I came across the skin of a goat that was dressed ... I set to work ... and marked out A.B.C. with numbers and a few one syllable words”

A letter of Johnson's dated August 1887¹⁰⁷ also gives a good account of this period:-

“Yesterday we visited five villages on the lake and preached to their people, Mbazi is a village developed under the patronage of the Gwangwara tribe, - and growing fast - for each set of huts there is a gathering-place under a tree. We go to them there. Some men were twisting string for nets, some netting, some beating bark for cloth, a few sitting idle. When we tell them we wish to speak the word of God, I hardly know what idea it conveys to them. We secure some attention from the elders and young men but they will not come to us, we must go to them. The children swarm in every village. Beginning to speak of God I soon shew them a picture ... Mr. Mills, of Mountain Ash, was not well when he came, but is so now, and getting fully into the work - Mrs. Swinny¹⁰⁸ nursed him.”

¹⁰⁵ Title of Chapter IV of “Johnson of Nyasaland”, B.H. Barnes.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in “A History of St. Michael's College”, p.3.
(privately published by Mrs. Vera Garland, Blantyre, Malawi.)

¹⁰⁷ St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, archives.

¹⁰⁸ Mrs. Swinny accompanied her husband to Central Africa in 1886 and, having been widowed and lost her only child, sailed home at Easter 1888, dying during

During this time Johnson laid foundations of such significance that, only five years later, a new diocese, that of Nyasaland, would be formed. His presence on the "C.J." meant that gradually, the "*Church was becoming visible in the land*"¹⁰⁹ In many villages Johnson founded both a Church and a school, these two together usually comprising nothing more than one simple native dwelling. The steamer also served as a floating Chapel, there being a daily celebration of morning and evening prayer, with a service of Holy Communion three times a week. On one occasion the "C.J." was taken south to Matope for repairs, and Johnson took this opportunity to begin work there. The week's work would begin on Monday and finish on Saturday. On his daily visits to the villages, to preach and to teach, Johnson would normally be accompanied by pupils, Africans, whom he hoped would ultimately be able to work for the mission.

Although Johnson was now enjoying a respite from the long, lonely treks of his early days, life on board ship was not an easy one. He left the "C.J." very early in the morning, and did not return until the evening, having spent the day walking for many miles over difficult terrain. The waters of the lake were often rough, and severe storms were commonplace, sometimes of such severity as to prevent the ship from sailing. Oftentimes, Johnson would not be able to use a dinghy, but would have to struggle through raging surf to reach the shore. Accommodation was very limited, and Johnson's cabin was tiny. A constant supply of wood was needed to fuel the ship, and was stored in every available space, further reducing that available for the workers. A large supply of trade goods had also to be carried, for these were currency. Flies were a severe problem,¹¹⁰ as were scorpions and snakes, which arrived on board in the loads of wood.

the voyage.

¹⁰⁹ *A phrase used by Johnson in an 1890 edition of Central Africa. Source Malawi National Archives.*

¹¹⁰ *In particular the "Kungu", a minute fly that comes in swarms and "seems to choke you, eyes and everything" Letter from W.P.J, printed in Aberdare Parish Magazine, July 1892. St. Elvans Church, Aberdare. Archives.*

An extract of a letter from Mr. T. Matthews, a former captain of the "C.J." who had returned home sick, provides a lay-man's eye-witness account of life on board the "C.J." in the early days of the mission steamer. .¹¹¹

"I have been asked to describe our life on the "Charles Janson" ... she is a little steamer 65 feet long. There are two cabins, one forward where we laymen sleep, and one aft, which answers as a church, with a small altar curtained off from the rest of the cabin, dining room, dispensary, bedroom and store. Our crew consists of 5 sailors, 5 stokers, 1 cook and 3 cabin boys. ... every Saturday we give them a yard of calico each, to buy themselves food for the following week. The cabin boys are picked from our mainland schools, and they come on for three months, getting three fathoms of white calico a month, and when their time is up they go back to school again ... we had to get wood, the steamer burns wood not coal. Sometimes there is such a bad sea that the small boat ... sinks when loaded, but the men will dive to the bottom, if there is not more than four and a half fathoms of water, and drag her ashore, for they are almost at home in the water as fish. By this time there are generally ... canoes alongside with fowls, eggs, etc. for sale. We have a standing price ... which is half a yard of calico for a fowl and about a dessert spoonful of salt for six eggs. By the time we have finished buying, Mr. Johnson, who has been celebrating on shore, had generally come on board. ... We make it a rule never to ship a man unless he is either a Christian or a catechumen. You must not think that missionary work is all easy and straightforward, whenever you hear of natives being baptised or admitted as catechumens it means that the priests and teachers spent years in patient instruction, and then too there are failures. ... a few months ago a hundred hearers presented themselves, and wished to be made catechumens, as they had been under instruction; but upon Mr. Johnson examining them, he gave only forty of them crosses, and told the rest that they must prove by their lives and their eagerness that they really wished to be made catechumens."

The running costs of the "C.J." proved to be high, as is evidenced by Johnson's letter to Mr. Penny, (written in pencil) and dated 27th September 1888:¹¹²

¹¹¹ U.M.C.A.'s 1894/95 Annual Report contained several references to Johnson and his work, including this report.

¹¹² Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (VIB).

"Let me press on your kind attention that

- 1) I am to relieve Maples of steamer supply questions*
- 2) The steamer is always crying give give in some form or another.*

Mill's list I have sent too - he could only specify oil and hoped to supplement this by ground nuts but unless we have a machine to crush out the oil - the ground nut oil costs us more than the imported ... abrupt end as candle gone out."

5.2 THE EUROPEAN/ARAB HOSTILITIES

During this time Johnson came under attack from those natives still under the dominance of Arab raiders. The Arabs resented the growing power of the Europeans in Central Africa, and particularly the suppression of their main source of income, the slave trade. Whereas, the early Christian missionaries had been allowed to travel freely, even using the Arab slave routes - before 1884 *"a bare half-dozen out of more than three hundred had been murdered"*¹¹³ - the Arabs now regarded all Europeans with equal hostility.

Unintentionally, the peace-loving Johnson became involved in the European/Arab hostilities. In October 1887 there began, at the north western end of lake Nyasa, around the townships of Karonga and Kaparo, a series of confrontations between the African Lakes Company, and the Arab slave trader, Mlozi. Since 1884 there had been a British presence in this area, the African Lakes Company trading station at Karonga, under the management of Mr. Fotheringham. Fotheringham had also supervised the construction of the Stevenson Road, which connected Lake Nyasa with Lake Tanganyika. Although Mlozi had built forts along this road, for a year or so the African Lakes Company representative had managed to remain at peace with him. On the 27th October 1887, however, Mlozi perpetrated what is now known as the "Kombwe Lagoon massacre", when hundreds of natives were driven into the lagoon and slaughtered. Fotheringham, and ten other Europeans who happened to be in the area¹¹⁴, attempted a stand against

¹¹³ *"The Missionary Factor in East Africa". R. Oliver. p. 115*

¹¹⁴ *Including a gentlemen on a hunting trip.*

Mlozi, but without success. After this incident, the African Lakes Company engaged in continual hostilities with Mlozi, until in 1895 he was finally defeated by British forces, and hanged. In an attempt at peace negotiations, in 1888 Bishop Smythies sanctioned the use of the "C.J." to carry the British Government representative, Vice-Consul Buchanan, to the northern end of the lake to negotiate with Mlozi. Johnson accompanied Buchanan. Of the attempt at negotiations with Mlozi; Johnson wrote:-

"we met the three chief men and a number of their followers ... We hung about for some time, but nothing more definite came of the negotiations."¹¹⁵

Returning from this unsuccessful mission, Johnson accompanied Buchanan into the village of the Yao chief, Makanjila, where they were fiercely attacked, held overnight, and only released upon the payment of a ransom. The Aberdare Parish Magazine for July 1888¹¹⁶ contained a description of this incident.

"June - Letters received June 14th, from the Rev. W. P. Johnson contain an account of a serious adventure which befell the British Consul, Mr. Buchanan, and himself on landing at a town belonging to a chief named Makanjila, on the S.E. shore of Lake Nyassa. Mr. Johnson writes under date April 22nd

"I have had such a lesson in the hands of the mob as I shall never forget, at Makanjila's; not, strangely enough, after all for preaching but rather for sympathy with our country-men. We landed with Mr. John Buchanan, the acting Consul here: one of his men was killed; God be merciful! Oh! be merciful to his soul! for we could not save him, hardly ourselves! Buchanan lost all his clothes, I my cassock, hat, and a gorgeous pair of slippers which I, strange to say, had chosen to put on that day: but why dwell on it?"

In his Biography, and correspondence, Johnson often referred to such attacks. In an

¹¹⁵ *"Mt African Reminiscences 1875 - 1895" W.P. Johnson. p. 151*

¹¹⁶ *St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare .Archives.*

article which appeared in 1891 ¹¹⁷, he wrote:-

"On one occasion, I cannot remember the year, but it was at an early period, I had been left by the steamer for work at Chisanga village ... Our senior teacher, Augustine was with me. One day ... I was roused to find that Augustine had been wounded with a spear in the hand by the Angoni ... they had taken umbrage at something he had said. ... a spear had been wetted in blood and this was enough to make the junior headmen ... dance wildly about ... they were very much excited when I appeared and came close up to me poisoning their spears. I was wondering what the point of an assegai would feel like, when we were rescued unexpectedly ... "

5.3 TEACHING AND PREACHING - JOHNSON'S METHODS

Notwithstanding these troubles, it can be seen from correspondence that Johnson's work from the steamer was bearing fruit, albeit he was not satisfied with the rate of progress. He reported to the Revd. Penney on the 11th June 1889, ¹¹⁸

*My Dear Penney,
... the teachers and I are going to have a first Nyasa Elementary teachers conference this morning. The teachers have worked loyally ... I hope to aim at a strong centre which, as being round the steamer, will be moveable. Its plant a steamer, two boats, and a local hut or two, its staff our steamer workers, the local teachers and two or three other taking in turn to work and read with us. Please pray for an elevation of our life in all ways, ... with a whole hearted working for the people we are sent to. Printing press, I am very thankful to hear of the little one given to the C.J."*

A further letter¹¹⁹ dated 24th August 1890 reads:-

¹¹⁷ Printed in an 1891 edition of "Central Africa", and copy obtained from Malawi National Archives, Zomba.

¹¹⁸ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford, archives. File AI XVI

¹¹⁹ Printed in an 1891 edition of "Central Africa". U.S.P.G. archives. London. Original held in Malawi National Archives, Zomba.

" ... People are not enthusiastic about us or ours ... A few shillings, a few years' hard work won't necessarily win colliers or fishermen of our own race and customs, much less people like these here ... We have been pretty nearly turned neck and crop out of Yao country ... Only gradually does the deadly atmosphere of heathenism dawn on one. There broods oppression ... with tragic burnings and poisonings, fear of lions or sudden night attacks, and murders of a mother or near relative ... things that leave the child an old man in heart. ... We are more fully at work we have 268 boys and 117 girls under some sort of instruction, not counting the last schools begun now at Amapunda's, Chitezi's and Mataka's, or the outside day-school of half-an-hour a day ... A good native teacher gets hold of, say, ten boys or less ... For our other needs we want to thin the hippos in the river; they have thrice smashed our boats "

From the very earliest days of his mission Johnson had concentrated upon the use of African converts to teach others. As soon as he began his work on the "C.J." he started to train Africans so that they might work as teachers in the villages. He had successfully appealed for native teachers from Zanzibar to accompany him to Nyasa, and of those who went with him, Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa were later to be ordained as priests. In the beginning, Johnson worked without the use of teaching aids. The lakeside tribes had no knowledge of the printed word, and, before they could begin to preach the Christian message to their fellow men, the African teachers themselves had to master the use of the alphabet. Johnson was usually accompanied by a native teacher whenever he visited a village. The exchange of knowledge was, however, mutual for the African was able to instruct him as to the culture of the people he sought to bring to Christ. From the first days of the "C.J." mission the shortage of native teachers caused Johnson anxiety, and he came to realise that steamer was not large enough for the task in hand.

Father B.H. Barnes¹²⁰ joined the U.M.C.A. in 1898, *"largely due to the influence of the Archdeacon, (Johnson) whom I met in Aberdare, and who visited me in Cardiff"*.¹²¹ and worked with him at the lake for eight months. Fr. Barnes assisted the work of the "C.J."

¹²⁰ *The author of "Johnson of Nyasaland".*

¹²¹ *Johnson of Nyasaland . Barnes, p. 130.*

mission by visiting, on foot, some of the villages served by the steamer. From his pen there exists a contemporary and detailed account of Johnson's method of working.

Part of Fr. Barnes' article entitled "*Work in the Nyasa Villages*"¹²² reads:-

"Nominally, the "Charles Janson" is his (Johnson's) home but he is seldom there. ... the villages require ... a longer visit than the steamer can spare so off Johnson goes ashore ... the missionary will have to travel afoot ... passing through fields of native corn, millet or maize ... through uncultivated lands dotted with trees and bushes ... sometimes over a rocky wooded hillside ...

Arrived at a village, (he) ... plunges into work, taking a class of Christians or hearers, or settling disputes, for ... here as elsewhere, even Christians will quarrel ...

Seated on nothing better than a rough box at an equally rough table, or it may be without a table, you will find him ... translating from the Hebrew or the Greek into the purest Chinyanja, ... revising, correcting, consulting the natives and always ready to learn something new about the language which he knows better than any other European ... There is probably no clock for miles and miles, and the day's work is regulated loosely by the sun. If an English priest is present he has probably a supply of candles and likes to hear evensong after sunset. (Inside the church) you won't find any seats - nothing but a bare floor with two or three ..mats of reed or grass. ... standing out visibly against the background of darkness like a picture of Rembrant - you see the striking, strenuous face of the preacher ... Generally he camps out in the school, a mud and reed house, with a thatched roof and a variety of insect; sometimes in a sort of "prophets chamber" attached to the church ...

Money - coined money - is almost useless here ... you make any payments of 2d or more in cloth; while for small change to buy eggs, firewood, fruityou carry beads and native salt. Soap is another very useful article to pay with "

In his Biography of Johnson, Fr. Barnes relates that he asked Johnson for some written notes to give him an idea of the "*the principles and methods*" on which he based his work. Johnson duly furnished him with a sheath of notes, parts of which are reproduced as Appendix 5. From these notes it is possible to see, in detail, how far Johnson's work had progressed during these twelve years. It is evident that in each village there were many differing groups requiring the attention of both priest and teacher, for registers

¹²²

"Central Africa" August 1899. National Archives of Malawi, Zomba.

were kept detailing catechumens, communicants and pupils. Johnson also recited what he considered to be the main principles to be applied to the work of the mission. He stated that the first duty of the missionary was to preach the Christian message, and secondly to teach that all men belonged to one tribe, "*the church*". He urged the use of "*native agents and native elements of life as far as possible with a view to growth of native character.*"¹²³ Fr. Barnes, writing in 1933, also mentions Johnson's objection to the idea of men leaving their villages to undertake work for the Europeans:

*"Whilst he insisted on the value of work, he did by no means intend to approve the growing practice, so dangerous to social life and so detribalising, of going far afield for the sake of money, or from mere love of change and adventure, to seek employment among Europeans".*¹²⁴

5.4 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIOCESAN HEADQUARTERS

Whilst Johnson worked from the steamer, Archdeacon Maples had begun the creation of what has been called "*a tropical Iona*"¹²⁵; in that, like St. Columba on the small Scottish island, on a small African island, he set about establishing a centre point of Christianity in Nyasaland. In 1885, Likoma, an island five miles long and two miles wide, had a population of 2600. Under Maples' direction, a team of clergy and lay people laid the foundations of a mission complex which was to become the headquarters of the diocese of Nyasaland. A Church was built and a large mission station laid out. The first single women workers arrived on the island in 1888. They were to be responsible for the development of a school for girls, and for the expansion of nursing facilities. During the same year a dispensary was opened, together with a printing shop, which over the years produced copies of many of Johnson's biblical translations. Johnson attached great importance to this work. At first these translations were printed in small numbers, to be tested in the local schools, before being forwarded

¹²³ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes p. 132.*

¹²⁴ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes p. 141.*

¹²⁵ *Livingstone's Lake. O. Ransford. p. 147*

to England, for publication in large numbers by either S.P.C.K. or B.F.B.S.¹²⁶ In 1892, for example, 300 copies of Johnson's translation of the Psalter into Chinyanja were produced.¹²⁷ By 1891 the Likoma population included 110 baptised Africans.¹²⁸ In the same year the newly established Christian cemetery received the remains of Captain George Sherriff, who died on the 12th August. In 1892 a fire destroyed all the mission buildings. Johnson was visiting the island at the time, and helped to fight the fire. Finally, in the first decade of the twentieth century, a cathedral, the size of Winchester, was built.

During the years 1876 to 1895 Maples and Johnson worked together in harmony, with great mutual support.

*"I often think that if Johnson were not here I should go but now we have both been out here and associated so long, ... I know I should never leave the mission so long as he lives"*¹²⁹

Maples has been described as

*"the 'beau sabreur' of the mission ... he was the ideal foil for Johnson's asceticism. He could turn his hand to anything from cookery to poetry but, like Johnson, his enduring passion was the lake ... It is almost impossible to conceive two more different men than the urbane Maples and the unpolished, artless Johnson, yet they were devoted to each other."*¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *The "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" . The "British and Foreign Bible Society.*

¹²⁷ *U.M.C.A. Report 1892/3. U.S.P.G. archives, London.*

¹²⁸ *U.M.C.A. Report 1891/2 U.S.P.G. archives, London.*

¹²⁹ *Letter to his sister, 22nd May 1893. "The Life of Bishop Maples", E. Maples. p.347.*

¹³⁰ *Livingstone's Lake. O. Ransford. p. 147.*

In 1888¹³¹ Maples, who was Johnson's superior, described the weekly routine of the "C.J.". At this time the regular weekly journey involved sailing from Likoma down the eastern shore of the Lake, for a distance of eighty miles. He reported that seven or eight large coastal villages were visited, and that in one the mission had established a school entirely in the charge of one of the Zanzibar native scholars. Unlike the steamers which serviced the Scotch missions on the western shore, as far as he was concerned their steamer was not to be regarded as anything other than a floating mission station. He wrote:-

*"... and we are anxious that she (the C.J.) should in every way keep up her position as a veritable "Church ship". She is a missionary and not a trader ... Hence we even grudge the time she has to go off her usual trip in order to carry up stores ... "*¹³²

This view was not shared by all. In November 1886, Mr. Bellingham had enquired of the Mission's Home Secretary

*"... Would it be possible to have a Church of England Company like the A.L.C. (African Lakes Company) for the East Coast, for it is what is wanted, and we tell the natives our steamer is not to trade, and they say what good is it then. "*¹³³

5.5 CORRESPONDENCE WITH ABERDARE

During all this time, letters from Johnson to his brother Harry, in Aberdare, were published in the St. Elvan's Church magazine, the "Banner of Faith"¹³⁴ Those published in February and October 1888, respectively, are typical.

¹³¹ *Journals and Papers of Bishop Maples. Edited by Ellen Maples. London 1899. pp.173 and 174.*

¹³² *Journals and Papers of Bishop Maples. Edited by E. Maples. p.174,*

¹³³ *Rhodes House Library archives. File A1 (VI)B.*

¹³⁴ *St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare. Archives.*

" September 26th.

Yesterday we had our "out-door service" in the new school. That sounds a grand name, but you must realize a shed open all round, or nearly so - a grass roof laid on bamboos, and all supported by long centre and shorter side poles. It has what serve as galleries, where the boys will sleep, quaint reed frames. two one over the other. These were occupied by the boys themselves; the men sit at one end of the house, the women at the other.":

"The Charles Janson, On the river Shiré.

A girls' school is going on in the cabin hard by. Mable, one of the girls from Mbweni School, now married to Augustine Mbali is the teacher. As yet they are in the A,B,C stage; this is joined with stitching, at very small pieces of cloth. Few, if any of them, have handled a needle before. I expect and pray there may be much done with a girls' school here - they are, if anything, more keen about it than the boys. Captain Sherriff is very busy mending the boat left us by Consul Hawes after ours was seized by the chief Makangila. ... a teacher, what can I expect? or what ought I to expect? but I feel I ought not to involve others who have a different line".

The publication of Johnson's correspondence evidences the continued support of and interest in the work of the U.M.C.A. in this South Wales Parish. The July 1888 magazine contained not only extracts from Johnson's letters to his brother, but a notice to the effect that the Aberdare Missionary Association met in St. Elvan's, after Evensong, on the 1st Sunday of each month. Furthermore, readers were urged to subscribe to the monthly U.M.C.A. publication, "*Central Africa*". Readers were also informed that Bishop Smythies was expected in Aberdare in October,¹³⁵ which would indicate that the senior officials of the U.M.C.A. acknowledged and appreciated the support of the congregation of St. Elvans.

5.6 EXPANSION OF MISSION

An indication of the rapid expansion of the mission's work in Nyasaland is provided by an article in the March 1889 "*Central Africa*"¹³⁶ which gives details of the mission's boats

¹³⁵ *Aberdare Parish Magazine, July 1888, St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, archives.*

¹³⁶ *U.S.P.G. archives, London.*

in use on the Lake. The gift of the "Ousel" to Johnson by his old school was one of many such expressions of support he received from Bedford over the years.

"OUR NYASA FLEET"

"It may interest our friends to know what we now have afloat on Nyasa belonging to the mission.

- 1. The Charles Janson, our steamer, needs no comment.*
- 2. A larger boat capable of carrying several persons was bought by Mr. Johnson from the Scotch mission, and given by him to the mission.*
- 3. A still larger rowing craft known as the consular boat is in place of Mr. Swinny's "Alice" which was smashed in a storm. This boat was bought from the Consul and presented to the mission by those who borrowed the unfortunate "Alice" from us.*
- 4. The Delta Metal centre-board boat was noticed in our February number, and this will be useful for those left on the island when the "Charles Janson" goes south. .*
- 5. The "Ousel" a centre-board sailing boat built of galvanised steel, and is a gift to Mr. Johnson by his old school at Bedford.*

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 THE GROWING EUROPEAN PRESENCE

The last decade of the 19th century was a time of radical change for Johnson, the U.M.C.A., and the peoples who populated the lands abutting on Lake Nyasa. When Johnson began his work on the East side of the Lake, he was carrying the Christian message to a land which had been largely untouched by Europeans. In 1875 only one tenth of Africa had been colonised, but by 1900 nearly the whole of the continent had been subjugated to western European powers. Central Africa was to be divided between Portugal, Germany and Britain. Since Vasco de Gama in 1497, Portuguese maps had always shown the hinterland of this part of Central Africa as being their territory. They had occupied Mozambique, established settlements on the delta of the Zambezi and knew of the existence of the Lake. They did not, however, occupy or explore the hinterland and discouraged attempts by other white men to exploit this great waterway.¹³⁷ By the middle of the 19th century, Germany had begun to occupy the north east side of the Lake, whilst the British were advancing from the south, at the urging of Cecil Rhodes, who wished to add the territory north of the Zambezi to the British colonial portfolio. Because there was no formal acceptance of boundaries, representatives of the occupying European colonial powers met in Berlin, in 1884,¹³⁸ to decide the partition of Africa. The resultant Berlin Act of 1885 formally delineated the territories occupied by the European powers. As Oliver Ransford comments

*"the airy way in which Africa was divided into colonies, protectorates and spheres of interest without the slightest regard for tribal boundaries or the wishes of the people was nowhere better illustrated than in the country round Lake Nyasa. There international frontiers were suddenly clamped down on homogeneous tribes ..."*¹³⁹

Thus, in so far as it related to the territory served by the U.M.C.A., the country to the

¹³⁷ For example, they would not allow the cutting of firewood to fuel the steamer of David Livingstone. "Africa in Transformation" N. Maclean. London 1913.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 6.

¹³⁹ "Livingstone's Lake", O. Ransford, p.210

north of the Rovuma River became German East Africa, whilst the Portuguese formally took control of the land to the south, as well as the remaining 140 miles of the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa. The vast majority of the eastern side of the lake became therefore the territory of Germany or Portugal. For the lake side tribes this meant subjection to European rule, whilst the Universities Mission found itself operating mainly in the territory of other European nations. Britain retained possession of Likoma and its neighbouring smaller islands,¹⁴⁰ only because of its Anglican missionary connections, and on 21st September 1889, the British proclaimed the Shiré Highlands Province to be a Protectorate. Finally, following agreement between Britain, Germany and Portugal, the British Protectorate was extended to include the whole of the western shore of the lake. Following a formal declaration, in 1890, Nyasaland became a part of the British Empire. This new acquisition initially came at no cost to the British exchequer, for Cecil Rhodes, with his vested interests in neighbouring Rhodesia, financed the administration of Nyasaland for the first four years of its existence.

Johnson's correspondence at this time shows his concern for the welfare of the African people. In particular, he was anxious as to the fate of those who were to become subject to Portuguese rule. He had seen at first hand the poor treatment afforded to the African by the Portuguese colonists, and he knew of the Portuguese clandestine involvement in the slave trade. His letters to Chauncy Maples, of 17th November 1890, and 5th February 1891, respectively, show his dissatisfaction with the work of the politicians.

"Let England command the lake harbours, sharing the east with Germany, for Germany won't wink at the slave trade, and in the name of those poor people whom we wish to protect let us know where the division is."¹⁴¹

"I do hope to hear from the Bishop to-day ... It seems to me that you all have thrown up our cards on the east side by not making use of your humble servant; people, e.g. Consul Johnston, have been at Likoma and know how much and how little you know of the country. Belcher ran me down as not knowing anything, so all I write or say is regarded as that

¹⁴⁰ Formally referred to as "The Nyasa Archipelago".

¹⁴¹ Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 89

*of a very second-rate authority, and the conditions of the east coast are treated as hardly known. It is the business of men like Buchanan to listen to heads only, and I have had no hearing. I have no hesitation in saying that in native affairs we know the east coast and have more hold on it than any one can boast of the west.*¹⁴²ⁿ

Johnson considered that if the Portuguese had not been allowed to gain possession of any part of the lake shore then the slave traders would have been denied the use of a friendly port, for Germany was as firmly opposed to the slave trade as Britain. Bishop Smythies shared his misgivings as to the conduct of the Portuguese, writing in 1885 to the Chairman of the Universities Mission "*there is one European nation for whom the people have no respect ... the Portuguese*",¹⁴³ but felt that the mission should make the best of the situation, and seize the opportunity to demonstrate its effectiveness of operation in an area outside the British Empire. Johnson accepted this somewhat unsatisfactory situation, and when in Portuguese territory made the point of praying not for the Queen of England but for the King of Portugal. By the early 1890's a German steamer, the "Von Wissmann" was plying on the lake, and the presence of this vessel brought home to Johnson the fact that

*"one could not go everywhere on the lake ... and I could no longer preach our message to everybody we met"*¹⁴⁴

Correspondence stored at the Rhodes House Library, Oxford¹⁴⁵ shows that in August 1890 the Germans placed a temporary prohibition upon the entry of English missionaries into their territory in the region of Lindi and Mikindari. The Archdeacon of Zanzibar imagined that this restriction had been made because the Germans feared for the safety of the missionaries, and wrote to the Consul General to assure him that,

¹⁴² "*Johnson of Nyasaland*", B.H. Barnes p.89.

¹⁴³ Rhodes House Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI)

¹⁴⁴ "*My African Reminiscences*", W.P. Johnson, p.211

¹⁴⁵ Letter 12.8.1890 from H.M.'s Agent and Consul General, Kiungani, Zanzibar to R. Jones Bateman, Archdeacon of Zanzibar and the latter's reply of 13.8.1890. Letters from Bishop Smythies dated 12.9.1890 to the Consul. Rhodes House Bodleian Library archives, Oxford. File A1 XVI.

according to his intelligence, all was quiet in the German territory.¹⁴⁶ The Archdeacon urged the British Consul to speak to the German Imperial Commissioner, whilst Bishop Smythies wrote “*with entire freedom*”¹⁴⁷ to Lord Salisbury to bring to the Government's attention the fact that the German prohibition was at odds with their assurance of religious toleration. Finally, in order to clarify matters, in October 1892 Bishop Smythies visited Berlin to discuss with the German Chancellor the status of British Missionaries in German territory. He was able to gain assurance that English missionaries would be able to operate in their territory, at their stations at Lindi and Mikindari. During the course of this visit, the Bishop was presented to the German Emperor, who expressed the view that all Christian missionaries should work in unison.¹⁴⁸

6.2 CREATION OF THE DIOCESE OF NYASALAND

By 1892 the Universities Mission had so grown as to warrant the appointment of a Bishop to serve the diocese of Nyasaland. Bishop Smythies visited London to finalise matters with the Home Committee, and to seek the necessary extra funds. Nine thousand pounds was raised.¹⁴⁹ On the creation of the new Diocese, Bishop Smythies left the lake, and became the Bishop of Zanzibar and Missionary Bishop in East Africa, whilst, on the 21st December 1892, Wilfrid Bird Hornby was consecrated, in St. Paul's Cathedral, the first Bishop of Nyasaland. Bishop Hornby, Johnson's third Bishop, journeyed to the lake via the Zambezi, accompanied by so many new workers that the staff of European workers then numbered twenty-four.¹⁵⁰ Many of those who

¹⁴⁶ *Letter R. Jones Bateman, Archdeacon of Zanzibar to H.M.'s Agent and Consul General, dated 13.8.1890. Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

¹⁴⁷ *Letter, Bishop Smythies to Col. Euan Smith dated 12.9.1890. Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

¹⁴⁸ *History of the U.M.C.A. Vol.1. Anderson-Morshead. P.206.*

¹⁴⁹ *The S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. each gave one thousand pounds.*

¹⁵⁰ *U.M.C.A. report 1892/3. U.S.P.G. archives, London.*

accompanied Bishop Hornby perished or were invalided home, unable to cope with the climate, whilst in August 1894 Bishop Hornby himself resigned due to ill-health. In giving an opinion as to who should be his successor, he stated :-

"there is only one man who can be Bishop of Likoma, and that is Chauncy Maples".¹⁵¹

6.3 THE MISSION'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN SETTLERS

British settlers were beginning to arrive in great numbers in the new Protectorate of Nyasaland. By 1893 three hundred square miles of the Shiré country was under intensive cultivation. A.L. Bruce, who had married Livingstone's daughter Agnes, was the owner of the largest estate, situated around Magomero. The Nyasaland missionaries were accused by so-called "*agents of British imperialism*"¹⁵² of obstructing the progress of commerce by encouraging a sense of national awareness and independence amongst the African people. It is evident that many of the European settlers did not share the vision of Johnson and the U.M.C.A. for a future independent role for the African people. Some, but not all, twentieth century historians have perceived this. In 1952 Roland Oliver, Professor of African History in the University of London, wrote of the East African missionary movement:-

" ... the U.M.C.A. made it a matter of policy to keep their temporal authority down to a minimum"¹⁵³

In 1893, Archdeacon Maples began the production of a quarterly newspaper for circulation amongst the Europeans settlers. Initially called "*An Occasional Paper for Nyasaland*", after two editions, the title became "*Nyasa News*". Maples alone produced this periodical which was printed on Likoma Island. In the concluding

¹⁵¹ *"The Life of Bishop Maples." E. Maples, London 1897.*

¹⁵² *To quote a common 20th century phrase.*

¹⁵³ *"The missionary Factor in East Africa" R. Oliver. London 1952. p.51.*

number, dated December 1895, Maples wrote an article entitled "*Missions and their Aims*"¹⁵⁴, in which he answered those who objected to the African being taught the doctrine of equality of races and the brotherhood of man, and who argued that the Christian message was wasted upon the African, saying :-

*"tis but a veneer, an outside polish they put on, their hearts remain the same ... These people are not really Christians ... Come out of your fool's paradise ... leave off your preaching ... prayer meetings, your hearers' classes ... Teach the Africans to be good servants, make them carpenters ... masons and blacksmiths. Thus you and your work will be a blessing to the country, and missionaries will be more fitting pioneers of the civilisation to which they too frequently take up an attitude of antagonism"*¹⁵⁵

He questioned their morality, writing:-

*"beginning in indifference they have gone on, till at last they have shaken off every restriction and injunction that the name of Christian implies"*¹⁵⁶

and then set down, in unequivocal terms, what he saw as the aims of all the Christian missionaries in Nyasaland.

*"Now in Nyasaland there are Christian missions represented by various Churches"¹⁵⁷ as well as by other sects. Are their aims various, or are they one at bottom. ... we believe their aim to be single ... their one object ... is to help Africans both to know and lay hold of the means of salvation offered them by and in Jesus Christ ... the one principal aim of all true Christian missionaries being ... this single one, all else, industrial departments, secular teaching - must be subordinated to it."*¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ *Journals and Papers of Bishop Maples. Edited E. Maples. pp. 268,269,271.*

¹⁵⁵ *Journals and papers of Bishop Maples. Edited E. Maples. p. 269*

¹⁵⁶ *Journals and Papers of Bishop Maples. Edited E. Maples. p.260.*

¹⁵⁷ *Here Maples refers to the English Episcopal, Scotch Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and "other Christian denominations".*

¹⁵⁸ *Journals and Papers of Bishop Maples. Edited E. Maples. p.272.*

This was clearly in line with the contents of Leaflet X issued by the U.M.C.A.¹⁵⁹ in June 1887, which reads, inter alia,

"they (missionaries) do not consider it their duty to train up a lot of servants for European travellers ... generally they would prefer their converts should do any other work than act as servants of Europeans who have been known to live and act in Central Africa so as to destroy in the native all the good effects of the teaching of the missionaries."

Bishop Smythies of Zanzibar also made quite clear that members of the Universities Mission were not to become identified with, or involved in, the commercial expansion taking place in their territory. He circulated advice to the members of the mission in the form of a pamphlet entitled, *"The Methods of Missionary work"*¹⁶⁰ :-

"First of all I would say that missionaries have to be aware of two dangers. It is necessary first ... that they should avoid degenerating into traders and acquiring large estates in the country in which they are missionaries, if that country be uncivilised and what we are pleased to call a savage country..

The second danger ... is the danger of becoming a chief. People will gradually gather round him, and it may well be that in time of difficulty they would gladly welcome him in such a position. But surely that will be fatal to his spiritual power. Every missionary has clearly to discern between the two powers which god has placed in the world, ... the power of the keys and the power of the sword and he always has to take care that he confines himself to the use of the power of the keys - those means of advancing the gospel by persuasion and by spiritual powers granted to him by our Lord - never snatching at political power or the power of force".

