

Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context

A CASE STUDY OF THE SUDAN UNITED MISSION

JAN HARM BOER

AMSTERDAM STUDIES
IN THEOLOGY

VOLUME I

MISSIONARY MESSENGERS OF LIBERATION IN A COLONIAL CONTEXT

Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a
Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan
United Mission

door

JAN HARM BOER

The logo for Rodopi, featuring the word "Rodopi" in a highly decorative, calligraphic script. The letters are intertwined and flourish, with the 'R' and 'P' being particularly prominent.

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Jan H. Boer

Jos, Nigeria, 1979.

INTRODUCTION

This work constitutes a case study on the question of the relationship between a Western Evangelical mission and colonialism. An extensive investigation of this problem in general has been undertaken by Bishop Stephen Neill,¹ but its very strength, that is, its global coverage, is also its weakness. It was impossible for Neill to go beyond the historical phenomena to the theological-philosophical roots of these relationships. He himself recognizes the introductory nature of this attempt. Much "preliminary research" remains to be done, he admits, while frequently "only tentative opinions" have been offered. Moreover, each chapter "could easily be expanded into a book."² One attempt to fill the vacuum has been undertaken by Bishop de Vries, whose dissertation deals with a German Lutheran mission in Namibia.³ His study deals extensively with the theological and other background factors that deeply influenced the approach of a particular Lutheran missionary agency to colonialism and thus discusses at length the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms. This dissertation represents yet another case study, this time of a British Evangelical mission in northern Nigeria. Whereas de Vries' study stops with World War I, we carry our investigations up to 1960, the year in which Nigeria attained political independence. Like de Vries, we intend to uncover the background factors that help explain the phenomena. This study then seeks to uncover the relation of the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.) to the British colonial endeavour in northern Nigeria as well as the reasons for this relationship.

Though this is a case study, we have chosen the S.U.M. because it is a faithful representative of Evangelical missions in general. What we are really examining is an aspect of the relationship of the Evangelical community as a whole to politics and economics, for missions are an extension of their sending constituencies. If, as the popular charge has it, missions have indeed been "the tools of governments" and if they can be "classed as one of the instruments of western infiltration and control,"⁴ then that charge must not be restricted to missionaries, but

1. S. Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (Foundations of the Christian Mission; London: Lutterworth Press, 1966).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

3. J.L. de Vries, *Sending en Kolonialisme in Suidwes-Afrika: Die invloed van die Duitse Kolonialisme op die sendingwerk van die Rynse Sendinggenootskap in die vroeëre Duits-Suidwes-Afrika, 1880-1914/1918* (Unpublished dissertation written for the Protestant Theological Faculty, Brussels, 1971).

4. Neill, pp. 11-12.

must be leveled at the home constituencies whose ideals missionaries carry out.

This work is not primarily a historical dissertation but a missiological study designed to help us understand the present situation in Evangelical missions and the churches they have helped create. Finding themselves at crossroads, Evangelicals are forced by an impinging world to develop new visions of the relationship between Gospel and culture. By uncovering certain historical practices we hope to arrive at a situation where we can suggest some prerequisites for such a renewal. As with medical problems, so throughout life problems can be solved only if their nature is understood.⁵ Our main goal, then, is to contribute to the search for renewed Biblical guidance for the future.

Since we intend to concentrate on Evangelicals, it is well that we define the term as used among Anglo-Saxons. Two definitions are needed. While the 18th and 19th-century Evangelicals can be described as the conscious children of the revivals, those of the 20th century define themselves, in distinction from other Protestants, as "having a thoroughgoing commitment to historic orthodoxy."⁶ "The evangelical movement," writes Glasser, "rightly understood, represents a tenacious insistence on the essential and central dogmas of historic, biblical Christianity. It is no ism of recent vintage."⁷ Thus Glasser insists on a continuity that reaches far back into history, but especially on continuity with the spirit of the revivals. Describing a convention of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship held in 1967, he found it to be "but one contemporary re-enactment of the distinctives of the eighteenth-century Evangelical Awakening . . ."⁸ It is this Evangelical community as represented by the S.U.M. that constitutes the object of our research not only, but also the secondary addressee. Like any other study, this one aims at a certain community and hence the choice of materials, arguments and emphases is largely determined by the author's conception of that community. Had a different audience been chosen, such decisions and choices would have been different.

Though this is basically a missiological study, large sections are interdisciplinary, involving particularly history and economics. Experts in these fields who have read earlier installments have tended to demand more details on issues relating to their discipline. Though we have sought to appease some of these demands, it must be remembered that we draw from such disciplines only in so

5. E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), pp. 12-13.

6. H. Lindsell, "The Evangelical Missions: The Home Base," in W.J. Danker and W.J. Kang, eds., *The Future of the Christian World Mission: Studies in Honor of R. Pierce Beaver* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 89.

7. A.F. Glasser, "The Evangelicals: World Outreach," in Danker and Kang, p. 101. Cf. L. Paul, *A Church in Daylight: A Reappraisal of the Church of England and Its Future* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973), pp. 53-54, concerning the insistence of Anglican Evangelicals that they are the true heirs of the teachings of the Thirty-nine Articles.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

far as our missiological aims require it; we do not aim at completeness in subsidiary concerns. The inclusion of such interdisciplinary materials inevitably demands a degree of trust, for often we must base our contentions on research done by others, *i.e.*, on secondary sources. It is only with respect to the S.U.M. itself that we claim to have done original research.

It appears necessary to point out that this study is not a complete history of the S.U.M.'s work and motives. Rather, we select certain aspects. The concerns of this study may even be said to have been a secondary issue in the mind of the S.U.M. Other motives have played a part, but since they are not directly related to the issues of this study, they do not receive their due emphasis. This fact must be remembered in order to avoid a distorted view of this mission. It is with this study as with Coleman's. It "inevitably tends to dwell upon situations, policies and actions that produce grievances, at the expense of many other situations, policies, and actions that by any standard are laudatory."⁹ In spite of the shortcomings underlined in these pages, we share the sentiment of one veteran S.U.M. staff member, Edgar Smith, who wrote to Farrant, "As I grow older I grow more profoundly thankful for the calling granted to me and for the privilege (I do not speak lightly) of being a successor to the men who made this mission what it is. . . ."¹⁰ This sentiment we share in spite of the mission's deviations from her main point of reference, the Bible. The sentiment increases when one compares or contrasts the goals and achievements of the mission with that of other European non-missionary agencies in northern Nigeria.

Our procedure is to begin with a brief analysis of the background of the S.U.M., the 19th-century Evangelical community in Great Britain, with special emphasis on socio-economic concerns. We then embark on a resumé of the establishment of colonialism in northern Nigeria followed up by a review of the rise and popularity of missions. In Chapter 4 we introduce the S.U.M. and present an analysis of this mission's stand on colonialism up till 1918. Chapters 5 to 8 alternate between contextual materials and further analyses of the S.U.M.'s colonial views up to 1960. The final chapters summarize the economic results of colonialism while they also discuss the basic theological tenets underlying the mission's consistent views on the matter and end with a number of suggested prerequisites for a renewal of the Evangelical mission.

