



# Frank Weston of Zanzibar

## *An Assessment and Appreciation of an “Apostle to Africans”<sup>1</sup>*

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### Abstract

On 2 November 1924, Bishop Frank Weston died at Hegongo, in what is now Tanzania. He was a significant theologian and controversialist, defending an Anglicanism rooted in Chalcedonian theology and episcopal ecclesiology. He rejected modernist theology not least because it implied that African Christians had to adopt European liberalism to understand the gospel. He lambasted German and British colonial administrations as disingenuous and inhumane. His commitment to orthodox theology, social justice, and rejection of claims for European superiority, remain relevant in a world still marred by injustice and neocolonial matrices which would seek to diminish the people of Africa.

### Résumé

Le 2 novembre 1924, l'évêque Frank Weston est décédé à Hegongo, dans l'actuelle Tanzanie. Théologien et controversiste important, il défendait un anglicanisme enraciné dans la théologie chalcédonienne et l'ecclésiologie épiscopale. Il rejetait la théologie moderniste, notamment parce qu'elle impliquait que les chrétiens africains devaient adopter le libéralisme européen pour comprendre l'Évangile. Il a critiqué les administrations coloniales allemandes et britanniques en les qualifiant

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Byaruhanga, “Weston, Frank.”

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de malhonnêtes et d’inhumaines. Son engagement en faveur de la théologie orthodoxe, de la justice sociale et du rejet des prétentions à la supériorité européenne reste d’actualité dans un monde encore marqué par l’injustice et les matrices néocoloniales qui chercheraient à diminuer les peuples d’Afrique.

**Resumo**

A 2 de novembro de 1924, o Bispo Frank Weston morreu em Hegongo, na atual Tanzânia. Foi um importante teólogo e polêmico, defendendo um anglicanismo enraizado na teologia calcedoniana e na eclesiologia episcopal. Rejeitou a teologia modernista, sobretudo porque esta implicava que os cristãos africanos tinham de adotar o liberalismo europeu para compreender o Evangelho. Criticou as administrações coloniais alemã e britânica, considerando-as desonestas e desumanas. O seu compromisso com a teologia ortodoxa, a justiça social e a rejeição das reivindicações de superioridade europeia continuam a ser relevantes num mundo ainda marcado pela injustiça e por matrizes neocoloniais que procurariam diminuir o povo de África.

**Keywords**

African Christian history, Tanzania, Frank Weston, African agency

**Mots-clés**

Histoire chrétienne africaine, Tanzanie, Frank Weston, Agence africaine

**Palavras-chave**

História cristã africana, Tanzânia, Frank Weston, agência africana

**Introduction**

The late Lamin Sanneh challenged his readers to resist a simplistic reading of Christianity as a sanctified servant of the colonial enterprise.<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that there was no collaboration between mission and colonialism, but rather to note that this description is not appropriate universally. One of those who resists the easy identification, in Sanneh’s opinion, was David Livingstone, whose preaching in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge would inspire the foundation of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), an Anglican

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Lamin Sanneh, *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process: The African Dimension*, 102–106.

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High Church mission identified linked strongly to the Oxford Movement.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, UMCA’s first missionary endeavours took place in territories which were not part of existing colonial regimes. Based first at the Zambezi delta, the rate of attrition due to climate and illness forced a relocation to Zanzibar, at that stage a Sultanate, technically independent of European colonial regimes, even if becoming increasingly a client state in a shifting political and economic landscape.

After the notorious Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, much of the area in which the UMCA worked, essentially moving from the coast up the existing trading routes to the interior, were under British or German administration as in the 1913 map. Thus, missionary and colonial activities were not always synchronous. Nor were they always sympathetic to the political activities of existing regimes: UMCA was committed to an eradication of the slave trade, a significant part of the Zanzibari economy. The eventual achievement of this goal, though not entirely the work of the society, is still visible today in Anglican Cathedral at Mkunazini, in the old Stone Town of Zanzibar, which is built on the site of the former slave market. To the Anglican missionaries, “government must constantly be tested against the ideals of Christianity. If it failed them it must be condemned, publicly and with authority.”<sup>4</sup> Importantly, the UMCA was also committed to producing “an African clergy as early as possible.”<sup>5</sup> This is the environment into which Frank Weston (13 September 1871 – 2 November 1924) would work, first as a missionary priest and educator, and later as the Bishop of Zanzibar. His own political and theological views would also shape a distinctive theological and political programme which challenged the conventional orthodoxies of his day. These, however, are also products of the environments — African, ecclesial, and political — in which Weston operated.

## Biography

At 4:30 am on the morning of All Souls’ Day, 2 November 1924, Bishop Frank Weston, after being anointed and receiving the last rites, died at Hegongo, in the Tanga Region of Tanganyika, now the United Republic of Tanzania. He is laid to rest there, in a place which was central to his life, mission, and commitment to Africa and its peoples.

Frank Weston was born on 13 September 1871. He was educated at Dulwich College and Trinity College, Oxford, graduating with a first class degree in

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<sup>3</sup> A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, Vol.1: 1859–1909, 1–9; A. G. Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, Vol. 2: 1907–1932, 1–4.

<sup>4</sup> John Iliffe, “The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba,” 69.

<sup>5</sup> Terence O. Ranger, “The Apostle: Kolumba Msigala,” 13.

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Theology in 1893. He was ordained Deacon in 1894 and Priest in 1895. He served two curacies at St John’s Stratford East, (1894–1896) and St Matthews, Westminster (1896–1898). He joined the Universities’ Mission to central Africa in 1898 and served as Chaplain, St Andrew’s Training College, Kiungani (1898–99), St Mark’s Theological College (1899–1901), Principal, St Andrew’s Training College, Kiungani (1901–1908), Principal/Rector, St Mark’s Theological College (1906–1908). He was consecrated Bishop, Zanzibar, 1908–1923. During the First World War, he served in the British Army’s Carrier Corps, reaching the rank of Major.<sup>6</sup>

Weston was a leading light in the Anglo-Catholic movement of the 1920s,<sup>7</sup> praised for his oratory, and his personality. He was not tolerant of ecumenism and opposed the proposals of the Kikuyu Missionary Conference of 1913<sup>8</sup> for an ecclesiastical federation and inter-communion, even if this would have taken place under Anglican leadership.<sup>9</sup> His theological interests were varied. They included a significant theological study, *The One Christ*,<sup>10</sup> which has been highly praised:

- A “truly great book,”<sup>11</sup>
- “which scholars were still debating seventy years later.”<sup>12</sup>
- “One of the most neglected of all books on the person of Christ,” it is “simple and plausible”, “maintain[ing] its value and

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<sup>6</sup> According to Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, “for his efforts the Bishop was awarded ‘the local rank of Major (but never gazetted)’.” *A History of the Church in Africa*, 612.