There is no doubt that Johnson was in complete agreement with the Bishop. In an

¹⁵⁹ Copy in file A1 (XVI) Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. "Miscellaneous Papers, Archdeacon, W.P. Johnson."

¹⁶⁰ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI). Written sometime between 1892 and the Bishop's death in 1894.

article which appeared in the May 1894 edition of the Aberdare "Banner of Faith"¹⁶¹,

he wrote:-

" ... The gospel might have come in on the crest of a wave of civilization, or on a crest of a love to the English, or as a process of imitation of our manners; it may have been so elsewhere, but what I contend for is that it is not so in the sphere the S.S. C.J. visits at present ... I here wish to emphasize that we live amongst the natives in no sense as chiefs, or masters ; as far as we are masters, e.g. employers of labour, we lose at least as much as we gain personally ; we never hear any case of law at all, never arbitrate, ... have no bwalo (court) at which native disputes can be brought out. ... We teach each man as an elementary duty to honour his chief. ... not thinking that a mixture of missionary and self-will can take the chief's place, or save him from responsibility. Nor do we find the native, who is worth anything, at all inclined to substitute us for his own chief ; we have often had to put up with petty tyranny in the past ; from this we are to-day to a great extent saved by the respect felt for the gunboats, even at a distance, and we are thankful for it, but now if we begin to give ourselves airs, the native Christians would not be with us at all.

I think that our work can only be understood rightly, from understanding this, viz. our fellow countrymen have had no influence, let alone authority, in the sphere in which our converts lived, ... nor have we had any force to back our word. I believe we still wish to live with our converts on the same lines ... Now, .if you feel you can raise a standard amongst a people ... one's whole energies must be devoted to building up a quasi-English life, and grafting your convert into it ... on the other hand if you find yourself only a sojourner in Angoni land, at Msumba or Unangu, your whole energies must be devoted to renovate the native life around, until by your good, health-giving works which outsiders shall behold, they must learn to acknowledge God; ... Surely as Missionaries who are called to work on our lines, we must beware of the state within the state, of putting our feelings first, and the natives second, of so conducting our embassy as to hinder communication with the court of native hearts to which we are sent.

Such work as turning out good workmen on English lines must be the exception with us, as sending a boy to the colonies is at home. Our main work is to train them to serve God in Church and State at home, remembering, ... that the Church came to the fore long before men learnt to know what the state was. Let our people come into Portuguese, German or British sphere, and take their place there; it must not be by

¹⁶¹ St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, archives.

individuals becoming Portuguese, German or English hybrids, but by a streamlet of tribal life being carried into the river of a wider sphere of humanity. We must lay aside all ideas of being mirrors of the world, and must be servants of those we are sent to serve, ..."

6.4 THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE MISSION TOWARDS THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Notwithstanding Resolution 109 passed on the 20th January 1891 by the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland which read :-

*"That from the mouth of the Shiré, from its right bank, and Chikusi's country on the south to the ... on the north ... the Livingstonia Missionaries have been steadily covering the south, the west and the north shores and uplands of Lake Nyasa with a chain of stations, of these Bandawe is at present the chief and Kota Kota has always been considered an outstation of Bandawe ... for Bishop Smythies or any missionary organisation to occupy a station at Kota Kota in the heart of our mission field would be contrary to Christian comity and usage and would introduce into the native church ... division confusion and social evils ... "*¹⁶²

in September 1894 the U.M.C.A. established a station at Kota-Kota. This station was under the charge of the priest Arthur Fraser Sim. At this time there were 17 missionaries serving in the lands around Lake Nyasa, whereas twelve years earlier there had been Johnson alone. Between 1882 and 1892 six new stations were opened, as well as many sub-stations. It is difficult to imagine Johnson wishing to offend his old friend Dr. Laws of the Free Church of Scotland Mission by establishing a U.M.C.A. mission in the heart of his territory. The opening of the Kota Kota station was doubtless a "sign of the times" and of the rapid expansion of the U.M.C.A.

¹⁶²

Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

6.5 THE END OF THE BEGINNING FOR JOHNSON

In June 1895, Chauncy Maples was consecrated Bishop of Likoma in St. Paul's Cathedral.¹⁶³ He returned to his Diocese in July, 1895, taking the Zambezi route. He spent a few days in Blantyre and Zomba, before going on to Matope, which he reached at the end of August, to await a boat to take him on to the Lake. The "C.J." was unavailable, as she was undergoing repairs.

The following week was catastrophic, for the mission generally and for Johnson in particular. In the absence of Chauncy Maples, the Likoma Mission had been led by George William Atlay, the son of the Bishop of Hereford, and a former student at St. John's College Cambridge. He had arrived at the lake in 1891, joining the mission after hearing the sermon preached by Johnson at his ordination.¹⁶⁴ At the end of August 1895, he took a short break, and, accompanied by two of the Likoma boys, left for a short hunting expedition on the mainland. On the 26th August he was attacked by members of the Angoni tribe and murdered. Some days later, Johnson found the body, a day's march from Chiteji's village. By the side of the deceased was his Winchester repeater rifle, still loaded, for in obedience to the rule's of the mission, Atlay had not used arms to defend himself.

Four days later, Bishop Chauncy Maples embarked upon a small vessel, the "Sherriff"¹⁶⁵ despite warnings as to the inclement weather, and set sail for Likoma.

The south wind continued to grow in ferocity, the boat began to take on water, until, finally, she sank. The native crew, all expert swimmers, tried to save their Bishop, but his cassock hindered them. The Bishop rejected their attempts to tear off his clothes, saying "Do not let me cause your death", and in Chinyanja, "it was my fault - save

¹⁶³ *Whereas Bishop W.B. Hornby was consecrated under the title of "Bishop of Nyasaland", Maples and his successors were known as the "Bishops of Likoma." In 1908 the title was to revert to Bishop of Nyasaland.*

¹⁶⁴ *History of Universities Mission Vol.1. Anderson-Morshead. p.214.*

¹⁶⁵ *Named after Captain Sherriff, the Brixham trawlerman*

*yourselves. Go to the Europeans, to Mr. Johnson, and tell them that I have died*¹⁶⁶.
His body was recovered from the lake some days later.

The death of Maples proved to be a watershed in Johnson's life. At a stroke, he lost his oldest friend and confidant, the only man who truly understood what the early years in Africa had entailed. Had Maples survived, the remainder of Johnson's life might have been very different. He would have served a Bishop who, as no other man could do, understood his strengths and his weaknesses, and had shared the experiences of the earliest years of the mission. The death of Maples left Johnson alone, not physically, but spiritually, and possibly more isolated than he had ever been before. His pioneering enthusiasm, his dreams and schemes for the future of the mission, could not be shared, or even comprehended, by newcomers to the lake. Only Maples shared Johnson's pioneering zeal for the work. Later missionaries who arrived at Likoma, to find a large, sophisticated station, and an efficiently organised network of stations, sub-stations, schools, churches, and the "C.M." *in situ*, and in a land astir with the activities of commercial developers, could never comprehend Johnson's overview of the work of the mission.

The question of who was to succeed Maples as Bishop then arose. Johnson was by far the most senior missionary in Nyasaland. His claim to the Bishopric was discussed in correspondence¹⁶⁷ between Dr. John Edward Hine, a Medical Practitioner and a Priest, who joined the Nyasa mission in 1889, and who wrote from Unangu, and Canon D. Travers,¹⁶⁸ a member of the Mission's General Committee:-

*"14th September 1895. Private.
... We must have a Bishop and that soon. One name is pre-eminent, and I know (Maples) himself wished it. He told me so last year. If it is*

¹⁶⁶ *The Life of Bishop Maples. E. Maples. p.32.*

¹⁶⁷ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(IX-XI)..*

¹⁶⁸ *Canon Travers was to succeed Mr. Penney as Secretary of the U.M.C.A. in 1889, and serve in the same office until 1925.*

possible to persuade Johnson to accept it, he would be the man to rule over us. If not, why not Weigall. ... suggest 1st W.P.J. and 2nd Weigall.. ... From a practical point of view, I should think Weigall would make a more workable Bishop than J., but J's claim is pre-eminent. Only if he absolutely refuses do I suggest the latter ... "

"12th October 1895. (from Manga)

Probably you are better informed than I am, as to what is going on at Likoma. It is more than a month since Johnson wrote to say that the Bishop was drowned, since then I have had no news of any kind. It is very strange. He must know how anxious I am to hear what arrangements have been made. I can only suppose that he is either ill or died or that the whole Mission has invalidated itself home. The worst of W.P.J. is that when he does write, he seems to take it for granted that I know all the facts intuitively, and gives me chiefly moralisings."

Dr. Hine's assertion that Johnson would not be a "workable" Bishop was based upon Johnson's reputation as a poor administrator. Mr. Bellingham wrote, from Blantyre, to the Mission's Home Committee Secretary in June 1889¹⁶⁹

"... I fear our part of the mission up here are just as unbusinesslike as the A.L.C.¹⁷⁰ ... I had to give up to Mr. Johnson a book I kept on the "C.J." as a sort of a list of cargo and number of papers sent by the company ... so that we should know what each box really cost to Matope. But of course Mr. Johnson saw they were of no use and sent them to the wind ... "

6.6 THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP MAPLES' SUCCESSOR

The choice of Bishop was obviously a difficult one. It appears that if Johnson was not to be appointed, then at least the successor to Maples ought to be a man under whom Johnson would be happy to serve, and indeed the Bishopric was offered to Johnson's brother, Harry, then Warden of St. Michael's Theological College in Aberdare. The Minutes of the Aberdare Rural Deanery Chapter on 4th February, 1896 read:-

¹⁶⁹ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(IV)B.*

¹⁷⁰ *African Lakes company*

"After prayers ... the Rural Dean proposed "That this Chapter desires to record its warm appreciation of the great honour recently proffered to one of its Members in the offer of the Bishopric of Likoma to the Revd. H.R. Johnson, Warden of St. Michael's College, and of his unselfish devotion to the call of duty when he said "Nolo episcopari" This was seconded, put to the meeting and carried unanimously"¹⁷¹

On 6th March of the same year, Dr. Hine wrote to Mr. Travers, from Blantyre, on his way home for leave,

"... I got a letter from you the other day saying the Bishopric had been offered to H. Johnson and another. I hope you will find the right sort of man - not another Hornby ... having no Bishop for so long is very bad for us"¹⁷²

In the event, Dr. John Edward Hine himself was offered the Bishopric, and was consecrated as the second Bishop of Likoma on 29th June 1896, at St. Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green, London.¹⁷³ For the first time Johnson had to work with one who was not one of the pioneer Bishops. Unlike his predecessors, Steere, Smythies and Maples, Hine had not shared with the Archdeacon the hardships, dangers and the disappointments of the mission's earliest years. Bishop Hine returned to the lake in March of following year. Over Easter he held a retreat and conference, at Likoma, when he appointed Johnson "Archdeacon of Nyasa". The Archdeacon, as he shall henceforth be called, had served twenty years in Central Africa, and had not taken furlough for twelve years.

¹⁷¹ *St. Elvans Church, Aberdare, archives.*

¹⁷² *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(IX-XI).*

¹⁷³ *He was to occupy this position until 1901 when he was translated to be Bishop of Zanzibar.*

6.7 JOHNSON'S RESISTANCE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE COLONIAL BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

By the time of Dr. Hine's consecration, largely as a result of the frantic efforts and the massive financial backing of Cecil Rhodes, Britain had taken control of Africa from the Cape, via the Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Throughout this area, mining operations for diamonds, gold, copper and other minerals were well developed, and European methods of cultivation were being employed. The demand for African labour was great. Johnson summed up the situation, and his concern as to the effect of all this activity upon the lives of the African people, in an article which appeared in the April 1900 edition of "*Central Africa*".¹⁷⁴

The call for work here, even when Livingstone first came home, was nothing to what it is now - telegraph, railway, steamers, men after gold, men after indiarubber, men after cattle, &c. All on a scale the Arab traders could not dream of using. The Rand seems like a big Juggernaut ready to suck in the myriads of Central Africa ... Raw Yao natives ... will go down willingly enough to worship the Golden Image, ten shillings a month, gambling, drinking and merry go rounds, what a paradise. Wives far away, homes forgotten, absolutely no religious observance or talk of God amongst the white custodians of the Image ... I don't cry out against English life even as it appears out here, but its one-sided character ... There are over twenty steamers on the lower river, eight and a sailing ship on Nyasa ... a railway in prospect, a telegraph line nearly laid to Tanganyika, estates let out for rubber and the coffee interest, all like a great net draw labour into themselves. No forestry laws, no irrigation, no education, above all no religion, except within the ring fence of a Mission ... We have no hope for these poor natives, no common term that all white men acknowledge, except in our Lord."

The commercial and colonial expansion in Southern and Central Africa had transformed Nyasaland, for Africans and Europeans alike. Early in 1898 the Archdeacon wrote:-

¹⁷⁴

Malawi National Archives, Zomba.

*" ... By seventy miles at a leap the railway comes up to Bulawayo, the telegraph is rapidly pressing up our west shore ..."*¹⁷⁵

and in 1899 Canon Barnes commented in the August edition of "Central Africa"¹⁷⁶

"These lakeside villages, which are the Archdeacon's ... field of work are scattered along the shores of the lake for a distance of 200 miles. Formerly they were compact townships ... Then the villagers huddled together for protection and ventured outside their villages to cultivate their fields in constant fear of raiding Angoni or other tribes. Now the "mailed fist" of Germany holds the northern home of the Angoni, and raiders of old have become men of peace ... Thus, in a roundabout way, the colonial ardour of the German Emperor has entirely changed the character of our work here, although not one of the lake-side stations is in German territory.

The Archdeacon, better than any other man, knows what change is, for he was here before change began."

In all these circumstances, whilst attending a Church Conference in 1899 Bishop Hine thought it appropriate to remind members of the U.M.C.A. of their responsibilities to Nyasaland.

*"For this country it is the days of the Early Church, and we, as the founders under God of a spiritual building which is to last forever, cannot be too careful that we lay down right lines on which that building is to be erected. What this Mission has always professed to aim at is the building-up of a Native Church, which does not mean the baptising of a number of natives attached to the English Mission ... but the Church of the people of the land, irrespective of European influence, adapting itself to the special circumstances of the race and country in which it exists"*¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *"Central Africa" February 1898. Malawi National Archives, Zomba. Letter to the editor from the Archdeacon, dated "Octave of Epiphany 1898".*

¹⁷⁶ *Malawi National archives, Zomba.*

¹⁷⁷ *The History of the U.M.C.A. vol. I. Anderson-Morshead. p.220.*

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1 THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOHNSON AND HIS SUPERIORS

Some twenty years after his arrival in Africa, the relationship between the Archdeacon and the Mission he served had become a curious, even contradictory, one. Publicly,¹⁷⁸ the Archdeacon was lionised as the U.M.C.A's greatest living member, the last survivor of the original pioneers of Nyasaland. Privately, however, as the archive correspondence shows, those in authority, whilst keenly aware of the sterling qualities of the man, were also constantly reminded of his shortcomings. Perhaps because of the difference in background, temperament, and attitude, a conflict of opinions between the Archdeacon and Bishop Hine was inevitable. Contemporary correspondence shows that, albeit unwittingly, Johnson's *modus operandi* and his dogmatic personality caused Bishop Hine much heartache, and may possibly have led to his early departure from the See, for, following his translation from the diocese of Likoma, he continued to serve in other parts of Central Africa.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it is clear that the Bishop did not underestimate the value to the mission of his Archdeacon. A whole series of letters from the Bishop clearly show that the relationship between the two men to be far from that described by Father Barnes, in his *Biography of Johnson*, written in 1933:

*"With Bishop Hine there was always on both sides a very great respect, admiration and affection ... they seemed to understand one another"*¹⁸⁰

and that in the "*Preface*" to the same work where the former Bishop Hine stated:-

¹⁷⁸ *As evidenced by the many articles and reports which appeared in their magazine "Central Africa"*

¹⁷⁹ *In 1902 he was translated to the Bishopric of the parent Diocese of Zanzibar, and in 1910 he accepted a further translation to the new Diocese of Northern Rhodesia.*

¹⁸⁰ *Johnson of Nyasaland. B.H. Barnes p.117.*

"He (Johnson) was perhaps a little difficult to work with, to understand; ... he was no public orator; there was nothing of the popular missionary preacher about him".¹⁸¹

On the contrary, contemporary correspondence shows that the Archdeacon was rather more than "a little difficult to work with", and, albeit unwittingly, caused his Bishop considerable distress. The following letters¹⁸² were addressed by Bishop Hine to the Mission's Home Secretary, the Revd. Duncan Travers.

"5th April 1897

W.P.J. refuses to come to England. I put the case as strongly to him as I could and told him he must take the responsibility on himself of risk of life if he stays. This he quite understands. But he says he is very well and sees no need to go to England, especially as he feels it difficult to leave Eyre¹⁸³ yet in charge until he knows Chinyanja better and lots of other reasons. I can't on ground of health say absolutely to him "you must go or you will die" and anything short of that has no effect on him"

14th June 1897.

The last news is that W.P.J. has consented to go to England next week ... This was only brought about by great policy and by his own consciousness of increasing weakness and general inability to do any work. I do hope he will stick to this resolution, and I shall get him safely shipped off next trip. If he does turn up in August in England, you must be very careful how you treat him as he needs, in a way no-one else needs, real rest. "

14th July, 1897

" ... P.S. Reminder in case I cease to be - Johnson is only person possible to carry on".

19th August.

... I am not very fit myself these days. I wish to goodness I wasn't boss here. I can't rule these people ... All W.P.J.'s "wilfulness" has passed into S.S.W ... and I am not strong enough to fight, but let things knock

¹⁸¹ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.9.*

¹⁸² *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (IX-XI).*

¹⁸³ *The Archdeacon C.B. Eyre.*

under, which is humiliating.

... I wonder if W.P.J. will ever reach England ... I hear he lost his luggage between Blantyre and Katingos and so he has no clothes. All very typical ..."

21st August, 1897

"... Twenty times a day and fifty times a night do I wish I wasn't Bishop here (or any where). Johnson is de facto bishop and will always be so. And most people recognise that he is so. I was a fool not to realise this myself, before it was too late. However, it is no use being miserable.

13th September, 1897.

I got a letter from W.P.J. after his visit to Zanzibar which I am glad he made ... Probably the medical board will forbid him to return. I pity the medical board who has the privilege of telling him so ...

26th September, 1897

... he can't help taking the opposite view to whatever anyone else suggests. This contrariness is a little irritating, and I think he does not always mean what he says. I have heard him arguing the most astonishing views apparently firmly convinced of his own position, and then perhaps an hour afterwards heard him with equal warmth, teaching the exact opposite. It is really very difficult to find out his meaning.

Ah me, I wish I was simple priest in charge of Unanga again, with no responsibilities beyond my station work. You can understand how immensely difficult it is for me to stand against Johnson; and whatever J. says, Wimbush backs up. In W.'s eyes, W.P.J. is not the Archdeacon of Nyasa, but Archbishop - his opinion is the final court of appeal on all questions great and small. I knew, of course, the sort of man W.P.J. was, though I never had close personal dealings with him. But I did not realise how very difficult it can be to work with him - absolute submission to his will or nothing - and if I had fully realised it, perhaps I should not have accepted the post of Bishop. How long it will work - this dual control in which half of the dual is a nonentity, I do not know. But somehow I can't oppose Johnson, though many of his ways and methods are contrary to my own sense of what is fit"

The disappointing reality of working with his Archdeacon must have been particularly hard for Bishop Hine to bear, for in his book *'Days Gone By'*, published in 1924 he tells of the inspiration he felt upon hearing W.P.Johnson speak at Oxford. He recalled that he was described as *"the most remarkable living missionary"*, and wrote :-

*" ... I have no clear recollection of what Johnson said, but I well remember the look of him, at that early day before he lost his sight ... It was incidents such as these which helped to turn my thoughts to Africa ... and ... led me to break with medicine as a profession ... "*¹⁸⁴

7.2 THE ARCHDEACON'S APPEAL FOR A SECOND STEAMER

Notwithstanding the differences between the two men, or perhaps because of them, the Archdeacon was able to persuade the Bishop that the mission needed a new, larger, steamer for service on the lake. He wished this vessel to serve as a floating Church, teachers' training college, a meeting place for African teachers and a venue for village council meetings. In particular, the Archdeacon realised that the existing system of teacher training was unsatisfactory. He considered that to send a Nyasa man away to Zanzibar, or even to accommodate him in a purpose built college on Lake Nyasa was not what was needed. It was against all local tradition to separate a man, especially a married man, from his family, as he was to explain during one of his fund raising appearances:-

" ... if young men are to help reorganise native society from within, if they are to teach and manage schools, teach hearers and catechumens ... and indeed have almost the responsibilities of a curate in charge, surely they need a centre of life where they may meet one another, and so meet their white teachers, and yet not get too far out of touch with their own family, as nearly all are married, and not lose touch with everyday native life, as they may well do in a year or two's absence at college.

*... we hope a steamer may not only be a means of visiting the different villages, but form a home from home ... where teachers may be refreshed by Christian society ... On such a steamer members of the small village councils will be able to meet , and ... may go out to build up a native society round a native church ... "*¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁴ Copy Extract from "Days Gone By" supplied by Mrs. Chiotha of the National Archives of Malawi, Zomba, Malawi.

¹⁸⁵ Report printed in "Central Africa" July 1898, of the Archdeacon's address in made in May 1898 at Holborn Town Hall, and entitled :- "How while trying to find a cure for slavery and its evils I was led to a steamer." U.S.P.G. London.

The Archdeacon visualised a ship much bigger than the "C.J.", large enough to offer on board accommodation for 28 to 30 trainee teachers. The trainees would reside on board for a few months at a time and, as the steamer called at the lake side villages on an almost weekly basis, the students would be able to keep in regular contact with their fellow workers, friends and families.

No doubt much to the relief of Bishop Hine, the Archdeacon agreed to take home leave, and arrived in England on 10th October 1897. The U.M.C.A. had already launched the appeal for the new steamer, and the Archdeacon spent much of his leave preaching and speaking at fund raising meetings. The July 1898 edition of "Central Africa"¹⁸⁶ reported that the Archdeacon had addressed audiences in "*a variety of places, including Portsea, Devizes, Lodsworth, Westerham, Bognor, York, Leeds, Hereford, Lincoln, &c.*"

Although he had given his blessing to the new steamer project, Bishop Hine had his doubts about the wisdom of this venture, for the expense involved would, he knew, be a great strain upon the resources of the mission. His letter of 14th July 1897 to Mr. Travers,¹⁸⁷ stated

"I have done a bold thing about the new steamer though after great consideration and not in any haste. I have told Johnson I will give him a free hand as to arrangements for the new steamer. He knows what he wants and the purposes for which he wants it. His larger experience of the needs and possibilities of the works showed me that much that at first sight seemed impractical and visionary, could really be quite easily carried out, and would be, I think, a great help in developing the solid work of the mission on right lines, ... although one shrinks naturally from bold departures and experiments. Yet I think we are quite justified in throwing our hearts into the plan and making it a success. I will write

Archives.

¹⁸⁶ *Malawi National Archives, Zomba.*

¹⁸⁷ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).*

formally to Mr. Brunel,¹⁸⁸ when Johnson is started, to tell him my wishes. If more money is needed, W.P.J. will soon get it'

Whilst on the 26th September 1897¹⁸⁹ he wrote

... I am writing to W.P.J. (in England) urging moderation in his demands - Eyre has written also I believe. I fear there is a danger of our getting into an awful mess over the steamer question. How many (or how few rather) I wonder, of us will live to see it completed ...

The Bishop wrote to the Archdeacon, from Likoma, on 4th May, 1898

A letter this mail from the office says that it has been decided to make the steamer 120 feet, and I fear my letters of some weeks ago will come after this decision, and cause difficulty. I have expressed before to you and others my private fears about the working with (to say nothing of the expense) of so large a vessel, but I don't wish my private fears and anxieties to stand (Bishop's underlining) in the way if people at home don't think the scheme impracticable. If it is to be so it must be so. Looking at our rate of mortality, neither you nor I, nor any of our present staff are likely to be living when the new steamer is built on the lake, and I hope that our successors will rise to the occasion, and find a way of making this steamer answer the purposes for which you design it. I doubt myself whether anyone on our present staff, except yourself, could work it on the lines that you intend ... the very thought of such a scheme makes me ill, but you know the business better than I. But I can only back out of any opposition ... and say 'It is Mr. Johnson's idea his plan he is the responsible person not I', which seems a rather sneaky line to take, especially if, as I believe, most of us here ... anticipate difficulties and view that the scheme is not a workable one, though an extremely expensive one. The most extremely expensive one imaginable with much speculation as to its results"¹⁹⁰

Bishop Hine was obviously alarmed by the rate of mortality amongst members of the

¹⁸⁸ *Harry Brunel, a naval architect or engineer, who, in England, helped to refine the W.P.J. design for the boat and to supervise the initial construction there.*

¹⁸⁹ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XV1).*

¹⁹⁰ *Rhodes House. Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XV1).*

mission. In answer to those critics at home, the U.M.C.A. 1898 ¹⁹¹ report informed readers that since the mission was founded in 1861 there had been 74 deaths, of which 45 had occurred within the first three years of service. The statistics evidence the fact that the Archdeacon, who had survived several serious illnesses, and had undertaken thirteen years' work without a break, was a man of outstanding physical strength and endurance. The Archdeacon seems to have gained the impression that Bishop Hine attached particular blame to him in the matter of the death of missionary members. In a letter written in 1902 to the Home Secretary, he commented

*"I have Hine's clearly expressed objection to my attitude ... He really seemed to dislike some intensely myself among them ... Fewer people have died with me than with anyone else in charge of a station. Just me is condemned unheard."*¹⁹²

Plans for the new vessel, to be named the "Chauncy Maples", were drawn up, and supporters of the mission were given details of its layout in the July 1899 edition of Central Africa¹⁹³

"The new vessel is twice the size of the Charles Janson, and has accommodation for 28 students and 12 Europeans. A great feature is the space which can be used for a church, the altar being screened off at other times. The same space will be used as a school. ... On the top of the deck house is a sick bay. It will be seen ... that the cost of building the new steamer will be not less than £9000 and to place her on the lake another sum of £4500 is needed."

Shortly after the Archdeacon returned to the lake, in November 1898, the necessary funds had been raised as a result of :-

¹⁹¹ U.S.P.G.archives, London.

¹⁹² Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

¹⁹³ Malawi National Archives, Zomba.

"many a subscription received of hundreds of pounds or a few shillings, hundreds of collecting cards sent out, sale work done, meetings held, lantern lectures delivered"¹⁹⁴

The new Mission steamer was completed, and its transport to Africa commenced in October 1899. The procedure for shipping the 3500 steamer parts was similar to that undertaken in the case of the "C.J." They were transported from Glasgow to Chinde, at the mouth of the Zambesi.¹⁹⁵ The 400 mile journey was then made, along the Zambesi and into the Shiré, until the river becomes unnavigable, and then overland, not to Matope, where the "C.J." had been built, but to the southern end of the lake, at Malindi. In readiness for the arrival of parts for the new steamer a workshop, a storehouse, two dwelling houses and slipways into the lake had already been constructed. The completion of the "Chauncy Maples" was, however, delayed because the "C.J." was laid up at Malindi waiting for repair, and this work, which took four months to complete, was given precedence.

7.3 TEACHER TRAINING PROVISIONS IN THE NEW ERA

As a direct result of Johnson's determination, and perhaps impatience, the year 1900 saw the advent of what would ultimately become Malawi's first Teacher Training College. Johnson had, of course, recruited the first African teachers from Zanzibar. These men had sailed to Likoma on the first voyage of the "C.J.". Using the steamer as their base they had then set about introducing the children of the lake side to the concept of going to school. In 1899, with the "C.J." laid up for repairs, and the new vessel not yet available, the Archdeacon devised a system known as the "*peripatetic college*" scheme¹⁹⁶. Typically, he was not going to allow the absence of a steamer to

¹⁹⁴ *"The Building of the Chauncy Maples" Anderson-Morshead , P.103.*

¹⁹⁵ *There are many "mouths" which lead into the Zambezi, and these form a large delta. The "C.J." was landed at one of these mouths, Quilimane, but, in later years, Chinde was favoured, being the only entrance to the Zambezi with a bar that could be safely crossed by a large vessel.*

¹⁹⁶ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.100.*

halt his visits to the lakeside villages. He enrolled twelve young men, who, whilst receiving further education and training from Johnson, accompanied him on his travels. Generally on foot, they toured the villages. Sometimes they were able to use the steamer's dingy, the men having been taught to row by Johnson. Farther Barnes, who was attached to Johnson at this time, describes the progress of teachers and priests around the villages as being at a "leisurely"¹⁹⁷ pace. As usual, the Archdeacon had translation work in hand, and was able to seek guidance as to dialects from the trainees.

Seeing how enthusiastic the Nyasa teachers were, he decided, as an interim measure, until the new steamer could be brought into use, to erect simple buildings to house trainee teachers. Accordingly, on a site on the eastern shore of the lake, opposite to Likoma Island, at Msomba, the Archdeacon supervised the erection of buildings in line with his ideas as "... as to cost and congruity with the native style in their own villages"¹⁹⁸. From the beginning, this College was named "St. Michael's" which was the Archdeacon's way of linking this establishment with that of his Brother, Harry, in Aberdare. Furthermore, to add to the link with the South Wales valley town, the buildings had been erected by the Rev. Caradoc Davies, a former student of St. Michael's College, Aberdare. The April 1900 edition of "Central Africa"¹⁹⁹ contains a report upon "The New College" written by Caradoc Davies, :-

"As Principal I reside here always. the Archdeacon also resides here, and for want of a better name I call him the Arch-Principal ... All the buildings are of reed, timber, thatch roof, and mud floor ... Not a single bolt has been used in the construction of any of its buildings. The "bolts" for the triangles of the chapel roof are all of wood ... Fortune has favoured us in the matter of nails only. We have had some new 2" wire nails, but many more old ones ... extracted from the packing-cases. The number of tools at our disposal has been like the skilled labour, of rather a minus quantity ...

¹⁹⁷ Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 101.

¹⁹⁸ Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.102

¹⁹⁹ Malawi National Archives. Zomba, Malawi.

The Archdeacon has been very keen about the matter. Many times has he exhorted to use only tools and material which any native teacher in his village might readily have at his disposal ... "

Far from being the interim solution visualised by the Archdeacon, by 1902 the establishment had grown to such an extent as to be officially recognised as the Diocesan Training College.

7.5 THE MISSION'S ROLE IN SERVING BOTH AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS SIMULTANEOUSLY

During this time the Archdeacon seems to have been causing Bishop Hine yet more concern. On 6th February 1900 he wrote to the Home Committee Secretary:

"I rather fear Johnson may begin trying his hand at reforming Likoma, and causing trouble. I do wish he could go away ... He stops on week after week in Likoma, for no obvious reason except to criticise and annoy people. He is more, more and more²⁰⁰ difficult to work with, and impracticable. Eyre says plainly he thinks the Archdeacon is going off his head ... I should be back at Likoma in the middle of Lent ... (not that my presence makes much difference)²⁰¹

The reformation which the Archdeacon may have threatened at Likoma may have related to the changes in ritual to be used in the Diocese, which had been introduced by the Bishop. In January 1900, he wrote a long letter to Bishop Hine on this subject²⁰² He wrote to explain why, for his part, the amount of ritual he employed might appear insufficient.

"... at all our stations on the mainland we only use the minimum of ritual ... with a few exceptions, e.g. Mr. Eyre uses linen vestments. ... I seldom use lights on the altar as at most places we get morning winds

²⁰⁰ *Bishop's underlining*

²⁰¹ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XV1).*

²⁰² *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. pp.232,233,234.*

and candles are consumed in a wasteful way, while for months our teachers have not been able to buy candles for use in services and for reading in their own houses".

The Archdeacon argues that it does not necessarily follow that larger stations, where there are a number of Europeans, should use a more elaborate form of worship than that to be found in the native villages. He makes the point that

"no elaborate ritual is carried out with the Europeans but with and through the natives ... I fear our ritual may act as an incentive to the native to improve his ritual as little as our steamer encourages him to improve his canoes. What he does himself and how he may improve step by step seem the important points. Hence I cannot feel that altar hangings, numbers of lights, numbers of candlesticks ... even if possible, would build up in the native Christians any ambition to make their worship more outwardly decorous, or that it would make their worship more heartfelt. ...

... No one seems to have any idea that a neat bowl offered by the native Church would be more pleasing to God than a gilt bowl offered and made by a foreigner ... : or neatly sewed calico worked by Amy, Eustace's wife, be of more value than something which a native cannot appraise or imitate.

... might the ideal of Catholic worship be brought forward once and again at the Easter season, and all the Europeans show that that is how they would worship, if they had not to remember the condition of their native brethren ... "

This letter emphasises the Archdeacon's thorough understanding of the nature of the African people, and of what is to be required of an African Church, an attribute which may have been lacking in the newly arrived European workers.

7.5 THE VISIT TO NEW ZEALAND

As had been the case with the mission's first steamer, the Archdeacon was not to be at the lake side for the launch of the new, larger vessel, the "Chauncy Maples". In the Autumn of 1900 he suffered a severe attack of Blackwater fever. He refused to return

to England, but was persuaded to go to New Zealand to visit his elder brother, Charles, and family, to recuperate. Contemporary correspondence once more throws some light upon the Archdeacon's relationship with the mission. Bishop Hine wrote to the Revd. Travers, the Mission's Home Secretary, in August 1901

*"That extraordinary man WPJ who left here purposely not leaving his address in N.Z., so that it has been impossible to communicate with him, writes me now two letters (without dates or address) upbraiding me for not sending him news ... I don't know where he is now except vaguely somewhere in N.Z., and I rather fancy on North Island ... I have written to Aberdare to tell H.J. of these facts, and perhaps he will communicate them to W.P.J."*²⁰³

Whilst in November of the same year the Archdeacon wrote from "Willowbank", Whananaki, New Zealand, to the Revd. Harry J. Riddelsdell, a former student of Jesus College Oxford, and then Sub. Warden to Harry Johnson at St. Michael's College, Aberdare,

*"I have had one letter from Eyre in Africa, who says Bishop Hine told them all not to write ... the idea of a Bishop and his clergy like a regiment under him ... this is an edifying instance of do this and he doeth it as was the taking of a second class ticket to the antipodes and then stopping there."*²⁰⁴

Upon arrival in New Zealand, the Archdeacon spent many weeks in bed, severely ill. However, once he was out and about again he lost no time in riding out to the remote settlements to conduct services. He prepared candidates for confirmation, and baptised several Maori children.