As to the literature consulted, our contextual chapters are based mainly on secondary sources, necessarily so. Furthermore, we do not pretend to have exhausted these sources, no matter how much we would have liked to meet the objections of friendly critics. We do claim, however, to have fairly exhausted the archives of the S.U.M., both in Sidcup near London and in Jos, Nigeria, as well as related literature and can boast of having had the unique opportunity of

9. J.S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 5.

10. SUM24, 31 March/58.

delving into archives the extent of which even the proprietor did not know and in which no one has ever had the opportunity to search systematically. Few students of mission archives have had the privilege we enjoyed, namely the permission to do research right up to 1960; we were hampered by no closure restrictions. The state of the archives leaves something to be desired, but the reader is referred to a note included in the Bibliography for details on this score.

Part I
THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONTEXT

Chapter One
The Socio-economic Views of British Evangelicals

I. *Introduction*

It is the purpose of Part I to explain certain aspects of the Evangelical community out of which the Sudan United Mission arose. This chapter treats the social and economic views of that community in so far as it is necessary to understand the S.U.M.'s attitude to colonialism, without pretending to be exhaustive. As already stated in the Introduction, the sources for this chapter are predominantly secondary. It is re-iterated that both the inclusions and the exclusions are at least partially governed by the nature of the secondary audience, i.e., the Anglo-Saxon Evangelical community as it exists presently.

Our procedure is first to describe a number of selected characteristics of 19th-century Britain, subsequent to which the relationship of the Evangelicals to these characteristics will be unveiled. Attention will also be drawn to contemporary criticism of Evangelical attitudes and to the latter's reaction to such criticism.

II. *Selected Characteristics of 19th-Century Britain*

A. Industrial Revolution

It is a truism to state that the Industrial Revolution must be a main point of reference in any discussion of the 19th century. However, this revolution did not arise in a historical vacuum, but was itself the product of a long philosophical development. Except for scholars, few are conscious of the underlying philosophical premises, even though they had become constituent parts of popular opinion and had become embedded in the socio-economic structures of the age. These developments in philosophy interacted with social and economic factors to produce the revolution.¹

Latourette lists 13 characteristics of the century,² most of them related to

1. A.T. Van Leeuwen, *Christianity in World History: The Meeting of the Faiths of East and West*, trans. H.H. Hoskins (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1964), pp. 315-318.

2. K.L. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. IV: *The Great Century A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914 Europe and the United States of America* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1941), pp. 9-17.

the revolution as either cause or effect. Among them are "a phenomenal growth of man's knowledge of the physical universe" that went hand in hand with a "startling increase . . . in the mastery by man of his physical environment." Change in the structure of society had never been so profound. The wealth of the commercial and industrial middle class increased rapidly. The Victorian Age (1832-1900) was marked by "constant and rapid change in economic circumstance," according to Trevelyan.³ He refers to an "enormously increased wealth and manufacturing power of England."⁴ Railway construction turned into a speculative "railway mania" and rapidly replaced earlier forms of transportation such as canals and, to some extent, even roads. Other forms of communication were developed such as telegraph and the "penny post." Marine transportation underwent drastic improvements. Steam and metal replaced their predecessors. As to the nation's external trade, in 1870 her volume "exceeded that of France, Germany and Italy together and was between three and four times that of the United States."⁵ The world's oceans became Britain's highways. "In 1885 a third of the world's sea-going ships were on the British register, including four-fifths of the world's steamships." The Lancashire cotton industry, of interest to us because of references in the S.U.M. documents to it, so increased Liverpool's trade that the latter exported even more than London.⁶ Latourette and Trevelyan both refer to the process of urbanization as another related phenomenon.⁷ Several ideologies, including socialism and communism, were vying for a place in the sun of the growing opposition to laissez-faire economics, capitalism, free competition and individualism.⁸ The absence of large-scale wars in Europe further aided these developments.⁹ The entire period lay in the shadow of "the Puritan ethos" that was "marked by interest in religious questions, . . . seriousness of thought and self-discipline."¹⁰

B. Evolutionary Optimism

Because it was so characteristic of the S.U.M., it is desirable to highlight evolutionary optimism as another characteristic of the century. Latourette writes about "an abounding optimism" that, in spite of "a parallel pessimism" is the "dominant note of the century." The combined force of philosophy, new inventions and economic progress among the middle class created "confidence and hope." Society might not be perfect, but it certainly was on its way.¹¹

3. G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (London, 1944) p. 509.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 531-534.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 559.

7. Latourette, p. 11. Trevelyan, pp. 527-528.

8. Latourette, p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 12. Trevelyan, pp. 509, 548.

10. Trevelyan, p. 509.

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Trevelyan refers to a "peculiar belief in 'progress' as a law of history which cheered the Victorian mind."¹² McLeod distinguishes between 3 forms of evolutionary thought current during the period, the most popular of which was a "facile progressivism," meaning a "process onward and upward, ordered, progressive, and, in most people's opinion, planned." He suggests that a garbled version of Darwinian evolutionary views was used to "re-inforce pre-existing ideas."¹³ For a popular missionary expression of such prevalent optimism, listen to the exclamations of a speaker at the international Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900:

What a . . . century it is that we look back upon! . . . a century of wonderful exploration, of manifold discoveries, of marvelous inventions, of the application of steam and electricity to thousands of human uses, wonderfully quickening human intercourse and enriching human life. We count it a century of marked political changes and social progress . . .¹⁴

By the end of the 19th century, Bavinck writes, the evolutionary view was in its heyday.¹⁵

C. Laissez-faire Capitalism

The Industrial Revolution developed an economy known as laissez-faire capitalism. Like that of the revolution itself, its philosophical basis had long been developing, but it was not generally accepted till mid-century, a process encouraged especially by representatives of the Manchester industrial establishment.¹⁶ Even though in intellectual and political circles certain aspects of this type of capitalism were undergoing modification and even meeting with opposition,¹⁷ throughout the second half of the century laissez-faire doctrine and practice remained popular with the activistic commercial and industrial groups.¹⁸ The doctrine is generally associated with liberals, but Trevelyan

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 548.

13. H. McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1975), p. 230.

14. J. Smith in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900: Report of the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches, April 21 to May 1* (New York: American Tract Society, 1900), Vol. I, p. 30.

15. J.H. Bavinck, *An Introduction to the Science of Missions*, trans. D.H. Freeman (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960), p. 235.

16. J. Van Den Berg, "Open pad voor handel en christendom," in A. Pos *et al*, *Christus-prediking in de wereld* (Kampen: Kok, 1965), p. 84.

17. K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963), p. 256. G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885: A Study in the Development of Social Ideas and Practice from the Old Regime to the Modern State* (London: Methuan, 1973), p. 294.

18. Trevelyan, p. 509.

describes both liberals and conservatives in the 70s and 80s as “saturated with the Free Trade Doctrine.”¹⁹

Capitalism is not merely a Western occurrence, but is found as well in other civilizations under certain conditions. However, its laissez-faire or political economy — another name for the same phenomenon — variety “has no parallel elsewhere,” according to Van Leeuwen.²⁰ It is well therefore to outline in brief its main intellectual pillars.