<sup>7</sup> Sundkler and Steed describe him as “the living embodiment of the Anglo-Catholic movement.” *A History of the Church in Africa*, 878.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the Conference, see Julius Gathogo, “The early attempts at ecumenical co-operation in East Africa: the case of the Kikuyu Conference of 1913” and Christopher Byaruhanga’s discussion in “Nineteenth Century Missionary Enterprise in East Africa,” chapter 3 in his *The History and Theology of the Ecumenical Movement in East Africa*.

<sup>9</sup> The Kikuyu Conference was born out of a spirit of ecumenicity and a hope for renewed ecclesial unity, or at least cooperation. But such early initiatives for cooperation in East Africa largely failed because they were primarily attempts at cooperation between missionary societies rather than between churches and also because they excluded African Christians, with the result that “the missing African dimension . . . meant that [African Christians] had no influence over the form of the future Christian church in Africa.” Sam Kobia, “Denominationalism in Africa: The Pitfalls of Institutional Ecumenism,” 302. Sundkler and Steed lament that “no African was invited to the negotiations, despite the fact that they were the ones concerned.” *History of the Church in Africa*, 561.

<sup>10</sup> Frank Weston, *The One Christ: An Enquiry into the Manner of the Incarnation*.

<sup>11</sup> Donald M. MacKinnon, *Borderlands of Theology and Other Essays*, 112.

<sup>12</sup> John S. Peart-Binns, *Herbert Hensley Henson: A Biography*, 115.

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relevance through to the present day in relation to those Christologies which start from the standpoint of Chalcedonian doctrine.”<sup>13</sup>

His other writings engaged with issues of ecclesiology, mission, and political theology. His remarks remain pertinent today. The Anglican Communion is still grappling with issues he discusses in his more provocative, controversial, and polemic texts. Yet, for all that he may seem a difficult opponent, he could work constructively with those who held views deeply critical of his Anglo-Catholic theology and practice. His critique of colonial practice, aimed both at German and British administrations, would provoke reviews and changes in government policy.<sup>14</sup> Weston’s rejection of colonialism is just one example of what Lamin Sanneh has identified as problematic: the simplistic notion that Christianity and Christian missions were always the handmaid of colonialism. Borrowing one of the oldest stories from European culture, he could say that:

The missionary movement turned colonial empires into cathedrals of variety, difference, and irony, making religion in the empire a Trojan horse. The idea that Europe could take other lands and impose its own ideas and standards on the people was abandoned in deference to local realities for long-term security and stability.<sup>15</sup>

Or was it? Unfortunately, even today, the imposition of Eurocentric patterns on non-Western cultures and peoples persists. Weston, as shall be seen, would have no truck with such conceits.

For the purposes of this essay, Weston’s legacy will be examined under some of those headings, and provide primary materials, as well as comment on them, to allow his thoughts to be heard addressing his own contexts, as well as their enduring significance, particularly for those who would wish to identify with his legacy. Christopher Byaruhanga, an Anglican theologian and churchman from Uganda, identifies two particular concerns which emerged from what might be termed Anglican “comprehensiveness”:

Although Weston was a great missionary scholar, administrator, and preacher, the undue relaxation of historic teaching and discipline in the name of “comprehensiveness” by the Anglican Communion often gave him cause for anxiety. This troubling trend exhibited itself at the 1913 Kikuyu Conference and in a collection

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<sup>13</sup> Brenda C. Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston: A Reappraisal,” 73.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Porter, “The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Twentieth Century Colonial Encounter,” 88; James Tengtenga, *The UMCA in Malawi: A History of the Anglican Church 1861–2010*, 227.

<sup>15</sup> Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity*, 149.

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of essays called “the Foundations.”<sup>16</sup>

This provides a neat set of categories to explore Weston’s theological work.

### **Foundations and Christology**

Weston held a deep commitment to the traditional and credal formulations of the church. As noted, his *The One Christ* is rooted firmly within the tradition of Chalcedon.<sup>17</sup> His starting point is that “the Person who became incarnate is purely divine”:<sup>18</sup> an “Alexandrine” and “God-centred” perspective.<sup>19</sup> Identified as the divine Logos, this person is unlimited in ability on a cosmic level, but limited in the Incarnation to “manhood’s capacity to mediate divine power.”<sup>20</sup> In a kenotic theology, the Logos chooses to take on the limits demanded by the Incarnation: self-limitation.<sup>21</sup> Brenda C. Cross comments that Weston’s “great contribution to Christological thought is his central conception of the Logos self-restrained within the limits of manhood.”<sup>22</sup> With this, “he would seem to preserve in his basic theory of the self-restrained Logos the best of Antiochene and Alexandrine thought.”<sup>23</sup> This allows Weston to maintain the humanity and divinity of the Incarnate Logos, but also to say that they are somehow one: “There is an essential (but not existential) relationship between the divine and human natures, and there is a moral identity of will (in terms of result). If we are to keep within the bounds of Chalcedon, the incarnate is one person but two natures.”<sup>24</sup> This limitation which allows this is vital for the Incarnation to be real rather than illusory, and does not occur only within the Incarnation, but within the eternal dimensions and activities of the Logos.<sup>25</sup> Yet, one problem remains. Whilst Weston made great emphasis of limitation, he struggled to accept that this might imply limitations in the extent of Jesus’ knowledge:

This Weston refused to acknowledge. The infallibility of Christ and his Messianic vocation were inviolate. Here the discussion turns on what we consider the extent of the divine influence, or to put it another way, in Weston’s terms, their capacity of the manhood for giving and receiving knowledge, and of what kind this knowledge would be. But, in one sense, we cannot blame Weston for not

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<sup>16</sup> Byaruhanga, “Weston, Frank.”

<sup>17</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 74.

<sup>18</sup> Weston, *The One Christ*, 149.

<sup>19</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 73.

<sup>20</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 73.

<sup>21</sup> For Weston’s critique of varieties of kenosis and their resolution in self-limitation, see *The One Christ*, 117–199.

<sup>22</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 76.

<sup>23</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 86.

<sup>24</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 89.

<sup>25</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 77–78.

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‘thinking through’ to the logical end of his ideas. He had by nature a conservative mind and biblical criticism was anathema if it meant questioning the infallibility of Christ.<sup>26</sup>

There is an irony here: his own explorations of self-limitation would have logically allowed such a conclusion, but his unflinching orthodoxy could not bring him to say as much.