²⁰³ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).*

²⁰⁴ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

7.6 THE ARCHDEACON UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP TROWER

The Archdeacon returned to Nyasaland in 1902; this was a significant year in the colonial development of the country by the British, who established "a court system and constitution ... a postal system ... the telegraph network ..., and the railway extended ..."²⁰⁵ He was to find not only a new steamer awaiting him but also a new Bishop. Bishop Hine had been translated to the Zanzibar Diocese and Gerard Trower appointed in his stead. The "Chauncy Maples" had been re-erected on the lake, and dedicated to the service of God on 23rd April 1902. Nine days later the mission's famous pioneer, the man who had first conceived the notion of working from a steamer, and who had worked tirelessly raising funds in the same cause, arrived at the southern end of the lake. The Bishop boarded the steamer, and sailed down to Mponda's to meet his remarkable Archdeacon. In May 1902 the Archdeacon wrote to the Secretary of his feelings upon first seeing the new Bishop and the new steamer.

"I am quite unable to express what I feel. You will find this little more than a series of exclamations. Oh, my Bishop! Oh my boat! ... I can only pray that it may become the local habitation of an African home."²⁰⁶

and in October of the same year he once more wrote to the Mission Secretary an impressive summary of the task facing the Universities Mission at the beginning of the twentieth century, and especially in the light of the growing influence of the European settlers:-

"... we stand between Muhamadan millions from the Jordan to Mozambique, from India to Uihi, and the rawer natives with whom the Scotch deal on the west; ... S.W. our converts are surrounded by (1) Muhamadan dances and teachers (2) Yao initiation ceremonies (3) Nyasa do (4) heathens in service with Europeans and bearing all sort

²⁰⁵ *Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. University of Ibadan Press, Nigeria. p.510. Contribution by A.J. Wills.*

²⁰⁶ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes p.160.*

*of Christian names without baptism ...*²⁰⁷

Unfortunately, not all shared the Archdeacon's enthusiasm for life on board. Lake Nyasa's waters have a reputation for being very rough indeed, and Augustine Ambali, who served on both the "C.J." and the "C.M." recorded his feelings, as follows:-

*"For eight years I was deacon under Archdeacon Johnson ... I never saw in all my life a man like him. And after eight years Archdeacon asked me to educate on board C.M. for one year ... But we could not educate there well, and the reason it is this that we are not sea-men; the lake is very rough and there are motions every day. And there is no private place on the "C.M." for our meditations and prayers, and too much noise of people and too much waves and rolling, rolling always, and we were ill very often"*²⁰⁸

The rough waters did not deter the Archdeacon who, in any event,

*"would often go ashore for quite long periods and generally without informing anyone"*²⁰⁹

but it is the opinion of Canon Barnes that the poor sailing conditions on Lake Nyasa were the rock on which *the "C.M." as a floating college came to grief*²¹⁰. In contrast, the training of teachers at St. Michael's College was proving very successful. Africans who were already working as teachers attended for more formal training at this establishment, and were, in due course, awarded Certificates as to the standard achieved. After the college had been in operation for two years, only teachers with the appropriate certificates were allowed to work in the diocese. In 1903 there were 61 students from 17 different stations,²¹¹ and Canon Barnes had succeeded the Rev.

²⁰⁷ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 238.*

²⁰⁸ *Augustine Ambali. "Thirty Years in Nyasaland. p. 59.*

²⁰⁹ *A History of St. Michael's College, Msomba. Garland, p.12.*

²¹⁰ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes, p.160.*

²¹¹ *A History of St. Michael's College. Garland. P.12.*

Caradoc Davies as Principal. Canon Barnes retired as Principal in 1904, and returned to the Community of the Resurrection in Cape Town. In 1921 he returned, on loan, to serve as a missionary in Northern Rhodesia.

The Archdeacon's new Bishop, Gerard Trower, was the former Vicar of Christ Church, Sydney, where *"he had been at Sydney protagonist in the struggle of Catholic churchman for recognition and freedom"*.²¹² Christ Church, Sydney, was the only "High Church" parish within an "evangelical" diocese and City. The new Bishop was, therefore, ideally suited to work with the Universities Mission. In his Biography *"Johnson of Nyasaland"*, Father Barnes mentions a cable sent by all the Priests of the Nyasaland Diocese, with the exception of the Archdeacon, asking the Home Committee to recommend Johnson's appointment as Bishop. Apparently this cable arrived too late; in fact, after the appointment of Bishop Trower had been made. Notwithstanding that Bishop Trower must have known of the sending of the cable, and of the Archdeacon's reputation as being difficult to work with, it does seem that the two men had a great respect for each other. By 9th May 1902 the Bishop was able to write to the Home Secretary,

*"Johnson is back and in full swing. He is a little difficult at times, to understand, but I am fairly clear as to what I wish, and can make it known. No doubt we shall get on together very well. I have assigned him the C.M.²¹³ as his home and the villages visited by it as his Parish, and hope to let him have two assistant Priests regularly for his work."*²¹⁴

whilst in August of the same year he wrote, again to the Home Secretary a letter which indicates that the Bishop had studied the Archdeacon very closely and had, in a short time, made an accurate assessment of the nature of the man.

²¹² *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.118.*

²¹³ *The new steamer "Chauncy Maples".*

²¹⁴ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XV1).*

*"The Archdeacon is such a mixture of selflessness and utter selfishness, of humility and stubborn self will, of sensitiveness and sympathy and indifference to the feelings of others, of reticence and openness, that it seems as if nature had mixed up opposites in one person as an experiment, and grace, whilst abiding in one, found the other intractable ... I don't know where I am with him ... I don't believe very greatly the "C.M." is the best and cheapest way of working, but there it is, a legacy from Hine and an increased cost to the diocese - which is a burden quite beyond its means. "*²¹⁵

Nevertheless, the Archdeacon, who had devoted all his years in Nyasaland to learning the languages of Central Africa, in particular the Chinyanja of the lake people, and to translating the Bible and other appropriate works into Chinyanja and other native tongues, would have been alarmed and disappointed to read parts of the Bishop's letters to the Secretary of the Mission's Home Committee, written from Likoma, in April and October 1902, respectively.

*"Chinyanja is a wretched language, and what is the good of teaching people to read when there is no literature ? How much better to have used English for services and instruction with ample literature to hand. This poverty stricken language is not worth pursuing ... "*²¹⁶

*"Arthur is teaching me Chinyanja. I am more and more convinced of the need of teaching English thoroughly. How can we train priests or deacons unless they can study theology, and what books have they, or can they have, in their own language ?"*²¹⁷

Although the question of which language to use as a medium of education was one area of possible conflict between Bishop and Archdeacon, it seems that, unlike the reaction to Bishop Hine's ideas as to the use of ritual, the Archdeacon was able to satisfy his new Bishop in this respect, as the following letter from Bishop Trower to the Mission Home Secretary would indicate.

²¹⁵ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

²¹⁶ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

²¹⁷ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

*"8th December, 1902. the Archdeacon is falling into line most kindly. He uses vestments, wafer bread, lights, etc. Supplies me with information, and asks for and accepts direction on many points."*²¹⁸

Nevertheless, the Archdeacon soon came to the conclusion that his Bishop was out of touch with the ways of the Nyasa mission. In 1902 he wrote to the Revd. Duncan Travers, the Home Secretary:-

*"between ourselves he (Bp. Trower) does not tumble to our rough work where no clean garments shine, no people welcome us as givers of a large amount of work ... a bango (reed) church is not to the human eye a slap-up church, and untrained teachers will howl rather than sing ..."*²¹⁹

and in July, 1903, he wrote to the Revd. Harry Joseph Riddelsdell, a former student of Jesus College, Oxford, and then Sub. Warden to his brother, Harry, at St. Michael's College, Aberdare,

*"It is hard to see one's way and to follow it between Bishop Gerard and his almost vaunted ignorance of anything in our mission ... Our Bishop has little patience for much time spent in ... outlandish tongues."*²²⁰

What the Archdeacon chose to see as "ignorance" as to the Nyasaland mission, may well have been a mere difference of approach to the work in hand. From correspondence it is evident that Bishop Trower was a forthright individual, and in manner quite as determined as the Archdeacon. He was much more of a realist and businessman than any of his predecessors, and critics, such as the Archdeacon, might well have considered him to be more pro-European in outlook. However, it must be remembered that the European presence around the lake was growing all the time, and

²¹⁸ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1(XVI).

²¹⁹ Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 150.

²²⁰ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).

the Bishop also had a spiritual responsibility for these people.²²¹ Furthermore, because of the formal division of territories, he was required to act as a diplomat in his negotiations with Portugal and Germany in respect of the presence of the Mission in their territories. In March 1904, for example, the Portuguese Government granted permission for the U.M.C.A. to establish schools in villages in their territory. His correspondence with the Mission's Home Secretary, illustrates not only the Bishop's strength of character, and his sympathy with the African people, but also that he did not share his Archdeacon's total devotion to all that is African. A letter written in June 1903²²² reads :

" 26th June ... Large landowners have for years been extracting six shillings p.a. or two months free labour from natives occupying kraals on their land - land which on the market could not have fetched six pence an acre for the fee simple ... The morals of the heathen natives are not such, in my experience, as to make one fear their deterioration."

Bishop Trower wrote on 29th September 1902 to the Secretary²²³ of his admiration of the Livingstonia Mission, he having paid a visit to Dr. Laws.

"(they) are doing wonderful work on systematic lines. ... covered Angoniland with a network of stations and have an admirable educational system besides training ... masons, carpenters ... etc. They have engineered a splendid road from the lake to Koadowi and are bringing water by pipes to the station and putting up an electric plant. They also own a considerable tract of land and have planted many trees ... "

It is evident that the Free Church Mission were becoming involved as large landowners and engaging in all those commercial activities which Bishop Smythies, and the other leaders of the Universities Mission, had warned their members against. Nevertheless,

²²¹ *In 1904 Bishop Trower produced, and edited, the "New Quarterly", the magazine of the Diocese of Likoma. Contributions were made by other members of the Mission, and the magazine was distributed to European settlers.*

²²² *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

²²³ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

despite his admiration of the Livingstonia methods, Bishop Trower did not wish to adopt them for his Mission, and did not approve of the "Europeanising" of the African people. In his address dated 18th October 1907²²⁴ he wrote:-

"Personally the African seems a much more picturesque, natural and dignified person when dressed as an eastern and not a western. I lament his taste when he prefers a black coat and trousers to cloth and Kanzu"

His relations with the other Mission groups in the area also appear to have been of a very businesslike nature. In his address to the Clergy dated 8th July 1904 he stated:-

"I saw the heads of the Free Church of Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Missions to settle boundaries for the placing of schools north and south from Kota Kota. I did not and do not pledge the U.M.C.A. from placing other stations on the West side of the lake. However, a request from the Dutch mission that we should have the friendly arrangement registered in the Collector's Court, and a strong protest from the Chairman of the Livingstonia Mission to our Committee at home against our working on the West at all, even at Kota Kota on the ground that the Scotch regard this as their sphere, seems to make it advisable that I should place it on record that I do not recognise spheres ... other than the actual villages in which other missions are working."²²⁵

During his time in Nyasaland, Bishop Trower was particularly concerned about finance. In his first address as Bishop of Likoma to Clergy and lay members of the U.M.C.A. given at Likoma on 19th July 1902, he stated, :-

"... the Diocese has for some years been living beyond its income, and we now have both an increased staff and the additional cost of a new steamer ... many things we should like to have we must do without"²²⁶

²²⁴ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XV1).

²²⁵ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XV1).

²²⁶ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (XV1).

and contemporary correspondence shows there was friction as to the matter of finance between the Bishop and the Mission Home Committee. In July 1903 he wrote to the Mission Home Secretary²²⁷

"12th July. I came out looking upon the two Dioceses as one work. I have come to desire to have as little connection with the Zanzibar diocese as we decently may ... I don't like their economico-ethical attitude and don't like their sense of union."

A letter from Dr. Robert Howard, who had served the Mission in Nyasaland for many years, written from Weyhill Rectory on the 13th July, 1906, and also addressed to the Secretary, no doubt outlines the situation as seen from the point of view of the Nyasa mission.

"Re: constitution.

(I) from 1882 onward the sum paid over to the Bishop or Bishops has been calculated on a three year average, instead of varying from year to year, according to ... income.

(ii) the allocation of respective portions of such income to the respective Bishops since 1893 ... if I recollect rightly the first division of three quarters to Zanzibar and one quarter to Nyasa was a thing the company²²⁸ has nothing to do with but register and carry out the written request of the Bishops.

And one may lastly add a reminder that when ... letter was read to the company in December 1895, he protested that ... when all those men working in Africa joined the Mission on the express understanding that all moneys forwarded to Africa were entirely at the Bishop's disposal, and the company at home had nothing to do with them at all ..."²²⁹

²²⁷ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File AI (XVI).

²²⁸ Presumably he refers to the Mission's Home Committee.

²²⁹ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File AI (IX-XI).

7.7 WORKING THE 'CHAUNCY MAPLES' PARISH

The Archdeacon continued to work from the "*Chauncy Maples*". Because his Parish now comprised the former German territories in the north, he took the opportunity to work upon the appropriate new dialects, which had never before been written down. During the period 1905 to 1910, he was responsible for the printing, in the dialects of Chimpoto, Chimanda and Kipangwa, of the four Gospels, Matins, Evensong and Occasional Offices.

In the 1950's, the Revd. Frank Winspear's book, "*Some Reminiscences of Nyasaland*" was published by the U.M.C.A. Press in Likoma. Fr. Winspear worked with Archdeacon Johnson on board the "*Chauncy Maples*" and was so able to give a first hand account of the work undertaken from this steamer during the period 1902 until the outbreak of the First World War.

"... it must be almost unique in the annals of missionary enterprise for such an extensive parish to be worked from floating headquarters. There were 68 village outstations lying between ... Mkope Hill parish in the South and Manda (then known as Wiedhaven) in the North. These villages were under three governments, the southerly ones being in Nyasaland (British), Portuguese East Africa extended from a point near Msinje and north of this was German East Africa. Each government had its own regulations as regards customs, immigration, and what concerned us a good deal with the procuring of firewood for the steamer ... Usually the staff of the "Chancy Maples" was Archdeacon Johnson, with one other priest, the captain and the engineer ... Each out-station was in charge of a teacher trained at St. Michael's College ... The steamer trip occupied five weeks and so the priests could only count on visiting a village once each trip ... At times one of the priests would be left on shore for a week and walk from village to village. This would give him time to examine the schools and interview candidates for Catechumenate and Baptism; possibly he would hold a Baptism ... The methods of working too were somewhat unconventional. There was no complete bible in Chinyanja until 1912 when the version which was mainly the work of Archdeacon Johnson was published. ... In writing of the parish work of the steamer I must not forget the ministrations to sick folk. As often as an African hospital assistant could be spared from Likoma hospital one was sent on board for a trip ... he would go on shore ... and set up a temporary clinic ... The upper

deck would often have several patients en route to the hospital ... At Lundu, an island on the northern side of the German Portuguese boundary, the German government had segregated a large number of lepers, but besides giving the local chief the work of providing them with food did nothing more for them. The steamer would call occasionally there and we did something in the way of providing the lepers with trade cloth to serve as covering at night and the hospital assistants could sometimes supply them with simple remedies. It was a sad place to visit."

Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa, were ordained Priests in December 1906, and were given Parishes of their own, created out of the former territory of the Archdeacon, under whose charge they worked. This must have been a particularly gratifying time for the Archdeacon, who had known these two men since their boyhood in Zanzibar, and they had accompanied him to the Lake in December 1884.

7.8 DEPARTURE OF BISHOP TROWER

The Diocese continued to be in financial difficulties. In a letter dated June 1909²³⁰ to the "Priests in Charge", Bishop Trower gave complete details of the state of the Diocese's financial affairs. He reported that the Home Committee had reported that in the year 1908 the Diocese of Nyasaland had exceeded its budget by £4846, and that they were asked to see that such a situation did not occur again. The Bishop went on to say that the gross receipts of the Mission for 1908 were £39,280 and that their General Fund stood at £9,673. Out of this Nyasa was allowed under £11,000. The Bishop reported that the Diocese was allowed £9,200 for 1909. Because of this, he had felt constrained to cable to Mission members at home on furlough advising them not to return to Nyasaland, and he had forbidden the acceptance of new members.

A letter in the Rhodes House, Oxford, archives, dated May 1909, seems to show that the Mission's Home committee appointed Gerard Trower as Bishop of Likoma²³¹

²³⁰ *Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

²³¹ *In 1909 the title reverted to that of "Bishop of Nyasaland" Bishop Trower having sought the appropriate permission of the Archbishop of Cantab. to drop*

because they thought he was a business man. It would seem that in the first decade of the twentieth century the Committee members felt that the smooth financial control of the Diocese was of prime importance, a feeling which would not have been shared by Archdeacon Johnson, and would seem to place him out of touch with the requirements of the mission. The letter is to the Home Secretary and is from Mr. F.P. Palmer, a U.M.C.A. Trustee, and a member of the "Church Times" proprietor family, all of whom supported the "High Church" movement. Part of it reads :-

*"I return the Bishop's letter without delay. It is dated April 9, so that it has come through speedily. As I read it, I conclude that the Bishop has no grasp of the business side of his diocese. He neither realises what his income is, nor what his expenditure is We thought him a business man and have treated him as such. But we were wrong ... "*²³²

The Archdeacon published his thoughts about the financial constraints placed upon the Mission in an article entitled "*Reduction in Nyasaland. What it means*" which appeared in a 1910 edition of "Central Africa"²³³. He wrote:-

... "By the same mail came a P.S. from Mr. Traver's kind hand, 'you know the Treasurers have put aside £11,000 for you. Bishop Trower estimated your expenses for the year at £13,000; you have £2,000 of cloth in the store, so I hope you will do.' ... Some action seemed necessary ... So we propose (1) to lay up the "Charles Janson: (2) shut up carpenters' shops and (3) shut up in whole or in part the printing shop. ..."

He went on to say that it was impossible to retrench in respect of the hospital work undertaken, and stated that during one quarter 26,943 patients were treated at the Likoma dispensary, whereas 376 cases had been treated in the native hospitals.

the title of "Bishop of Likoma".

²³² *Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).*

²³³ *Precise date of this issue of "Central Africa" not known. Photo copies of only part of it supplied by the Archivist of the Malawi National Archives, Zomba, Malawi.*

Matters came to a head, and on the 28th October, 1909 Gerard Trower resigned the See and accepted that of N.W. Australia, a newly created Diocese. Produced as part of Appendix 7 is a document addressed to the Home Committee by the departing Bishop, headed "*Strictly Private and Confidential. For the eyes and ears of the Committee. My Apologia. Gerard Nyasaland.*"²³⁴ From this document it can be seen that the Bishop's departure was caused by disagreement with the Home Committee on the subject of finance. In his "*Apologia*" the Bishop also states that the Archdeacon "*sent a strongly worded telegram home against my leaving*".

During the year which passed before the appointment of a new Bishop, the Archdeacon was appointed Administrator of the diocese. Because of the financial crises which faced the Mission, several drastic steps were taken to economise. "*The 'C.J.' was laid up, all carpenter's shops closed and all printing work given up.*"²³⁵

Archdeacon Johnson's name was once more mooted as a candidate for the vacant Bishopric. Archdeacon Eyre, wrote to the Home Secretary, from Kota Kota in December, 1909 -

" ... there are many points to consider as to the qualifications of a Bishop for a Diocese like this ... What about the "old man" Archdeacon Johnson?. Is he out of the running? I fancy he is entitled to be Bishop, if he wishes it."²³⁶

However, the Archdeacon, who was now nearly sixty years old, was not to be given the office. In the summer of 1910 he was ordered home to consult with his new Bishop, Dr. Cathrew Fisher, who had been consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the 24th June 1910. Bishop Fisher was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and prior to his removal to Nyasaland had been Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Oxford.

²³⁴ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).

²³⁵ History of the U.M.C.A. Blood. Vol.II.p.31.

²³⁶ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (XVI).

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1 THE ARCHDEACON'S VISIT HOME IN 1910

The Archdeacon arrived home in December 1910 on a furlough that became something of a triumphal progress around the country, but hardly a rest. In January 1911 he was with his Brother in Aberdare. On the 2nd March 1911 his University honoured him by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The ceremony took place at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford.²³⁷ One of the Archdeacon's fellow missionaries²³⁸ was present at the ceremony and provided an eye witness account of the event:-

*"... I remember chiefly that I was astonished at the number of people present, and at the ovation they gave him. I remember too how tremendously moved he was ... Oxford meant, I think, almost more to him than anything else in this world apart from Africa ..."*²³⁹

In the evening the newly appointed Doctor of Divinity spoke at a meeting held in the Oxford Town Hall, in support of the Universities Mission, where hundreds of students had gathered to hear him. Later he visited his old school, Bedford, in order to thank them for their continued support, and in particular for supplying him the the steel rowing boat, the "Ousel". In May the Archdeacon returned to South Wales. A notice appeared in the Aberdare "Banner of Faith" of May 1911²⁴⁰ to the effect that a "great Missionary Meeting" would be held at the Park Hall, Cardiff on Thursday May 18th, to be addressed by the "distinguished ... missionary ... Bishop Weston of Zanzibar". Readers were also informed that:-

"we have every reason to believe that Archdeacon Johnson, the veteran of the mission field, whom the Warden of Keble College, Oxford, recently compared to S.Paul in his zeal and energy for mission work, will also address the meeting".

²³⁷ See Appendix 8 for text of the speech by the Warden of Keble College.

²³⁸ Mr. Philip Young, one time engineer on the "C.M".

²³⁹ Johnson of Nyasaland, Barnes. p 217.

²⁴⁰ St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, archives.

Whilst the Archdeacon was in England, in February 1911, the recently arrived Bishop had to deal with a problem on Likoma Island. In a letter to the Mission Secretary, Bishop Fisher mentions that Archdeacon Johnson had authorised the South African Lakes Company to open a shop on Likoma Island. The Bishop mentions that the duty charged on goods in Nyasaland is 10% whereas the duty charged in the Portuguese territory varies between 33.3% and 75%. As a result, the Portuguese authorities asked the Bishop to close the shop. The Bishop asked the Secretary to consult with the Archdeacon, and to cable out the word "close" or "fight", as appropriate. Written on the obverse of this letter are the words "*Likoma shop - March 30 1911 cabled word 'CLOSE'*"²⁴¹

8.2 RETURN TO NYASALAND

In June 1911 Archdeacon Johnson returned once more to Nyasaland, to take up his work on the "Chauncy Maples". At this time he was responsible for more than sixty villages on the lake shore, in a Parish which extended for nearly three hundred miles of coastline. Bishop Fisher acknowledged the heavy word load:-

*"The steamer clergy have a very heavy burden ... Archdeacon Johnson bears the brunt of it, 'the Apostle of the Lake' as the head of another mission once described him to me, he is ready to do anything, bear anything or learn anything; he seems salted to any vagaries of climate or exposure, able to pick up any language in a month or two and to get through work or cover distances which would be astonishing in a man half of his age"*²⁴²

In 1913 Norman Maclean published "*Africa in Transformation*", which dealt mainly with the work of the Scottish Missions. The author produced tables of statistics, for the year 1912, in respect of all the Nyasaland missions, and these are reproduced as Appendix 9. Those relating to the Universities Mission show the tremendous volume of work undertaken from the "C.M." It can be seen that 44% of the Africans

²⁴¹ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1 (IX-XI).

²⁴² *History of the U.M.C.A. vol.II. p.58*

ministered to by the Universities mission were served by the Archdeacon from the steamer, with the remaining 66% being the responsibility of nine land-based mission stations. The large number of Catechumens is no doubt explained by the fact that many of this number were totally converted Christians but were men and women who had entered into a polygamous marriage, and could not, therefore, be admitted into full membership of the Christian Church. As Owen Chadwick comments²⁴³:-

"Part of African society was ... polygamous. The Christian missions would not tolerate it; and since they converted many women who were in a plural marriage, and some men with several wives, they all had a 'catechumenate' of members who were really full members of the church but could not come to the sacraments"

The work at St. Michael's College at Kango, on the mainland opposite Likoma island had continued to progress, and in 1911 its Principal was the Rev. Arthur Douglas. The college was, of course, situated in Portuguese territory, and relations with the Portuguese officer-in-charge of this locality were not good. In particular, the Portuguese accused the Likoma natives of smuggling goods into their territory. In November 1911 the Portuguese seized a native boat, threw the crew into prison and flogged the captain. Members of the mission were called upon to intervene on behalf of the imprisoned men, and, in the ensuing fracas, the Rev. Arthur Douglas, although unarmed in the tradition of the mission, was shot dead by a Portuguese officer. It was later said that the true reason for Arthur Douglas' death was that he had, on many occasions and with success, defended the local girls from the ravages of the Portuguese men.

8.3 THE CONSECRATION OF LIKOMA CATHEDRAL

On the 14th November, 1911 only four days after the murder of Arthur Douglas, Likoma Island was the setting for a landmark event in the history of the U.M.C.A. With the steamers "Charles Janson" and "Chauncy Maples" anchored offshore, a constant memorial to those earlier pioneers who had given their lives in the service of

²⁴³

"A History of the Christian Church" O. Chadwick. p. 279:

the Mission, and in the presence of the only survivor of those early days, Archdeacon Johnson, the Cathedral Church of St. Peter was consecrated by Thomas Cathrew Fisher, the Bishop of Nyasaland. This day marked the end of years of toil, but the reward was an impressive building matching Winchester in size. The site had been dedicated by Bishop Trower in September 1905 and had had "several altars consecrated at various times"²⁴⁴

The service of consecration was notable for the extent of the "Africanisation" of the service. Full details are given in the official History of the Mission:²⁴⁵

" ... The service in Chi-Nyanja was beautifully sung. ... The sermon was preached in Chi-Nyanja by Bishop Hine.²⁴⁶ ... The Bishop had as his chaplain the Deacon Yohana Tawe, who is one of the earliest Christians in Likoma. Another Deacon, Leonard Kangati, who had been prepared for baptism by Dr. Hine in 1889, was also present. ... All the Yao native clergy, headed by Fr. Yohana Abdallah, were there, as well as Fr. Augustine and Fr. Eustace, all three of whom have been at work for more than twenty years."

There was criticism of the Cathedral in England "on the ground that it was too large for practical purposes"²⁴⁷; it was, in fact, too small. For the Sunday morning Eucharist it was not possible to admit Catechumens, due to lack of space. The maintenance of such a large building did present problems, and in 1912, storms, a feature of the weather in Nyasaland, brought down part of the south transept.

8.4 THE CHARACTER OF THE MISSION AND ITS MEMBERS IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

The opening of the Cathedral was the final act of witness not only to the hard work and

²⁴⁴ *The History of the U.M.C.A. Vol. II. 1907-1932. Blood. p.56*

²⁴⁵ *The History of the U.M.C.A. Vol. ii. 1907-1932. Blood. p.56.*

²⁴⁶ *Then Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, formerly Bishop of Likoma 1896-1901.*

²⁴⁷ *The History of the U.M.C.A. Vol.II 1907-1932. Blood p.57*

dedication of the mission workers, but of the Mission's rapid metamorphosis into a sophisticated organisation. Although only forty years had passed since Bishop Steere, Maples, Johnson and the others had struck out, overland from Zanzibar, towards the lake side, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the *modus operandi* of the Mission had changed completely. It had successfully laid down the foundations of an African Anglican Church, as is witnessed by their outstanding record of training African Priests and teachers but, as the organisation grew, the more it became *English Anglican* in its methods and attitudes. The huge Cathedral, built in the English style, symbolised this movement away from the native simplicity of the early years. The Archdeacon did not approve of the grand scale of this building.

*He definitely objected to the building on so grand a scale of the Cathedral at Likoma.*²⁴⁸

That the simplicity of the early days was being lost was demonstrated when in 1912 public preaching on Likoma was abandoned

*"since the only missionary work left there was the instruction of the very ignorant, which could be done individually".*²⁴⁹

The Africans who lived away from the centres of Mission activity, remained the special concern of the Archdeacon, for, at no inconsiderable cost to his own well being, he cared for them to his dying day. Many of these people were to be found in the sixty or more villages, on the lakeside and in the hinterland, which comprised the Archdeacon's "C.M." parish. The area was split into four districts, with each village being visited at least every three weeks. The work, which included the admission of Catechumens, followed by Baptism and Confirmation, made great demands upon him, for although he had the steamer for his base, he nevertheless had to walk many miles each day in order to reach the outlying villages. Although these were changing times for the Mission, the Archdeacon still viewed the organisation through the eyes of a pioneer,

²⁴⁸ *Johnson of Nyasaland, Barnes, p.147.*

²⁴⁹ *The History of the U.M.C.A. vol. ii. 1907-1932. A.G. Blood. p.57*

as is evidenced by a letter written to the Revd. Travers, the Mission's Home Secretary, on the 17th May 1913,

*"... We want missionaries who will follow along the solitary hippo-like tracts made by your Pioneer. Who really feel that we need prayer and worship if we are to help anybody".*²⁵⁰

The Archdeacon's ideas had not changed in the thirty seven years he had worked in Central Africa. Living a life not so very different from that of the early Christian missionaries, he suffered great privation in order to carry the Christian message to all areas of Nyasaland and its adjoining territories. However, this was not the kind of existence that appealed to those who undertook Mission work in the first decades of the twentieth century. They joined to serve in the relative comfort and security of the established Mission stations, and were unable to work in the same manner as the Archdeacon. A member of the Mission confirmed this state of affairs when writing of the Archdeacon's work in the north, stating:-

*... he is still by himself, doing an enormous work, because he cannot get young people to go to that part of the world.*²⁵¹

As a result, he was often quite alone, and at times despaired as to the strength of faith and commitment of the new recruits. An undated pencilled note²⁵² to the Mission's Home Secretary, reads :-

"... I asked a young man if he was coming to Church yesterday, and he said no 'but he liked to encourage that sort of thing' that is perhaps my best attitude to the Mission now".

Nor were the later Bishops able to share the Archdeacon's enthusiasm for the life of a

²⁵⁰ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford, File A1 (XVI).

²⁵¹ National Archives, Zomba, Malawi. "Central Africa" October 1916.

²⁵² Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File A1 (VIB). The reference to Bishop Trower indicates that it was probably written in 1903.

lone pioneer. He was to serve under seven Bishops²⁵³. Whilst the earlier ones had shared in the pioneering work, those who followed were men of a different mould. Correspondence clearly shows that whilst, as in the early years, the Mission spared no effort to promote the advancement of the African, it later lost some of this enthusiasm, and found it more difficult to resist adopting the *European* way of doing things. As we have seen from his letter of 29th September, 1902, Bishop Gerard Trower expressed admiration for the way in which Dr. Laws at the Livingstonia Mission had trained the native people.

Dr. Laws' methods would not have earned such praise from the earlier Bishops. Bishop Smythies urged his missionaries not to become traders or owners of large estates, whilst Bishop Maples, in his quarterly newspaper, again and again informed its readers, in the main the white settlers, that the aim of the Mission was not to train up African servants for their employ. As he wrote to his sister at the time, the Mission had but one object:-

*" ... to help Africans both to know and lay hold of the means of salvation offered them by and in Jesus Christ ... all else, industrial departments, secular teaching - must be subordinated to it."*²⁵⁴

It has been shown that Bishop Trower was not appointed by the Mission primarily because of his ability as a Priest, but also for his attributes as a business man ²⁵⁵ Bishop Trower certainly adopted a "*business-like*" approach when dealing with the other denominations who had established missions in Central Africa.

²⁵³ *Bishops Steere, Smythies, Hornby, Maples, Hine, Trower and Fisher.*

²⁵⁴ *Journals and Papers of Ellen Maples. p.272.*

²⁵⁵ *Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Miscellaneous papers. Bishop Trower. Letter dated May 1909. Author of letter F.B. Palmer, one of the 'Church Times' Proprietor family.*

Further, later Bishops did not like the use of the native languages. Bishop Trower expressed his views in the letters to the Mission's Home Secretary, of 21st April 1902,²⁵⁶ and 8th October 1902²⁵⁷

Such opinions were in direct opposition to those held by the Archdeacon, but his ideas were considered "*old fashioned*" by those who represented the Mission at the highest level. In September 1902 Bishop Trower wrote to the Mission's Home Secretary:-

"The poor Archdeacon is just like Paul Kruger²⁵⁸ He is stranded twenty years back."²⁵⁹

Bishop Fisher was no more sympathetic to the use of native languages than his predecessor had been. Once again, the Archdeacon was perfectly aware of his being *out of kilter* with his Bishop's feelings, writing to the Revd. Riddelsdell, of Cardiff, in June 1907:-

" ...our Bishop has little patience for much time spent in these outlandish tongues"²⁶⁰

Indeed the idea of missionaries needing the use of a native tongue seems to have been abandoned by those at home when recruiting staff. Nevertheless, the Archdeacon seems to have had an ally, in one of the Mission workers, Miss Kathleen J Minter, who, on 15th March 1915, wrote to the Mission Secretary:-

²⁵⁶ See letter quoted on page 100.

²⁵⁷ See letter quoted on page 100.

²⁵⁸ Boer leader deposed from Presidency following second Boer War in 1902, because of his refusal to recognise that circumstances (*vis a vis* the British settlers) were changing fast.

²⁵⁹ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Miscellaneous papers. Bishop Trower.

²⁶⁰ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library Oxford. File Al(VIB). The Bishop referred to is Gerard Trower.

*"This is a very ... confidential letter, but is none the less important. I want to protest most strongly against the sending out of ladies who won't learn a language, or who have never learnt any language but their own. It is absolutely untrue to tell nurses that they won't need any language - they need it every bit as much as a teacher to do their work properly. Do you suppose we come here just to look after people's bodies ... I am ... deadily tired of hearing that nurses do not need to know the language ..."*²⁶¹

8.5 THE EFFECT UPON THE ARCHDEACON OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Because the greater part of the Diocese of Nyasaland was in British and Portuguese territory, the effect of the First World War upon the Universities Mission workers was slight, compared with the sufferings of Missionaries in German East Africa who were imprisoned by the German Authorities. Nevertheless, the days immediately following the outbreak of war were traumatic for the Archdeacon. Immediately hostilities began, the "C.M." was commandeered for war work. The Archdeacon had established in the German territory some thirty lake-side stations, but he was ordered not to visit them for the duration of hostilities. He balked at this command, for he had built up good relationships with the German authorities, and was confident of being allowed to continue his work²⁶². The Bishop, who had moved far south to Zomba, insisted that the Archdeacon should quit the German territory. In a letter to Fr. Barnes²⁶³ the Archdeacon gives a good account of the argument which ensued:-

"Our Bishop was very sympathetic at first when I was hoping to be interned, helped to send funds, supplies, etc., ..."