A principal ingredient in the laissez-faire outlook is the optimistic belief in progress, an attitude we have noted earlier. The destiny of history is progressive, including economic history. This being the case, it is only at his own expense that man places obstructions such as government interference in the way of natural economic development, while lack of such impediments guarantees in the long run the benefit of all. As in nature, so in free economic behaviour an ultimate equilibrium can be expected. Nature becomes a pattern for the economy:

Cloud trades with river, and exchange is power:
But should the clouds, the streams, the winds disdain
Harmonious intercourse, nor dew nor rain
Would forest-crown the mountains: airless day
Would blast on Kinderscout.²¹

This “harmonious intercourse,” when applied to an undisturbed economy, will result automatically in all parties receiving their ordained share. Breaking the laws of political economy by interference will bring negative rewards as surely as will undue interference in natural proceedings. One industrialist, speaking to his workers on income differentials, stated:

... the God of nature has established a just and equitable law, which man has no right to disturb: when he ventures to do so, it is always certain that he, sooner or later, meets with a corresponding punishment. That law is the natural operation of things, and in proportion as man ... violates this law of nature and equity, in the same degree does he receive his reward.²²

Adam Smith is summarized as having “declared economic liberty to be an axiomatic principle of the natural order, regulating economic life; and behind it he saw at work the invisible hand which through economic self-interests fulfils a providential plan.”²³ The invisible hand of God is expected to overrule the potentially negative effects of everyone working for his own interest and to guide the whole towards increased happiness for all. Such a philosophy inevitably leads to individualism, which is indeed another ingredient of political

19. *Ibid.*, p. 554. Cf. E.R. Norman, *Church and Society in England 1770-1970: A Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 41, for the party-transcending tendency of political economy.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

21. Wickham, pp. 105-106.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

23. Van Leeuwen, p. 317.

economy.²⁴ Trevelyan asserts that "the real strength and felicity of the Victorian age lay . . . in the self-discipline and self-reliance of the individual Englishman . . . 'Self-help' was a favourite motto with leading and characteristic men in all classes."²⁵ Unfortunately, though nature, guided indeed by the invisible hand of God, may have an inherent harmony, this harmony is often achieved through the rough-and-tumble process of the survival of the fittest and its correlary, the demise of the less fit. Thus an industrial establishment emerged which, in spite of optimistic expectations,

could be particularly ruthless in its treatment of those it employed, and its philosophy seemed to exalt the practice of unrestricted competition as the inescapable law of life and to teach that when confronted by social evils, society could only allow things to take their course.²⁶

Kitson Clark affirms that these laissez-faire tenets were eagerly embraced by politicians, businessmen and industrialists alike, who proceeded to erect "round the competitive capitalist society . . . that curtain wall of close argument, dogmatic assertion, embattled prejudice and class interest, which went by the name of the 'laws of political economy'." The economists provided the theoretical foundation for a system that even to men of good will appeared unassailable.²⁷

D. Problems Resulting from Laissez-faire Capitalism

The section above hints at problems resulting from laissez-faire capitalism which, taken together, are frequently referred to as "the social problem" of the century or "the social question."²⁸ Klaas Schilder, a Dutch theologian, rejects this term rather strongly since the problem to which it refers was but one of many acute difficulties of the age.²⁹ Though Schilder's objection must not be forgotten, we remember also that a compatriot of a generation earlier who, after giving due recognition to the multiplicity of problems in the 19th century, singles out this social problem as particularly acute. Abraham Kuyper writes, "Indeed, in the whole of this century, so prodigally rich in problems, no single problem has arisen which so deeply grips the life of the nations and agitates public opinion with such violence."³⁰ Because of the intensity of the problem as well as for the sake of convenience, we will use the term Schilder rejects, while it

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315. Norman, p. 42.

25. *Op. cit.*, pp. 509-510.

26. Kitson Clark, p. xx.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

28. Inglis, pp. 260, 271. Trevelyan, p. 534.

29. K. Schilder, *De openbaring van Johannes en het sociale leven* (3rd ed.; Delft: Meineman, 1951), pp. 34-35.

30. A. Kuyper, *Christianity and the Class Struggle*, trans. D. Jellema (Grand Rapids: Piet Hein Publishers, 1950), p. 43. The original title includes "Het sociale vraagstuk," which means "The social question." It constitutes a speech the author gave to a congress on social issues in 1891.

must not be forgotten that other acute problems existed, problems however, that were basically related to the one we intend to discuss.

Stated in simple terms, the social problem to which we refer is the division of Britain into 2 nations, one rich and one poor, an increasing "disparity of wealth between the very rich and the very poor,"³¹ with a relationship of mutual cause and effect. There were

two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or . . . of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws.³²

A protagonist of political economy admitted, "We see wealth and poverty in close contact and violent contrast: both in extremes."³³ Along with this increasing disparity went the tendency of the owners of industries to regard workers as mere tools to be exploited for the sake of profits.

To be sure, such differences have characterized most if not all civilizations. Paton reminds us that "there always have been in the world human beings who were treated, in Aristotle's phrase, as machines with souls . . ."³⁴ The social problem was the order of the day in ancient history, as well as during the European feudal age. Throughout history man has struggled with the question of the "soundness of the social structure."³⁵

The difference between those situations and that of 19th-century Britain was then not the novelty of such social and economic distinctions, but their severity and totality. In a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing society, men were cut off from their traditional backgrounds and placed in a setting for which no appropriate ethic had as yet been established. Paton asserts that "never has the denial of the rights of human personality been extended over so vast an area as in modern industrialism."³⁶ Industry, Kitson Clark agrees, was "particularly ruthless in its treatment of those it employed."³⁷ After reminding us that poverty has always been with us, Vidler explains that the Industrial Revolution led to a new kind of poverty appropriately called "pauperism."³⁸ The Dutch Christian parliamentarian Groen Van Prinsterer applied the same term to a parallel situation:

31. Trevelyan, p. 546.

32. B. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914* (Studies in Society, eds. R. and D. Glass; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 20. Quoted from B. Disraeli, *Sybil or The Two Nations* (London: 1954), p. 173.

33. "A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester by John Bird Sumner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester" (London, 1845), pp. 22-23, quoted in Norman, p. 153.

34. W. Paton, "Age-long Principles and Modern Life," *IRM/20*, p. 285.

35. Kuyper, p. 39.

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

38. A.R. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism 1820-1920* (London: S.P.C.K., 1964) pp. x-xii.

"Probably the worst evil is *pauperism*. Poverty, no work; the relation between the higher and lower classes destroyed; no relation recognized except that of work and pay; proletariat and capitalist."³⁹ Large sections of society were degraded and deprived of tolerable conditions.⁴⁰ Though the situation was abnormal, i.e., opposed to all norms, it had become so universal and familiar that many were experiencing it as the normal state of affairs.⁴¹

Throughout the 19th century, however, men were aware of the problem, increasingly so as the century rolled by. In 1848, Marx and Engels published *The Communist Manifesto*. Though they wrote about conditions prior to 1848, the problem is discussed in such a relevant way that throughout the remainder of the century translations and re-translations appeared.⁴² In 1891, Pope Leo XIII wrote:

The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes, popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it – and actually there is no question which has taken a deeper hold on the public mind.⁴³

The severity of the situation is described in all its starkness by a long array of authors. In their call to the workers of the world, Marx and Engels declare that the bourgeoisie "has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, then callous 'cash-payment'." They continue:

it has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom – Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers.⁴⁴

Of capitalist factories they write:

Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. . . . Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, . . . they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the onlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. . . . All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use . . .⁴⁵

A miner's wife argued for changing rooms for mineworkers in these words:

39. Quoted in Kuyper, p. 16.

40. Vidler, pp. x-xi.

41. Kuyper, p. 21.

42. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. S.H. Beer (Crofts Classics; New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1955), preface by F. Engels in the English edition of 1888, pp. 3-4.

43. Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum," in *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII*, ed. J.J. Wynne, trans. from approved sources (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1903), p. 208.

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Many of the men have to walk four miles to their homes drenched in wet, and when they arrive there is only a six-inch firegrate for drying, cooking and doing all the work. . . . The poor children have to stand behind the smoking garments half-starved and after all our drying the clothes are scarcely fit to put on at such an early hour as half-past two o'clock in the morning.⁴⁶

The literature dealing with this problem indicates that this pathetic situation was by no means exceptional, but rather merely one example of a "grim social scene."⁴⁷ Semmel points out that a "principal source of information" for Marx's *Das Kapital* was "recorded testimony before parliamentary committees."

In these blue-books, the facts were all set down – stories of eighteen hours a day of work for women, of little children being dragged, still half-asleep, to draughty, damp, dark factories after only four hours of sleep, of children who were strapped if they could not maintain the rapid pace of the shop. Wages were so frightfully low that frequently the entire family was compelled to work if all were to survive.⁴⁸

Trevelyan's discussion of factory legislation emphasizes the reforms enacted, not the dismal scene *per se*. Thus his references to unsavoury situations are brief, but in a way more important than those of authors specifically out to describe the negatives. He writes of factory hands who suffered from "the harsh condition of their lives, particularly in the matter of hours." Especially at first, "the factory system . . . bade fair to destroy the health and happiness of the race" Legislation was needed to limit the working hours of children and women to 10 hours daily, a move that also effectively reduced the hours put in by the menfolk, since they were too few to carry on by themselves. Until 1875, masters "found it cheaper" to drive small boys through "soot-choked" chimneys than to use a long brush," a practice of which the public was long aware.⁴⁹

Manchester of Lancashire was the centre for the cotton industry of which Liverpool was the important port. The birthpangs of the Industrial Revolution were particularly painful there. It shared most of the resultant problems, though often in a more acute way. This fact is the background to Eric Midwinter's assertion that the history of this place is "greater in quality and significance than that of many a nation."⁵⁰ Nightingale quotes Canon Parkinson, who in 1842 wrote of the city:

There is no town in the world where the distance between the rich and the poor is so great, or the barrier between them so difficult to be crossed. . . . The separation between the different classes, and the consequent ignorance of each other's habits and conditions, are far more complete in this place There is far less *personal* communication

46. P.J. Lucas, "Furness Newspapers in Mid-Victorian England," in S.P. Bell, ed., *Victorian Lancashire* (Newton Abbots: David and Charles, 1974), p. 93. Quoted from *Ulverston Mirror*, 1969.

47. Wickham, p. 107.

48. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

49. *Op. cit.*, pp. 542-544.

50. Bell, p. 7. No further source indicated.

between the master cotton spinner and his workmen . . . than there is between the Duke of Wellington and the humblest laborer on his estate.⁵¹

The growth of shareholding encouraged further alienation between workers and owners and spelled decreasing personal involvement and sense of responsibility on the part of the latter. "The 'shareholder' . . . had no knowledge of the lives, thoughts or needs of the workmen . . . , and his influence on the relations of capital and labour was not good," according to Trevelyan. Furthermore, because of the size of the new enterprises and the larger numbers of workers involved, even the managers on the spot had at best a scanty understanding of the situation of workers.⁵² The geographical residential separation of workers on the one hand and the owners and managers on the other hand served further to alienate the groups. "All who made jam lived in one place, and all who ate jam lived in another."⁵³ Though such impersonal relationships are largely considered normal in our present day, they were a novel development, the significance of which for purposes of the study will become clear when the discussion turns to predominantly labourless churches.

A number of related problems existed that further illustrate the severity of the situation. One of these was that of housing and sanitation. Nightingale's study reveals the prevalence of "appalling conditions." There was a lack of sewers, bad ventilation, no regular removal of refuse, bare walls that were not even whitewashed, and unpaved streets.⁵⁴ Till the 1870's, little

was done to control the slum-lords . . . who, according to the prevalent laissez-faire philosophy, were engaged from motives of self-interest in forwarding the general happiness. These pioneers of "progress" saved space by crowding families into single rooms or thrusting them underground into cellars, and saved money by the use of cheap and insufficient building materials, and by providing no drains — or, worse still, by providing drains that oozed into the water-supply. In London Lord Shaftesbury discovered a room with a family in each of its four corners, and a room with a cesspool immediately below its boarded floor.⁵⁵

Builders and landlords enjoyed the freedom "to lay out modern England as best suited their own private gain, too often without a thought given to amenity or to the public welfare."⁵⁶

Alcoholism was another major problem. It constituted a major reason for misery. Besides low price and tradition, Wickham lists the miserable conditions

51. J. Nightingale, Study Secretary for the I.C.S., Ibadan, "The Reactions of the Church of England in Manchester to the Industrial Revolution from 1780 to 1850" (Unpublished address to the first National Consultation on Industrialization, sponsored by the C.C.N.), pp. 2, 5.

52. *Op. cit.*, pp. 573-574.

53. Inglis, pp. 25, 5, 64.

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

55. Trevelyan, pp. 528-529, 541.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 579. Cf. R.L. Greenall, "The Making of the Borough of Salford, 1830-1853," in Bell, p. 52, for another example of lack of sanitation.

of life as a major cause. While in the 18th century men drank much but "in conviviality", in the 19th it was because of the gloom of their situation — it became "the shortest way out of Manchester."⁵⁷ With respect to Liverpool, it is reported that drinking problems gave their police force "more than half their work." Commercial drinking houses were so many that one could count 27 of them from one certain point. A new act in 1830 resulted in the opening of more than 800 such establishments in 19 days! The combination of city council and business interests prevented the police from effective action.⁵⁸ Trevelyan similarly refers to "drunkenness and excessive expenditure on drink" as "one of the major evils of city life, one of the chief causes of crime and the ruin in families," a problem that did not diminish until a general improvement in the standard of living took place.⁵⁹

All these problems combined to ensure poor health and reduced life expectancy. In spite of advances in medical science, earlier decreases in mortality were checked. Trevelyan suggests the chief reason to be the growth of "industrial slums, and their progressive deterioration."⁶⁰ Statistics express the situation in Lancashire in startling fashion. An 1842 report on sanitary conditions in Manchester shows that the average lifespan for professionals and other members of the upper class was 38 years, for tradesmen and their families it was 20, while for mechanics and labourers and their dependents it was a mere 17.⁶¹ Salford, a borough in the same county, had a mortality rate of 30.9 per 1,000 in 1842-1845, while that of the nation stood at 21.6. The average lifespan in the borough was reported to be 20 years and 8 months, while that of Liverpool was even lower. The report concludes, "There must be something radically wrong in a community, when the artisan reaches only 15 years of age, and has 28 years less chance of life than the gentleman from the day of birth or 11 years less of adult life."⁶²

It was such conditions in his own country that led Kuyper to say that even though "men did not literally eat each other like the cannibals, . . . the more powerful exploited the weaker by means of a weapon against which there was no defence . . ." Workers were simply "forced to accept any condition, no matter how unjust . . ." The mercantile gospel of laissez-faire was responsible for the fact "that the law of the animal world, dog eat dog, became the basic law for every social relationship."⁶³ These conditions led Troeltsch to refer to

the Manchester school, with its doctrinaire optimism, the brutal glorification of competition as the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence, and finally the thought-

57. *Op. cit.*, pp. 268-269, 196.