He rejected wholeheartedly modern theology’s rejections of ancient standards. A particular focus of his wrath was the volume *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought*.<sup>27</sup> In his critique, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, Weston presents a brutal polemic and binary opposition of the modern perspective which places orthodoxy in a strict opposition to many of the claims of that volume’s biblical scholarship. Subsequent scholarly debate which has moved beyond the “faith vs. history” dichotomy allows more validity to some of the points made by modern biblical scholarship than Weston did. It may well be that Weston would have rejoiced to see later generations of biblical scholars and theologians revive and endorse the central claims of the Bible which he saw removed by the writers of *Foundations*, whose position he summarized as:

- (a) that the Old Testament is the record of the religious experiences of holy men who lived roughly from 800 B.C. onwards; some of whom wrote the so-called historical books in order to shew how, in their view, God acted in circumstances that quite possibly, and in many cases probably, never existed;
- (b) that the Christ’s historic life opens with His baptism, at which He suddenly realized a vocation to be the last of the Jewish Prophets;
- (c) that Christ did not come into the world to die for us; but having come, He died because of the circumstances of the case;
- (d) that Christ was mistaken in what He taught about His Second Advent, thinking that the world would not outlast St. John;
- (e) that therefore He did not found a Church, nor ordain Sacraments;
- (f) that His body has gone to corruption;
- (g) that there is no Authority in the Church beyond the corporate witness of the Saints, many of whom are now unknown, to the spiritual and moral value of the Christian religion.

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<sup>26</sup> Cross, “The Christology of Frank Weston,” 80.

<sup>27</sup> B. H. Streeter et al., *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought* By Seven Oxford Men.

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Thus it is allowed by the Seven to any priest to deny the Trustworthiness of the Bible, the Authority of the Church, and the Infallibility of Christ.<sup>28</sup>

More recent scholars would point out that claims for historicity and theological truth in biblical narratives are again more recognized now than in the liberal scholarship of Weston’s time,<sup>29</sup> and point to the recovery of both high christological,<sup>30</sup> and proto-trinitarian<sup>31</sup> readings of the NT, the continued development of thinking about atonement,<sup>32</sup> eschatology, church, mission,<sup>33</sup> and sacraments.<sup>34</sup> Most of these were set aside in the modernist readings of Weston’s period. These fashions, however, would prove short-lived. The warning signs were already present when Weston wrote. Albert Schweitzer’s monumental *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*,<sup>35</sup> first published in German in 1906, had laid bare the shortcomings of the new Higher Criticisms.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Frank Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana: For What Does She Stand?: An Open letter to the Right Reverend Father in God Edgar, Lord Bishop of St. Albans*, n.p.

<sup>29</sup> Consider the resurgence of interest in the Gospel of John as historically plausible, which is widely at odds with the prevalent modern view in Weston’s time, that Mark was the most reliable source, and all the others were infected by greater intrusions of dogmatism.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity*.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., Matthew W. Bates, *The Birth of the Trinity in the New Testament: Jesus, God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament*.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Hans Boersma, *Violence, Hospitality, and the Cross: Reappropriating the Atonement Tradition*.

<sup>33</sup> For the discussion of Jesus’s eschatology as more than a simple choice between imminent or late, and the related founding of a movement, see Dale C. Allison, *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History*, 67–76.

<sup>34</sup> This is in part due to the recovery of interest in Paul and the gospel of John. Donald MacKinnon long ago suggested that both may be “far nearer to the Jesus of history than is normally allowed” by “the ruling reconstruction of the development of primitive Christianity.” MacKinnon, *Borderlands of Theology*, 55.

<sup>35</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*.

<sup>36</sup> Weston, though, would not have agreed with the results, as Schweitzer’s work effectively ended for a generation claims within the academy to identify the historical Jesus, whom Weston identified wholly with the witness preserved in the Scriptures and subsequent apostolic and episcopal tradition. The blunt instruments of the early twentieth century debate would receive modification. Not least, the refining of a crude “history vs. faith” distinction has rendered the crude opposition of Weston’s time obsolete; Sandra M. Schneiders, *The Revelatory Text: Interpreting the New Testament as Sacred Scripture*, 97–111. Indeed, the aspirations of modernism to claim scientific, objective, and universal analyses have been found equally wanting. For example,



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The nub of the matter is found in that last sentence of Weston’s. There is a fundamental *a priori* decision about whether the tradition is trustworthy or not which needs to be made. This does not deny critical enquiry, or even the use of critical tools and methods of reading which are always capable of drawing fresh insights from the material under examination, but it does imply an attitude that the tradition is trustworthy. This, of course, aligns well with the pivotal New Testament concept *pístis* (traditionally translated as ‘faith’, ‘trust’, or ‘belief’) which embraces all of faith, trust, and allegiance rather than pure reason or rationality.<sup>37</sup> Weston’s debate with the modernists takes us into territory in which we might ask what basic attitude shapes the way we read: trust, suspicion, or even paranoia.<sup>38</sup> He believed that faith and truth are to be found in Bible, Church, and Christ, rather than modern thought:

It is easy to see the method of the thorough-going Modernist: he is a “modern thinker” and frankly throws over faith for reason, keeping just so much of what corporate faith has stored up for him as approves itself to his moral and spiritual measures. But these experiments of the younger men neither start from faith nor finish in pure reason; they are themselves the measures of individual readiness to sacrifice the past for the sake of the present: whereas all that really matters is the future.<sup>39</sup>

His comments anticipate what the later developments revealed: that “modern thinking” was not some better way to truth than faith. Nor, indeed, would the kinds of historical truth which modernism claimed to rescue from dogmatic corruption provide the answer. Confirmation of a significant foundational role for faith rather than history is rehearsed by MacKinnon, whose praise for Weston’s thinking has already been noted:

Yet faith is most certainly not another name for historical certainty, nor does the achievement of a greater measure of such certainty make faith itself less a problem and a mystery. *Faith is something which goes before historical reconstruction, and is something which*

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Michael Polanyi, whose *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* showed the extent to which hard scientific studies depend on consensus and lack objectivity (150–160), and Thomas Nagel, who rejected the concept of an objective, scientific “view from nowhere” (*The View from Nowhere*), have further laid bare such pretensions.

<sup>37</sup> Matthew W. Bates, *Salvation by Allegiance Alone: Rethinking Faith, Works and the Gospel of Jesus the King*; Teresa Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches*.

<sup>38</sup> Fergus J. King, “More Than a Vapid Sound: The Case for a Hermeneutic of Resonance,” 91–92.

<sup>39</sup> Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, n.p.