²⁶¹ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. File AI(VIB).

²⁶² " ... he had so maintained happy relations with both the Portuguese and the Germans that those nations did undoubtedly put him into a class by himself" Johnson of Nyasaland, Barnes, p.178

²⁶³ "Johnson of Nyasaland", Barnes. p.181

Alas! I was told I must go or be made prisoner and put over the border. So I went. You will realize that to get a letter to the Boss in D.O.A.²⁶⁴ and back takes seven days from any point of this littoral along which we ran you in the C.M. I wrote twice and got two answers to make sure that he had received my first, asking if Portuguese teachers could stay. When I got to Likoma, I found the Bishop had gone south, ... I hoped to get a canoe across or the C.J. to drop me in a canoe on the D.O.A. coast. I could not leave the people like this, though I had removed our teachers as positively ordered. There were Government orders (British), no boat or steamer to go to east side, north of Ngofi.

I proposed to get ... to run me across to Wiedhafen and drop me at night, not sleeping. He refused.

I considered that the Germans would not object to my going to take leave as I had promptly removed our teachers submissively; the natives wrote that the Germans gave orders that no alarm was to be raised unless a steamer, painted as the Government steamer "Gwendolen" is painted, came in; they contemplated my doing a farewell trip round in the C.M., at least so I believe. I wrote to this effect to the Bishop, who answered cordially, but almost directly afterwards I got a wholly different letter. ..., the C.J. engineer, had given him his account of my proposition to run me over contrary to his, the Bishop's, orders, etc., etc., rubbing it in strong. Next trip of C.J. the Bishop wrote again saying he had omitted to explain that he had taken both the steamers into his hands! Now the C.M. was commandeered willy-nilly ... the C.J. simply runs as suits the engineer, the Bishop has been most of the time at Blantyre and Zomba, and has not come back yet (December 21). He wrote, 'I leave you and Winspear the Portuguese territory,' and no help of any steamer of any kind; it is true the C.J. gave us two lifts down the coast, but the engineer had carte blanche as to times and management, the V-G. says he has no check on him; no services or prayers with the men, so I thought it best not to use the trifling help offered. You may imagine that from Likoma to Losefa and back gives one time to think of good times coming. ... If our dear Bishop does not mean to give up Portuguese work, he is a very deep horse indeed, ... he wrote ... 'The German work does not exist.' He had not asked my opinion on any point. Now, I get an invitation to go up to German territory, in writing and a messenger, and so I need much prayer and guidance. ... My sexagenarian legs seem quite antiquated, can you get me any others, only not made in Germany? I fully expect that our Bishop has had no end of bother, but he does not make it clear sailing."

In the Bishop's defence, there is no doubt that he would have faced serious criticism if the Archdeacon had fallen captive to the Germans. Doubtless he felt justified in moving south, to the Shiré Highlands, where communication with the outside world was easier. This was the action of a Bishop of the twentieth century, of a man used to the telegraph system as a means of communication with the outside world. Similarly, the Archdeacon's determination to remain in the north with his Lakeside people, was the natural reaction of one whose saw himself simply as a shepherd to the people, the shepherd who "*lays down his life for his sheep*"²⁶⁵, one who:-

*"not only cares for the sheep with a devotion even to the death; but he knows them and is known by them. This is the secret of all true pastoral work; it is achieved through personal acquaintance."*²⁶⁶

Although deprived of his steamer, the Archdeacon continued to care for the people of the twenty or so villages located in the Portuguese territory. Aged sixty, nearly blind, and worn out by years of deprivation, he returned to the transport he had used in his earliest days, and travelled to reach his flock on foot, or by canoe. Typically, he did not allow the loss of the steamer to hinder him, for, using some of the African teachers who could not work in the German territory, he opened new stations where he could. He was not helped in this work by any other European member of the mission. Occasionally, between journeys, he would spend a day or two at Likoma. An undated letter, from the Archdeacon to the Revd. Riddelsdell,²⁶⁷ gives some idea of the his state of mind at this time.

"Advent is coming and one ought not to hide the things that really

²⁶⁵ *St. John's Gospel. Ch.10. vs.11-16.*

²⁶⁶ *"Readings in St. John's Gospel". Archbishop William Temple. Vol. 1. pp.166-7.*

²⁶⁷ *A former student of Jesus College, Oxford, and Sub.Warden to Harry Johnson at St. Michael's College, Aberdare, South Wales. Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. U.M.C.A. File AI (XVI).*

make one feel old and out of it all. No white man within a radius of 15 miles around, and if you jump Likoma Bay, north of Mtangulas you can read 150 miles."

By 1916 the demands of the civil authorities upon the Mission were causing the Bishop considerable concern. From letters addressed to the Treasurer in London²⁶⁸ it can be seen that, as had been the case during the episcopate of Bishop Trower, the arguments regarding finance were continuing. The correspondence also provides further insight into the changing nature of those who led the Mission. It could well have been written by a businessman and not the spiritual head of a Christian mission. It is obvious that Bishop Fisher had been under considerable pressure from London as to the over-spending of the Mission.

"18th May.

" the naval and military authorities have commandeered the following property of the Mission

The steamer Charles Jansen

The engineering shop at Malindi

A Houseboat formerly used on the River Shiré and now derelict at Kionde

A barge at Mponda's

Three sailing boats at Likoma - the Ousel, Chikulupi and the Charlotte

I have made no arrangements with regard to terms and under present circumstances (i.e. until the accusation made against me by Mr Philpotts, one of the Assistant secretaries of the Mission, that I have ordered an "unjustifiable" expenditure of the Mission money held by me on trust has been settled) I do not feel at liberty to do so. If necessary I shall inform the authorities here that it has lately been made clear to me that I do not possess the confidence of the UMCA executive in London in matters of finance and that ... arrangements had better be done between them and the Colonial Office in London. ... I hope ... the Finance Committee will bring the controversy to a close at the earliest date that is possible and inform me what my position is in such matter or alternatively authorise some other member of the Mission whom they are willing to trust to act in my place."²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford, Box A1 (IX-XI)

²⁶⁹ N.B. It appears that Philpot was a "Collector of money" for work in Africa, and objected to the Bishop paying for a Curate, Mr. Hand, to be trained at St. John's,

British forces began a gradual occupation of the German territory in 1916. The Bishop was so advised in a letter from a Mr. Duff, the Chief Political Officer. The Archdeacon's standing amongst the native population was recognised as an important factor in a successful British occupation.

...a military force is now on its way to occupy the Songeo Province which includes the country between Wiedhafen and the Portuguese boundary ... I regret it will not be possible to allow your party to visit the neighbourhood but directly the officer commanding the Songeo expedition reports "all clear" to General Northey, I will let you know and there will then be no objections to our sending a party to visit your mission stations on the coast. I trust you will find them intact. Archdeacon Johnson's knowledge of and influence over the natives will I feel sure help to make them realise the position and to understand that they will owe obedience henceforth to the British military and political authorities and at the same time reassure them as to the justice of our intentions towards them.²⁷⁰

In September 1917 the Archdeacon was able to return to work in the former German East Africa. The German missionaries too held the Archdeacon in high esteem for, as they departed from their people they told them to go to *the "Archidiki Mission - the Mission of Archdeacon Johnson."*²⁷¹ Their confidence in him was not misplaced, for he cared not only for the people but did his best to protect their buildings *"from the accidents of war"*.²⁷²

As had been the case with other Bishops, the Archdeacon doubted Bishop Fisher's grasp

England, as a Curate, with the intention that he goes to Africa afterwards. The Bishop's defence was that he had never been informed of the terms of any Trust - "Tell me what the terms of my Trust are and I shall follow them" The matter had been resolved by the end of the month - Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford/. Archives. File A1(IX - XI).

²⁷⁰ *Rhodes House, Bodleian library, Oxford. File A1(IX-XI)*

²⁷¹ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 180.*

²⁷² *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.180.*

of the nature of the work of the Mission. On the 24th October, 1916 he wrote to the Revd. Riddelsdell, :-

"Do you know an expression Bp. Trower used frequently, i.e. "he has a bigger bit in his mouth than he can chew" ? This appeals to me and seems to describe my own ailments, and so my need of our Lord. ... I want to tell you about B. Fisher but let me say I doubt if anyone else here really sympathises with him. He was so ignorant of what he was taking up."²⁷³

Although the Archdeacon was used to working under difficult circumstances, letters from Bishop Fisher to the Mission's Home Secretary²⁷⁴ indicate the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon other Mission personnel during the War.

"Likoma - May 18 - 1918

... at the present moment twelve of our men are in Government Service here - ... the strain which this puts on to those who remain is a very serious one. You have had your warnings in two cases of loss of reason and one death ... I CAN ONLY REPEAT, THAT YOU HAVE HAD YOUR WARNING²⁷⁵ I am perfectly certain that the Church in England can do her duty by the Army contract without withdrawing necessaries for the purposes. If the Committee choose to acquiesce in these things I can do nothing more We shall work on here till we all go mad or die ... and I do feel it my duty to let you know the position you are leaving us in and to warn you what to expect.

26th August.

No one has died, gone mad ... or been commandeered since I last wrote but I don't know what I shall hear when I get to Malindi."

The end of the war found the "C.M." in need of a complete refit. The Archdeacon was, therefore, obliged to continue his work on foot and in a canoe, to preach and teach in the most northerly section of the Missions' field. He found that rates to be paid for labour had risen, for, during the hostilities, labour had been in great demand and high

²⁷³ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. A.M.C.A. File A1 (XVI)

²⁷⁴ Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. U.M.C.A. File A1 (IX-XI)

²⁷⁵ The underlining and the capitals were in red ink.

wages had been paid to those engaged in "war-work". The accounts for the period October 1918 to September 1919 in respect of Stations No.3., Northern Section (Ilela Wikihi), the Archdeacon's station, and No.4., the Southern Section²⁷⁶ are reproduced as Appendix 10. His travelling expenses of £120 are high; reflecting both the increased rate of pay required by porters, and the vastness of his territory compared to others. The statistics show that the Archdeacon's Station was second only to Likoma, the headquarters of the Diocese, in numbers of Adherents, and indeed led the Diocese in the number of Enrolled Hearers.

8.6 THE ARCHDEACON IN ISOLATION

During the post-war years the Archdeacon continued to work without the benefit of a white companion. In a letter to a friend written in the early part of 1920 he said:-

*"Do you realise that I have been isolated for five years - no white man to work with, much less under me. ... I think the authorities reverse old things and the young love to have it so, for (1) ignorance of what was done (2) love of the ordinary station and all its works ..."*²⁷⁷

For the whole of his time in Nyasaland the Archdeacon had lived as an African, dwelling amongst the people, living in native huts, and sharing their hardships. He was not interested in carrying out his mission from the comfort of the larger stations, this was too far removed from the native Africans. Instead, he continued to trek into the bush to seek out those people who had yet to hear the first news of the coming of Christ. Because he worked alone, a system developed whereby once the Archdeacon had made sufficient converts in a particular village to warrant the presence of additional European staff, the appropriate personnel moved in, leaving the Archdeacon to move on, and begin again, "*on a fresh lonely track*"²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁶ *Copies of documents in the National Archives of Malawi, Zomba.*

²⁷⁷ *Johnson of Nyasaland, Barnes. p. 185.*

²⁷⁸ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 186.*

CHAPTER NINE

9.1 HIS FINAL HOME LEAVE

On 1st October 1920 the Archdeacon arrived in England, for what was to be his last furlough, and went immediately to South Wales, to his brother, Harry, then Vicar of Cardiff St. Mary, having ceased to be Warden of St. Michael's College in 1919. Prompted by his Bishop, the Archdeacon used his time in Cardiff to complete the writing of his reminiscences, and to make arrangements for publication. It was to be four years before "*My African Reminiscences, 1875-95*" appeared in print.

Whilst on leave he attended the Annual Meeting of the U.M.C.A., a report of which appeared in the Aberdare Parish magazine for June 1921²⁷⁹, part of which read :-

*" ... Readers of the "Church Times" must have read with a thrill of pride the account of the wonderful reception given to Archdeacon Johnson at the Annual Meeting, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, held in London the other day. Bishop Gore, Chairman of the Meeting said that he could not look into Archdeacon Johnson's face without the tears rising to his own eyes at the thought of what this "grand old man" of the Mission Field had suffered and wrought in the cause. The large meeting left no doubts in the minds of anyone as to their estimate of the Archdeacon's life and work. We refer to this incident, not only because of Archdeacon Johnson's connection with Aberdare, but also, because it shows that there are still left in the world very many people who can appreciate the worth of a good and unselfish man, who has sought the well-being of his fellowman, without any thought for his own personal ease or for gain. If the Mission Field during the past fifty years had done no more than to produce a saint like unto Archdeacon Johnson, the prayers and offerings made will have brought their reward."*²⁸⁰

9.2 THE ARCHDEACON IN FORMER GERMAN TERRITORY

He returned to Africa in the summer of 1921 full of hope for a resumption of the steamer parish work, but this was not to be. The "C.M" was never again to be a Mission

²⁷⁹ *St.Elvan's Church, Aberdare . Archives.*

²⁸⁰ *St. Elvan's Church, Aberdare, Archives.*

ship, notwithstanding that this was the purpose for which the funds to build her had been donated. Henceforth she was to be based at Likoma, and used as a diocesan transport, carrying mails and supplies to the many stations now established around the lake. The Archdeacon was ordered back to the former German territory, initially working from Liuli but later basing himself at Manda. An eye witness account of his life at this time appeared in a 1924 edition of "Central Africa"²⁸¹

"It was at Ilela, up north that I came across old Archdeacon Johnson for the first time. ... in the small mud Church taking Evensong for the natives, and entirely oblivious of boats and times and seasons. ... he ... showed me his own hut, mightily pleased with some attempt at order and arrangement in his old age, in the shape of a rolled top desk consisting of a canvas sack with pockets stuffed with papers and hung on the mud wall. ... It is forty years ago this year ... that he trekked 30 days across country with Charles Janson ... "

9.3 THE ARCHDEACON'S WRITINGS

Much evidence of Archdeacon Johnson's love, devotion and understanding of the people of Nyasaland is to be found in his writings. Not satisfied with his tremendous output of translations of the Gospels, Psalms, etc., into the native tongues of Nyasaland, he produced, in the Chinyanja language, a children's reading book, which comprised a collection of *"true stories in native life which might illustrate the teaching of our Lord."*²⁸² The production of this work involved him in countless hours of labour, not only in the physical act of writing down the stories, but in patiently listening to the people who had tales to tell. Many of these publications were produced at the Archdeacon's own expense.²⁸³

In 1922 he published *"Nyasa The Great Water"*. In his introduction to the book, the

²⁸¹ U.S.P.G., London. Archives. Article entitled "A Visit to Nyasaland". Author Fr. Osmund Victor C.R.

²⁸² *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.187.*

²⁸³ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p. 189.*

then Bishop of Oxford wrote :-

"... He has been able to win instinctively the confidence of the people ... Not simply as a traveller or an anthropologist or an explorer, but as one of themselves he has lived his life among them ..."

Such a book could only be attempted by one who has spent a lifetime living as one with the peoples of Nyasaland, for the methods of native agriculture and fishing are explained in intricate detail, whilst the climate, flora and fauna, animals and insects described, and the folk lore and customs of the tribes related with obvious pride. There is never a hint of patronage, only of admiration. Furthermore, by his careful explanation of conditions and tribal traditions in the country, the Archdeacon defends the Nyasa peoples against the charges of idleness and poor husbandry often made by the uninformed European settlers. The book was well received, but when the Archdeacon offered some of his writings about native life to Bishop Fisher, for use in the Diocesan Chronicle, his offer was declined. ²⁸⁴

9.4 THE ARCHDEACON'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS BISHOP IN THE FINAL YEARS

From correspondence which passed between the Archdeacon and Bishop Thomas Cathrew Fisher during 1922²⁸⁵, it is evident that the conduct of the Archdeacon was causing his superior some distress. Although at this time he had been appointed to head the large Mission station at Sphinxhaven, he continued to wander at will, without accounting to anyone for his movements.

The Bishop wrote from Likoma on the 13th August 1922,

" I have had letters from Sphinxhaven that have troubled me a good deal. I am told that you have left the station for a long period, some six

²⁸⁴ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes. p.188*

²⁸⁵ *Held in the Malawi National Archives, Zomba.*

to eight weeks, ... It has come to me as a definite complaint that the women on your station do not feel that they ought to be left alone in this way ... in addition ... the natives on the station and about it are inclined to be and have been distinctly rude if they do not give away money and food as freely as you do ... I am bound ... to point out that in asking you to be priest-in-charge of Spinxhaven I do regard you as responsible for it and the workers there ... I hope you will not think that I write unkindly or to make things difficult for you ... I cannot considering my responsibilities ... let the question slide as of not great moment. "

and again on the 14th November 1922,

" ... I think it will be better if you take over the northern section of the district and give up being responsible for ... Spinxhaven. ... It is clear that the connection with the station has proved a hindrance and a tie rather than a help to you and that you will do better work apart from it ... "

and once more on the 22nd November 1922.

" ... I am now enclosing the estimate for your section ... It is of course very considerably reduced from the estimate you prepared ... It was difficult to compare with others ... but in any case it was unreasonably large and in fairness to the rest of the diocese I could not have dealt with it otherwise. "

The Archdeacon's leaving of the Spinxhaven station, without arranging for another man to take his place, no doubt alarmed the ladies, but doubtless the Archdeacon would have found a period of nearly two months spent in one station a waste of his time. Nevertheless, such behaviour is at variance with the complaints he makes of being isolated, for it can be seen that when he had the opportunity to spend some time amongst his fellow European workers he did not do so. Furthermore, although he had been appointed an Archdeacon in 1896 there is no evidence that he carried out any of the duties normally associated with the position; that is, to act as the "*oculus Episcopi*",²⁸⁶ and to assist him in the administration of the Diocese. Had he done so, this would have afforded him ample opportunity to get to know his fellow European

priests and other workers, as the Bishop pointed out ,in a letter to him dated May 1926²⁸⁷

" ...You further complained that you were left in a backwater and did not have big buildings as most other stations have. I demur to the "backwater". You (are) it is true priest-in-charge of a small station but you are Archdeacon of a large district and if you would magnify that office it would prevent your having any such ideas. I do not believe that anyone else has them; you talk about native opinion but the fact that natives all over the archdeaconry talk about being members of the French Church or the Archdeacon's Church does not suggest that they think your position unimportant. As to buildings I have told you more than once that I will build you a brick house if you wish it and will agree that it shall not be used in any way by natives but shall be properly locked up when you are away. "

This evoked the following reply from the Archdeacon, on the 20th July 1926 :-.

*" ... to be explicit I have no wish or need for a European house, but vast need ... for all that helps the native Church ... hospital nurse, central school, local dialect literature ... "*²⁸⁸

During the final years of his life the Archdeacon engaged in a continual nagging correspondence with his Bishop,²⁸⁹ Frequently, he drew attention to what he saw as his shabby treatment. He complained of a lack of sufficient financial support and, although he was quite aware that no other member of the European mission staff was prepared to endure his way of life, he continued to plead for a European help-mate. As the Mission had prospered and grown, so various portions of the Archdeacon's former territory were taken away from him, and placed under the care of other Priests. For example, in the northern territory fully manned stations were established at Liuli, formerly Spinxhaven, Manda and the former German base at Milo. The villages on the

²⁸⁷ *Held in Malawi National Archives. Photo copy supplied by National Archivist.*

²⁸⁸ *Held in Malawi National Archives.*

²⁸⁹ *Original letters to be found in the Malawi National archives. Photo copies forwarded for my retention.*

mainland opposite Likoma island, the first territory settled by the Archdeacon so many years before, were placed under the care of one of the Likoma staff, whilst areas to the south of the lake were similarly sectioned off. This was necessary but the Archdeacon did not always appreciate it. Furthermore, he opened up new stations without any reference to his Bishop. This was his practice in the old pioneering days, and he seems to have been totally unprepared to admit that some degree of control was now necessary, given the changed circumstances of the Mission. A letter from the Bishop dated 2nd January 1925 reads:-

*"...I really only sanctioned forty stations in this group ... I understand you have added a few more (four I think) and have special money from home for them. I do not want to interfere with this but the forty two ... are all that I can accept diocesan responsibility for; we simply have not the money for extension at the present time."*²⁹⁰

whilst another letter dated 11th May 1926 shows that the Archdeacon has completely ignored earlier correspondence.

*"I was sorry to leave you as I did ... but there seemed really no object in my staying. Surely you must see that discussion is simply impossible if, however unintentionally you get angry and tell me I know nothing about the subject."*²⁹¹

The "Advent 1924" letter to members and friends of the Diocese of Nyasaland²⁹² provides a description of the Archdeacon as seen through the eyes of his colleagues.

"... Dr. Johnson has settled in the north at Ilela as a quasi headquarters, the self-denial and asceticism of his life reminds one of the tales of the hermits in the early centuries of Christianity. The impression that the reality of his sacrifices must make on all with whom he comes into contact can hardly fail to be deep and lasting. ..."

²⁹⁰ *National Archives of Malawi.*

²⁹¹ *National Archives of Malawi.*

²⁹² *Archives of Malawi. Zomba. Photo copy supplied.*

After nearly fifty years in Africa, during which time he had been rendered almost blind, had suffered from attacks of fever, outbreaks of ulcers and other tropical illnesses, the Archdeacon was a very frail old man. Nevertheless, his spirit was as indomitable as ever, and he was not willing to co-operate with those who, having his best interests at heart, urged him to take treatment and rest. The Bishop was always urging, unsuccessfully, the Archdeacon to take home leave, and in October 1925 his state of health was so poor that the Bishop asked him to enter hospital. The following exchange of correspondence, although somewhat lengthy, is included because it shows that Bishop and Archdeacon were totally frank with each other : it also includes valuable testimony to the Bishop's acknowledgement of the Archdeacon's commitment and contribution to the Mission, and of the Archdeacon's complaint that, in his view, the Mission's initial vision and standards were being compromised.

"Ilala. Tues. Oct. 14. 1925

My dear Bishop

Perhaps I ought to have taken your offer to go to hospital.. I was not able to read mail and now find school order held up indefinitely.

It seems rather like playing with a man's dregs of strength. ... I am puzzled by two things. You say no local grants, then how all this building at Liuli and elsewhere?? . These 500; other houses 110 each. I do not criticise but am puzzled.

I am further puzzled why an Oxf. man like myself is given no priest or deacon native or white to help him ... whereas Mr George and Mr Hicks follow a somewhat different tradition; Good men granted, but new lines ad lib. No old Pr. book holy water, SS Peter and Paul²⁹³ to the 10th degree I am not attacking; you back one line and not the other. A boma-man²⁹⁴ noted to me that we seem to get fewer and fewer U.M. men. Thanks for much help this last trip.

*Yrs obed:and sincerely W.P. Johnson
Green as you make them but cunning ! "*

²⁹³ *The Archdeacon here refers to Ordinands of the S.Peter and S.P National Missionary College Dorchester. This establishment was founded in 1878 specifically to train Ordinands to serve in the Colonies. It closed in 1942.*

²⁹⁴ *Boma-man = Government official.*

“My dear Archdeacon Johnson

I kept your letter of Oct. 14 which I only got on Dec. 15, though I wrote shortly as to annual and capital expenditure. I am now enclosing the letter as I don't suppose you have a copy and this letter will be rather meaningless without it.

... I can't make out the figures In your letter, is it five hundred pounds and a hundred and ten or five and one pound ten shillings! But I have not the least idea what it refers to in either case. ...

Now as to other matters. First what you actually say. I can't imagine that you seriously think that I am anxious to staff the diocese with non-Varsity rather than with Varsity men or prefer the former to the latter. I try to judge any priest by his work. I dare say the remark of your Boma friend is true; it certainly is of English Clergy as a body but I doubt if it effects us more than in proportion. Again I am quite sure that you don't really imagine that I like the SS. Peter and Paul productions; you must know perfectly well that I hate them. We are all very much in such ways what our training has made us; you were ordained in the seventies, I in the nineties, most of these people well in the present century. I cant exclude the SS. Peter and Paul attitude but it really absurd to imply that I encourage it; as far as I can influence it at all which is not very far I do the exact opposite. At the Cathedral which most obviously represents my mind you will not find a trace of them.

I think however it is clear that while you do not really mean exactly what you say you do mean something more. ... why are you the senior priest of the diocese in a single-priest station instead of head of some important place with many fellow-workers. You will understand how very difficult it is for me to discuss such a question at all but your letter raises it very definitely and though I have hesitated a good deal I do not think I ought simply to ignore it, and if I answer at all I can only say what I am saying here. It is difficult because in a sort of way it is criticising though I do not myself think of it as such and you are twenty years older than I am and have done work which is probably the best-known thing in the whole history of the Mission and on which it is simply true to say that the whole of the present work is built up. You can hardly imagine that if it were simply a question of giving you the honour due to you I should not wish to do it in any and every means in my power, and every other person in the diocese would I am quite sure wish the same. But I know well that this is not what you want or care about. You want work and in a sense you want power: I have to organise the diocese under the conditions and with the material that is available. The sort of position that you would like and that would naturally be regarded as your due simply does not exist and I cannot create it.

You have exceptional gifts physical mental and spiritual: if it had not been so physically you would have been dead long ago. If it had not been so mentally and spiritually you could not possibly have lived the

life or done the work of the last fifty years. But these gifts involve certain limitations and one of them is that ordinary people who have not your gifts cannot share your work or your life. It is not given to everyone to bend the bow of Ulysses and a certain loneliness is an inevitable part of the sacrifice ...

It is in consequence of this that I cannot put you in charge of one of our ordinary stations. ... There is no-one who does not admire you and honour you and reverence all you have done but they cannot work with you. Please believe me I do not say this critically, but simply as a fact: I do regret it because I think at times at any rate it makes you unhappy and it is liable to misunderstandings but while the fact is there it is at least as much a tribute as a criticism.

... You cannot be confined into ordinary ways of work: if you did not break out from them in one way you would in another.

I am afraid that at times it must be lonely but you know you are always welcome on any station for a few days rest and I think this would be even more so if you would go as Archdeacon and help younger men by discussing difficulties with them. I will not enlarge on this as I have said if before but I believe that if you could magnify your office as Archdeacon you would find in it a real happiness as I feel sure others would find it a real usefulness. Yours in Dno"

The Archdeacon celebrated his Golden Jubilee of joining the Universities Mission in 1926, and many tributes were paid to him. At Oxford, he was made a Fellow of University College.

9.5 DR. LAWS LEAVES NYASALAND

The year of the Archdeacon's Jubilee saw the departure from Nyasaland of another missionary pioneer, one who had reached the lake even before the Archdeacon. In 1926, Dr. Laws of the Free Church of Scotland Mission returned home to Scotland. The two pioneers met for the last time at Dr. Law's station of Kondowe. Writing to his brother in New Zealand, and enclosing a photograph, the Archdeacon wrote :-

" Behold me, tidied up about to be photographed with Dr. Laws. ... hospitality is one of the things Dr. Laws has practised and realised. How many times have I realized this - scars still visible on my hands he healed some forty three years ago. Not here, ... far south, when this was untouched by Europeans. I hope I have learnt to know the man a bit better this time - no simple matter ... he was a regular Scot, forged by travel and time, and I was a shy Southerner steeped in a life large

*enough but often inarticulate.*²⁹⁵

Dr. Laws wrote of this last meeting with his old friend as follows-

*"...I told him ... he should be taking better care of himself. ... I used to call him "the Apostle of the Lake" he must have had a very strong constitution to come through all he endured. ... I valued his friendship highly, and during all the years we knew each other, we were always glad and ready to help one another ..."*²⁹⁶

9.6 LAST YEARS OF THE PIONEER

A 1926 edition of "Central Africa"²⁹⁷ included an article about the Archdeacon by the Rev. Frank George,²⁹⁸ part of which read :-

"...He is your senior representative in ... Tanganika territory. The representative of our great Church all by himself. This old man ... is still by himself doing enormous work. ... It would give you an idea of the work he has to do ... to know that it takes Archdeacon Johnson three months to visit his different parishes. ... picture him climbing over, as he may be doing today, those Livingstone mountains which are 9000 feet high, and it is heartbreaking work sometimes to an old man like him. Archdeacon Johnson ... has 5000 people under definite instruction ... he is day after day continually on the move.

9.7 INTERVENTION OF DR. MARY ILES

The conduct and condition of the Archdeacon during the last two years of his life were to become a subject of considerably concern for the officers of the Mission at home. In 1927 and 1928 Dr. Mary Iles met the Archdeacon at Manda. Falling under the spell of the Archdeacon, she was appalled at the way in which he lived, and accused the

²⁹⁵ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes p.199*

²⁹⁶ *Johnson of Nyasaland. Barnes p.199*

²⁹⁷ *Malawi National Archives. Zomba.*

²⁹⁸ *The Priest-in-Charge of Sphinxhaven.*

U.M.C.A. of neglecting their greatest living member. In his Biography of the Archdeacon, Canon Barnes quotes Dr. Iles' account of meeting with the Archdeacon:-²⁹⁹

" ... I found a bent, very wrinkled old gentleman, very active and with most courtly manners and conversation, ... troubled that he had no guest house, and anxious to move into the vestry (a kind of apse behind the altar, perhaps six feet deep in the middle of the apse) so that I might have his house. ... I was to have all meals with him. His house was a long hut, store-room, kitchen, small room for native visitors, his own room partially divided into bedroom, and a room filled with books, files, crockery, etc., and then a semicircular verandah with a very ink-stained table, three or four upright chairs and his own little old deck-chair, where he lived. If the wind was strong a large calico sheet went up as a curtain. In front and to the sheltered (N.) side of the hut were a few feet of freshly dug ground surrounded by a lattice-work, like those surrounding the village dancing-grounds.

Later this ground developed into a 'lawn,' hummocky and rough but real grass, and another higher fence had to be put up a foot or two outside the first, to discourage the numerous enthusiastic goats overjoyed at this oasis in the wilderness. The Archdeacon was very proud of his lawn. He had been advised by Dr. Laws how to make it. He said, 'It has cost an awful lot, but it gives me an enormous amount of pleasure and rest, and the watering does help the poor women.' ... His days were very regular in Manda - Mass, 6.30 or 7, then breakfast, then Hilary, a porter the Archdeacon had trained, read the lessons and Psalms in English and the Archdeacon followed in Hebrew or Greek; then came interviews, and parish jobs or translating of the Old Testament, first the Hebrew to be considered and then the right local words from Hilary or some teacher or boy. For recreation, a large Arabic dictionary would appear, and the Arabic word ascertained for some English one, and its relation to Hebrew or perhaps some Bantu dialect considered, the Arab slavers having sometimes left words as legacies.

I asked him what made him interested in Arabic; he said, 'I must keep my intellect bright somehow.' He also believed a knowledge of Arabic would make Muhammadans more confident, ... he said, 'I think I would belong to any sect that could get at these people. I have seen many missions and no one seems to have got at their heart.' . . . Indirectly, I found he knew most things about Indian land and tenure and rowing ... while ostentatiously lamenting his (lack of) knowledge of German, read Latin and Greek and French like English, was surprised he had

forgotten some of Plato's arguments, and delighted in St. Thomas Aquinas as a recreation. ..."

On her return to England, the outraged Dr. Iles wrote to anyone of influence who supported the U.M.C.A., informing them of what she saw as the neglect of the Mission's greatest living member. She wrote to its President, Bishop Gore, who, on the 15th August 1928, received a letter of explanation,³⁰⁰ from the Secretary of the U.M.C.A.:-

"Miss Mary Iles, M.D., is a well qualified medical practitioner of middle age who has been for several years past the special bête noire of various missionary societies ... The Archdeacon and his Station form between them one of the Bishop's most constant and pressing anxieties; but, as long as the poor old man lives, I fear there is really no way out. The present state of affairs is truly deplorable for Archdeacon Johnson, for the Mission, for the people of the district, and for the Bishop and his staff; but there really seems no way out.

Miss Iles' statement contains a certain number of truths ad half-truths; but, of course, for the most part, it is a farrago of lies and of mis-statements of fact. Yet the true state of affairs is very nearly as sad as that which she pictures; - more sad in one respect than she suggests, in that it seems incapable of remedy ..."

The Dr. Iles controversy was still raging at the time of the Archdeacon's death.

9.8 DEATH OF THE ARCHDEACON

At the end he was attended by the Revd. Dr. Wigan, whose letter written to Canon Spanton, then the Secretary of the Mission furnishes an eye witness account of the onset of the Archdeacon's last illness:-³⁰¹

"Liuli 18th Sept. 1928.

... You will probably hear of the Archdeacon's illness long before you

³⁰⁰ *United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London. Archives. U.M.C.A. p. 21*

³⁰¹ *Held in U.M.C.A./U.S.P.G. Archives, London. Files U.M.C.A. P.F. 21*

get this. He has been ill on and off for some weeks, but on Sunday, Sept 9 (I think), he went to the altar at Manda and suddenly collapsed, ... the neck part of his spine has been stiff, and he has to be supported when he takes food. His temperature rose to 103 on one or two occasions, but he does not seem to have any definite "fever".

... Another report from Alan, the dawa boy reached me begging me to come, and just as I was getting towards Mbaha at the end of my second day, I heard that the Archdeacon had got there. I was much relieved as I could hardly have got through to Ndumbi that night.

He was obviously very ill, but anxious to get on to Liuli; as conditions at Mbaha were naturally not ideal for nursing a sick man, I thought we might risk going on. Fortunately he had got on hire a unleaky bwato (I did not know they existed) and they made a bed of grass in the bottom of it and put his blanket on that, and he never got wet. The lake was not too kind, and we were delayed a bit, but we got to a place 3 hours from here at the end of a day which began at 4 o'clock, and next morning we were off again at 6.30 and got in soon after 9. He stood the journey wonderfully well, and I thought the worst was over, but later he began to wander, and he got it into his head that he must get on, and was worried about his teeth which do not fit his shrunken gums. To-day he has been frequently delirious, but most of the time I think is quite sane, only it is so difficult to hear what he says that we dont always know what he is saying, and whether it is sense. ... I sent a wire to speed up the C.J., which was to come to bring Archdeacon, Dickson and the Liuli folk to Likoma for the synod. Snodin came up to the scratch and to our surprise this morning we saw the "C.J." coming in. Probably I shall be able to add some later news before this goes.