58. W.R. Cockcroft, "The Liverpool Police Force, 1836-1902," in Bell, pp. 155-156.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 570.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

61. Nightingale, p. 11.

62. Greenall, p. 52.

63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 35, 16.

lessness with which to-day capitalistic civilization accepts . . . its feverish labour, its crises⁶⁴

It might almost appear as if our discussion deals with two classes, one of which comprised helpless and innocent victims, while the other consisted of evil men consciously oppressing their fellows. However, Kitson Clark explains that the forces which created these problems

were largely impersonal forces; they were not in general directed by any coherent human opinion, but the way in which their results were handled, or neglected, by society was necessarily largely controlled by the public opinion on social and political problems which prevailed⁶⁵

It "was not because the stronger class was more evil at heart than the weaker," Kuyper asserts, "for no sooner did a man from the lower class rise to the top than he in turn took part just as harshly . . . in the irreligious oppression of those who were members of his own former class."⁶⁶ He observes that the trend of capital absorbing more capital was not the result of any evil purpose, but "a spontaneous consequence of *laissez-faire*."⁶⁷

So far, this section has been dealing with a description of some social problems resulting from the *laissez-faire* approach to economic life. However, though it has been declared earlier that we do not intend to present a comprehensive picture, in order to avoid an unbalanced picture, one ought at least to mention that the application of *laissez-faire* notions was subject to certain restrictions and thus selective. "At no period was *laissez-faire* in force in all directions at once," writes Trevelyan.⁶⁸ It was put into effect in "truncated form," Norman asserts.⁶⁹ Critics "exaggerated the practical application . . . , failing to account for the extent to which its exponents had tempered its rigours by humanitarian adjustments."⁷⁰ These "humanitarian adjustments" included many attempts at *ad hoc* improvements as well as an increasing acceptance of a more active government role. Trevelyan reports slight improvements already at mid-century.⁷¹ There were influences helping to "distribute the enormous national dividend a little more evenly."⁷² His 2 chapters on the Victorian period are clear accounts of the many improvements made in factories, in sanitation and in income distribution. He summarizes the situation as follows:

The Queen Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were celebrated by all classes with real pride and

64. E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. O. Wyon, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan, 1931), p. 647.

65. *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

66. *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

68. *Op. cit.*, p. 544.

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 147.

71. *Op. cit.*, p. 529.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

thankfulness, due in part to a sense of delivery from the conditions endured at the beginning of her reign . . . Manners were gentler, streets were safer, life was more humane, sanitation was improving fast, working-class housing, though still bad, was less bad than ever before. Conditions of labour had been improved, real wages had risen, hours had shortened.

He adds, however, that "unemployment, sickness and old age . . . still had terrors for the workman."⁷³ The individualistic creed of laissez-faire was meeting opposition in certain circles with such a measure of success that collectivism was becoming the new orthodoxy towards the end of the century.⁷⁴

III. *Influence of Evangelicals*

A. Their Organization

Any attempt to estimate the precise strength and influence of Evangelicals is hampered by their largely unstructured organization and their trans-denominational loyalty. Paul asserts that the movement "cannot be understood unless it is seen as crossing denominational boundaries." With respect to Anglican Evangelicals, he explains that "their *true* spiritual brothers were the evangelicals of *other* denominations."⁷⁵ Inglis agrees that to the "true Evangelical, faith and doctrine mattered more than denomination."⁷⁶ He quotes a contemporary commentator, R.W. Dale, as saying, "They own no allegiance to the Church to which they happen to belong . . . They are conscious of nearer kinship to men of other communions who share their special religious 'views' . . ."⁷⁷ The effect of the 1858 awakening, unlike that of earlier revivals, was to sew "together the rent fragments of Evangelical Christianity with the thread of spiritual, if not organic, unity," Orr explains.⁷⁸ The spiritual unity to which Orr refers was described by the term "the Nonconformist conscience,"⁷⁹ a term that may sound vague, but that refers to a common mentality which will become clearer with the unfolding of this chapter. It was the "Evangelical conscience" that came to dominate much of the 19th century.⁸⁰

The above paragraph does not imply total lack of organization. The Evangelical Alliance, formed in 1846 by an international body of 900 clergy and laymen,⁸¹ was a nondenominational ecumenical organization with its member-

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 558-560, 562.

74. Norman, pp. 139, 144.

75. Paul, pp. 56-57.

76. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

78. J.E. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Great Britain*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1949), p. 265.

79. Inglis, p. 66.

80. Paul, p. 57.

81. *Ibid.*

ship comprised of individuals.⁸² It was not until 1895 that a truly ecumenical body was established under the name "National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches," financed largely by Cadbury, the chocolate manufacturer.⁸³ In addition to these 2 organizations, Evangelicals organized themselves on a nondenominational basis for a myriad of evangelistic and social causes that will be treated in more detail in their place.

B. Middle-Class Concentration

Though no class was untouched by the revival movement,⁸⁴ its effect was felt mainly among the middle classes. In fact, there is evidence that frequently when members of the working classes, especially tradesmen, were touched, a process of upward social and economic mobility would begin into the middle class because of coinciding characteristics such as frugality and diligence.⁸⁵ In Bethnal Green, the poor among church attenders "tended to 'improve themselves' and migrate to the suburbs," McLeod explains. He suspects that converted workers were already socially and economically upwardly mobile even prior to their conversion.⁸⁶ A contemporary observed that converts "changed so much in manner and dress as to be mistaken easily for people who had come from churches and chapels." Another reported that those who did "join any church became almost indistinguishable from the class with which they then mix." This social invisibility in the churches can easily mislead the researcher.⁸⁷

It is especially Methodists among whom this process was recognized, individually as well as denominationally. "Methodism was helping many people up the temporal ladder," writes Inglis. By the end of the century Methodism had become largely a middle-class movement.⁸⁸ Kent reports that among Wesleyans the process "was reflected in the foundation of boarding-schools for the sons of Wesleyan middle-class, and the educational level of these schools rose rapidly after about 1880."⁸⁹ Obviously piety had its own earthly award. One Wesleyan divine concluded that "Godliness leads to sobriety and to additional power of mind, and so prosperity is secured."⁹⁰

82. Cf. Orr, pp. 216-217, 252-253 for an indication of the close relationship of the Alliance and the revival movement. For information about the Alliance's predecessor, cf. R.C. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent: The Religious Aspects of Liberal and Humanitarian Reform Movements from 1815-1848* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), pp. 154, 159.

83. Inglis, p. 70.

84. Orr, pp. 76, 149, 155.

85. Norman, p. 33.

86. *Op. cit.*, pp. 115, 54-55.