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*even conditions its most radical exercise, relating it to its own intense and searching discipline.*<sup>40</sup>

It is Weston’s particular articulation of faith which puts him at odds with his opponents, Protestant or modern. The question his legacy leaves is this: to trust in the faith of the church as preserved and transmitted in the episcopal tradition, or to trust rather to our own intellectual abilities and the spirit of the age or place. In Weston’s view, only that received episcopal tradition with its already visible catholic<sup>41</sup> ability to transcend fashion and geography would do.

### **The Kikuyu Controversy and Ecclesiology**

Weston’s deep commitment to episcopacy would further manifest itself in resistance to the increasingly ecumenical thrust of global mission in which comity agreements between different denominations and churches began to ask fundamental questions about the necessary structures of the church: did, for example, they need to include the historic episcopate, or were alternative structures such as the congregational and presbyterian varieties of Western Christianity<sup>42</sup> equally valid expressions of church.

The Kikuyu Controversy — called the Westonian controversy by some<sup>43</sup> — of 1913 revealed Weston to be as deeply opposed to non-catholic forms of Protestantism as to modernism. The Kikuyu Missionary Conference was held in June of that year in Kikuyu in British East Africa<sup>44</sup> (now Kikuyu Town in Kenya). It was the last of a series of meetings, started in 1904, of representatives of different church mission bodies in East Africa, both Anglican and Protestant, was presided over by the Anglican bishops of Uganda and Mombasa and set on “an ecclesiastical federation and intercommunion under Anglican leadership.”<sup>45</sup> Weston was not in attendance, but objected vigorously — going so far as indicting “his fellow [Anglican] Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda for heresy

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<sup>40</sup> MacKinnon, *Borderlands of Theology*, 79. Italics added for emphasis.

<sup>41</sup> For Weston, and for Anglo-Catholics generally, *catholic* is not synonymous with *Roman Catholic* and thus does not refer to the denomination led by the Roman Catholic pope. Rather, it literally means ecclesially *catholic* or ‘universal’ — that which the Church has always and everywhere believed and practiced. We maintain this usage in this article and will specify *Roman Catholic* when that denomination is meant.

<sup>42</sup> It should be remembered that these, with few exceptions, are forms of church government which emerged primarily in Western Europe at the time of the Reformation. Eastern and Oriental Orthodoxies (including the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt and the Orthodox Tewahedo Church of Ethiopia), as well as the Church of the East and ancient Indian churches, maintained their episcopal forms.

<sup>43</sup> Gathogo, “Early attempts at ecumenical co-operation,” 80–85.

<sup>44</sup> Mark Chapman, “The 1913 Kikuyu Conference, Anglo Catholics and the Church of England,” 121.

<sup>45</sup> Porter, “The Universities’ Mission,” 87.

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because of their participation in a joint communion service” following that Conference,<sup>46</sup> accusing them of “propagating heresy and committing schism” in a letter he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>47</sup> The ecumenical acceptance of non-conformist ecclesiastical structures which would be implied by intercommunion was, for him, tantamount to declaring the episcopate a matter of choice rather than necessity, and threatened its status as the legitimate continuation of the authority of Christ and the guarantor of orthodoxy. The ecumenical drive for comprehensiveness within the Anglican Communion resulted, Weston believed, in an “undue relaxation of” the Church’s “historic teaching and discipline,”<sup>48</sup> making the disagreement a matter of obedience to Christ. He thus saw a distinct schism between what he would deem catholic<sup>49</sup> and protestant ecclesiologies and orthodoxies:

The differences between the catholic and protestant interpretations of the formulas of the Church are so well known to us that we hardly need explain them. As was said above, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* has always desired to find room for those who otherwise must pass into schism, and their translation of privilege into right has so far been accepted popularly in England that we, who claim the older interpretation as true, have suffered much at their lips. To-day we are justified. For in British East Africa and Uganda the protestantizing party has developed itself with a grim logic, in warm-hearted love of souls, and at Kikuyu announced clearly the Deposit that it was prepared to make over to the new African Church.

Let us for a moment consider the negative side of the Deposit:

- (a) It does not contain the Creed commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius.
- (b) It does not contain the Rite, or Sacrament, of Confirmation.
- (c) It does not contain the Rite, or Sacrament, of Absolution.
- (d) It does not contain Episcopacy.
- (e) It does not provide a Priest for the Celebration of the Holy Communion.
- (f) It does not contain a rule of Infant Baptism,
- (g) It does not know the Catholic Church, or the

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<sup>46</sup> Kevin Ward, “The First World War and Mission in the Anglican Communion,” 108.

<sup>47</sup> Chapman, “The 1913 Kikuyu Conference,” 127.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Byaruhanga, “The Legacy of Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar 1871–1924 in the Global South Anglicanism,” 257.

<sup>49</sup> Remembering that for Weston, “catholic” did not mean Roman Catholic, but the church of the conciliar and patristic eras.

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Communion of Saints, except in such a general sense as is already admitted by the four protestant bodies that have joined the Federation.<sup>50</sup>

The list makes obvious Weston’s commitment to the faith and practice of conciliar Christianity as necessary for the shaping of the church in marked contrast to positions which would be well described as *sola Scriptura* (Latin: ‘Scripture alone’), based on the Bible alone. It also reveals his view that episcopacy is an *esse* (‘an essential requirement’), not a *bene esse* (‘an option or preference’) for what he considered the true church.<sup>51</sup>

This doctrinal difference is *episcopacy*, which for Weston is not a doctrine a denomination may or may not choose as it sees fit, but is *absolutely essential* to the Christian faith. Consequently, the issue raised by the Kikuyu Conference is ‘whether life in fellowship with the Episcopate be, or be not, the evident condition of retaining a full membership in the Catholic Church, and, therefore, of approach to the altar of that Church. All else is beside the point.’ The key issue, then, is whether episcopacy is a *sine qua non* for the

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<sup>50</sup> Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, n.p.

<sup>51</sup> The Latin term *esse* literally means ‘to be’; sixteenth century Anglican divine Richard Hooker (c. 1554 – 1600) used the term to refer to whatever belongs to the essence of Christianity, distinguishing between *esse*, i.e., what is essential to the Christian faith, and *bene esse* (literally ‘to be well’), i.e., that which is not essential yet is beneficial to the life of the Church. Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), Archbishop of Canterbury (1604–1610) borrowed the language and “held that bishops were of the *esse* of the Church.” Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, Part 3, *From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690–1850*, 262.