The Archdeacon is desperately keen on getting home, but I hardly think he will ever do so; he was despondent himself yesterday, and to-day annoyed that I hesitated about letting him go on the C.J. to Likoma; I was going to yield and go down with him, but this evening he had another bad rigour (he had one at Manda 2 days before he left), and I dont think he can go now. I have just written his brother at Ryde.

Finally, on the 12th October 1928, the Revd. B. T. Hicks wrote to his Bishop to give an Account of the Archdeacon's death.³⁰²

" Liuli. 12th October 1928.

"Dear Bishop of Nyasaland,

This is to inform you of the death of the Archdeacon. He died here at Liuli yesterday morning. the 11th inst. at 12.45 a.m.

You will remember that he had been brought down from the north by

Dr. Wigan. who found him at (about fifteen miles south of Manda) in a very far gone condition. Arriving here on Sept. 15th he was therefore nearly four weeks in hospital here attended by Dr. Wigan himself with first Miss. Hall only, but latterly assisted also by Miss. Young. We ought to add also, I think, ministered to most devotedly by Hilary, his "boy". Some days it seemed that he might recover, and on these occasions he was something like his old self, although very weak, but at other times he seemed to be on the pointed (sic) of death. I suppose we had given him up quite six times during the course of his illness, but each time he came to life again, such was his vitality However, he himself seems to have known that his end was near, for when the "C.M." was in he said that when the "C.M." came back he would not be here, And so it has proved to be. Father Benson was with him at the last, I myself having taken advantage of Father Benson's return from Likoma to do some necessary visiting,

On the morning of the Archdeacon's passing, a Requiem Mass was said in English. At mid-day, we held the Burial Service in the local tongue, at which a good number of people were present. We buried him in the Lady Chapel at the north side of the altar, and the Church of the Holy Cross, Liuli, will be for ever honoured in thus providing a sanctuary for his mortal remains. Six of the Archdeacon's "old friends" acted as bearers. On the same evening we sung Vespers, and on the following morning (today) we sung a Solemn Requiem in Chimpoto at which nearly one hundred people communicated. And so we concluded the ceremonies of his burial. The place of burial itself now awaits the suitable commemorative covering which will be forthcoming in due course. And so, too, ends the link - the living link - which bound us to the very beginning of our work in these parts. R. I P."

9.9 Dr. LAWS' TRIBUTE

One of the many tributes paid to the Archdeacon, came from Dr. Robert Laws, addressed from his retirement home in Edinburgh, to the Mission Secretary in London, and dated 29th October, 1928. ³⁰³

*"Dear Sir,
Though I may be only known to you by name, I feel I must write a note to give expression to my sympathy with you and your Mission in the loss you and the whole Church of Christ have sustained by the Home call of the Venerable Archdeacon Johnson. On August 11, just two months before he died, (according to the notice I have seen in the Manchester*

Guardian) he wrote me his last, and for him, a long, letter in which he says "But my times are in His hand". ... It is over forty-eight years since Dr. Johnson came to me first at Cape Maclear and ever since, the friendship then begun has continued unbroken. What a record of Christian heroism his life has been, in perils, suffering and dangers oft but through it all "This one thing I do" characterized his life, and I can corroborate what the late Bishop Steere wrote about him to me long ago that he never knew a missionary who so earnestly followed up the one lost sheep till he succeeded in leading it to Christ, and in shepherding it thereafter."

9.10 BISHOP FISHER'S "APOLOGIA" FOR THE LIFE JOHNSON.

On the 22nd November 1928 the Bishop of Nyasaland wrote a letter to Canon Long. The need for this communication originally arose out of "*the Iles*" controversy but, of course, the death of the Archdeacon changed the circumstances.³⁰⁴ There can be no doubt that the Bishop wrote this letter for posterity; as his "*Apologia*" for the life of William Percival Johnson. As such, we include it in full.

"Thank you very much for your letter and for having written as you have done. You will know long before you get this that the actual questions have been taken out of our hands. But I would like you and a few others to know now what the actual position has been. As a summary of what follows I may say that as I can see the only solution would have been the Archdeacon's retirement and as I am pretty sure he would not have retired. I could only have offered the Committee my own resignation and left them to deal with it. As to details:-

First as regards Miss Iles. One would have thought that if she had come to the conclusion that things were wrong at Manda the ordinary courtesies of life would have suggested her assuming that I should not wish them to be so and writing to me; ... She herself is of course entirely ignorant of the past history and very imperfectly acquainted with the present position knowing only what she saw at Manda. .

Secondly as to the Archdeacon himself. The fundamental fact all through about him, without realising which no-one can understand the position at all, is and always has been his wish and determination to share the life of the African native as far as possible. When I first came here in 1911, I found him living on the Steamer, but he refused to have

an ordinary cabin and had a corner of the native dormitory boarded of (sic) - a horrible little hole dark and unventilated in which he lived and worked. Since he has lived on shore, I have several times offered to have a normal brick house built for him if he would agree to the usual rule that Africans must not use it. (If a house is used by Africans it becomes tick-ridden in a year or two and has to be abandoned) But he did not want to have a house he could not share; this applied to the whole station; as he said once in print he wished it to be and hoped it always would be "jungly". At times he was undoubtedly irritated at the difference between the way he lived and the way others did - he talked once of the very ordinary two-roomed houses at Liuli as "sea-side villas" - but he did not want to change. What he would have liked was that everyone should live as he did. You will easily realise the impossibility of this.

It was this in the main that prevented him working with others or others with him but there were other difficulties which made it practically impossible. He was ... incapable of being one of any organised body. He would not ... and ... could not work with any sort of daily timetable. Services and meals were when you were ready for them; if he felt inclined, and he often did, to add a long sermon to any service everything else could be delayed half an hour or an hour. What did it matter, if people hadn't all come to a Confirmation at seven which was the fixed time; eight or half-past eight would be just as well. When he had done one thing he did the next and meals would be fitted in anywhere. He could and did live on these lines when he was alone but you can't do it with three or four other people responsible for schools, hospitals or even house-keeping and meals.

Again, he could not have organized arrangements in material ways. We had each year to pay up his debts, chiefly teachers' wages, because he had spent the money assigned to them on something else. He said to me once "Why all this bother about money and accounts? If you have money, spend it, If you haven't do without and realise what Africans often have to do." Once at Liuli he wanted the house-keeper to give away the month's food supply to some Africans who were travelling through and was extremely angry (he could be this to a painful extent on occasions) at her refusal on the ground that she only had enough to last the station until the next supplies came by the monthly steamer. When he had money he spent it lavishly and of course generously though I fear often wastefully on the thing of the moment and then was short. I tried more than once to put his finance in some-one else's hands as is often done by a priest who has a layman, but he resented it violently. To me it was "Can't I be trusted with the money" and to them it was a violent controversy if they would not supply money for something he was keen about at the moment when they know it would be wanted for wages etc, the same thing really as the food matter

mentioned above.

It is horrid to criticize him and one sees of course that all the above was heroic and wonderful. He was always that, and anything one could do to help him was done by everyone. We cleared up his finances each year paying the debts and agreed that it was the only thing to do but the main thing he really wanted, that other members or a station or the whole diocese should be worked on his line was impossible. If the Home Authorities wanted that, they should have made him bishop but I think they realised it was not a practical proposition.

As to himself I did discuss it once with the doctor i.e whether to attempt to force him to live normally was any use but he thought not. It might add a year or two to his life but only at the expense of making all the years remaining miserable. But even if it had been desirable I don't think it could have been done. Even in little ways it was hopeless; Glossop tells me that back in old days if they put things in his supplies for a journey he threw them out and if people gave him little things to make him more comfortable he might use them for a week or two and then he probably got a conscientious spasm that it wasn't motive and anyway gave them away.

Thirdly as to actual history. My own line with the Archdeacon always has been to give him the freest hand to live and work as he liked. I thought in view of all past history he had a right to this and also that it made for peace. The only limitation I made to it was that I could not impose the conditions he wished for himself on other members. If he liked to live as he did I had nothing to say but I could not call upon others to do so. I think only twice in the whole time I have been here have I actually over-ruled him, once during the War when he wished to take the little steamer into German harbours while the Germans were still there, feeling sure they would respect it as Mission and not take it! and once when (again you see in order to be African) when he started using native dough at mass instead of wafers (It was a horrid lump of something, probably cassava flour) In the first case he tried hard to persuade the Captain of the steamer to disobey me (fortunately he had too much sense); in the latter he gave in at once and went back to wafer. I don't think these decisions need defending.

When we settled down again after the War, I asked him to take charge of the new station at Liuli the Head-quarters and principal station of the Archdeaconry with a full staff, and for a time he did so. But he quarrelled utterly with the staff. It was really on the lines above; he could not live an organized life and others could not live his. I went up, twice I think, to try to make peace but at last I had to ask him if he would take a small part of the district as his own and run it as he liked. He could keep a house at Liuli and come here anytime and the new

district was limited to what he could easily manage (This latter point may be worth some emphasis as I think Miss Iles has said he had far more work than was fair). He agreed to this at the time. Later, he did not keep the arrangement but steadily enlarged the district; the agreement was definitely twenty schools, but when Hicks went over the district after his death he found thirty-four. This was more of course that he ought to have tried to visit or had funds to pay for. But how one could stop him doing it I dont know. He would never go to the other stations; the oddest thing about him altogether to my mind was that he had no conscience whatever about the Archdeaconry; I tried again and again to get him to do some such work partly to get him into civilised life a bit etc asking him to do some definite thing for me but he wouldn't. Unless he had complete control of a station he would not go to it; if he would have done so he would have been welcomed anywhere enthusiastically and his advice and help would have been of real use. But he would never see it. I thought it over again and again but could get no further. Arrangements one could have made and would have been thankful to make would not have been acceptable while the sort of thing he wanted, station to be run on his lines, was not practicable. As far as I could see there was nothing to be done but to let him live much as he did or insist on his leaving the diocese

Whether the proposals of your letter could have been carried out I can't say. It would have been no use to put anyone with him unless he was prepared to live his life (incidentally one of the things he was adamant about was a daily sung, usually I believe sung excruciatingly, Mattins and Evensong and he told me once that he felt sure if a layman did not wish to attend he must be living an evil life; I could not see my way to making M. and E. compulsory on all the laymen after the daily Mass.. It usually also included a long vernacular sermon) You will see the sort of difficulties there were and they are only typical of many others of the same sort. To have brought him to Likoma would I think have been equally hopeless; he simply would not have stayed there. When he was well and he mostly was well - he had an amazing constitution, he would have been off in a canoe, in the night back to work The idea I had in my own mind for the future was that if a time came when he felt his work here was done he might have been happiest if he would have gone to live with the Cowley Fathers at Cape-Town. He had a great admiration for the older Cowley line and had stayed with them at times on his way home; the asceticism of Cowley would have appealed to him, it would still have been Africa and there would have been little odd bits of work he could have done. But I dont think he would have gone yet and I doubt if at all. I moved heaven and earth to persuade him to go home on furlough in his jubilee year, I wrote the strongest letters I have ever written to anyone but though he half promised eventually he would not go. I think he wished to die in this part and was afraid if he left it he would not return. Short of absolute dismissal from the diocese I could

do nothing and that I think practically was beyond my powers; medical authority might have forced him home but it never came to that point and the doctor would not (rightly I think) use medical authority where the real reasons were otherwise.

The possibility of his dying on ulendo which you seem to imply is really not involved in the way he lived. It might happen to anyone. All of us including myself at times travel without other white companions and may easily be four or five days away from medical help. Very few people are ill here as long as he actually was. It was in the circumstances, very fortunate that he was able to be cared for as he was. He was ill for nearly a month with a doctor and two nurses in attendance. He could hardly have had more care in England. But the other possibility is one we all or very nearly all have to face in work here.

I am sorry to have inflicted on you such a letter but I have tried to confine it to facts that in view of what I understand has been said it is perhaps well you should know. Obviously it is private in the sense of the word. As such you must use your judgement if you think fit to show it to anyone but it must only be shown as a private letter. In no case what ever am I prepared to have any public controversy with Miss Iles."

9.11 THE ARCHDEACON AS SEEN BY MEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF MALAWI AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

The name of Archdeacon Johnson is still remembered with honour by the members of the Anglican Church in the independent Africa State of Malawi. On the 6th March 1996³⁰⁵ the Rt. Rev. Bishop Donald Arden, C.B.E. who served the Anglican Church in Malawi from 1961 to 1981, first as Bishop of Malawi and then as Archbishop of Central Africa, spoke of the decision, taken in the 1960's, to include Archdeacon Johnson in the Calendar of Saints for the Province of Central Africa.³⁰⁶ He said that there had been

³⁰⁵ *During the course of an interview with the writer. conducted in Bishop Arden's home at 6 Frobisher Close, Pinner, Middx.*

³⁰⁶ *A translation of Page 101 Malawi Prayer book, reads:- 11 October - William Percival Johnson, priest 1928. W(hite). Archdeacon Johnson worked as a missionary for 50 years spreading the gospel on the shores of Lake Malawi. In 1888 he began a congregation at Matope when the steamer "Charles Janson" was stuck for the dry season due to the seasonal drop in the water level of the*

little debate as to whether the Archdeacon should be included, "as he was so universally revered". He added that he could never remember a word spoken against him. As to why he was chosen, of all the successful missionaries, in particular some of the Bishops of the time, Bishop Arden said:-

... there are several reasons. Firstly, he did such a good job - he was the "hands on" person. Secondly, he was there for such a long time, fifty two years. He personally established virtually the system that was there up to thirty/forty years ago, because initially all the work of the Anglican mission took place on the shore of Lake Malawi. ... Archdeacon Johnson was held in high esteem by the Malawian people. His work was appreciated and in no way was it linked with the work of an "imperialist power". ... As to the small schools established at the time of Archdeacon Johnson, in the villages around the lake shore, they are still there, and it is recognised that their origins lay in the work of the U.M.C.A. missionaries. ... During the years Archdeacon Johnson worked in Malawi, ... he led a very simple life, and he was seen really as a "White African . " ...

As to the translation work of the Archdeacon - his translation of the Psalms, which he did from the original Hebrew into Chinyanja - Archdeacon Johnson was solely responsible for this. ... Archdeacon Johnson also translated the whole Chinyanja Bible, and this is the only translation that has been done in Lake shore Chinyanja.

When I was about six I used to hear talk of the Archdeacon from my Uncle, Frank Crouch³⁰⁷ but I was too small to remember."

Bishop Arden went on to say that throughout the 19th century the Nyasa people had external enemies,³⁰⁸ adding that the 19th history of Malawi was dominated by the slave wars, and so people welcomed the protection of the British.

This favourable view of the British missionaries, and in particular those of the Universities Mission, is also held by many African Priests who currently serve the

Shiré River. Archdeacon Johnson was know as "The Apostle of the Lake."

³⁰⁷ *One-time Engineer on the "Charles Janson"*

³⁰⁸ *for example the Portuguese who "had such a bad reputation for the pretty barbaric treatment of the people in Mozambique - Portuguese East Africa".*

Anglican Church of Malawi. The Rev. Canon George S. Mbaya, of All Saints Cathedral, Nkhotakota, Malawi, in an interview with the writer when visiting Aberdare in November 1996, said :-

" ... Archdeacon Johnson was one of the first well known and famous Missionaries, after Dr. Livingstone. ... Archdeacon Johnson was not only known as a Priest and Archdeacon, but he was also the "Apostle of Malawi". ...

Arabs led by some of the members of the Yao tribes ... came to Nkhotakota, where there was a big slave market, to buy slaves. Dr. David Livingstone, followed by Archdeacon Johnson and the others, played a very important part in stopping the slave trade.

... I remember when I was a boy in 1944 I used to see the boat called the "Chauncy Maples". named after Bishop Chauncy Maples, carrying Missionaries.

... To my opinion I take the Missionaries as "Men of God". For instance, in Central Africa, the first Europeans who went there were not Government agents, but were Missionaries who had in mind to establish Christianity. ... In order that they should be remembered we have a special book in which such men of God are recorded. We have their festivals each year according to one's departed day, for example Bishop Mackenzie is remembered on 31st January each year. David Livingstone on 30th April and, Archdeacon Johnson on 11th October and all these Missionaries, except Dr. Livingstone, were U.M.C.A. ones."³⁰⁹

Father Bernard Sharp of The Vicarage, Cwmbach, Aberdare, served as a Missionary under the auspices of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Malawi, acted as Chaplain to the late Bishop Mteka-Teka. from 1972 until 1974, and maintains a correspondence with the Revd. Stanley Baldwin Mandala of the South Highlands Parish, Limbe, Malawi. In a letter to Fr. Sharp dated 11th November, 1995 Fr. Mandala stated :-

"I don't believe that missionaries were colonists. I think as far as I teach history in all forms, I never read and taught the work of missionaries and early colonists were the same. Colonials liked to force

³⁰⁹

Also included in the Calendar of Saints is Arthur Douglas who died defending a Nyasa girl from the ravages of a Portuguese soldier.

Malawians to do labour work in tea and coffee plantation ... Missionaries were the people who served in teaching the word of God and protecting Africans from slave trade and fought hard for abolishing Arab slave traders and their counterpart like Yao, Ngoni warriors and so on. Since U.M.C.A. established Mission work, Malawians become free and began to be educated in various areas under early missionaries. ...

Colonists were Civil Servants and not Missionaries. We as Africans are in debt to the good work done by Missionaries here in this part of Africa. ..."

In the Order of Service for the Centenary Eucharist of the Anglican Church in Malawi and the Rededication of Saint Peter's Cathedral at Likoma Island by The Most Reverend Khotso Makhulu Archbishop of Central Africa, on Sunday 25th October 1987, the Second Lesson being read by "His Excellency The Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda" there appears "A Brief History of the Founding of Missionary work on Likoma Island and the building of the Cathedral", of which the following is an extract:-

"The development of the work in Nyasaland/Malawi belongs to the Episcopate of Bishop Smythies. When he reached the Lake in 1885, this region had been travelled through by one solitary missionary.³¹⁰ Before his death the work had grown so much as to need a separate Bishop of its own.

... In 1887 Bishop Smythies again visited Likoma and travelled around with Johnson who rejoiced that his Bishop saw the people in their normal state of inattentiveness to this message, behaving no better than usual, and yet blessed the work and bade them take heart and extend it".

It is interesting to note that in the "brief history" the name of Johnson is included without any explanation as to who he was or what he did. It is assumed, correctly, that everyone reading the Order of Service would know who Johnson was, and what he did.

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This reference is to William Percival Johnson.

CHAPTER TEN

10.1 THE RESPONSE OF THE LATE 19TH CENTURY WELSH ANGLICAN CHURCH TO THE MISSIONARY CHALLENGE.

Consideration of the response of Welsh Anglicans to the missionary challenge as posed by the Universities Mission to Central Africa, must take into account that during the last half of the 19th Century Welsh Anglicans were a minority group. The religious census of 1851 revealed that only 20% of the population who went to a place of worship on census Sunday attended at an Anglican Church. The vast majority of the Christian community favoured the nonconformist chapels.³¹¹ The Welsh working classes, in the main, saw the Church of England in Wales as an extension of the English establishment, as the Church of the powerful land-owning families, and, as such, it had little appeal to the impoverished agricultural workers in the rural areas, or the rapidly expanding industrial work-force in the southern valleys. Nevertheless, by the end of the century the Anglican Church had shown a commendable response to its deficiencies. It had undertaken a vast church and school building programme, particularly in the South Wales Valleys, and in 1870 the new Bishop of St. Asaph was, for the first time, a Welsh speaker. It is against this background that the support of Welsh Anglicans, for a High Church Missionary Movement, must be viewed.

The U.M.C.A. Annual Accounts provide figures for all the Dioceses in England and Wales.³¹² It will be seen that the contributions from the Welsh Dioceses compare favourably with those English Dioceses where the economic profile of the population would have been similar e.g. Durham, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich and Truro.

The Accounts also give precise details, Parish by Parish, as to the annual amounts received from the Dioceses of Bangor, St. Asaph, St. David's and Llandaff, in the second half of the 19th Century.³¹³ Remarkable features emerge; for example, in the

³¹¹ *"Rebirth of a Nation. Wales 1880-1980."* K.O. Morgan. p.14.

³¹² *See Appendix 13.*

³¹³ *See Appendix 12.*

Diocese of St. David's, the small Parish of Eglwys Oen Duw,³¹⁴ provided substantial donations to the Mission throughout the period under review, totally out of proportion to its size. This Parish was, according to the evidence of the present Incumbent, of a "High Church" impress, and so would have naturally inclined to support the High Church Anglican Mission. Although it served a sparsely populated rural area, there were a number of wealthy families living in the locality. The figures for the Bangor and St. Asaph Dioceses show that support for the Mission hardly existed in some Parishes, and was slight in the vast majority of the others.

The picture for the Diocese of Llandaff is totally different. Notwithstanding his unique relationship with Aberdare, which this work has shown, the Archdeacon had numerous connections with the rest of the Diocese, in which he was licensed to serve as a Priest when on home leave, and where his reputation and occasional presence served as an inspiration to others in the Diocese.

That, during the period under review, the Diocese of Llandaff supported the work of the Mission, physically as well as financially, is evidenced by the many meetings which took place in Cardiff and other Parishes, and by the number of workers who left the Diocese to work in Central Africa. The Parish of Roath provided one Bishop, and many laymen. When, in 1883, Charles Smythies left Roath to become Bishop of Nyasaland, fifteen members of his congregation³¹⁵ followed him. Father Thomas H. Birley, served as a Curate of the Church of St. Saviour, Roath, from 1888 until 1896³¹⁶, before leaving to join the U.M.C.A. in 1908, becoming Bishop of Zanzibar in 1925. The Diocese could have given a second Mission Bishop, had Harry Johnson accepted the Bishopric of Likoma, proffered in 1896. Mr. Mills of Mountain Ash, in the Parish

³¹⁴ *Then a Parish in the Diocese of St. David's, but now a Parish in the Swansea and Brecon Diocese. The latter Diocese, along with that of Monmouth, being created after the Disestablishment of the Welsh Anglican Church in 1920.*

³¹⁵ *For a list of the names of these men see History of Roath, St. German's. Edited M. Warner and A.C. Hooper. p.41.*

³¹⁶ *History of Roath, St. German's. Edited M. Warner and A.C. Hooper. p.41.*

of Aberdare, also went to work in Africa, whilst, in 1900, another native of the Principality, Caradoc Davies, became the first Principal of St. Michael's Teacher Training College, sited on the western shore of Lake Nyasa.

The Diocesan Accounts for Llandaff show that the Parish of Aberdare was the major contributor to the Mission, followed by Monmouth. It can be no coincidence that this latter Parish was also "*High Church*". Some Parishes supported the Mission's *Children's Fund* and *Coral League*, the latter initiated to channel help from "*those who could afford little*"³¹⁷. This was doubtless an appropriate method of fund raising in Parishes serving the less prosperous Welsh communities. The Parish of Roath had an active Coral League branch.

The U.M.C.A. was a small organisation, formed as it was to serve only one area of the world, i.e. Central Africa, and so the number of workers was correspondingly small. During the first thirty years of its existence two hundred men and women were recruited.³¹⁸ Bearing this in mind, the contribution by the Parish of Roath of one Priest and fifteen men in 1883, represents a considerable part of the total workforce of the Mission.

The Welsh "*High Church*" Parishes, being the principal supporters of the U.M.C.A., shared Archdeacon Johnson's enthusiasm for the missionary challenge. The Diocese of Llandaff, with its enormous programme of Church building, particularly in the industrial valleys, proves the point made by the present Archivist of the U.S.P.G., when she states:-

"The great expansion and development of new parishes at the end of the 19th century, largely as a result of the Oxford Movement developing into Anglo-Catholicism, would have assisted the U.M.C.A. ... Anglo-Catholic Parishes were then and remained the U.M.C.A.'s natural

³¹⁷ *The History of the U.M.C.A. 1859-1896. Anderson-Morshead. p.440..*

³¹⁸ *"Towards Freedom". G.W. Broomfield, London 1957. p.3.*

supporters".³¹⁹

Nor has the Mission's link with South Wales ceased. On the 11th October 1975, the Llandaff Diocesan Conference met in the Assembly Hall of what is now the University of Glamorgan. The Assistant Bishop of the Diocese, the Rt. Revd. J. R. W. Poole-Hughes, a former Bishop of S.W. Tanganyika, speaking of his service in Central Africa, referred to the fact that that day, 11th October, was "*Archdeacon Johnson Day*" in his former Diocese, being the day of the Archdeacon's death in 1928. Those who heard Bishop Poole-Hughes speak at this Conference - and certainly none who already knew something of Archdeacon Johnson's exploits in Nyasaland - would have failed to recognise the Bishop as one cast in so many respects in the Archdeacon's own mould, notwithstanding the interval of years separating them.³²⁰ Bishop Poole-Hughes' own life, much of which was spent in the service of the Universities' Mission, provided evidence that the Society remained throughout its existence, faithful to its original aim of encouraging an indigenous ministry and leadership, for when Bishop Poole-Hughes, with mixed feelings of sorrow and joy, returned from Central Africa to South Wales in 1974, it was because he was convinced that there was no longer need of white ex-patriot missionary work.³²¹ In writing of his time in Central Africa as follows:-

*"... I can only thank God for the opportunities he gave me, for the heat, the flies and the fever, ... and above all the love"*³²²

Bishop Poole-Hughes is surely echoing the thoughts of the Mission's great pioneer William Percival Johnson.

³¹⁹ *Letter from Mrs, C. Wakeling, Archivist, U.S.P.G., to the writer dated 18.9.1997*

³²⁰ *A view expressed to the writer by the Venerable Gordon James, Archdeacon of Margam, who attended this Conference.*

³²¹ *"Just the Right Man", A Biography of J. R. W. Poole-Hughes. Sinclair and Fenn. 1992, pp.90/97.*

³²² *Ibid p.159.*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

11.1 CONCLUSION

The evidence, as provided by his own writings, contemporary correspondence, mission records and the testimony of those who have followed in the footsteps of William Percival Johnson, shows that during his fifty two years of missionary work he remained steadfast to one ideal, to the *raison d'etre* of the Universities Mission - to bring the Christian message to all the people living in the lands bordering Lake Nyasa. Although he witnessed at first hand dramatic changes in Nyasaland, he never changed in this. Never at any time did he deviate from his chosen path and paid little, if any, attention to the epochal political and commercial developments which took place all round him, except insofar as they might be detrimental to the people he served. From the time of his arrival at the lakeside, in 1882, until his death in 1928, he resisted any attempt to impose European ideas and ideals upon the people. On the contrary, although rendered nearly blind during his first years in Africa, he devoted a lifetime to translating the Bible and commentaries into the native languages. He lived as an African, sharing the hardships and dangers of a life spent as a member of a primitive community, and acquiring a knowledge of the lifestyle and languages of the lakeside people which no other member of the Universities Mission was ever to equal.

The Archdeacon was to become an enigmatic figure. At different periods of his mission he was seen in vastly different lights by different groups of people.

Throughout his time in Nyasaland he lived and worked in the style of a latter day John the Baptist, wandering through the wilderness teaching and preaching. By the Africans, and those first members of Central African Anglican Church, he was loved and venerated as their founding father, and regarded as an ever present friend, to whom they could turn for help and advice as they began the foundation of their Christian church. By his brother missionaries of other denominations his innate goodwill to all men was recognised and valued. His friendship with Dr. Laws, of the Free Church of Scotland

Mission, who regarded the Archdeacon as a Christian hero, endured for half a century. Further, in the latter part of the First World War, when the German missionaries in what is now Tanzania, were obliged to abandon their stations, they urged their converts to place themselves in the care of the Archdeacon. At home, the supporters of the Mission honoured him as the sole survivor of, and link with, those pioneers who had sacrificed all to establish the Universities Mission in Central Africa. His phenomenal success as a fund raiser for the Mission is evidence of his tremendous reputation and popularity in Britain.

On the other hand, during the last decades of his service in Nyasaland, he found it difficult to come to terms with the changing attitudes and ideas not only of those who led the Mission, but with many of his fellow workers. Gradually, this led to the Archdeacon experiencing a growing sense of isolation from his fellow missionaries.

He was to serve under seven Bishops; Edward Steere, Charles Smythies and Chauncy Maples all worked in empathy with him, all having shared the same pioneering experiences. They too had made exploratory journeys inland from Zanzibar, witnessed at first hand the horrors of the slave trade, and had known Central Africa as it was before European colonisation changed it for ever. The death of Bishop Maples, therefore, marked the end of an era for the Archdeacon, for, after 1895, he was never again to have as his superior a man to whom he could relate well.

The underlying cause of the growing chasm between the Archdeacon and his later superiors, Bishops Hine, Trower and Fisher, was that they did not share the Archdeacon's total commitment to all that was African. The Bishops of the twentieth century were not chosen for their suitability for epic pioneering feats. Such men were no longer needed by the Mission; their day had passed. Bishop Trower, as has been previously noted, was appointed because he was thought to be a good business man. It is not surprising, therefore, that these later Bishops had little enthusiasm for the Archdeacon's methods. In particular, they regarded his translation work as totally

irrelevant, finding the use of the native tongues tiresome. They abandoned the Mission's earlier policy of teaching the Africans through the medium of their own language, and encouraged the use of English by their students. This shift in policy was also evident at home, where, in the later years, those who recruited new workers for Central Africa attached no importance to their being able, or willing to learn, to speak the African languages. The Archdeacon was totally opposed to this.

Nor did the later Bishops approve of the Archdeacon sharing living quarters with the Africans. They were quite happy for the Mission staff to live apart from the local population, in the European style houses the Archdeacon so despised. Those new recruits who attempted to work alongside him soon found that they were not able or willing to endure his spartan lifestyle, and total commitment to the blending of his missionary presence and work with local culture and habits.

Furthermore, the growth of the Mission inevitably meant that a bureaucracy developed, and the Bishops and Clergy were obliged to devote as much of their time to administration as to mission. This the Archdeacon found irksome, as he placed little importance upon the keeping of records. In addition, there had been a profound change in the way the Mission conducted its financial affairs. Whereas in the early days the Archdeacon and his fellow pioneers could rely upon kind friends at home to supply, or make an appeal for, whatever the Mission needed, he seemed unable to realise that the Mission had grown to such an extent as to make it impossible to operate without having a rigid fiscal policy, and he found it impossible to operate within the bounds of the financial constraints imposed upon him.

Another source of conflict between the Archdeacon and his Bishops was the use of the steamers. All the later Bishops had reservations about their efficacy as mission boats, and grave doubts about being able to justify the expenditure upon their operating costs. In 1918, following her requisition and use upon war work, the "*Chauncy Maples*" was not returned to the Archdeacon for use as a floating mission station, but was used as a communications and transport vessel for the benefit of the mission as a whole. This

was notwithstanding that she was purchased by public subscription solely for use as a mission ship.

The Archdeacon did not always approve of the type of men recruited by the mission in the later years. In particular, he seems to have regarded Ordinands of the S. Peter and S. Paul Missionary College as second class. These men were ordained to work only in overseas Missions, and the Archdeacon would have preferred to see the Mission staffed exclusively by recruits from Oxford and Cambridge, as had been the case when the Mission was first formed. He seemed unaware of the vast social changes which had taken place in British society during the fifty-two years he had served in Africa. When he first left Britain Disraeli was Prime Minister, and Victoria had yet to be made Empress of India. He had remained in a mid-nineteenth century time warp, whilst the Mission had no alternative but to move into a new age, served by recruits who were the products of a new society.

Those matters of policy which led to the lack of empathy between the Archdeacon and his later Bishops provide some evidence that the Universities Mission, unlike the Archdeacon, whilst not acting as an agent for imperialism, may have acted as an agent for the spread of European ideas and ideals in Central Africa. The differences between the Archdeacon and his later Bishops, in essence, arose from the Mission's move away from its unique African based simplicity into a European style complexity and, although the Mission never entered into commercial ventures, during the latter period of the Archdeacon's life, it nevertheless took on a more "European" aura. After 1918, the approach of the "Chauncy Maples" no longer heralded for the lakeside people the arrival of its pioneer Priest, a Teacher and possibly a nurse, but evidenced that the *business* of the Universities Mission was in progress.

In a very real sense the Mission may have been a victim of its own success, for as it prospered and the years passed, so it was inevitable that aspirations of the men and women who joined it would change. Further, the gradual move away from all that was African was perhaps unavoidable following the arrival of white colonials, for,

thereafter, the Mission no longer served the African population exclusively. Indeed, by January 1900 the Archdeacon felt the need to comment upon the detrimental effect upon African Christians of witnessing the more elaborate ritual which was then being adopted in those station churches used by the Europeans. The Archdeacon warned against the danger of such differences leading the native people to believe that all that was European must be superior. In this respect the year 1911 must be regarded as a watershed for, from this time, the Church in Nyasaland became possessed of a Cathedral the size of Winchester and so the Nyasa people came to have in their midst one huge symbol of European culture, which, incidentally, was not at all suited to the rigours visited upon it by the insect population and the climate of Nyasaland.

Nevertheless, the Universities Mission which represented the response of High Church Anglicanism to Livingstone's call for a missionary presence in Central Africa, did successfully carry out the great endeavour it was formed to undertake. The U.M.C.A., which was unique in that it was formed to serve only one specific area of the world, was to exist for just over a century, losing its separate identity in 1965 upon amalgamation with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. An examination of the life of William Percival Johnson, therefore, provides a considerable insight into the work of the Universities Mission during the most momentous years of its existence. The ultimate evidence of its success must lie in the fact that the successors in title of those released slaves who were trained to become the first Priests and teachers of the Anglican Church in Malawi have not rejected the work of their founding fathers. Rather, they have placed the names of Bishop Mackenzie, William Percival Johnson and others, upon their roll of honour, in their Calendar of Saints.