87. Inglis, pp. 334-335.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 86.

89. *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

90. Inglis, p. 63.

In common with both the American and Scandinavian scenes, the British revivals “won a dominant influence over the culture of the middle and upper classes,” according to McLeod.⁹¹ The “modest boom” enjoyed by British Christianity was a “middle-class boom” that infused the commercial and industrial classes especially with a religious enthusiasm.⁹² Wickham’s study leaves no doubt as to the intimate relation between the middle class and the churches, though he emphasizes the non-conformist element which he calls the “backbone of the great Liberal Party.” This middle class he describes as increasingly large, liberal, prosperous and . . . religious.” He observes that

the really buoyant, cock-a-hoop group were the newly represented, politically aggressive manufacturing class, . . . eager for further freedom in trade, industry and religion. Its core was lineally descended from the Old Dissenters, and their religion was expressed in Nonconformity⁹³

The middle classes and their churches both enjoyed a boom and expanded together. Describing this double expansion, Wickham records:

The greatest expansion was in the liberal Nonconformist churches, embracing a great part of the thickening, middling stratum of society, itself the consequence of rising standards of living, and finding in liberal Nonconformity a completely congenial vehicle for its social and political aspirations. One factor was the growth of the lower middle-class group . . . that found in the scores of new chapels . . . natural rallying points for all who were disposed to take on the decorous habit of chapel-going. It conferred status and confirmed respectability; provided a centre of like-minded people in an age when organized social facilities were few.⁹⁴

Liberal political philosophy found eager adherents in these churches. “All the objectives of liberal politics,” affirms Wickham, “became the demands of the Christian conscience and the Christian religion.”⁹⁵ Wearmouth is adduced as saying, “The Liberal Party is that natural political instrument for those who wish to promote the interests and establish the principles that Primitive Methodists have at heart.”⁹⁶ A newspaper critic similarly portrays the nonconformist churches as consisting almost exclusively of middle-class folk, well dressed, respectable and comfortable.⁹⁷ Typical members of the dissenting churches were merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen and superior craftsmen, all of which were the “bones, muscles, and sinews of civil society.”⁹⁸ Kitson Clark affirms that a good share of the profits from the industrial and commercial revolutions

91. *Op. cit.*, pp. 216-217, 257, 284-285.

92. Norman, pp. 10, 49-50, 99.

93. *Op. cit.*, pp. 104, 120, 103.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

95. *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 132, from R.F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes, 1850-1900* (1954).

97. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

had come into the hands of dissenters.⁹⁹ Trevelyan likewise confirms the simultaneous expansion of nonconformism and the middle class in the new industrial order, though he would include elements of the working class.¹⁰⁰ Max Warren provides a rather complex definition of the new bourgeoisie that leaves no doubt as to the connection. It is

that class which, being bent on self-improvement, threw off apathy; cherished ambition, combined this ambition with sobriety and thrift; in pursuit of its end sought political power; and historically combined all this with respect for certain Christian ethical insights, a respect which for many carried with it a deep commitment to the Christian faith.¹⁰¹

C. Extent of Evangelical Influence

Discussions on Evangelicals are often beclouded because of the difficulty of establishing the borders of movement. From the above paragraph one could infer that Evangelicals and nonconformists were identical, but that would be misleading. For one thing, Evangelicals were also prominent in the Anglican Church, a fact that hardly requires documentation.¹⁰² Furthermore, not all nonconformists were Evangelicals.¹⁰³ However, these facts are not sufficient cause to disestablish the connection between Evangelicals and laissez-faire economics, for testimonies to the predominance of Evangelical influence are overwhelming.

Inglis *et al* insist that as the century rolled on, Evangelicals were the strongest element among nonconformists. Inglis, in fact, almost ends up identifying them after all:

In Nonconformity . . . evangelicalism was not one of several respectable traditions: it was synonymous with orthodoxy. Nobody could honestly call himself a follower of Wesley who disavowed the doctrines of the evangelical revival; nor could a Congregationalist or a Baptist reject them either, unless he was prepared to ally himself theologically with Unitarians. It was a common and reasonable feeling among Nonconformists that as spiritual communities they owed too much to the evangelical revival to tolerate any disloyalty to it. Any apparent denigration of evangelicalism could appear a lethal threat; for where else were Nonconformists to find inspiration?¹⁰⁴

Walker, it would appear, exaggerates in his claim that by mid-century Evangelicals were in control of the Church of England,¹⁰⁵ but that their influence was very extensive and even reaching beyond the community identifying itself as

99. *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

100. *Op. cit.*, pp. 517, 565.

101. M. Warren, *Social History and Christian Mission* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1967), p. 118.

102. Inglis, p. 305. Orr, p. 188. Paul, ch. 11. Trevelyan, p. 510.

103. Inglis, pp. 304, 306-307. Paul, p. 57.

104. *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

105. W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 495. *Cf.* Inglis, p. 305.

such, is beyond question. Paul asserts that the "Evangelical conscience" "dominated the nineteenth century."¹⁰⁶ Already of 18th-century Evangelicals it could be said that their movement "quickened the vital fire among multitudes who by no means adopted its characteristic modes of thought, and who certainly would not have called themselves by its name."¹⁰⁷ The movement was "sufficiently large and influential to be able to impose certain standards of behaviour, at least in externals, on the majority of the middle and upper classes."¹⁰⁸ Kitson Clark asserts that the revival had "a general effect on the manners and morals, even of those who were not technically converted, and even among the upper classes."¹⁰⁹ McLeod recognizes that this Evangelical hold was already beginning to break down in the 70s, but at the end of the century he still views Evangelicalism and liberalism as "considerable survivals, though gaining no new converts."¹¹⁰ The term "Evangelical" became more loosely used. Lord Liverpool would refer to any cleric "who was known to be attentive to his duties as 'evangelical', whether he belonged to that school or not."¹¹¹

The conclusion we draw from these data is that Evangelicals were very prominent in the support of the laissez-faire approach and that they therefore shared in responsibility for its contributions, both evil and good. Thus, they can also be held accountable for the social problem we have discussed, though not they exclusively.

IV. *Churches and the Lower Classes*

A. Absence of Workers

The previous section established the middle-class nature of the churches and of the Evangelical movement. The corollary to this fact is the relative lack of members from the lower classes in the churches. No lover of the bourgeoisie and their churches, Engels magnanimously gives credence to Christian authors when he sums up their opinion, "All the writers of the bourgeoisie are unanimous on this point, that the workers are not religious and do not attend church."¹¹² The 1851 national census demonstrated poor church attendance as a whole, but also that "it was plain . . . that most of the neglecters belonged to 'the masses of our working population . . . These are never or but seldom seen in our religious congregations'."¹¹³ The absence of workers from all churches "appeared to

106. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

107. C.J. Abbey, *The English Church and its Bishops 1700-1800*. Vol. II (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887, reprinted 1971), p. 148.

108. McLeod, p. 245. Inglis, p. 331.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

110. *Op. cit.*, pp. 246, 254.

111. Norman, p. 24.

112. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1892), p. 125. Quoted in Inglis, p. 1.