The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, adopted by the bishops of the Anglican Communion in 1888, listed four essential elements on which Anglican churches could not compromise: 1) “the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the revealed Word of God” and, as such, contain everything necessary for salvation, 2) the Nicene Creed is “the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith,” 3) the centrality of the two Sacraments, “Baptism and the Supper of the Lord”, and 4) “the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted . . . “to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God.” For the Anglican Communion to contemplate communion with Christians of another tradition, the other church must affirm all four of these. But at the Kikuyu Missionary Conference, Anglican bishops communed (shared the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord) with Christians who did not accept the historic episcopate as essential, thereby in effect challenging the Lambeth Quadrilateral. That is why Weston protested so vigorously.

For an analysis of the Quadrilateral’s understanding of episcopacy as essential to the nature and life of the Church, see Ansley Tucker, “The Historic Episcopate in Anglican Ecclesiology: The *Esse* Perspective.”

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Church of England or an optional extra.<sup>52</sup>

Weston petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to resolve the issue, warning that a failure to affirm the necessity of the episcopate would effectively mean that the church was no longer the church. The debate was aired in public letters and correspondence. The final result saw Weston vindicated. The proposal for intercommunion with nonconformists was shelved. The consequences of the controversy would echo for decades. When the united Churches, such as those of North India and South India, emerged, they would adopt an episcopal form of government. Still, more recently, Anglicans have found it easier to enter into agreements about intercommunion, such as the Porvoo agreement (1992), with churches which have maintained episcopal forms of government.

Weston’s resistance to Kikuyu provoked hostile assessments of his character. Thus, Herbert Hensley Henson, then Dean of Durham, commented that he “discloses a temper which is no longer normal among religious people.”<sup>53</sup> More recently he has been described as “impetuous and emotional” and “a man of single-minded devotion in whom the passion for souls burned fiercely”: in regard to Kikuyu, “his fury was frenzied.”<sup>54</sup>

It would be possible to conclude that Weston was a formidable controversialist, but this would not be the whole picture. It is true that his reaction to Henson’s appointment as Bishop of Hereford was equally spectacular. He viewed Henson’s acceptance of liberal theologians like B.H. Streeter as intolerable, and declared that he was no longer in communion with Hereford.<sup>55</sup> For all that, Henson’s assessment of Weston damned with faint praise:

in my belief he was a very good unselfish Christian, with all a fanatic’s injustice, but by nature entirely lovable. It was impossible not to feel his charm even when one execrated his bigotry. . . . His practical sagacity was quite conspicuously great whenever his fanaticism did not influence his judgement.<sup>56</sup>

For all their differences, the Lambeth Conference of 1920 would see both collaborate to produce one of the key documents (“An Appeal to All Christian People”) to emerge: “the ‘Appeal’ . . . would never have been brought to fruition

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<sup>52</sup> David R. Law, “Frank Weston, the Kikuyu Controversy, and the Necessity of Episcopacy,” 220.

<sup>53</sup> Law, “Frank Weston,” 227; citing H. Hensley Henson, “The Issue of Kikuyu,” *The Edinburgh Review* 448 (1914): 257–283, 280.

<sup>54</sup> Peart-Binns, *Herbert Hensley Henson*, 115.

<sup>55</sup> Peart-Binns, *Herbert Hensley Henson*, 116. Weston’s views are set out in *The Christ and the Critics*, of which more below.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Peart-Binns, *Herbert Hensley Henson*, 116.

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without the co-operative draftsmanship of Weston and Henson working together in the Library or in the Chaplain’s room between the formal sittings.”<sup>57</sup>

Not all were as hostile. Bishop Gore of Oxford wrote of *Ecclesia Anglicana* that:

The Bishop of Zanzibar has certainly succeeded in raising in an acute form the question of the coherence of the Church of England and of the Anglican Communion generally. I cannot but think that, at least in this general sense, he has done us a great service. We Church people have of recent years shown ourselves unmistakably anxious to avoid questions of principle. We have let ourselves drift.<sup>58</sup>

There was, indeed, more to Weston than a contrary Catholicism. However expressed his Catholic sensibility was profound, and not just intellectual. It was founded on a deep sense of justice. His remarks to the Anglo-Catholic Conference of 1923, a gathering which might have been tempted to adopt a triumphalist ritualism given the advances made in recovering Catholic expressions of worship within the Church of England, cautioned:

... when you come out from before your tabernacles, you must walk with Christ, mystically present in you, through the streets of this country, and find the same Christ in the people of your cities and villages. You cannot claim to worship Christ in the tabernacle if you do not pity Jesus in the slum. . . . It is folly, it is madness, to suppose that you can worship Jesus in the sacrament and on the throne of glory when you are sweating Him in the bodies and souls of his children. . . . You have your Mass, you have your altars, you have begun to have your tabernacles. Now go out into the highways and hedges, and look for Jesus in the ragged and the naked, in the oppressed and the sweated, in those who have lost hope and in those who are struggling to make good. Look for Jesus in them; and when you find Him, gird yourselves with His towel of fellowship, and wash His feet in the person of His brethren.<sup>59</sup>

Thus, his theology and understanding of the sacraments connect with a profound political sensibility. The political dimensions are less well known. Some of these include comments which appear in a work from a few years later, his pamphlet, *The Serfs of Great Britain*, which contains the vestiges of his ongoing differences with some of his fellow missionaries. At the end of his impassioned condemnation of British colonial administration, he notes that “the Memorandum signed by the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda, and by Dr.

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<sup>57</sup> Peart-Binns, *Herbert Hensley Henson*, 117.

<sup>58</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 70.

<sup>59</sup> Frank Weston, *In Defence of the English Catholic*, 30.

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Arthur of the Church of Scotland, . . . admits that pressure must be used to obtain labour in East Africa, much as they regret the need.”<sup>60</sup> Weston was again out of step, concluding his diatribe:

It is necessary to allude to this Memorandum because many people have taken Lord Milner’s line of quoting these leaders of the Kikuyu Alliance of East Africa Missionary Societies as a sufficient justification of Forced Labour. I wish to make it clear that some of us who are missionaries will not agree to any such policy. We regard forced labour, apart from war, as in itself immoral; and we hold that forcing Africans to work in the interests of European civilization is a betrayal of the weaker to the financial interests of the stronger race.<sup>61</sup>

Weston’s words here should not be construed as claims for European superiority. He is careful to stress the appropriation of the Memorandum by the colonial establishment, noting, in fact, its preferences about “‘encouragement’ to work on plantations” with a degree of choice in the potential place where “forced labour” might be undertaken, and its ideal that “all labour should be voluntary.”<sup>62</sup> However, his real scorn had been poured out on the British government in a classic *praeteritio*<sup>63</sup> at the beginning of the piece: “I do not pause to remark upon the utter callousness of the government, its broken pledge, or its hypocritical invocation of God’s name . . .”<sup>64</sup> There was no doubt about where the fault truly lay. Christianity is not always the ally of colonialism. That he not only critiques the colonial structures of the day, but also rejects claims for European superiority, can be further seen in his views of about mission. Details of his ministry and practice will reveal the high regard he had for African agency, not least in their crucial role in designing and implementing rituals which would integrate Christian faith and liturgy with traditional practices. They have been anticipated in his comments on the *Foundations*, and his wholesale rejection of the conceit that African Christians should adopt modalities of European thought.