As for William Percival Johnson himself, at the end of the twentieth century he is still referred to by the members of the Anglican Church of Malawi as the "*Apostle of Malawi*". Of his honoured place in the history of that country's Anglican Church there can be no doubt. Of The Venerable William Percival Johnson, D.D. it could well be said:-

**On the nations sunk in night
Ye have shed the Gospel light
Distant lands with one acclaim
Tell the honour of your name,
Who wherever man has trod
Teach the mysteries of God.³²³**

³²³ *Hymn - "Caelestis aulae principes". J.B. Santeuill. Tr. Sir W.H. Baker.*

APPENDICES

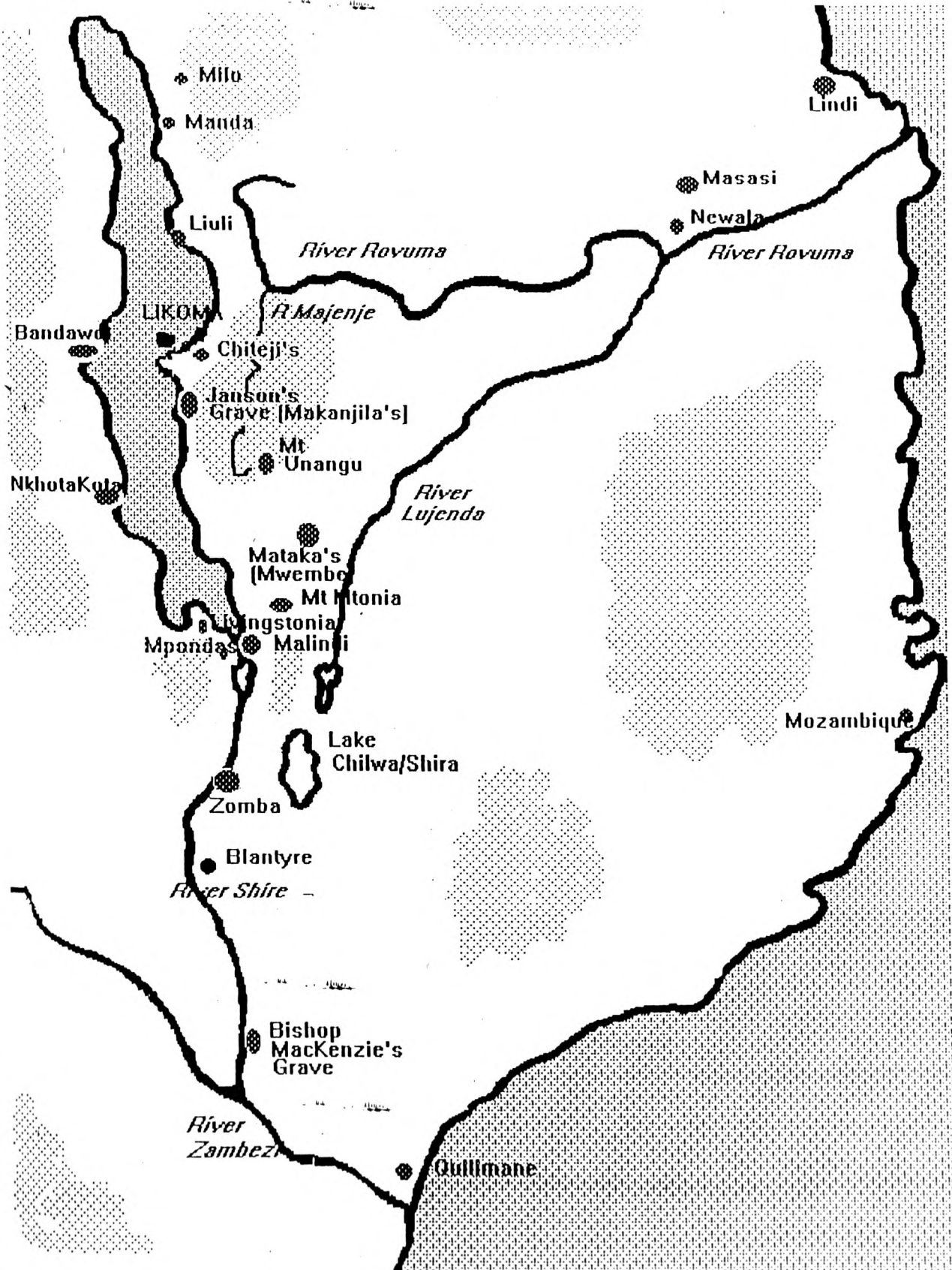
APPENDIX 1

FREED SLAVES RECEIVED BY UMCA							
IN ZANZIBAR - 1864/1888							
YEAR	ADULTS	MALES	FEMALE	BOYS	GIRLS	CHILD	TOTAL
1864				6			6
1865				4		13	17
1866				2	1		3
1867				4	2		6
1868				14			14
Missing							0
1873				1			1
1874		13	19	8	4		44
1875	48						48
1876	132	12	2	12			158
1877	20	26	33	2	3		84
1878		44	34			1	79
1879	2	5	6	1	1		15
1880	14	50	51	29	15	4	163
1881	19	53	42	12	5	5	136
1882		8	17	11	8		44
1883				28	11		39
1884				9	10		19
1885		3		1	1		5
1886			1	1		1	3
1887					1		1
1888	2	4	4	7	6	1	24
TOTAL	237	218	209	152	68	25	909

Statistics compiled by the writer from the hand-written Mission Diary in Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Box A1 (VA)











APPENDIX 2

LAKE NYASA AND THE COAST
TOGETHER WITH THE PRINCIPAL LOCATIONS
MENTIONED IN THE TEXT



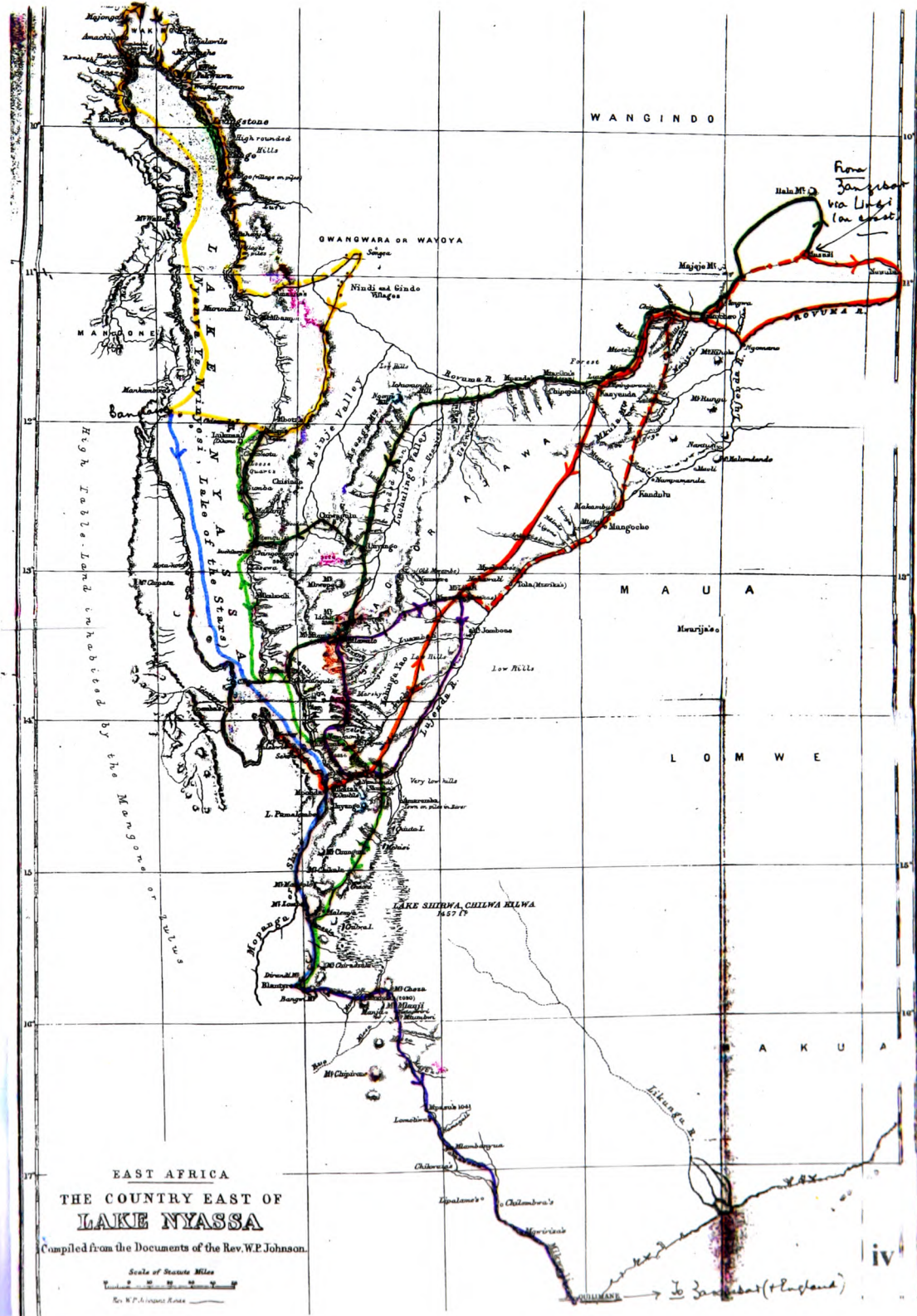
LAKE NYASA AND W.P. JOHNSON'S JOURNEYS 1880-1883.

- K E Y -

-  First expedition (1880) ending in base at Matakas.
-  Circular exploration from Matakas.
-  Journey to Livingstonia (Monkey Bay) for medical treatment, with return to Matakas.
-  Return journey from Matakas to Masasi along varied route from forward journey.
-  Second expedition (1882) striking eastern shore of lake at Makanjila, continuing north to base at Chitesi.
-  Journey (by water) (S.S. Itala : African Lakes Company) to Kalonga, thence overland, in unsuccessful search for Nyaka-Nyaka people to northeast.
-  Return overland (500 mile round trip) to Chitesi; and across lake to Bandawe for medical treatment (Scottish Mission).
-  Journey (by water) to Livingstonia thence by River Shire to Blantyre, where order to return to England to report, received.
-  Diversion (before obeying order) on expedition overland to southernmost part of area visited on First Expedition (1880); and thence (by water) to Chitesi, terminal point of Second Expedition (1882) i.e., before northern "excursion"; returning finally, by boat, to Blantyre.
-  Journey overland to Quilimaine, where boat joined for Zanzibar and thence to England (and Wales, notably, Aberdare).

APPENDIX 3

JOHNSON'S MISSIONARY JOURNEYS



APPENDIX 4

(Transcript of a Document in Brixham Museum Records)

THE BLACK BOYS

Now I would like to say a little more of the work that was still carried on in the Rev. A.G. Stallard's time, until the year of 1901 when he was separated from his work amongst us here at St. Peters. Going back to our Guilds, which was started in the early days of his work, we had no hall belonging to your church, so we used to meet at the Wardens house and used his drawing-roo, for the purpose. Of course we found it very inconvenient, .especially as we grew in numbers. So we had a large hall built close to his house which would hold about 70 of us - this hall we called the Guild Room This hall we found very useful, besides meeting there for our Guild meetings, it was opened to us when in from the sea. At any time we could go and play bagatelle and many other little games, or have a smoke and a chat. We used to hold our Guild meetings, the mens and the lads once a week after evensong on Sat evenings, the Women's guild would be held in the week. We found our meetings very interesting and helpful. We were about 70 members belonging to our Guild in the year 1865.

At one of our meetings our Warden said that he had received a letter from a priest up country saying that a Rev P. Johnson ('Archdeacon' as we always called him) had arrived in England from Central Africa and had brought three African boys with him and he would like to put these boys in some seaport town whilst he was in England. During which time he was appealing for a steamer to be built, to be taken to Africa and when she was built and ready he would return and take the Africans with him, there to work on Like Nyasa, so; he wanted to know if it was possible he could bring the boys here at Brixham and be taken to sea to learn something of the sea and the management of a ship. I must say up to now we had never heard of the University Mission to Central Africa. After the Warden had read the letter to us he expressed his willingness to have these boys at his house to clothe, feed and to keep them when on shore. But he wanted to know about taking them to sea? So after a little talk it was decided among our members, we had several skippers of the smacks they sailed, so at once one of the skippers said he would take one, and the another offered to take another. and then another offered to take the third, so there and then was settled that our Warden should write and say it was quite settled - they could come.

Our Reverends house was not large enough to accommodate these boys so he had another room built. At our next Guild meeting we were informed the time and day they would be coming to Brixham. This would be on the following Saturday & that was very convenient for us, as in those days we fishermen would be always in on Saturday mornings to finish our weeks fishing to be in on Sundays.

On the day appointed myself and my chum had finished our work and arranged to meet them I remember quite well, we were sitting on the chains at the bottom of Overgang Hill which was close to the Harbour, waiting for them. In these times our harbour were

generally full of fishing smacks as there were not room for them all on the outer moorings, where there were about a hundred and fifty. It was about twelve o'clock when we saw the Rev Stallard with the Archdeacon Johnson and the three black-boys coming down the hill which leads from the Railway Station. We at once got up to meet them, there face to face. to see a picture we never forgot, a man who had spent so many years in Central Africa, looking completely worn out by that climate and its hardships which he had undergone. There we were to shake hands with him, which we thought quite an honour. He at once introduced us to the three Africans which was to be our comrades and friends for a year or so until the steamer was built and ready to go to Africa.

Of course the Africans were very shy and seemed very much afraid of us. Just then they could not understand a word of English but the Archdeacon put that right, as he was able to talk to them in their own language. After our introduction the Archdeacon wanted to take these boys on board of a fishing smack, to show them the different parts, and to explain to them how and where we lived on board when at sea, and to impress upon them their future for the time they would be here and the kind of life we had to undergo.

So; at once I went off on board of a smack that was along side of the quay (she was called the Lizzie Grant) as we fishermen knew one another so well. I saw the skipper with his crew fixing a new trawl on the deck so I asked him if he would mind letting the Archdeacon and the boys come on board and take them about the ship to have a good look around, he at once said 'you bring them on board and show them anything they wish to see' as he knew I quite understood about the ship being a fisherman myself.

I soon went ashore and brought them along, taking them all around her and pointing out to the Archdeacon the different parts and what we used it for, where we fed and slept, cooked our food and kept our fish, how we caught it and how things were done in general. All this the Archdeacon explained to the boys.

After we had finished our surveying everything the Archdeacon was very pleased and he wished to thank the Skipper for his kindness. As I have pointed out before, the crew were busy on the deck fixing their new trawl of course all fresh tarred that meant their hands all covered with tar! We went forward to the skipper and the Archdeacon thanked him and while there we always said the Archdeacon preached his first sermon in Brixham!

After thanking the skipper he explained to them his reason for bringing these Africans to England. That whilst he was tramping around the shores of the great lake Nyasa in Central Africa, which meant hundreds of miles, he came to the conclusion that the only way to get in touch with the great numbers of people around those shores was by having a steamboat. So he came back to England to ask the people of this country to help him to get this steamboat and he brought the three Africans to learn something of seafaring life, as they might be a help to him when returning to Africa with his boat. Also his desire was that a fisherman from Brixham would offer himself to go out with him to skipper the steamboat when ready. At once one answered that he would go, without

thinking what it all meant, the Archdeacon was quite proud of the ready answer. Then came the vital question, of course the man asked the Archdeacon. 'What would be the pay?' After a short pause the Archdeacon said 'he was sorry but he could offer no pay as the Mission was worked for love.' Of course the contract was soon concluded. The Archdeacon thanked them again and we departed from the ship to the shore again.

After this we left our friends and the Rev Stallard took the Archdeacon and the boys to his house at Ranscombe House, which was situated on the outskirts of the town on the Berryhead Road (on the Mudstone side). When we left them on the quay we promised that we would come out to Ranscombe House after dinner to try and make friends with the Africans and take them for a walk through the lanes, which was then clear of the town, so different now, at present they are full of new houses which has been built of late.



So, after dinner, some half a dozen of us went to Ranscombe House and with the Archdeacons consent we took the three Africans for this walk. They were very shy of us at first and rather afraid, as they were watching the high hedges nearly all the time and not being able to talk to them made it all the worse. They seemed to be thinking we might have some wild beast about, as they have seen in Africa. We strolled along the lanes to the coast towards Berryhead, keeping them going for about a couple of hours and then returned home again with them, as they seemed to have had quite enough for the one walk and glad to get back with the Archdeacon which they looked upon as their guardian.

As these boys were not baptised, they retained their heathen names. The eldest was Amessy, Manweary and Gomany . I do not know the meaning, but that is what we called them by. So we left them and went home to our tea.

As I have described before, we always had some beautiful services on Saturday evenings, which we always looked forward to and the Archdeacon after the services gave us a nice address in the school-room (which was adjoining the church) to a large congregation and also made a great appeal for a Brixham trawler to go back to Africa with him when the steamer was built and ready.

During the service and meeting, the Africans were left home at the Reverends house with two of our fishermen for company, and had full charge of the Drawing-room with

plenty of picture-books to amuse them and each trying to understand each other!

So the first evening passed off alright. The next morning the Archdeacon celebrated in our little church at 8 a.m. and was with us at all our services through the day. All this made a strong impression on our congregation and it became quite a thinking and praying matter that one of our brothers might have a call to go to Africa. Which came to pass in time, our brother Skipper George Sherriff was the first to accept this call to the Lake Nyasa.

When Monday morning came our three black-boys went off to sea, for their first voyage in their separate smacks. Amessey went with Skipper Sherriff in the smack called the Telegram. and Manweary with Skipper Elleazer Johnson in smack Competition, the other Gomany, with Skipper George James in the smack Ahhriel. So the Archdeacon Johnson left on the Monday. leaving the three boys in the care of the Rev. A.G.Stallard and these men (who was their skippers) and with the help of our Mens Guild to do their part when at sea or on shore and when-ever the smacks were in, either on Saturdays or when it was blowing hard.

The Rev. Stallard's home was the boys home - to feed them and he also clothed them - and there were always a couple of our men that would go out to the house for company or try to interest them, especially when the Reverend and his family would be at Evensong. The hardest time for the boys would be on Sundays during the services, as we were so much them that they us so much, for we very soon got such intimate friends.

As time went on they greatly wanted to know what became of us on Sundays, we told them that we went to Church, so they wanted to know if they could go with us. Of course we told the Rev Stallard of their question. This at once became a difficulty to him as he could not settle this himself knowing they were not baptized so at once he wrote to the Archdeacon and told him, and receiving the reply the Archdeacon said - that they might go to church and sit at the back of the church, he also wished that they not be taken through the town: so we took them through the country lanes which lead to our church and at that time it was a very nice walk clear of the general public. This went on for months in the winter season.

After a consultation with the Bishop and staff they sent him at once to England and he brought three native boys with him that he got from the lake-shore villages. He told us that he had had a difficult job to get them to come

Going back to our native boys of Africa. In 1888, late in the year, Archdeacon Johnson had got hi steam boat built and shipped on board one of the Donelburry's liners. All packed in packages of about 56 lbs. in weight because when it reached Africa it had to be carried by the natives about 200 miles overland to reach the lake Nyasa, to be fitted together by the lakeside.

So the Archdeacon came to fetch the native boys, and took them to London to join the same liner that was taking the pieces of the steamboat for Africa. In those days the

mailboats called at Dartmouth, about four and a half miles from here, on their voyage out, and also on their return journey. We found out the time she would be calling there, about one o'clock in the morning, so the Rev. Stallard and a dozen of us, with the Archdeacon and Brother Cannon Johnson of Llandaff College, started off from here about 6.30 a.m. and walked to Kingswear as there were no trains to fix us up in those days. Arriving at Kingswear we hired two boats to row off to the mailboat which was already moored to the buoys for that purpose. So we rowed off around the ship which seemed to be crowded with passengers. There amongst them were the Archdeacon and his natives looking over the side; but to our surprise instead of three boys there was four and we couldn't understand the meaning of the fourth, until we asked Cannon Johnson. Then he told us the story of how the archdeacon came to be with the fourth.

This native was travelling with a Circus company and was at Cardiff. By some means he got to know that the Archdeacon was going to Africa and some friends found out that this native boy greatly wanted to get back to his own country and between them the Archdeacon arranged to take him back with the other three, on the understanding that he was to work for the Mission for a period when he got there to help pay a part of the expenses of taking him and we learned afterwards he did so. and whilst working for the Mission on the lake he was, one that was taken by his own countrymen and killed for the sake of the Mission.

(...)

During the Archdeacons visit to England he paid us a few visits to Brixham and always pleaded

for a fisherman to come to Africa, there to work and manage this steamer, the Charles Janson, and during this time there was one preparing to offer himself for this work, this was Skipper George Sherriff and after the boat was launched in Africa, Sherriff was ready to go. One of our own Guild of St. Peters and I well remember what a lovely send-off we gave him. Our women's guild set to work and made him many useful things that he would be wanting, in Africa, The day he was leaving here, we had such a beautiful service of thanksgiving that one of our own fishermen was called too do such great work for his master so he went off with our prayers and wishes that God would help and protect him in all his doings.

Our devoted priest went with him to London to see him off, as he was most careful in helping our brother to prepare himself for the great sacrifice he was making, as it proved to be after four and a half years of work on that great lake in Central Africa. During this period he had one furlow after the first three years, and after returning again for his second term (about a year and a half) he had fever so bad that he passed to his rest. There to be laid on the island of Likoma, the first Brixham man to rest on the spot he had learned to love so much. To be followed by yet another of our fishermen who would lay by his side on the same spot - Harry Partridge.

During this period here another call came from Africa and two more of our fishermen offered themselves for service on Lake Nyasa, their names was Harry Partridge and Alfred Brimicombe. These two served their apprenticeship fishing and were about 24

years of age. They were both accepted and sailed for Lake Nyassa, there to take charge of the new steamer "Chauncy Maples", that had been sent out from England to relieve the Charles Janson. A much bigger one and was named after the first Bishop of Likoma, which was drowned before reaching the island, on the same lake that he loved so much. There these two young fishermen worked on the lake for just over two years, then they were sent home to England on furlow. After spending about six months here they again sailed for Africa to go on with the work. Harry Partridge taking charge of the steamer and Alf Brimicombe went on shore to help in the lay-work with the natives. After they had been out about a year Harry Partridge went down with a very bad fever and passed away on the main-land, and was taken to the island Likoma, and then, laid beside the first skipper, George Sheriff, in the little churchyard in the island. His chum Alf Brimicombe remained to do his best for the Mission, until his time to return to England again, about two years. He did not return to Africa again but is still working in the Bristol Channel as a pilot and doing what he can for the Mission.

APPENDIX 5

NOTES ON MISSION METHOD By W. P. J. (1899)

Taken from "Johnson of Nyasaland"
by B.H. Barnes. (Pp.131-140)

My Dear Lord Bishop

Barnes asks me to write out some heads of our system in mainland villages. I have done so hurriedly, and, as it seems at the same time a sketch of what we are doing, it seems only honest to shew it to you.

Yours ever obediently, W. P. JOHNSON."

Axioms

1. No system any good without Our Lord, the flesh profiteth nothing. When ye are weak then are ye strong. Not by might nor by Power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord of Hosts
2. Consistency better *ceteris payibus* than inconsistency.
3. Better to act as if one believed the Christian teaching in the Church to be true.
4. The proclamation of the Kingdom is in general quite a different object from the instruction of catechumens; it must precede in theory, and, in general, actually and in time, though it may be renewed with good effect.
5. One cannot safely ignore a man's connexions, especially his family and bringing up, in considering how we ought to approach him.
6. To use native agents and native elements of life as far as possible with a view to growth of native character.

IN APPROACHING NEW VILLAGE

Most important to realize you are regarded (a) as an outcast, or (b) as the member of a society, tribe, etc. So your object

- (1)¹ to proclaim our Lord's Kingdom. This primarily, as in His sight, any intellectual effect on people very subordinate, so particular form of words a subordinate consideration, if we really speak of Him and as sent under Him.
2. To endeavour in all things to act consistently with claim to be of His Church, not only in personal action but in all connected with one.

Probably in most villages much has already been learnt correctly or incorrectly of your society, family, etc.

If wise you do not shirk this consideration of our tribe and company, you rather emphasize it as the instrument of the Lord.

Those then who are drawn towards you and yours through the Word are invited to come for regular instruction, to learn who the Lord is and, a great part of that knowledge, what His Church was and is.

As our natural origin becomes more and more known so this instruction and, what is its essential accompaniment, the life must have in part a negative side. An Mzungu's Lord is supposed to be an Mzungu², the tribe of which we speak an Mzungu tribe. Later an Englishman's Lord is supposed to be the Queen, the tribe of which we speak an English tribe.

No lie is so dangerous as a half-truth and so here we need the greatest circumspection if we are to teach men to bring their family life to God ; we must be true Englishmen and loyal subjects but this must not dim the reality of our tribe the Church, and our Lord the Christ.

From O.T. times we can teach that people ought first to rest in the gate of the Church and not to enter hurriedly. When a teacher first goes to a place, very much, if not all, for good and bad depends on the knot gathering round him. Surely if he and his companion, possibly his wife, and a few others who have come from elsewhere worship, it is good for those who have been admitted to the gate as catechumens after more than a year's instruction as to the nature and origin and moral law of the Church to share in worship as far as they may. Hence, they have been admitted to matins and evensong (and the *Missa Catechumenorum*) under certain important limitations.

¹ *The brackets around the first number, and their absence from the second, are an example of the Archdeacon's idiosyncratic style of writing.*

² *Mzungu = European*

1. Youths up people who ought to be working are not called to matins (nor to the Missa Catechumenorum except on Sundays or after a long absence of the priest);
2. Schoolboys or others working close to the church so that they can attend without breaking up their work are invited to attend. It seems most important not to interfere with the duties of life, most important for all to pray as near sunrise as possible, as all the elder people go to hoe before sunrise.

Objection - Matins and evensong are meant for Christians only.

This is met

- (1) by saying the Absolution and Lord's Prayer in a low voice clearly meant to reach the Christians only - and the Glorias the same, or if sung then sung in Swahili or English.
- (2) By the catechumens going out before the Creed.

It is not meant that intelligent catechumens cannot hear or follow these parts so said, but they are reminded in this way of what they are told elsewhere, that they are still only in the gate, not yet admitted to the Church.

Further, the objection has been yielded in theory by the late adoption the Part of the objectors themselves of a short form of the present for the use of catechumens with Christians, where the petitions are offered to our Lord as God and so, in a great part of them at any rate, assume the Mystery of the Incarnation.

The catechumens are admitted to the Missa Catechumenorum, in which it is proposed to insert the Litany as above. We have not had an Introit, as we long to have words that the people can follow but this ought to be.

The Lord's Prayer ought to be said in a low voice as above.

It is a grave question how far the catechumens can find benefit from prayers together apart from the Church their sharing as far as possible in the blessing around the worship of the Church seems equally to be desired and appreciated by them.

(N.B.- In any big mainland station duplicate services for catechumens alone would be practically difficult and often lead to more instead of less of the whipper-snapper class making others pray ["kusalika" as they say].)³

³ *"The Archdeacon had a great horror of any system that produced too large a percentage of smart young schoolboys unblushingly setting themselves up as teachers to lead the Christian congregation in a village. He wished to have elder teachers to lead the Christian congregation who carried weight by their age and*

If we now look at a developed station we should find:

1. Communicants' Register carefully kept. If possible priest to go through it after any feast day, and note more or less cause of absence (e.g. at Msumba this has been done for six to seven years, and also at Chia, but there the book has been lost by the teacher).

(N.B.-Sad need of further instruction of Christians. Most important to utilize every opportunity for instruction in points of the Faith, until we have some more organized classes.)

In view of the scattering of the population⁴ and the consequent infrequency of all assembling together we try and impress on Christians the importance of coming to church on Saturday evening, so as

- (1) to prepare for Holy Communion, if possible
- (2) for some course of regular instruction.

Unconfirmed:

- (1) those lately baptized
- (2) those who have not, owing to absence or misconduct, been confirmed before.

Teacher takes these twice a week in historical part, and in Catechism of Confirmation; the priest three or more times on spiritual side, besides treating the subject in addresses in church.

(N.B.-Old Catechism very disjointed and obscure, now I hope better adapted to purpose. So also Catechism for Eucharist.)

Catechumens:

- (1) From admission to season immediately before baptism (as Advent before Christmas, Lent before Easter, forty days before Pentecost).
- (2) During season before baptism after they have been separated for that purpose.

position and not merely by book-learning." Barnes. "Johnson of Nyasaland" p.134.

⁴ *Population scattered as a result of the end of slaving activities - when slaving was rife, the African natives lived in large villages sheltered behind a stockade for mutual protection. With the end of the slave trade, they felt safe and could spread out over the countryside and lakeside.*

1. (a) To be tested in life as catechumens.
- (b) To be taught Gospel for the Sundays.
 - (a) At Missa Catechumenorum on Sundays.
 - (b) One other day in week.

(N.B.- At Msumba and elsewhere the teacher takes them in the Gospel after the Ante-Communion Office.)

2. To be taught in questions on the Creed, leading up to the mystery of the Trinity.

(N.B.- Evening before Baptism on proper use of Baptismal Office; at Eucharist before Baptism explicitly on the Blessed Trinity and Trine Immersion.)

(N.B.-Office for admitting catechumens to be used at general outdoor preaching on Sunday [or other day if necessary] as below. MAIN points of the Office of Admission. The Promises expected.)

We make a great point of five points they are to observe:

- (1) Prayer morning and evening. They are taught and have to recite such Prayers.
- (2) Honouring of marriage, this explained at length in instruction both to married and unmarried.
- (3) Work six days a week as matter of obligation.
- (4) Worship together with Church on the Lord's Day.
- (5) Coming one other day to the Mission for instruction.

(N.B.-All this proves Possible under our new circumstances, now that the people are scattered, as well as at Blantyre, etc., to a great extent.)

Hearers - This includes those who have come forward to be written down.

They ought to come to the outdoor meeting on Sunday, and to go through its teaching afterwards, also one other day in the week, when the Sunday lesson should be taken again.

As a year draws to an end if they have proved fairly keen (as proved by attendances relatively) they are taught the prayers referred to above for catechumens; also the Ten Commandments in a form suggested by Mr. Dale's book on the Ten Commandments as bringing out their application here - this as subordinate and preparative to use of the Commandments in the *Missa Catechumenorum*.

They are also taught explicitly that the Old Testament lessons lead up to our Lord and centre in Him, so they answer the first question (in the Office for Admission of Catechumens) " I wish to be taught all the words of Jesus Christ, and to receive Holy Baptism," that is, full admission to His Society.

It is to be hoped that all this is more or less a body in evidence before the heathen

world, so again we aim at having a thoroughly outside preaching on Sunday. Too often this is in Mission buildings which is to be deprecated, as the outside world do not like to be "run in" as it seems to them. Let us try to find a suitable shady tree, common ground for all, and to this lately we have invited Christians as well as catechumens, hearers and all in the village some time after the early service (Eucharist or in absence of priest Ante-Communion service taken by teacher). We have sung the Venite (Christians and Catechumens only standing, omitting the Gloria), then the First Sunday Lesson, omitting heads of chapters etc., as far as possible making it intelligible to the people and reading "Lord" for the Divine Name.

Then exposition of the O.T. lesson (given us, observe, by the Church).

- (a) on the lines of tracing the origin, history, moral laws and customs of the Church.
- (b) endeavouring to teach the history of individuals, etc., as the Holy Scriptures do, not to drive out these lessons by drawing morals.
- (c.) the application to a great extent to rest in the fact that we Christians and catechumens are speaking of our fathers, our tribe, our God; and pressing those around to agree to the conditions for joining us. Then Christians and catechumens form two and two and sing a well-known hymn, "The Lord is my Shepherd," and so move off to the church for matins.

(N.B.-One teacher remains writing down any new candidates to be hearers, and then takes the hearers in the same subject asking questions on it.)

The Christians and catechumens enter the church and have portion of Litany as approved by the Bishop; then the Second Lesson with or without address ; then Benedictus, catechumens going out at the Gloria, then as on other days, only saying (in addition) the prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men and the Thanksgiving.

(N.B.-The people seem willing to stop for this and it makes a more adequate provision for worship on Sundays than the Celebration alone.)

In the afternoon the teacher takes a children's service the difficulty has been in the varied elements: (1) a few Christians, (2) a few catechumens, (3) a heathen. Sometimes the Scripture taught in the week has been taken. Sometimes Miss W.'s Catechism. (Some catechisms are open to grave objection.) Often hymns are sung.

We always aim at visiting some little gathering-place in the village to reach the elders who, alas, do not generally come to the organized preaching, and in these meetings one must speak as one finds opportunity.

Their own boys, singing hymns which they cannot understand a bit, will soften the hearts of these elders, who may resent the overdress of these youngsters. It may help qua Proclamation of Kingdom.

SUMMARY OF SUNDAY WORK

1.⁵ Eucharist (or Ante-Communion in priest's absence).

7 a.m. Late on Sunday on purpose.

(Catechumens taken afterwards in the Gospel. Better, not so, but it is a common custom.)

9 a.m. "Mzungu's" breakfast. The bell should be sent out to call villagers to next service. (In some places the bell was a drum.)

9.30-10. Sunday preaching under tree as above. Procession to church. Matins and Litany. Hearers' Class finished. Lunch according to means and fancy.

3-4. Catechizing. (If all or most are Christians it is best to take the Church Catechism.)

Outside preaching.

7 p.m. Evensong - preaching.

(Catechumens dismissed as usual.)

Every day it is well to return to church after evensong for any who wish to see you. All who do so must sit down in orderly manner at end of church and keep still till their turn comes.

SUMMARY OF WEEK CLASSES

(any amount of local variation)

Hearers.

On Sunday and one other day at least, men and women to be taken together. When the year is up some are separated off and form another class often taken frequently for instruction in Ten Commandments, Prayers, and Answers to Admission Office.

These should at end of year have some ideas of the history of the Chosen People down to our Lord's Coming; should be more or less familiar with their worship of One God, their Ten Commandments, the Old Covenant, and with the fact that Abraham, Moses, etc., were not simply Wazungu.

The Church begins to loom out a very little, even possibly our Lord is not quite an empty name, nor a "boma" official (Government).

Behind all this outward routine the pith of the matter is in the lives of the teachers, the Christians and Catechumens - hence the reality of the work of shepherding.

⁵ *Although this begins with number (1), it will noted that there is no number (2). This again is typical of the Archdeacon's style of writing.*

Catechumens.

Class once a week as above. Another class at special times for those immediately under instruction for baptism ; the Questions then taught aim at bringing out the true issues involved in this declaration of a new Faith.

All boys in school are taught Genesis, Samuel or other simple historical book as translated; the very difficulties of the system seem to me advantages over the fatal facility of teaching Catechisms to the uninitiated.

Christians and catechumens should be taught one of the Gospels, the Acts and I Corinthians at the same time separately.