113. *Religious Worship in England and Wales* (1854), p. 93. Quoted in Inglis, p. 1.

stand out” from the 1851 census, according to Norman.¹¹⁴ This was true particularly for Lancashire, “where church attendance was the lowest in the country,”¹¹⁵ the very area which in a previous era had contained “Puritan islands,” “the Genevas of Lancashire.”¹¹⁶ It is Inglis’ thesis that while they lived in their villages, the workers belonged to the church, but those that moved to the city dropped the habit. He comments:

They worshipped in one environment where it was customary for people like them to do so; and when they were set down in new surroundings, where it was not customary for people like them to attend, they lost the habit. But among the masses of working-class people *born* in the large towns, many . . . had grown up from childhood attending no place of worship. Some had barely heard of the churches. What was St. Paul’s, Henry Mayhew asked one of his costermongers. “A church, sir, so I’ve heard,” was the reply. “I never was in a church.”¹¹⁷

Another contemporary observed that social convention kept working-class people from worshipping; it was the fashion among higher classes to go to church, but among the poorer classes “the marked men are those who go to church -- not those who stay away.” Though he detects some exaggeration in the last statement, Inglis agrees that urban workers were simply following inherited ways by not attending church.¹¹⁸ With certain exceptions, “to join any sort of church was to mark yourself out as an individualist,” McLeod explains, as “someone who, even if liked and respected, was trying to stand out from his neighbours . . .”¹¹⁹ For London, “the substantial separation from the churches of the urban working class had for long been an accomplished fact,” he asserts.¹²⁰ Though the church was present even in the poorest boroughs of London such as Bethnal Green, where at about 1890, 44.6 per cent were said to be living in poverty,¹²¹ the faithful were not the workers but “from the class of shopkeepers and small employers who dominated local government,” and “from the lower middle and skilled working class, rather than from the families of labourers and street sellers.”¹²²

There are certain strictures to the situation just described. One is the social mobility of new converts to which we have referred earlier. Another is that some denominations did have a fair proportion of lower-class workers, especially

114. *Op. cit.*, pp. 125, 50.

115. Lea, p. 77. Inglis, p. 1.

116. R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1962), p. 204.

117. *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-4. Quotation from H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), I, p. 21.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324. Quotation from W.D. Maclagan, *The Church and the People* (1882), p. 11.

119. *Op. cit.*, p. 282. Cf. Wickham, p. 109.

120. *Op. cit.*, p. x.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

Methodist denominations. But, as we have seen, they gradually disappeared from the lower ranks. Lea discusses the prevalence of the working class among Lancashire's Baptists, both in certain poorer areas as well as in the more prosperous churches attended by the rich. One Liverpool pastor's congregational work took him into the homes of both the affluent and of those living "in many a dark alley and dingy court . . . in which crowds of poor wretches are crammed into small and filthy rooms."¹²³ Orr repeatedly emphasizes the influence of the 1859 revival among workers in different industries and occupations — silk-spinners, railway workers, sawmill hands, apprentices, maidservants, weavers, fishermen.¹²⁴ However, this feature does not contradict the thesis of Inglis *c.s.* In fact, Inglis himself draws attention to this feature. Among the converts made by revivals "many appear to have been labourers and their families. Miners were often mentioned by chroniclers of revivals." Certain types of villages and small towns, especially mining villages, for a variety of reasons were more amenable to such influences.¹²⁵ Similarly, McLeod, while emphasizing the scarcity of workers in churches, realizes that "working-class Nonconformity" had its "strongholds . . . in rural areas or in industrial villages," especially Methodism.¹²⁶

In spite of these limitations to the thesis, it basically stands. In the areas most affected by the new laissez-faire industrial approach, the worker was a scarce entity among worshipping urbanites.

B. Immediate Reasons for Estrangement

A brief enquiry as to the immediate reasons for the estrangement between the churches and workers must first of all recall the growing geographical distance between the classes as well as the depersonalization process that took place between workers on the one hand and the owner-managerial group on the other. These forms of separation gradually led to almost total ignorance of each other, as we have already seen, the religious level not excluded. We have earlier noted deep-going ignorance on the part of the workers with respect to the church, but Norman's thesis is that the clergy were equally ignorant of the workers, their problems and mentality, especially the leading Anglican clergy. Though Anglican bishops sought to bridge the gap in a variety of ways, they were all basically futile attempts because they were based on certain "intellectual attitudes, they were too vicarious, too unacquainted with working-class assumptions . . ." The attempts were frustrated because of the "academic quality and the social insensitivities" of Anglican clergy. Ignorance combined with class-bound values

123. *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

124. *Op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62, 70, 71, 102, 103, 122, 140, 141, 149, 155.

125. *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

126. *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

were the main obstacles to Anglican attempts.¹²⁷ McLeod describes the culture shock of Anglican clergy assigned to Bethnal Green as missionaries to the poor. They were "moved . . . to expressions of horror." One rector claimed that "the greater part of the population consists of Radicals, Infidels, and of persons who are to all good works reprobate."¹²⁸

On the other side of the fence, life was guided by different values. By 1900, a Wesleyan prominent exclaimed with satisfaction, "The Methodist people are . . . a thrifty, saving, and sober people; we know that many of them are captains of industry . . . Some of them are millionaires."¹²⁹ As to Congregationalists, "knitting millionaire" Samuel Morley was a typical

Victorian Christian employer, tough but scrupulous; a proud embodiment of what he called "the perseverance, the industry, the intelligence, and . . . the integrity, which, for the most part, distinguishes the trading and mercantile classes of England; a Liberal, willing to allow the working classes to take part in politics and expecting them to remain upright and deferential; a campaigner for Nonconformist rights . . . ; and a devout Evangelical quite as anxious to spread gospel truth as to sell clothes."¹³⁰

Some saw this denomination as suffering from "the prevalence of the commercial spirit," which was said to apply "to the Church of the living God precisely the rules and principles that govern a well-ordered retail business." The church had a "fondness for middle-class respectability."¹³¹ Respectability was a major characteristic of the Evangelical community and spilled over to many fellow travelers. It included public and domestic observance of the Sabbath, discouragement of "profane or even idle amusements," and reading of religious literature.¹³² "Middle-class stereotype" included such elements as

conformism; a belief in work; an intolerance of failures, loafers, eccentricity, frivolity; a respect for the 'practical man', defined as the astute and unsentimental man of business; 'deferment of gratification', together with a devotion to the interests of his own family as the supreme end. This frequently took the form of an Evangelical Protestantism in which 'hard work and strict adherence to principle' was seen as the secret of success."

One manufacturer, upon presenting his pastor with a gift, praised him for attributes such as his "indomitable pluck and perseverance" that combined with "a kindly consideration for their poorer brethren." The financial position of the church was now sound, thanks to the pastor's "business sense that many of them envied . . ."¹³³ The middle class sought a "new progressive society, based on enterprise, hard work, frugal living and free contract, determining its values and rewards by the operation of untrammelled competition."¹³⁴ They were "in-

127. *Op. cit.*, pp. 162, 164, 124.