## **Mission**

Weston’s views on episcopacy also informed his thinking about mission.

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<sup>60</sup> Frank Weston, *The Serfs of Great Britain: Being a Sequel to The Black Slaves of Prussia*, 11–12.

<sup>61</sup> Weston, *The Serfs of Great Britain*, 12.

<sup>62</sup> Weston, *The Serfs of Great Britain*, 12.

<sup>63</sup> *Praeteritio*, a Latin rhetorical term, refers to calling attention to an issue by seeming to disregard it; the Greek term *paralipsis* (sometimes anglicized as ‘paralipse’) is a synonym.

<sup>64</sup> Weston, *The Serfs of Great Britain*, 3.

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He considered it to preserve reliably the full unbroken teaching and intention of Jesus of Nazareth. He was able to see how other cultural, social, and political factors might compromise that body of faith and its spread. Indeed, they might be seen as limiting, if not choking, the potential propagation of the gospel into new cultures. His writings reveal his struggles with Anglican missionary strategies which were based in the northern hemisphere:

I and my people constitute a missionary diocese: we have no regular diocesan organization beyond a Synod of Priests and a Cathedral Chapter: the Bishop has no seat in a Provincial Synod, nor is he given any canonical position in the counsels of his Metropolitan. We come from Canterbury, we lean on Canterbury, we are subject to the judgement of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury: yet Canterbury as a Province knows us not, and gives us no share in deliberations over matters that affect us vitally, as part of the Province.<sup>65</sup>

There is a critical edge, we would suggest, to his words — an implication of dissatisfaction. The remarks which follow this imply a desire to see the establishment of an African church, presumably with an African leadership:

That is to say, we are missionaries, we have been sent, and here we are. If we ask for what we have been sent, we are told that we are here to found and edify a church of Africans who shall be in communion with Canterbury, giving them the Deposit of Faith to which the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, in common with all catholic Christendom, bears its witness.<sup>66</sup>

These words, published in 1914, which hint at African ecclesial leadership, began to be realized shortly after the end of the War, as Weston then “ordained seven [African] priests, after an accelerated track” of training through the diaconate.<sup>67</sup> With deeper vision “than most,” Weston reminded the missionaries under his authority “that ‘the African and not we are the permanent leaders of the African church’.”<sup>68</sup>

His work as a theological educator on Zanzibar reveals Weston “had a vision of a vigorous and self-correcting African Church with her own theology,”<sup>69</sup> but such a reality would not emerge until the second half of the twentieth century. A number of factors contributing to this may be identified:

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<sup>65</sup> Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

<sup>66</sup> Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

<sup>67</sup> Morgan J. Robinson, *A Language for the World: The Standardization of Swahili*, 90.

<sup>68</sup> Sundkler and Steed, *History of the Church in Africa*, 614; the authors quote Weston but do not provide a citation.

<sup>69</sup> Byaruhanga, “The Legacy of Bishop Frank Weston,” 256; see also Byaruhanga, “Weston, Frank.”



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an apparent resistance to indigenous leadership across mission agencies at the time (seen in the virulent reaction to Roland Allen’s prescient writings such as *Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?*, first published in 1912), language (the privileging of Kiswahili might lead to a concomitant loss of ability in English which would hamper participation in what was essentially a diocese of the Church of England), and the Eurocentric processes for the appointment of bishops.<sup>70</sup> That said, Weston may have considered London-based appointments as embodying sound episcopal practice in the circumstances.<sup>71</sup> He also may have stymied his own pro-African feelings by an increased recruitment of expatriate personnel: a move driven by fears that high expectations of clergy discipline might not be met (despite his recognition of “most zealous and able ministers”), and also by a comparative dearth of vocations.<sup>72</sup> In spite of his early support for African ecclesial leadership, in 1908 he “publically called for increased European supervision,” feeling that it would be “two or three generations” more before “the native ministry” would be sufficiently mature for the task.<sup>73</sup>

Nonetheless, Weston was determined that missionary work from Europe should not simply transport European categories into African contexts, pointing towards a body of faith which he viewed as capable of different cultural presentations:

[The missionary bishop] is then Catholic rather than English, and aims at becoming an African Catholic, and the leader of African Catholics. That is to say, he desires to present the one unchangeable truth to Africa in such a way as to make it hereafter easy of interpretation by African thought, in African language. So far from looking forward to the day when Africans will mould the Revelation to their own minds, he would bring their minds into captivity to Christ, and it is his duty to make clear to them, once and for all, the meaning and scope of the authority in virtue of which he demands the response of their minds and hearts to their Saviour and his.

Thus inevitably the nature and office of the College of Bishops must be made clear to Africans; and it is impossible to hide from them that certain Christian bodies have rejected this catholic authority, some in favour of European non-Episcopal ministries,

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<sup>70</sup> Maimbo W. Mndolwa and Fergus King, “In Two Minds? African Experience and Preference in the UMCA and the Journey to Independence in Tanganyika,” 332–335.

<sup>71</sup> Porter, “The Universities’ Mission,” 89.

<sup>72</sup> Porter, “The Universities’ Mission,” 92–93, quotation from 93.

<sup>73</sup> Ranger, “The Apostle: Kolumba Msigala,” 16.

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some out of exaggerated loyalty to a European Papalism.<sup>74</sup>

Linked to this was his bitter opposition to what he identified as “modern thought.” He had no time for theological strategies which would demand that African Christians had to adopt the philosophical presuppositions of European thought, or the attendant claims for intellectual superiority which they entailed:

You will bear me out that Gethsemane and Calvary are most real in Africa; that Christ is brutally crucified here, crucified in the persons of Africans, by his professing followers... God in manhood, God on the Cross, God of the empty tomb. Now into the glory of our Calvary breaks the voice of prelatical and priestly liberalism. And its message, what is it? It is that Africans cannot possibly understand the Gospels, Church or sacraments until they re-interpret them in the light of modern European thought! Poor Africans: not yet among the wise of European thought.<sup>75</sup>

Again, this may stem from what he considers to be the foundations of faith, which he roots in life and its experience, not ratiocination.