Great care ought to be taken in admitting schoolboys as catechumens or for Baptism. At Likoma, at least formerly, no boy was made a catechumen till he had been resident two years; elsewhere while the attraction was less, the discipline was less, a year's attendance has been a minimum.⁶

Considerations on admitting:

- (1) a Hearer; anyone who offers is written down as a hearer.
- (2) a Catechumen After a year, sometimes two years or three years, and due instruction as above.

We consider

- (a) if candidate is a schoolboy, has he been regular for a year and we ascertain if he is engaged.
- (b) if he is adult, is his or her position as to marriage known. If married, to whom?

If he is married to more than one wife since he has been accessible to Mission teaching, then certainly he is not admitted; if polygamist from old times and otherwise earnest, the case is referred to the Bishop.

If the candidate is single, why? especially in case of a woman who may be living in the greatest temptation owing to claims, etc., on her; she ought to be helped to face these questions before binding herself with new promises.

⁶ *"One of W.P.J.'s ruling ideas was that a busy European centre, like a Mission station, was a tremendous disturbance of the natural conditions and he was constantly on guard against the danger of mistaking the pull of self-interest for the real desire to learn about our Lord. Consequently, he wished to keep all Mission Stations down to the minimum and as far as possible to avoid making them centres of employment of natives and for buying their produce. Latterly, I think, he came to see that his ideal was not practical and was indeed a little Partingtonian". Barnes. "Johnson of Nyasaland". P.138.*

Again, as to work, have they work ?

- (a) if schoolboys are they regular ?
- (b) if adults how many fields have they, etc. ?

What is their general character with the elders of the Church ?

Baptism

- (a) Infants.
Boys, if their father and mother are Christians and heartily wish it, as they generally do. Witnesses as in Prayer Book preferably Communicants. They arrange all this with the teacher ; if it is not properly done, the baptism is deferred, but this is rarely necessary.

Girls, as these have been habitually taken off to the initiation dances without any consultation of priest or teacher and often against their wish, we have been afraid to baptize girl infants.

(N .B.-Boys were not initiated at Msumba, and it was given up at Chisanga and more or less north of those places.)

Some teachers' girl infants have been baptized on the maternal uncle's⁷ agreeing to promise that she should not be initiated, as the Father's position and the uncle's consent seemed some guarantee.

Now we seem to be making some advance, as these Christian parents and the maternal uncles who agree that their girls should not take part in the initiation dance of their village at all, but should pay the mat, etc., customarily paid to the chief of the village, have at Chisanga entered their names and if we can get five or six in a village so to agree we can trust them to support each other and so keep their Children from sharing in the predominantly heathen rite. If we have five or six such entries we can baptize the girls.⁸

⁷ *"The maternal uncle in native custom among these people has real authority, the father practically none". Barnes. "Johnson of Nyasaland". P.139.*

⁸ *"It will be observed that the Archdeacon does not give any countenance to the ideas of attempting to Christianize the heathen ceremonies. This is not because the idea had not yet been put forward but because where it had been suggested, the native clergy and teachers were dead against it for the most part." Barnes. "Johnson of Nyasaland" p.139.*

POINTS TO LOOK TO ON VISITING A STATION

From the above it is of the greatest importance as well to prevent hasty admission as to do justice to regular attendance, that

- A. (1) Hearers' register should be kept properly, names clearly written, date at top of column, month, year, etc., and class, whether men's, women's, etc.
- (2) Catechumens' Register, with date of admission, name of wife or husband, etc.
- (3) Communicants' Registers.
- (4) School Registers.
- B. Service Books, especially

O.T. Lessons for Sundays, for teaching the hearers and reading in Church.

Lessons for the Day and Calendar of year.

Hymn Books, Psalms, Prayer Book.

* Other parts of Bible.⁹

The teachers should be encouraged to buy these books, but gradually as wanted with a view to reading them, and so getting another and so on. The teacher should always be encouraged if possible to read the Lessons in the presence of the priest in church and be encouraged if possible to look them through beforehand.

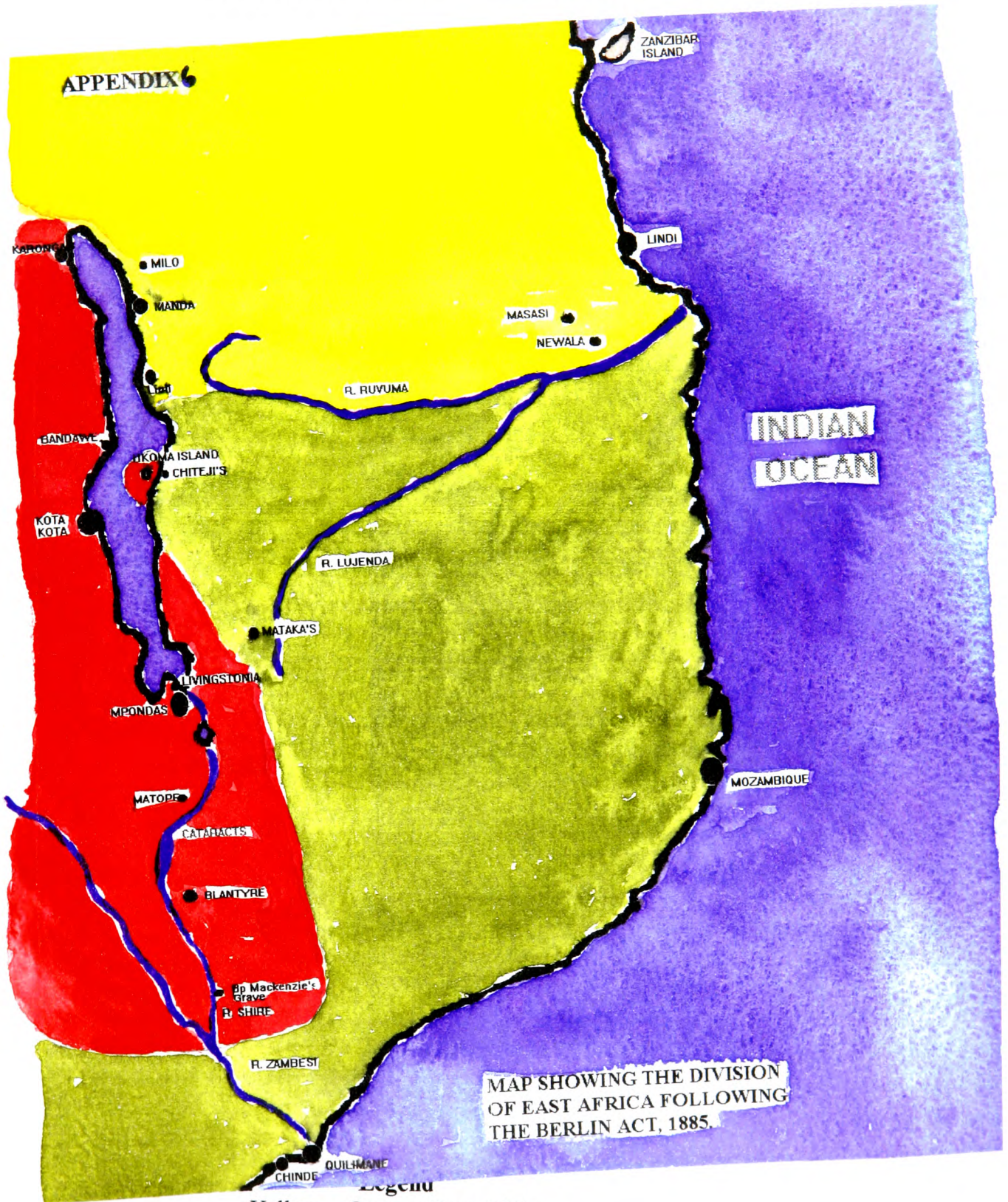
Variations.

Sometimes only one Lesson is read. Sometimes owing to having few psalm books the psalms are not said. Hymns are sung in place of psalms, Te Deum, etc. The Gloria of the Benedictus is said in Chinyanja aloud as the catechumens are supposed to have gone or to be going. The Litany is said at Msumba on Wednesdays and Fridays.

⁹ *"At this time the whole Bible had not been translated and even for the N.T. were largely dependant on locally printed copies of single books. Now the whole Bible is bound together in one volume printed by the B.F.B.S. and mainly translated by Archdeacon Johnson himself". Barnes. "Johnson of Nyasaland". p.140.*

APPENDIX 6

MAP SHOWING THE PARTITION OF AFRICA FOLLOWING THE BERLIN ACT 1885



Yellow = German East Afrika
Green = Portuguese East Africa
Red = British Protectorate

Strictly Private & Confidential.

For the eyes and ears of the Committee

MY APOLOGIA

GERARD NYASALAND.

Oct. 1st., 1909.

My dear Friends and Fellow-workers,

I have, as you know, accepted the invitation of the Bishop of Perth, Australia, to take the oversight of a new Diocese formed for N.W. Australia, and I write to take a formal, but affectionate, farewell of you, the present members of the Staff of the Nyasaland Diocese. When the proposal was made to me, on the ground of my knowledge of Australia, my Missionary interest, and my single state, owing to difficulties, that had arisen between myself and the Home Authorities of Mission about Finance and Administration, I left the decision with our Chairman, the Bishop of Southwark, who is my former College Warden and long-time friend. His advice inclined to my going to Australia. Had I known, as I know now, how strong was your wish that I should remain as your Bishop, I must have qualified my offer to abide solely by his counsel. As it is I trust that I am obeying God's Will for me in doing what leaves my heart sore and wounded, i.e., separating myself from Nyasaland and U.M.C.A.

In looking back over the eight years of my episcopate I see much - (in spite of my own limitations, infirmities, and mistakes, of which I am deeply conscious) - for which to thank God and acknowledge His goodness. First of all, I rejoice in the spirit of devotion and unity and loyalty and zeal of all Members of our Staff, and their faithful efforts to rise to the ideals set before us in the Mission. This admirable spirit is largely reflected in the Native Staff, the Clergy and most of the Teachers working in a true Missionary manner, and winning numbers of converts by their example. Secondly, I rejoice in our excellent relations with those around us - Governments, Missions, Transport Companies, and our fellow country-men generally. A glance at the Annual Report for 1902 will show how far we have travelled in this and other ways in eight years. This Report credits us with some 68 schools and 1,115 scholars, though the number of children is confessedly under-stated. I should put it at 1800. We have grown to over 150 schools and more than 5,000 scholars. Ngofi was then our most northern school. We have now occupied 20 villages north of this over a stretch of 100 miles of coast. Our most Southern school was Mpondas (Kaya). There are now nearly 30 villages under Mission influence reaching to 80 miles south. Our stations, apart from the Steamer, were Likoma with Chisumulu, S. Michael's College, Kota-Kota, Unangu, and Mpondas. To these we have added S. Andrew's College, Mtonya, Namweras, Malindi, Likwenu, Msumba and Lungwena. And we may perhaps include Mpeseni (Fort Jameson with its native work, and the White ministrations from Likwenu in the Shire Highlands, as being new Stations. The one native priest and two deacons of 1902 have become four priests and three deacons in 1908. The six ordained Readers have increased to sixteen. And the 13 certificated teachers have grown to 200.

The creation of S. Andrew's Theological College has meant much for our Diocese. It is now possible for a school to be placed in a village, and for a boy joining it to find ready for him all the steps that lead up to the Priest-hood. Nor has work for the girls been neglected. More than 60 women teachers have received first certificates, and

some few second certificates, and the number of girls under instruction is probably not far behind the total number of children given for the Diocese in 1902. This is of the utmost importance to the future of the native church.

I have confirmed during my episcopate three white and 4,385 native Christians. Confirmations still to be held before I leave will add some 300 more. This with those confirmed by Bishop Hine, even omitting the number (of which I am ignorant) confirmed by Bishop Smythies and Hornby, and those older ones amongst us who were confirmed at Zanzibar, show that between 7,000 and 8,000 of the people of Nyasaland, for whose sake our Mission was founded, have been brought to the full grace of the Christian Sacraments. Some 100, alas have been cut off by Excommunication, and many have fallen far from grace. Yet Easter and Christmas tell of vast numbers of penitent and worthy communicants, and the percentage of communicants to confirmed would, I am sure, be far above the average of English statistics.

The creation of the Blind School and its work, and the commencement of work amongst the lepers on Leper Island in the German Territory, are indeed matters for thanksgiving, and well pleasing, we may be sure, to our Saviour.

Very close to the heart of Chauncy Maples was the extension of work amongst the Yaos, who almost alone amongst our tribes have embraced Mohammedanism. Mtonya and its large out-district, Mangoche, the Shire River, Fort Maguire under its Yao deacon, are all extensions, whilst Unangu, Mpondas, Malindi, and Kota-Kota have all been extending, and winning victories against Islam. Old Mpondas has now regular preaching and shews signs of real response.

Our Medical work, again, is a cause for very special thanksgiving. Our health record is without parallel in the history of U.M.C.A. Since my arrival, in a Staff of between 40 and 50, there have occurred only three deaths and four invalidings for b.w.f. and one invaliding of a member who should not have been passed in the first instance by the M.B.

All our hospitals, both white and native, have been built, and in 1908 the statistics shew that 627 inpatients (native) were nursed as well as 52 white patients: 50 operations were performed, and 3,500 people were vaccinated: while out-patient attendances reached 37,268. The doctor has been also architect, builder, surveyor, gardener, etc., while the 7 nurses have supplied the posts of Station-housekeeper, laundry overseer, dairy and poultry keeper, teacher, and much besides. It is difficult to estimate the influence of this Christ-like work of healing and tending in spreading the church in this Country.

The advance made in industrial training is best testified to by our buildings, especially our Cathedral, our furniture, and our books printed locally. Turning to the more material results of the last eight years we may sum them up as follows -

Land added to Mission property - 50 acres at Malindi; 9 acres at Namweras; 3 acres at Fort Maguire; 10 acres at Likwenu; about a square mile at Mtonya

(though we have no title yet) and all Mission sites in Portuguese Territory; 4 acres at Fort Jameson; acre at Chiromo.

Permanent Churches S. Peter's Cathedral; S. Pauls, Chiromo, S. Andrews, Nkwazi (completed); All Saints', Kota-Kota (enlarged and altered); S. Michael's (the College Chapel); S. Cyprian's, Kasamba; Likwenu chapel; .3 Churches in C.M. district; while all the material for Mponda's permanent church is provided and paid for.

S. Paul's , Fort Jameson, received from us the plan and seventy five pounds, but we cannot claim to have built it.

Hospitals (permanent). At Likoma, 4; at Kota-Kota, 3 and dispensary; at Malindi, 3 and dispensary; at Mtonya, 1.

Colleges. S. Michael's and S. Andrews. Blind School and Dormitory.

Houses (permanent). At Likoma 4, others altered and adapted; at Kota-Kota, 3; at Mpondas, 3; at Malindi, 2, others adapted from store, etc; at the College, 2; at Likwenu 1(two storeyed); at Unangu, 1; at S. Andrews, 4 (for native students). Mtonya and Namweras have good native built houses and church, but are not reckoned amongst permanent buildings. The number of native schools, churches, dormitories, teachers' houses, etc., etc., are beyond reckoning. Churches at Msumba Chizumulu, and Nkwazi have been restored and altered.

Pace the History of U.M.C.A. there are three things for which I may personally claim to be responsible.

- (1) The scheme, site and plan of our Cathedral. Our present hospitals were supposed to contain parts of the permanent Cathedral, and the roof ordered from Home was for this. 'What our Cathedral has been to me from the time of preparing the site and laying the foundation stone till to-day, and what it means to part from it with all its holy associations, you may partly perhaps imagine.
- (2) St. Paul's, Chiromo. (Mackenzie Memorial). It had been intended to place a small chapel on Bishop Mackenzie's grave, and money had been received for this. I selected Chiromo, and got from the Government the site for the church. The enclosure of the first Bishop's grave and the placing of crosses on the graves of Revs. Burrup and Scudamore, Dr. Dickenson and Mr. Thornton, completed a duty that we owed to the memory of our Pioneers.
- (3) The Third Diocese. For good or evil, I must claim to have originated the scheme of our new Diocese. It is a division of what was then the Diocese of Likoma. It was that distant part which I could not over-see, and which demanded oversight For the response to my proposal, and the realisation of the scheme, and the nomination of its first Bishop, I am

humbly and deeply thankful.

Our Printing Press during these eight years has put out a large and valuable supply of Translations and other publications. We have, at last, a complete Chinyanja Bible and Prayer Book. The regular Offices and Occasional Offices are printed in Chi-Yao, and hymn books (revised) in both languages. A beginning of the O.T. is made in Chi-Yao. School books, reading books, devotional books, song books, are amongst those printed. I have already confirmed in four languages, and am yet to confirm in a fifth before I leave.

Finance. All our developments, all our land acquired, all our buildings (including the Cathedral), all our Medical work, all our Travelling and allowances, have cost less than an average of £3,000 annually. Surely no great sum for the Central African Diocese of U.M.C.A. It was the sudden announcement of the cutting down of our income to £10,000, without previous warning, or enquiry here, that led to the troubles resulting in my resignation. I believe that now the Committee have taken infinite trouble to re-adjust the financial situation, and there is no likelihood of my successor having to pass through such months of crushing anxiety and misunderstanding as I have been through since my return from England.

Whatever as a Diocese we have been enabled to do, we have done it together. Our Annual Retreat has drawn us closer together, and closer, I am sure, to God. Our Annual Conference has enabled me to take counsel with you all before putting out my rulings. Our Quarterly Paper has kept us well acquainted with one another's work and hopes and anxieties. Our united daily intercessions, and our common Lenten studies and observances, have been a bond of brotherhood.

That I have most imperfectly and inefficiently filled the high Office of your Father in God I am sorrowfully aware. That I have at times pressed my position as Ruler and Leader overmuch is possible. That I have failed to help you as much as another will do is the result of my limitations. But I shall ever thank God for all that our relations in Nyasaland have meant for myself, and bear you in my heart and in my prayers.

I know that I may count on the help of your intercessions at this (for me) sad time of parting, and in the future difficult work to which I am sent.

I remain,
Your sincere and affectionate
Father in God,
GERARD NYASALAND.

BISHOP TROWER'S APOLOGIA.

My resignation of the Diocese of Nyasaland, after eight years as its Bishop, is due to the advice of Bishop Talbot of Southwark.

In consequence of the relations which had arisen between myself and the Home Authorities of U.M.C.A. on the subject of Finance and Administration, I had, on being offered the newly formed Diocese of N. W. Australia, referred the question of my resignation to our Chairman, stating that the only question that seemed to me a deciding one was that of Home Authority relations. I had to depend on a cabled answer, owing to time. That answer was: *'Incline Australia, but writing'*. Acting on this I cabled my acceptance of N.W. Australia to the Bishop of Perth. I did not know till after I had received Bishop Talbot's cable, that a number of the members of the Diocesan staff had sent a cable deprecating my resignation. The fact that the Bishop's advice was given in spite of this seemed to put emphasis on the Home desire for my resignation from the Mission. My cable to Perth was delayed for a week, and I understand that Archdeacon Johnson sent a strongly worded telegram Home against my leaving. It is clear, therefore, that the representatives of the Mission in England felt strongly that the best interests of U.M.C.A. were served by my resigning.

It is equally clear that the Representatives in Nyasaland were of the contrary opinion. Having placed the decision in the hands of the Chairman, I could only abide by it, while leaving sufficient time for him to alter his first cable, if he saw reason to do so. In my farewell letter to the Members of the Diocese I have reviewed some of the Missionary progress made during my episcopate. The Annual Report for 1902 and previous Reports shew something of results before that date. It is possible to form an opinion as to whether, and how, I have built on the foundations laid by my predecessors. I have not as yet heard the reasons for the advice tendered in Bishop Talbot's cable. But, as it must needs have turned on my relations with Dartmouth St., and as I have twice received from him remonstrances on threatening the "harmony" of the Mission, the explanation is no doubt to be found here. It seems right, therefore, that I should give some explanation of the origin and growth of these relations.

1. My Father was Rector of S. Mary-at-Hill, Eastcheap; (now the Head Quarters of the Church Army), and I went to school at Merchant Taylors. While at school I gained a small exhibition for Hebrew at Cambridge, but did not accept it. I left School early, and travelled as tutor-companion to the young son of Sir Charles Murray; later, holding other tutor-ships, and acting as Master for a year in a Preparatory School. When hoping to go to Oxford, I received (unsolicited) an offer of a Marriott Exhibition at Keble College from the Warden, Dr. Talbot. This I accepted, and was four years at Keble, being in my last year Captain of the College Eight and rowing in the O.U.B.C. Trials. I took my degree in the Theological School (3rd. Class). Amongst my contemporaries at College were the present Primus of the Scottish Church, the present Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, the Bishop of Corea and others. The Bishop of London had just left before I went up.

After leaving Oxford I travelled with pupils for a couple of years, and then went to Ely Theological College, where for six months of my residence Dean Luckock was Principal, and was succeeded by Canon Newbolt. Rev. W.B. Trevelyan, who had formerly been Vice-Principal, kept up his acquaintance with the College, and knew something of the Students.

My first curacy was at S. Alban's, Birmingham, under Rev. James Pollock. After four and a half years, through the influence of the present Scottish Primus, I was appointed by the present Bishop of Grahamstown, then Vicar of S. Mary, Redcliffe, Bristol, to the charge of the Mission Church and District of Redcliffe Parish where I remained two years. At the end of that time I was chosen by Father Page, S.S.J.E. and Rev. W.B. Trevelyan, as Rector of Christ Church, Sydney. The appointment was long being ratified by the Bishop of Sydney, and Mr. Trevelyan offered me a post on his staff at S. Matthew's, Westminster, in the event of my appointment to Christ Church falling through. After remaining in Sydney 5 years I came home for a holiday, and while in England, my nomination to Likoma took place. I have mentioned these biographical facts because they point to my relations with the Universities and with many Members of the U.M.C.A. Committee long before my connection with U.M.C.A., and also because the so-called History of U.M.C.A. makes my origin as obscure as that of Melchisedek, and my coming from Australia as unexplained as that of Elijah from Gilead.

I may add that I am related to Rev. D. Travers, and through him connected with Bishop Smythies, and am also connected (very slightly) with Bishop Maples through the Teesdales. I had no desire for the Episcopal Office, but followed what was pointed out to me to be a call.

I do not think that my appointment was popular. I was quite unknown to most supporters of the Mission, and my ignorance of it made me entirely ineffective as a speaker for it. I had never attended an Annual Meeting.

II. Mr. Brunel, the Senior Treasurer, was dissatisfied with Special Appeals and other things. He had tendered his resignation. He was a friend of some cousins of my own; and after I had visited him at his house and had a talk, he agreed to withdraw his resignation, and give me his support in financial matters of the Mission.

The terms on which subscriptions were asked for were that "the funds are sent out to, and managed by the Bishops". How far this represents the actual facts, or is reconcilable with the clause in the Constitution, which says: "The Committee shall receive all funds, and make grants at their discretion", may be questioned. Special appeals had been a feature of the system. Magila Famine Fund, Nyasaland houses, Masasi Church, Kolopve, Ziwani, etc., etc., are instances. The appeal for the Children's Fund stated that "the entire support of a child in the Mission costs seven pounds".

At the first Committee Meeting I attended I heard some four hundred or five hundred pounds voted to a country clergyman, the father of Rev. M.E. Viner, on the ground that the son had left his money to the Mission, and the father needed some for doctors and other expenses. M.E. Viner's Will was not then proved, nor the money even assured to

the Mission. In any case, I was shocked at this dealing with Trust Funds left for Mission purposes.

I had been told that Bishop Hine had spent £1,000 a year beyond Likoma's income. I knew that Zanzibar had ended the previous year with a substantial balance. Being confronted with the new steamer, and a large increase of staff, I left a Memorandum for Bishop Hine asking him to consider the question of the distribution of Funds. The distribution was nominally 3/5ths of the General Fund to Zanzibar and 2/5ths to Likoma. The amount from Children's Fund, Bishop Steere Memorial, the multitudinous special funds, etc., was all in favour of Zanzibar. Some £3,000 had recently been collected in the name of Likoma, for new houses, etc., and I was told in Committee that I went out with an entirely clear sheet. Mr. Brunel died during my first year. On my arrival in Africa I found that the seven pounds as the cost of a child was no longer even approximately correct, and wrote to the Office in all good faith to correct the statement on the faith of which I had obtained contributions. I was at once told that Likoma was over-drawn £1,600. I had asked for Bishop Hine's answer to my Memorandum. The reply was: *'The Bishop of Zanzibar declines to take a penny less'*. A cable was sent to our Treasurer at Mponda's to the effect that we were over-drawn £1,600. Next, a Resolution of the Committee was sent out: *"The Bishop of Likoma is requested not to draw drafts when he has no money to his credit to meet them"*. It was only later that I learnt that the 'clear sheet' had been marred by £2,000 of 1901 expenditure

By this time I had conceived considerable distrust of the Mission's statements and administration. I made enquiries as to special Funds - the Cathedral Fund, the C. Maples legacy for extending work in Yao-land, etc. How had these been invested and what did they now amount to? I was told that the former had been put into the General Fund, but could be got out as required, and three per cent allowed. The latter had been put into the Likoma Diocesan Fund with Bishop Hine's consent, and no doubt spent on Unangu. Bishop Hine had left a note here about this legacy, saying that it had never been touched! It has since re-appeared in the Balance Sheet. I was urged to issue a special Appeal, but declined on the ground that there was plenty of money for the work if it were properly administered. I was urged later to appeal for the Cathedral, and refused, as we had plenty of money in hand.

Zanzibar shut up Mazizini, and sold Ziwani and still appeals went out for Masasi church, Kolopve, Magila ladies' house, Pemba, and I don't know what besides. Its little hospital had a larger staff of nurses than our whole Diocese. Meanwhile, our two steamers, and the great cost of freight and passages, and duties and taxes, put us at a further disadvantage. Still, we lived on our income (about £13,000) and had substantial balances.

'When I came Home in 1906, I had an interview with the Treasurers and told them all that was in my mind.

At a Committee Meeting in that year I proposed a third Diocese, and stated that the present income should be able to support it if properly distributed and administered. At Deputation Meetings I declined to make urgent appeals for funds, being content to tell of our work, and leave the story to commend itself. I could not bring myself to

make hysterical appeals for money and working as things were. This was, no doubt, not worldly-wise, nor likely to commend me to the Executive.

I asked the Committee to appoint a Sub-Committee to go into the question of funds - the distribution, the needs, the expenditure. This was appointed, and some of its members personally pledged themselves to me to see that the enquiry was thorough and complete. When I left England this Sub-Committee adjourned indefinitely on the ground that when there was a third Diocese the whole question must be gone into again.

Meanwhile, Zanzibar was building S. Monica's house at a cost of, I was told, some £3,000. I now despaired (*sic*) of the Treasurers: and when I came to England in 1908 I refused to meet them - though, of course, we met in Committee, where they had every opportunity of making statements about Nyasaland's expenditure or asking for information. When Bishop Weston had been appointed to Zanzibar, a Meeting was held to consider the Pension proposals for Missionaries. On to this was grafted a Treasurers' Meeting. Being asked to speak, I stated that I had declined to meet the Treasurers because it seemed useless. I spoke again of the inequity of the division of funds, and the suppression of the Sub-Committee's enquiry. Dr Weston said that he entirely agreed with me as to the inequity, and he hoped that from then the 2/5ths. and 3/5ths. division would cease. He asked that for 3 years the £11,100 Zanzibar had received from the General Fund should not be diminished, but that all increase to the General Fund should go to Nyasaland, and every effort be made to increase Nyasaland's income to the level of Zanzibar. The General Fund had been reckoned at £20,000, and had been distributed as follows:- Zanzibar, £11,100; Nyasaland, £7,400; Home Office, £1,500. I agreed to Dr. Weston's Resolution: but, at a hint from Mr. Travers that I had agreed to close discussion of funds for 3 years, I next day in Committee declined to consent to the proposal for more than one year. Mr. Longdon said that I had no right to go back on my agreement. The Committee, however, agreed to the Resolution for one year.. No one suggested that it meant a reduction of over £2,000 of our share of the General Fund. At the Committee Meeting held on Feb. 9th., 1909, it was stated that from the General Fund, owing to the Resolution above referred to, only £5,150 was available from the General Fund for Nyasaland. A proposal to add £2,250 from Legacies, to make £7,400, cut off that source of income further from Nyasaland for the year.

It was stated that in 1908 Nyasaland had exceeded its income by £4,846, and a Resolution was passed on the subject requesting the Chairman to write to me. What was our income that was so exceeded? How arrived at? And by whom? It was certainly not the income of any previous year during my episcopate.

The Chairman in writing suggested that I had perhaps spent recklessly Mission Funds "*rather enjoying the dismay of the Committee when faced with the bill.*" I had been in England the whole time except the first three months of 1908. He added that our income for 1909 would not exceed £10,600 from all sources: spoke of the grant from legacies as going to meet our excess: and of the thousand pounds's that had been drawn by our spending from the Mission's Reserve Fund. As our expenditure was under £3,000 more than in 1907, it is difficult to see where all the Reserve Fund had gone to.

In face of a reduction of £3,000 a year, and a debt of nearly £5,000 for 1908, I had no option but to refuse the return of Members on furlough or the acceptance of new members. (This was described by the Chairman as "*spirited fencing*"). This was followed by a cable, saying that only £500 a month would be met for all expenditure in Africa and England for the remainder of the year. This meant public bankruptcy by the mere working of the Committee's Resolutions. We owed £1,000 in the country for passages, goods, steamer wood, Government charges, etc., etc. Our Stations required £200 a month for wages. It was necessary to draw drafts exceeding the £500 a month for Africa alone.

Both our Steamers were laid up. I was cut off from communications. And at any time I might learn that our drafts had been dishonoured and our credit destroyed, weeks before I heard of it. If my letters home have been marked by intemperate expressions, and by scorn and indignation, surely the provocation has been extreme. To add to matters, it was stated that I had spent £7,000 in the last two years on the Cathedral, using for building what was meant for maintenance. The Cathedral from first to last has not cost £7,000, and nearly £4,000 was specially subscribed for it.

Meanwhile, through all these weary months no words but those of condemnation, remonstrance and misstatement of facts had reached me from anyone at home connected with the Mission, that the Committee have swallowed all their resolutions, and at last have revised the whole administration of funds: and that no Member on furlough has been really affected, nor the work permanently stopped, is the justification of my protests and my actions.

Every Member of the Staff claims the right to resign, if he or she wishes, at the end of any period of service, in Africa. The right of the Bishop to dispense with their services for sufficient cause is equally recognised.

III. We call ourselves a Catholic Mission. The Catholic ideal is that the Bishop is the Head and Ruler of his Diocese and Staff. He is held responsible for the direction, organisation and (in our case) expenditure of the Diocese. This in words is emphasised and insisted on with us. When Lord Overtown came to Mr. Travers saying: "*Stop this Bishop of yours; he is invading our Sphere*", he was told, "*the Bishop is Ruler. It is not the custom of the Church to interfere with his Government of his Diocese*". Lord Overtown added "*Ah, but you hold the purse*".

Responsibility and authority must go together. The holding of the purse was soon to be emphasised: "*You are overdrawn £1,600. The Treasurers wish to remind you that they have twice paid your debts. Your allowance is £10,000 and if you don't like it, you can ask the subscribers to alter it*". The spirit shows itself in such messages sent to me through the Secretary.

Any money, however left, was received by the Treasurers, who proposed to make 'grants' from it '*at their discretion*', e.g., Rev. F.W. Folliott left money, not to U.M.C.A., but to '*the Bishop of Likoma for the time being, for any purpose connected with the work of his Diocese*'. I only learnt of the terms of the Will by the need of my signature. I got this transferred to "*the Bishop of Nyasaland's Fund*" in Parrs Bank. It was easy to

regulate by varying 'grants' the income, otherwise increased by special funds (e.g. the Cathedral). Our careful economy here kept us within our income. So the income was reduced without notice, and the final crisis came.

I had appointed Rev. D. Travers my Commissary. I found that Members on furlough, if efficient, and especially if they had private means and did not draw furlough allowance, were kept and used as Deputation speakers regardless of our needs here. One member stayed away two years, and then returned without once communicating with me, or getting leave to stay or return. I learnt not from my Commissary, but incidentally from others - of a Member, educated at Dorchester, at the expense of this Diocese, and having my instructions about examination; etc., being about to go to Zanzibar to take charge of Ziwani. Frank George, I heard, was going to Masasi to build the Church there. Nurses, accepted for Likoma, were sent to Zanzibar for their first months (e.g. Miss Cameron, Miss Minter, Miss Murton). A priest, accepted by me, later on, without explanation, said that he was going to Zanzibar. I put a stop to this, and members learnt loyally to look to their bishop and not to 'the Office' for arrangements.

It seemed to me that Likoma was generally regarded as the hand-maid of Zanzibar (on one occasion Zanzibar sent us the cast-off cassocks of their Cathedral Choir). Had the attitude assumed been reversed, its impossibility would have been recognized. Workers were accepted and sent out without my permission until I threatened to send the next back, leaving Mr. Travers to explain it at home.

The friction between Nyasaland and Zanzibar dates back to Bishop Toser (*sic*) and Mr. Rowley and Horace Walker. When in 1892 the two Dioceses were established from the Diocese of 'Central Africa', Zanzibar made objection to Nyasaland sharing the Funds (so I was told) and thought it ought to have a separate one. I have shewn the attitude adopted by the Bishop of Zanzibar to my Memorandum on the division of funds. When the question of the third Diocese was practically settled, an Appeal appeared in 'Central Africa', and was copied into the 'Church Times', for volunteers to join Sir John Key as a 'brotherhood' and to go out to do 'spade work' in N.W. Rhodesia. At Fort Jameson it was reported that Sir John Key was shortly coming out. I wrote to ask if Messrs. Travers and Palmer were a 'Papacy in Commission' prepared to assign licenses and jurisdiction to priests in a bishop's Diocese. I was then told it was only a "balloon d'essai". It seems hardly just to call for volunteers as a "balloon d' assai" I do not implicate the Committee in this, except that they have accepted statements, passed Resolutions and cut down income, and condemned me unheard, and finally, it seems, desired my resignation.

IV. If anyone will candidly examine the statement of new work begun, organisations, buildings, etc., and the Missionary results, during my Episcopate, mentioned in my farewell letter, and the account of Nyasaland in the so-called 'History of U.M.C.A.' if he will compare the account of Bishop Trower and any other bishop or prominent members (see Index): and then remember that our Quarterly Paper, my Charges (Retrospect), 'Central Africa' and 'African Tidings', Mr. Heantry's Reports, etc., were all available for information, and that I was in England when this work was being compiled, and many other Missionaries and ex-Missionaries of the Diocese could be consulted; he can form his own conclusions as to whether accuracy or personal

feeling have been imported into it. The numbers of Christians in Likoma in 1902 are ludicrously untrue; the origin of our work on the as due to Mr. Philipps' efforts is quite untrue; the origin of Mtonya as a Station is untrue; the choice of Chiromo for the Mackenzie Memorial Church and its consecration are inaccurate; the origin of our present Cathedral; the genesis of the new Diocese: suppress my part. And much besides. The reference to the *'Young Diocese without legislative powers'* is misleading. Nyasaland, as a Diocese, is not younger than Zanzibar.

On this 'History' appeals for money and workers are based.

It is not nauseating eulogy and 'gush' that we want, but a true history of work and events, and failures. There is enough in the past and present history of U.M.C.A. for gratitude and praise to God, and for hopefulness and appeal to Churchmen. There is much, too, for shame and humility and heart-searching. I shall ever be thankful for the privilege of sharing in this work, and for the ties formed and lessons learnt. I must always regret my severance from U.M.C.A., and the causes for it. I ask those who have condemned me to believe that my attitude and my criticisms have been prompted (however mistaken I may have been) by zeal for God's work and His glory, and the desire to see all connected with us keeping to the very big deals put before our Mission. If I have been ready to seek the confidence of my former friends, my Diocese, and my touch with England and the Universities, it can hardly have been for interested personal motives.

The supporters of our Mission at Home are for the most part enthusiastic, devoted, and self-sacrificing people, and it means much to be out off from the constant stream of intercession which is such a support and strength to us in Africa. I have known what I was doing when I ran counter to the popular cry. I knew what my offer to resign meant for myself, and that without it I was established where I am. Yet I am more than content if with my going has come the establishment of our work in Nyasaland, and the rectification of mistakes errors and inconsistencies.

If those who care for U.M.C.A. and work for it in England have conscientiously felt that I was a hindrance to its future welfare, it is no little consolation to know that those who have lived closest to me in Africa and worked under my leadership have judged quite otherwise.

GERARD NYASALAND.

Likoma,
Oct. 1st. 1909.

Type-Written by
MISS ASHWORTH
28 Victoria Street, SW

APPENDIX 8

TRANSLATION FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN OF
AN ADDRESS BY DR. LOCK, THE WARDEN OF KEBLE,
ON 2nd MARCH, 1911, AT
THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD,
WHEN
WILLIAM PERCIVAL JOHNSON
HAD CONFERRED UPON HIM
THE DEGREE OF D.D., *HONORIS CAUSA*.

By a happy chance, it has fallen to my lot to present to you to-day for admission to the degree of Doctor of Divinity *honoris causa*, a man who deserves, if any-one ever deserved, to be honoured alike by Church and by the University, a man - may I say? - gifted with the ability and the courage of a hero.

As an undergraduate, he achieved distinction in the schools and very great distinction on the river; and he was planning to enter the Civil Service in India, when, all of a sudden, he abandoned his plan, and with it the hope of a glorious career of office. For why? He had heard the voice of some-one appealing to him from afar - 'Come over to Africa and help us'. He heard, he went over, and for five and thirty-years he has given his help.

This he has done in more than one way. First and foremost he made it his object to preach the Gospel to those rough and uncivilised tribes and to 'gather into one the children of God that were scattered abroad'. What they 'ignorantly worshipped', that he declared unto them. He whom they sought 'if haply they might feel after Him and find Him', he proclaimed to be 'not far from each one' of them. Him whom those peoples, terrified by the thunder and the lightening, and at the mercy of witches, feared and propitiated with savage ritual, he showed to be worthy of their love, teaching them to give willing service to Him who 'did good from heaven', and to offer to Him none but 'spiritual sacrifices'. But while he preached the Gospel, how much else had he achieved! He ended feuds, reconciled enemies at war, improved the condition of women, founded schools, educated boys, laid out gardens, saw to the building of a steamboat and steered the boat when built. All this was not to be done without difficulty and danger. He had to traverse districts hitherto untrodden by man, swampy morasses, virgin forests. Beasts of prey howled around him; enemies hovered on every side threatening his life, now with treachery, now with open assault. Sickness impaired his strength; mosquitoes turned scars into festering sores. Like the great apostle he was 'in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils in the wilderness, in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst; in his case too there was 'that which pressed upon him daily, anxiety for the churches.' From all his journeys through the heart of Africa, 'that dry nurse of lions,' - journeys which he accomplished safely because he was 'pure in life, unscathed by guilt' - we can hardly say that he has brought back his body unscathed, for one eye is sightless. The truth is that whatever he

undertook he had made up his mind to perform : wherever he had had to go, he insisted on going, vigorous, active, undismayed, 'inspired with a courage surely given him by heaven'.

To show how God Almighty had blessed his undertakings, let these facts suffice. Within his lifetime the one Diocese of Central Africa had been divided into three, and two Cathedral Churches had been built, one on the site of the old slave market, the other on the spot where witches once were burnt.

I have told you enough, and more than enough to explain why the Church should honour and reward its minister; but I must also add some more facts which have special reference to the University. What he has done towards exploring the country and discovering the position of mountains, or the sources and channels of rivers, is sufficiently tested by the medal which the Royal Geographical Society voted to him. Students of language and grammar are still more indebted to him because the people who speak Chinyanja owe as much to William Johnson as those who speak Swahili owe to another Oxford man, Arthur Madan. Words never before committed to writing he caught from the lips of speakers, reduced to system, explained by formal rules of grammar, and printed. With this help he, like a second Ulphilas, translated into their tongue the whole of our Bible, and since then he has carefully revised most of his translation, some parts of it even for the second time. Others have carried out the work which he began, and by their aid those tribes now have a literature to boast of, arts to civilise them, a system of study and training for the education of the young, prayers and a liturgy for the due and orderly worship of Almighty God.

At length we have the opportunity of rewarding and honouring such a life and such studies as these. Our Africanus goes back to Africa: he goes back because he thinks nothing yet done when so much remains to do; he goes back, because he cannot bear rest or ease, because (to use the name given to him by the wondering Africans) he is "the man who never sits down." But I ask you to let him go back crowned with the greatest honour which we can give; let him know, and let all the world know, that, if any son of ours devotes himself, as he has done, to the advancement of learning, we will not forget him, but will grace him with a solid tribute of our love and gratitude.

To this the Doctors and the Masters of Arts have signified their assent today, and so to you, Mr. Vice Chancellor, and to you, Sirs, the Proctors, I beg leave to introduce the Venerable William Percival of University College, that he may be admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*.

APPENDIX 9

NYASALAND MISSIONS - STATISTICS - 1912

UNIVERSITIES MISSION. DIOCESE OF NYASALAND

Statistical Table I. December 1st, 1912.

STATION.	Enrolled Hearers.		Catechumens.		Baptized including CCC.		Communicants.		Confirmed Nov., 1911-12.		Total.		Total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
1 LIOMA	129	220	186	366	828	1120	650	680	53	85	1143	1706	2849
2 NKOTA-NKOTA	117	186	24	197	535	444	459	359	53	35	898	827	1725
3 THE "C. M." I	948	1445	470	896	2328	1952	1256	1533	178	256	3746	4293	8039
4 MBUMBA	118	250	130	222	631	663	290	290	104	73	879	1145	2024
5 LUNGWENA	23	10	35	13	153	63	123	55	9	2	211	86	297
6 UNANGU	6	14	12	16	274	526	200	468	*	...	292	556	848
7 MTONYA	14	20	33	11	112	19	105	9	*	1	159	50	209
8 MALINDI	35	10	25	7	70	14	45	8	...	...	130	31	161
9 MPONDAR	151	58	76	23	143	66	122	56	21	3	370	147	517
10 LIKWENU	315	435	284	280	185	143	150	113	71	46	784	858	1642
Total	1856	2648	1497	2031	5259	5010	3400	3571	489	501	8612	9699	
Total	4504		3528		10279		6971		990		18311		

* Confirmation postponed from September to February. M. Male. F. Female. S.B. Chantry Maps, which does the work of a station.

Statistics of the Stations of the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia for 1912

	European Staff including Wives of Missionaries.	Congregations.	Outstations.	Licentiates.	Evangelists and Colporteurs.	Elders and Deacons.	Hearers.	Catechumens.	Communicants.	Adult and Infant Baptisms during 1911.	Number of Schools including Instruction.	Native Teachers and Monitors.	Highest Number of Scholars.	School Fees.	Cash Contributions Including Medical Fees.
LIVINGSTONIA.	16	1	33	...	5	31	1,647	878	796	192	37	70	3,109.	£ 92 9 7	£ a. d. 74 5 1
BANDAWE .	3	1	118	1	5	88	829	858	2,443	339	114	166	12,199	50 17 6	154 9 7
EKWENDENI .	2	1	91	1	3	133	5,318	1,674	1,630	597	88	193	9,417	55 12 9	29 10 3
LOUDON .	7	1	180	1	11	150	4,456	2,580	2,602	361	186	300	10,604	87 0 0	109 2 0
KARONGA .	2	1	52	...	4	32	850	676	539	227	52	68	2,500	19 19 6	42 11 9
MWENZO .	5	1	174	...	9	15	1,760	730	299	51	174	410	7,907	14 13 11	19 14 8
KASUNGU .	3	1	30	...	...	...	1,087	403	186	89	102	161	5,273	5 5 4	29 2 8
TAMANDA .	2	1	30	...	...	...	2,000	242	105	93	51	132	5,003	7 14 2	17 0 10
CHITAMBO .	3	1	22	...	...	...	...	163	46	36	36	72	1,064	14 10 4	39 7 10
TOTALS .	43	9	730	3	37	449	15,947	8,204	8,646	1,985	840	1,572	57,076	348 8 1	515 4 8

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION, NYASALAND

Church Statistics.

Stations.	District Churches.	Elders.	Deacons.	Catechumens.		Baptisms.		Communicants.	Liberality.	Preachers.	Total estimated attendance at Services Weekly.
				1911.	1912.	1912.	Total.				
BLANTYRE .	10	27	—	624	931	Infants, Adults. 87 170	257	1623	f s. d. 119 10 8	163	7146
DOMASI .	2	14	—	326	372	39 120	159	720	67 17 4	55	1945
ZOMBA .	3	10	—	388	605	70 135	205	837	42 0 5	68	1620
MLANJE .	10	18	—	553	887	58 185	243	720	60 6 6½	84	7,524
Totals .	25	69	—	1891	2795	254 610	864	3900	289 15 0	370	18,235

APPENDIX 10

STATION NO. 3.

October 1st 1918 to, September 30th 1919.

Northern Section (Ilela Wikihi).					
	£.	s. d.		£	s. d.
Cash and goods as per ledger	601	4 2	Teachers' wages and expenses	246	0 0
Special contributions Home Office	32	17 7	European food :		
Refund travelling expenses	17	0 0	Store £24 0 0		
			Local £30 0 0	54	0 0
			Sundries	12	5 9
			Building: Repairs etc. ...	10	0 0
			Travelling Expenses etc.	120	0 0
			School materials .	5	0 0
			Church expenses ...	5	0 0
			<u>Canoe ...</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0 0</u>
			Approximate figures only.	459	5 9
			Southern Section (Mtengula Msinje)		
			Teachers' wages	135	0 7
			Buildings ...	4	0 3
			Travelling Expenses ...	15	0 4
			Labour and Sundry expenses	7	2 2
			Hut taxes (2 years)	13	16 0
			<u>Cash Balance ...</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16 8</u>
				<u>191</u>	<u>16 0</u>
	651	1 9	Total ...	651	1 9

STATISTICAL TABLE 1 - DECEMBER 1919

Station	Enrolled Hearers	Catech umens	Baptized	Communi cants	Confirmed this year	Adherents
1 Likoma	897	926	5018	3803	373	6841
2 Kota-Kota	503	445	1570	528	132	2525
3 Station 3	2734	1071	1781	823	16	4986
4 Ngoo	289	232	925	585	114	1473
5 Msumba	707	474	3999	2588	197	5180
6 Lungwena	56	66	254	262	10	476
7 Unangu	38	14	684	663	0	736
8 Mtonya	71	110	240	272	0	421
9 Malindi	9	32	257	139	8	298
10 Mponda's	269	174	635	403	21	1078
11 Likwenu	861	398	733	444	66	1992
Total	5841	3933	16195	11112	957	25970

Hospitals. In-patients 708. Out-patient attendances 108,987

STATISTICAL TABLE 2. DECEMBER 1919

	Schools	Baptized.	Boarders	Lay Scholars
1 Likoma	45	1789	315	3185
2 Kota-Kota	38	308	355	1065
3 Station 3	37	400	13	1629
4 Ngoo	9	400	100	658
5 Msumba	38	799	700	1269
6 Lugwena	10	95	12	203
7 Unangu	8	70	42	71
8 Mtonya	6	14	0	14
9 Malindi	15	26	27	107
10Mponda's	19	55	151	409
11 Likwenu	44	102	198	864
Total	266	3997	1913	10157

It was decided by the London Committee that in these returns "Boarders" should be understood to mean all children who sleep in Mission Dormitories, as well as any actually supplied with food.

APPENDIX 11

DIOCESE OF NYASALAND (otherwise Likoma) LIST OF BISHOPS

Charles Frederick MACKENZIE - 1st January 1861 - "First missionary Bishop whom our Church had sent forth for a thousand years" (History U.M.C.A. Vol.1:7) consecrated in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town (swearing obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop and Metropolitan Church of Cape Town) *Bishop of the Mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and River Shire*. Died 31st January 1862, and buried in Chiromo, in the Shire region to the south of the Lake.

William George TOZER - 2nd February 1863 - Consecrated in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of South Africa, Archbishop Gray and others. Bishop Tozer took oath as Suffragan of the See of Cape Town. (history U.M.C.A. Vol.1:34 - see also note about possibility of removal of Mission under same ref.) Bishop Tozer abandoned Zambezi mission and withdrew to Zanzibar. Resigned headship of Mission, due to failing health, on 20th April 1873. Bishops Mackenzie and Tozer were supported by the generosity of private friends. All this was to change with the next appointment.

Edward STEERE - 24th August 1873 - Consecrated in Westminster Abbey to be Head of Universities Mission, i.e. with same title (*"to the tribes, ... etc*). Died 27th August 1882 in Zanzibar. As to funding, said those who came to work must fund themselves. He was *"a man with no friends"*. These should either support themselves or be content with maintenance and twenty pounds p.a. (history U.M.C.A. Vol.1:57)

Charles Alan SMYTHIES - 30th November 1883 - Former Vicar of Roath, consecrated in St. Pauls, to be Bishop for whole area. In 1891, having made his fifth and last visit from Zanzibar to Nyasaland, decided that latter country must have its own Bishop. Went to England to arrange funding. At same time British Protectorate over Nyasaland declared in 1890, and finalised in July 1891. It was decided by the Bishop, and the U.M.C.A. Home Committee that Nyasaland should have its own Bishopric. Nine thousand pounds was raised, and S.P.G. & S.P.C.K. gave one thousand pounds each to found Bishopric. 27th November 1892 - Bishop Smythies has interview with German Chancellor in Berlin re status of British Missionaries in German Territory On creation of new diocese, **BISHOP SMYTHIES** adopted title **BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR AND MISSIONARY BISHOP IN EAST AFRICA**. (7th May 1894 Bishop Smythies died and was buried in Indian Ocean)

1892 AREA DIVIDED

Wilfrid Bird HORNBY 21.12.1892 consecrated in St. Paul's on St. Thomas's Day as **BISHOP OF NYASALAND**. Resigns through ill-health, August 1894. -

(1895 W. Moore Richardson became Bishop of Zanzibar).

The **Venerable CHAUNCEY MAPLES** 29th June 1895 - ordained in St. Paul's Cathedral as Bishop of *Likoma*. On 2nd September 1895 Bishop Maples drowned in Lake Nyasa.

DR. JOHN EDWARD HINE 29th June 1896, consecrated at St. Matthew's Bethnal Green, as Bishop of Likoma. In 1901 translated to be Bishop of Zanzibar.

GERARD TROWER 25th January 1902 - consecrated **Bishop of Likoma**. - 1908 Bishop Trower returned home to attend Pan-Anglican Congress and Lambeth Conference sought permission of Archbishop of Cantab. to drop Title "*Bishop of Likoma*" (which had been changed from "Nyasaland" after resignation of Bishop Hornby in 1894), and to revert once more to use of "Nyasaland". Archbishop agreed, and from 1908 the title reverted to *BISHOP OF NYASALAND*. (see Vol.2. History U.M.C.A. P.22) 28.10.1909, Trower resigns See to go to Western Australia.

THOMAS CATHREW FISHER Appointed 24th June 1910. Died in motoring accident in Africa.

APPENDIX 12 A

DIOCESE OF BANGOR

LIST OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS,

BY PARISH, TO THE U.M.C.A. - 1888 - 1899

(All sums expressed in pounds, rounded up or down -)

	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	
Abererch									2	2			4
Amlwch										2			2
Bangor						1		1					2
Barmouth			2	2	2								6
Beaumaris									7				7
Beddgelert		1		1									2
Bontddu				2			1						3
Carnarvon						6	4	8			3		21
Cathedral	6			4		11	5	5			6		37
Criccieth	1			1		5	1	6	3	12	8	6	43
Holyhead												2	2
LLanberis						1						1	2
Llandegai	2		4	8	7	6	6	4	8	6	6	6	63
Llandudno	1		14		5	5	7	4	7	10	11	16	80
LI.Fair.Fechn	8		8	2	1	1			1	1	1	2	25
LLangelynin							2	1	4	1			8
LLanidloes						1				1	1	1	4
Machynlleth								1	6				7
Penai							3						3
Portmadoc			1	1	1		1						4
Pwllheli	2								4	3		5	14
Towyn									5	6			11
TOTAL	20	1	29	21	16	37	30	30	47	44	36	39	350

APPENDIX 12 B

DIOCESE OF ST. ASAPH LIST OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS, BY PARISH, TO THE U.M.C.A. - 1881 - 1899 (All sums expressed in pounds, rounded up or down -)

181/1899	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	
Cathedral									7	3	2	2	2	1	4	4	6			31
Abergele									4		1			1		1				7
Bala										1		1	2		1					5
Berth Chapel									1											1
Broughton												5	7	7	7	7	7			40
Bettws													1	1						2
Buttington													1	1		1	1	1		5
Colwyn																	5			5
Denbigh									2	7	8	7	14	12	18	22	28	21		139
Erryrs														1						1
Frankton		1	1	1					1	1	5	8	1	1	2		3	2		27
Gresford									6					1	1		3	1		12
Guilsfield									5	1			1				2			9
Hardewick									8											8
Hawarden							7					7	4	9	3			2		32
Hanmer	5	10																1		16
Hawarden							7		2								1			10
Holt									1											1
Llandyssil									2											2
Llanfechan									3	1	2	5	10	17					1	39
Llanfyllin																13	26	10		49
Llanmynech									2											2
LLysfaen									2								2			4
Llanrhaiader								1					2							3
Meifod									1											1
Moreton									1					6	5	5	4	1	4	26
Mostyn										1										1
Newtown									2		12	8	8		19	7	8			64
Oswestry			1	6	2		2	6			12	4		21	27	39	24	26		170
Overton						2	3		4	2	4	11	19	9	2		2	1	1	60
Pool Quay									1	1	1	2	2		2	2	1	1		13
Rhyl	3	1							3	1		16	15	13	11	16	13	23		115
Rossett									1	1	2									4
Ruabon								1	3	1		5	5							15
Sarn								2	3	1	1									7
Whittington									1								1	1	1	4
Wrexham															2	12		12	8	34

APPENDIX 12 C

DIOCESE OF ST. DAVIDS

LIST OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS,

BY PARISH, TO THE U.M.C.A. - 1881 - 1899

(All sums expressed in pounds, rounded up or down -)

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	TOTAL
Abbey Cwmhir												3	2	4	5	11	1	2		28
Aberedw										2	1	2	4	3	13	5	2	3	3	38
Aberystwyth							3			9	14	13	11	37	15	13	38	52	40	245
Bishopston												4	3	3	7			4	4	25
Boughrood						1		1	2	1	1									7
Brecon								4	8					5		14		15	7	53
Brynmaur												1				3		2		6
Builth					2	7	7	3	3	4	1	14	15	8	2	22	18		8	114
Cardigan													1		1	1				3
Carmarthen								1		3	1	5	19	8	17	8	2			64
Castle Martin	1	1			1												7		12	22
Cathedral														18					1	19
Cosheton						1				1	1	1		1						5
Crickhowell						1					9	3	4	2	4					23
Egl. Oen Duw	45	25	24	35	31	35	34	38	34	39	34	22	33	37	33	33	33	33	33	631
Glasbury						8							4							12
Haverfordwest									3				6	8	5					22
Kidwelly										2			1					1		4
Lampeter Coll								1	1	1	3	2	1	3	2	2	17	4	1	38
Lampeter				1	2	1			3	1	1	1	2	2	1		1		1	17
Laugharne			1	1		1							1							4
LLandrindodW					1	4					3	3	16	1	19	1	11		14	73
LLandyssil								6					2							8
Llanelli							1		3	2										6
Llangunider					1	1		1	1		3				4	1		1		13
LLanfihangel							1		1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1		1		13
LLanwrthwl					3	1					1	1	2							8
Llawhaden										1	1		1				1			4
Manorbier																1		3		4
Nantmel				2	1	4	1		1											9
Narberth						1					3								2	6
Newb-on-Wye				5	1	4			2	1	3	2	5	10	3	12	17	16	20	101
N/Castle Eml									1	2								6	3	12
Oxwich												2	1	1	3				2	9
Pembroke											2					2	3	3		10
Penally	16			7																23
Rhayader	2			1	5	2	1		1									2	1	15
Saundersfoot										2	1					4			1	8
St Davids								5	4										2	11
St. Florence									4		9								2	15
Sketty							6											1	2	10
Stackpole El		1		1			1	1	2		4					2			1	14
Swansea							2	1		4	6			2	1	9		9	33	71
Tenby													6	5		3		13	3	30
Walton East								1	2	2	2	3	2	2	2			2	2	21

APPENDIX 12 D

DIocese of Llandaff

LIST OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS,

BY PARISH, TO THE U.M.C.A. - 1881 - 1899

(All sums expressed in pounds, rounded up or down -)

(NOTE - Total for Aberdare includes Mrs. Johnson's personal contribution)

	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	TOTAL	
Mrs. Johnson	7	7	7	5	20	15	15	12	5											93	
Aberdare	17		24	27	27	86	42	43	26	23	14	26	26	42	49	76	10	42	24	624	
Abergavenny														4		3		5	7	19	
Barry														2						2	
Blaina												1		25						26	
Briton Ferry										1									4	5	
Caerleon								1		2			7		3	3	2		1	19	
Caldicot										1						1	1	1		4	
Cardiff			21	7	2	1	9		12	19	5	2	9		21	18	23	4	13	166	
Christchurch											1	1	1			1			1	5	
Cowbridge					5					3	2	9	2	5					1	8	35
LLandaff Cath				26				19		14						20	3	14		96	
LLandough							3						1	3					5	12	
LLandaff													5		2				3	15	
LLangattock					3		7	9	7	7	4	4	9			6	7	10	6	79	
LLantrisant												1		1		2				4	
Llanvair		10	2						5		4	3	3	2		4	4	1	1	39	
LLwynypia																10	3	4		17	
Maesteg																2	8	7	6	23	
M/T + Dowlais		2				6												1		9	
Michaelston										3		2		1		3				9	
Monmouth		19	43	55	54	34	38	45	43	34	26	24	14	18	27	20	17	28		539	
Mountain Ash		5	4			3	3	3	4	2	2	10	2	7	6	3	7	2		63	
Newbridge										7	4	4								15	
Newcastle												5			4					9	
Newport		8							8	8	22	49	34	63	18	49	1	63		323	
Penarth							12										6	20		38	
Peterston s/E										3		3		2	3			3		14	
Pontlottyn										2	2	1		1	1	3			4	14	
Pontypridd								3		17		8		12	8	16	21	15		100	
Roath	4		21	22	13	39	27	85	16	57	13	21	4		24	53	39	24	44	506	
Skenfrith								1	2					1						4	
Sully												2			2		4			8	
Tal-y-Garn												4	1		3		1	2		11	
Wenvoe												3	2	4	10				3	22	

APPENDIX 13

CONTRIBUTIONS TO U.M.C.A. 1885

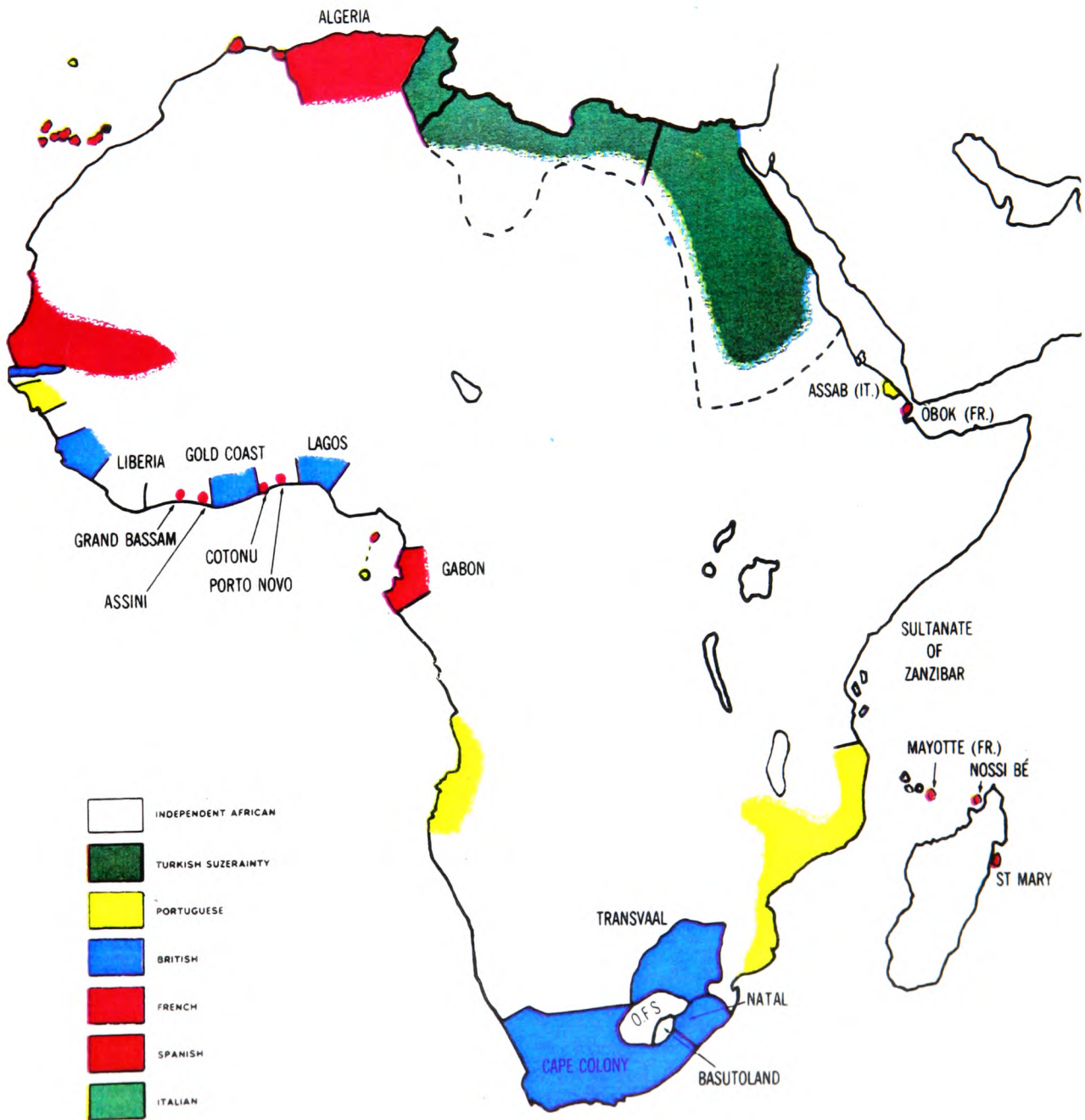
Oxford Univ	315
Cambridge Univ	229
Durham Uni	43
BANGOR	2
Bath & Wells	245
Canterbury	808
Carlisle	221
Chester	228
Chichester	788
Durham	102
Ely	217
Exeter	193
Glos & Bristol	334
Hereford	113
Lichfield	198
Lincoln	157
Liverpool	107
LLANDAFF	156
London	1315
Guild of St. Alban	39
Manchester	225
Newcastle	82
Norwich	91
Oxford	636
Peterborough	109
Ripon	165
Rochester	460
St. Alban's	459
ST. ASAPH	19
ST. DAVID'S	78
Salisbury	188
Southwell	199
Sodor & Man	1
Truro	22
Winchester	371
Wight - Isle of	79
Worcester	382
York	396
Drug Fund	284
Ireland	127
Scotland	116
Foreign Parts	320
General	64
Legacy	90
AVERAGE	231

Note - Average figure excludes London and includes only the Dioceses and not the Universities and others

APPENDIX 14A

POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA 1880

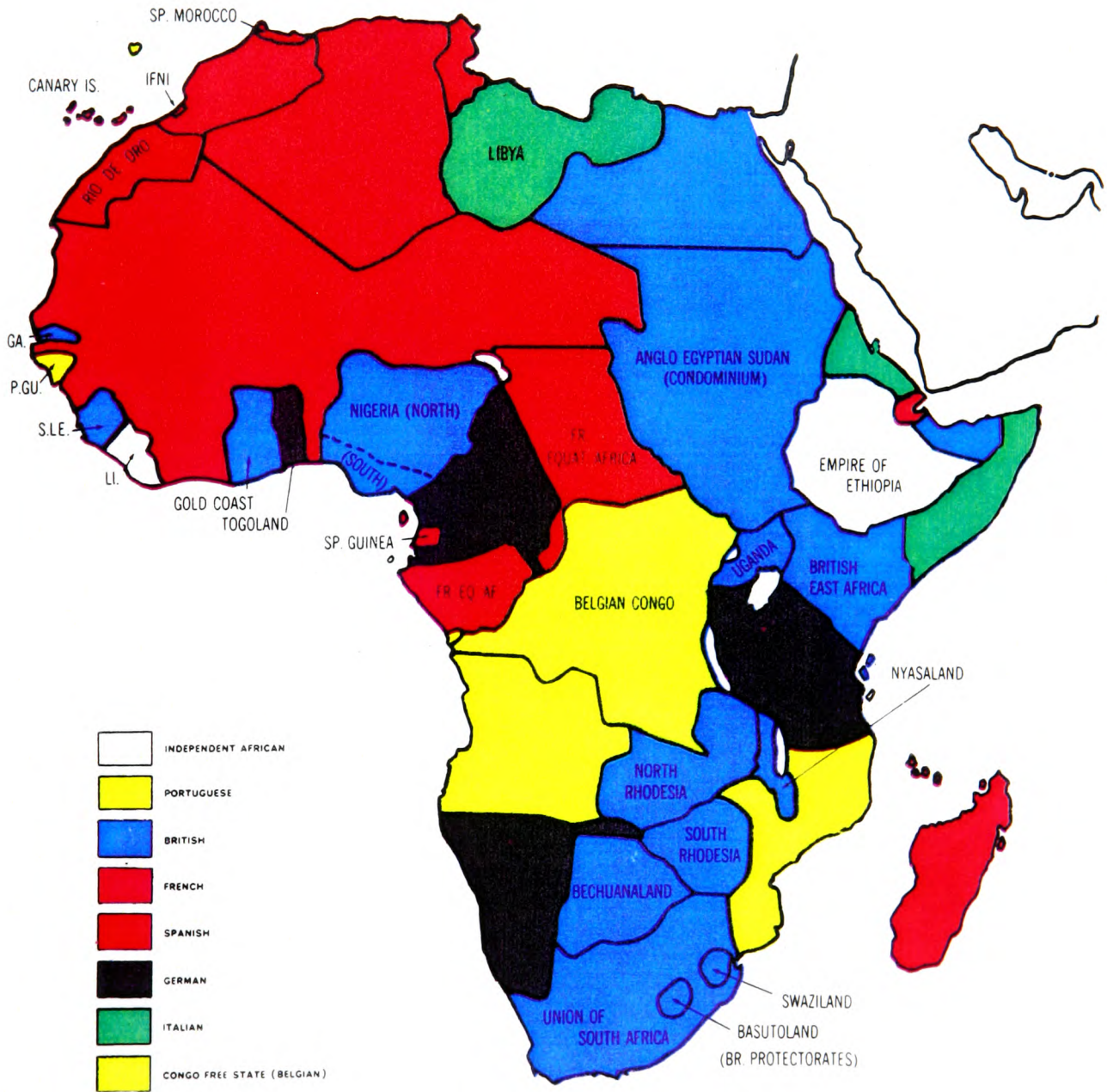
Taken from "Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries"
Edited Anene & Brown - University of Ibadan - 1966



APPENDIX 14B











POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA 1914

Taken from "Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries"
Edited Anene & Brown - University of Ibadan - 1966



LAKE NYASA AND W.P. JOHNSON'S JOURNEYS 1880-1883.

- K E Y -

-  First expedition (1880) ending in base at Matakas.
-  Circular exploration from Matakas.
-  Journey to Livingstonia (Monkey Bay) for medical treatment, with return to Matakas.
-  Return journey from Matakas to Masasi along varied route from forward journey.
-  Second expedition (1882) striking eastern shore of lake at Makanjila, continuing north to base at Chitesi.
-  Journey (by water) (S.S. Itala : African Lakes Company) to Kalonga, thence overland, in unsuccessful search for Nyaka-Nyaka people to northeast.
-  Return overland (500 mile round trip) to Chitesi; and across lake to Bandawe for medical treatment (Scottish Mission).
-  Journey (by water) to Livingstonia thence by River Shire to Blantyre, where order to return to England to report, received.
-  Diversion (before obeying order) on expedition overland to southernmost part of area visited on First Expedition (1880); and thence (by water) to Chitesi, terminal point of Second Expedition (1882) i.e., before northern "excursion"; returning finally, by boat, to Blantyre.
-  Journey overland to Quilimane, where boat joined for Zanzibar and thence to England (and Wales, notably, Aberdare).