He was further deeply concerned that such attitudes also implied worldly standards at the criteria for correct theology:

We appear to forget that our essential relation with eternal love is through the Response of Love incarnate, Jesus, the coloured-man of Nazareth. Moreover we ignore our relation with the poor Man of Galilee, the naked Christ of Calvary. And we allow ourselves to be, almost entirely, dominated by standards of wealth and caste the world about us approves . . . Eternal love, when He takes flesh, comes as a poor, coloured Man, whereas we dislike poverty and despise colour! How then can we preach love incarnate?<sup>76</sup>

Here may be seen a hermeneutic which is grounded in a deep morality and sense of justice. It was also rooted in a profound love for those amongst whom he lived.

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<sup>74</sup> Frank Weston, *The Case against Kikuyu: A Study in Vital Principles*, 40–41. By “against Kikuyu,” Weston was referring to the ecumenicity of the Kikuyu Conference, which Weston felt necessarily attacked the importance of the episcopacy, not to the Agikūyū people of Kenya. Note that missionaries such as those influenced by Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society shared similar aspirations; Peter Williams, “‘Not Transplanting’: Henry Venn’s Strategic Vision,” 148; Stanley, “The CMS and the Separation of Anglicanism from ‘Englishness,’” 349–350. Similar strategies underpinned the practice advocated later by John V. Taylor, and recognised by Jesse N. K. Mugambi: Mugambi, “Introduction,” xii–xiii.

<sup>75</sup> Weston, *The Christ and the Critics*, 68–69.

<sup>76</sup> Weston, *The Revelation of Eternal Love*, 157.

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Canon Kolumba Yohana Msigala, born as Lisapulu in what is now southeastern Tanzania, was an effective evangelist who was ordained as a deacon in 1901<sup>77</sup> and eventually served as a priest and then as a canon in the Anglican Church.<sup>78</sup> He left a record of Weston’s practice:

Every month he found opportunity to ask about the homes of these students, their customs and the state of the Christians where they lived, the best way to bring them up, and the state of advance of the Church at that time. There was indeed a period every month for students of each tribe and in this way he got at the heart of Africans, by being taught by his charges, the students who explained to him the act of shepherding the inhabitants of their different parts.<sup>79</sup>

A second unnamed African writer who served in the Carrier Corps, the military unit Weston established in the First World War, gave the following assessment:

The bishop loved the souls of his men, and knew all their weakness”. (*sic*) Again, it was “his custom to walk last [though he sometimes led the column], lest he should lose even one man on the way through weariness, or finding his load too heavy, or through sickness.” And the account ends thus: “On the whole expedition all the men obeyed every word of his without question not because they were afraid or forced [though the Bishop’s disciple was very strict and his punishment of offenders drastic], but because they realized that they must obey every word because of the way the Lord Bishop treated them, as a father and his children.”<sup>80</sup>

Weston, although obviously strict and firm in his opinions, left a legacy in which his respect and love for others was palpable, and has been manifested in those who followed him in ministry such as the late John Acland Ramadhani, another bishop, rooted in the UMCA tradition, whose love for those in his care was legendary.<sup>81</sup> Weston bequeathed not just liturgy and theology, but an ethos.

### **Legacy in Tanganyika/Zanzibar/Tanzania**

In the years of Weston’s episcopate, the diocese of Zanzibar was the single episcopal see in what are now identified as the *Pwani* (Coastal) or UMCA

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<sup>77</sup> Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa*, Vol.1: 1859–1909, 423.

<sup>78</sup> For details of Msigala’s biography and career as an evangelist, see Ranger, “The Apostle: Kolumba Msigala.”

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in Anne Marie Stoner-Eby, “African Clergy, Bishop Lucas and the Christianizing of Local Initiation Rites: Revisiting “The Masasi Case””, 179. See Kolumba Msigala, “Canon Kolumba’s Reminiscences.”

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Tengtenga, *The UMCA in Malawi*, 190–191.

<sup>81</sup> Patrick Bendera, Maimbo W. F. Mndolwa, and Fergus J. King, “John Acland Ramadhani.”

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dioceses within the Anglican Church of Tanzania. Devoted to his vocation and to those within the territory assigned to him, in July 1922 he recorded that he had walked a thousand miles (1,609 km) since mid-December 1921.<sup>82</sup> The second oldest diocese, Masasi, was not founded until 1926, two years after his death. Thus, Weston’s legacy includes the establishment of a number of parishes and institutions across what is now mainland Tanzania. During his episcopate, churches were established at Pemba Island, Masasi, Majembe, and Makonde, and the church at Mkomaindo rededicated.<sup>83</sup> Schools were also founded at Kwa Magome, Mpundu (Ruvuma), Kwitonji, Luatala,<sup>84</sup> and a hospital at Mkuzi.<sup>85</sup> He also founded Holy Water Point, currently a tourist attraction in Nilo Natural reserve.

The foundation of a theological college at Hegongo would increase the numbers of African clergy: by 1924, there were 21 African priests and eight deacons in the diocese.<sup>86</sup> That same year, Weston encouraged Kolumba Msigala to accept a call to go “as an apostle” with ecclesial authority over a large area, and that “without local white supervision.”<sup>87</sup> There was also growth in the provision of secondary schooling and teacher training at Kiungani and, later, Minaki.<sup>88</sup> A further educational legacy was Kiwanda Vocational Training Center. In this, he originated vocational education in Tanzania. Preparations were also started which would allow the subsequent foundation of the Diocese of Masasi.<sup>89</sup>

He developed a firm liturgical legacy. *Kitabu cha Sala za Kanuni Iliyvo Desturi ya Kanisa la Unguja* (Swahili: ‘The Book of Common Prayer according to the Usage of the Church in Zanzibar’) first appeared in 1919, and has been often reprinted. It is a decidedly Anglo-Catholic in ethos. It includes the Eucharist, Offices, a Calendar and hymns. Later versions would include occasional services for baptisms, marriage, confession, and burial services.<sup>90</sup> These rites continued to be used in some of the UMCA dioceses.

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<sup>82</sup> Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450–1950*, 422; citing H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, 276.

<sup>83</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 16, 19, 50, 154.

<sup>84</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 19, 20, 51.

<sup>85</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 43.

<sup>86</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 119, 162

<sup>87</sup> Ranger, “The Apostle: Kolumba Msigala,” 19.

<sup>88</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 167–168.

<sup>89</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 157.

<sup>90</sup> For example, *Kitabu Cha Ibada Za Kanuni na Kuhudumu Sakramenti Pamoja Na Kawaida Za Kanisa Iliyvo Desturi Ya Kanisa La Unguja* (“The Prescribed Rites for Worship and the Administration of the Sacraments according to the Practice of the

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In 1913, the first Christian *jando la kikristo* (Christian initiatory rites for boys) were held in Masasi;<sup>91</sup> equivalents for girls, *malango ya kikristo* (Christian initiatory rites for girls), would follow in 1922.<sup>92</sup> These rites meant that Anglican Christians might engage in a rite of passage in which catechetics and preparation for Confirmation replaced traditional religious beliefs, which were often animist, and ethics. Whilst their development has often been attributed to Vincent Lucas, who would become bishop of Masasi in 1926,<sup>93</sup> the dates here suggest that Weston would also have had a prior responsibility for their adoption, as the process started in 1907.<sup>94</sup> William Wynn Jones from Kongwa, in the low church evangelical tradition, was also privy to these developments.<sup>95</sup> However, the prime movers in any such process must be those African Christians who would both have identified the need and used their wisdom to formulate appropriate rituals and practices, as Anne Marie Stoner-Eby recognizes whilst also detailing the role of the missionaries.<sup>96</sup> The development of these rites potentially reveals both Weston’s respect for African people and culture and, again, his ability to work with Anglicans from a different tradition, just as did his work with Bishop Hensley Henson.

He was also responsible for the foundation of the religious life<sup>97</sup> within the Diocese of Zanzibar. Sister Margaret Anne (Cameron) from the Community of

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Church in Zanzibar’); *Unguja* is the proper name of the largest island of the Zanzibar archipelago.

<sup>91</sup> Stoner-Eby, “African Clergy,” 181.

<sup>92</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 154–157.

<sup>93</sup> Stoner-Eby, “African Clergy,” 172.

<sup>94</sup> Stoner-Eby, “African Clergy,” 178–184.

<sup>95</sup> Canon Hugh Prentice kindly supplied this information. Further evidence of Weston’s flexibility in dealing with CMS colleagues is provided in an anecdote recorded by Maynard Smith:

“He was ready to celebrate in churches of many types, and was scrupulous in conforming to their respective usages. One of his staff who travelled with him to Africa in 1920 tells me that there were several C.M.S. missionaries on board the ship. When Sunday came round they proposed that there should be two services, but Frank would not hear of it. He celebrated himself and in such a way that the most prejudiced C.M.S. clergyman was not shocked. He preached at the official service and attended the C.M.S. prayer meetings. Before the ship reached Mombasa, he and the C.M.S. missionaries were friends.

“He could always get on with devout evangelicals, for he was so essentially evangelical himself.” H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, 280.

<sup>96</sup> Stoner-Eby, “African Clergy,” 178–184; 201, footnotes 51–56; 202, footnotes 71–72.

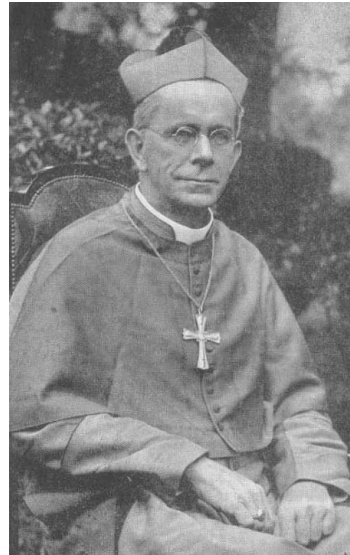
<sup>97</sup> Here “religious life” is used in the precise sense of communities of men or women who live together under a shared rule, usually monastic in nature. Members of such religious communities are often lay people. Before the coming of women’s ordination,

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St Margaret of Scotland (Aberdeen) was seconded for five years to be the first Mother of the Order. On May 29, 1910, the first sisters of what would become the Community of the Sacred Passion (CSP) arrived on Zanzibar. In 1911, Sr Frances was elected Superior and Sr Margaret Anne returned to Scotland.<sup>98</sup> Whilst the Community of the Sacred Passion is no longer active in Tanzania, it, in turn, seeded the *Chama cha Mariamu Mtakatifu* (‘Society of St Mary’ or CMM) which now has eleven houses throughout Tanzania and in Zambia.<sup>99</sup> CSP would have houses in Masasi, Njwara, Chiwata, Newala and Saidi Maumbo: some operated dispensaries.<sup>100</sup> Members of CMM describe Weston affectionately as their grandfather. Male religious life was realized with the foundation of the Priory of St. Peter at Mkuzi.<sup>101</sup> He was also responsible for the founding of the Scouts in Tanzania through St. Mary’s and St. Martin’s schools at Magila in 1917.

### Concluding Remarks<sup>102</sup>

Bishop Frank Weston made a significant contribution to the church in his own time: as both a theologian, and a bishop. He was a key personality in the Anglo-Catholic movement of his time. His legacy has persisted. His famous remarks reminding the Anglo-Catholics of the need for social justice as well as a sacramentalism adorned many parish walls. Weston condemned “publicly both the German and the British governments in Tanganyika for their exploitation of African labour.”<sup>103</sup> He transformed British colonial administration. The development of liturgy and education set in place the necessary components for an independent African church to emerge. In Tanzania, he left a legacy both of church growth, and a significant theological ethos in which Anglo-Catholicism was never an empty



Bishop Frank Weston

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Anglican female religious would all have been lay women. Sometimes, male religious might have been ordained as deacons or priests.

<sup>98</sup> Blood, *The History*, 15, 40–41.

<sup>99</sup> African Sisters of St Mary (CMM) Support Group, <https://www.africansisters.org.uk>

<sup>100</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 158–160

<sup>101</sup> Blood, *The History of the Universities’ Mission*, 46.

<sup>102</sup> Accompanying public domain image available at <https://anglicanhistory.org/weston/> and [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Weston\\_Zanzibar.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Weston_Zanzibar.jpg)

<sup>103</sup> Iliffe, “The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba,” 69–70.

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ritualism or formalism, but to be accompanied by firm faith, and deep discipline. His disdain for European claims of privilege anticipated and continue to resonate with the rejection of Eurocentric theologies and practice.<sup>104</sup> His memory is one which we neglect to our own detriment.

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<sup>104</sup> E.g., see, Robert E. Hood, *Must God Remain Greek? Afro-Cultures and God-Talk*; Willie James Jennings, *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origins of Race.*

<sup>105</sup> A digitized copy is available at <https://dn790002.ca.archive.org/0/items/historyofunivers00ande/historyofunivers00ande.pdf>

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<sup>106</sup> *Worship and Theology in England* was first published by Princeton University Press (1970–1965) in five volumes. In the Eerdmans reprint edition, volumes 1 and 2 of the first edition were printed in a single volume, and volumes 3 and 4 of the first edition were printed together as volume 2 of the Eerdmans edition.



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