128. *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

129. Inglis, p. 86.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

132. McLeod, pp. 218-219.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

134. Kitson Clark, p. 16.

dependent, hard-working, enterprising men, philanthropic, public-spirited, religious without being otherworldly."¹³⁵ Anglican Evangelicals favoured "thrift, sobriety, hard work and earnestness." Their ideal was "the modest, puritan professional gentleman with a house and garden in the suburbs, and the high esteem of his chapel or church." This was called "respectability which did not in its heyday carry a derisory ring but meant precisely 'worthy of respect'."¹³⁶ However, all these were elements of a culture wholly foreign to the working classes.¹³⁷

The attitude of the churches, especially of Evangelicals, towards such phenomena as alcoholism, prostitution and divorce did not endear them to workers either. Instead of seeing them in their socio-economic context, Evangelicals tended to regard these problems basically as the result of personal immorality. Since members of the middle class had through hard effort been able to lift themselves by their own bootstraps, they considered the difference between themselves and those who remained at the bottom of the ladder as primarily a *moral* difference that must be treated in terms of individualistic and moralistic categories. Inevitably, "the social habits of the working class, as the massive group outside all the churches in which the social problems were most glaring, were the easiest targets for the darts of evangelical moralism."¹³⁸ Alcoholism met with a resounding "temperance battle cry," with "social restrictions, abstinences and pledge-signing."¹³⁹ Temperance and total abstention from alcohol were popular causes among Christian. "Character," writes McLeod, "always implied fairly strict views on the subjects of drink, gambling and sex."¹⁴⁰ In fact, he refers to a "Nonconformist shibboleth of temperance."¹⁴¹ The Blue Ribbon Army consisted of those who publicly advertised their pledge of abstinence by means of a blue ribbon on their chest. During the 70s, temperance interests, strong especially among nonconformists, "became a force in Liberal politics" that evoked the opposite reaction among brewers and their shareholders, who, in turn, "captured the Conservative Party, with whom after 1886 the government of the country principally lay."¹⁴² Among Baptists, "temperance work was an intrinsic part of chapel life almost everywhere;" it constituted "a major aspect of Baptist social concern." It became a generation problem as the older generation favoured temperance and the newer insisted on abstention with mutual recriminations hurled about, each accusing the other of either being

135. Wickham, p. 125.

136. Paul, pp. 55-56.

137. McLeod, p. 110.

138. Wickham, p. 194.

139. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

140. *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

142. Trevelyan, p. 570.

"over-righteous" or "polluted with the accursed thing."¹⁴³ Anglican organizations joined the crusade and they made such inroads that Frederick Temple, archbishop of Canterbury, was a teetotaler.¹⁴⁴

Though in economics and politics Evangelicals largely adhered to laissez-faire, they did not extend that philosophy to what they considered moral aberrations. They felt free to call upon the state "to legislate in the moral sphere: in sexual, Sabbatarian, liquor-licensing, and a vast number of similar issues."¹⁴⁵ "The essential characteristic" of "Evangelical Pietism", according to Kent, was the setting "up of a barrier of prohibitions and customs" that they sought to enforce upon the entire populace by legislation. "The law must be used."¹⁴⁶ Evangelicals were recognized not for "their diagnosis of social ills," but for their "moral earnestness."¹⁴⁷ Such attitudes tended to make workers wary of churches, because of "the restraint which a religious life involves,"¹⁴⁸ while such views prevented subscribers from recognizing the influence of a wrong socio-economic order upon such immoralities. Social problems had been reduced to moral dimensions.¹⁴⁹

Pew rents, if not a cause of the absence of workers, certainly reinforced the class nature of the church by a public endorsement of it. The auditorium would be divided into sections, each of which would have a different grade of pew that would bring in rent accordingly. This practice separated the rich from the poor in a crudely obvious way, since each group would tend to rent according to their financial strength. This arrangement, together with "the silent demand for middle-class dress were admitted by some Nonconformists to be signs that worshippers were unwilling to accept" the lower classes on an equal level.¹⁵⁰ A mainly Congregational journal welcomed poor people on condition that they should be cleaner.¹⁵¹ Prior to his founding the Salvation Army, William Booth,

when he rounded up a band of slum youths and led them to chapel, . . . was rebuked for taking them in the front door and sitting them in the pews; next time, he was told, he should bring them by a back door (invisible behind the pulpit) and sit them on benches reserved for the poor.¹⁵²

Wickham attributes the absence of workers partially to this practice.¹⁵³ Edward

143. Lea, p. 79.

144. Kent, p. 181.

145. Norman, pp. 64, 150-151.

146. *Op. cit.*, pp. 184-187.

147. Norman, p. 24.

148. McLeod, p. 106.

149. Wickham, p. 197.

150. Inglis, pp. 116-117.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 96. Taken from H. Begbie, *The Life of William Booth*, (1920), I, p. 71.

153. *Op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

Anglicans "church building became a popular panacea for social evils." In 1818, the "New Churches Bill" was passed with an annual allocation of £ 1,000,000. Numerous dioceses organized church building societies. Many saw church construction as more urgent than social reform. Between 1800 and 1851, the Anglicans built 2,529 churches, one-third of the money for which had come from the public coffers.¹⁶⁸ Norman traces this emphasis to the precepts of laissez-faire which discouraged direct social interference.¹⁶⁹

Another aspect of the same approach was the hiring and building of mission halls to appeal to the poor by less formal meetings. This practice was apparently first begun in 1851 with services in Exeter Hall in central London. Soon other public buildings were similarly employed, including popular theatres.¹⁷⁰ Some were designed without traditional pews so as to accommodate a variety of weekly activities, not merely worship. By 1909, the Wesleyans, e.g., had 41 central halls and mission centres throughout the nation.¹⁷¹ Among Anglicans the device also became popular so that by 1885 "services in mission rooms" were described as "almost universal." Their construction was even commercialized. One enterprising Liverpool company offered "clergymen who were trying to reach shifting populations iron mission rooms 'tasteful in design, economical, durable . . . Can be taken down, removed and re-erected at a small cost'."¹⁷² Lord Shaftesbury, the very prominent Anglican who described himself as "an evangelical of the Evangelicals," was instrumental in erasing legal strictures on such meetings that had limited to 20 the number allowed to assemble for religious worship in a public hall and he himself participated in such services.¹⁷³

A third attempt to reach the poor was the establishment of settlements in workers' districts where concerned middle-class Christians would live and work. Norman describes the movement as "an attempt at social service which was noble, and which often involved considerable personal sacrifice."¹⁷⁴ Inglis devotes a full chapter to this ministry. Most residents were academics. Some aimed at conversions; others restricted themselves to social work. The latter sought to undo class suspicion and to create harmony between classes without promoting egalitarianism. R.H. Tawney participated in this movement. The line between mission and settlement was indefinite, for the more evangelistic ones

168. Norman, pp. 52-54, 124. Inglis, pp. 7-8.

169. *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

170. Inglis, pp. 64-65.

171. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 29, derived from advertisement in *Yearbook of the Church of England* (1889), p. xxi.

173. D. Bebbington, "Politics and Philanthropy: The Social Concern and Political Activity of Lord Shaftesbury," *Third Way*, July/77, pp. 13-14, Orr, p. 97.

174. *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

were much like the mission halls. Statistics for 1913 indicate 27 settlements in London, 12 in the rest of England, 5 in Scotland, 1 in Belfast.¹⁷⁵

The last effort of this general type we mention is the training of people for evangelistic and pastoral-type work among the poor. Men and women with personal experience among workers were appointed by Anglicans to become Lay District Visitors and Licensed Scripture Readers. The same church established the Church of England Working Men's Society" with the intention of training laymen for this ministry. This organization was so popular that it soon boasted 10,000 members!¹⁷⁶ The Wesleyans used laymen in the central missions as well as laywomen especially trained. 50 "sisters", *e.g.*, were working for their London Mission in 1891.¹⁷⁷ William Booth founded the Salvation Army partially because he was convinced that the poor could be reached only by their own kind. Hence his earliest assistants were all "genuine working men. One has been a blacksmith, another a navy, another a policeman, another a sailor, and the remainder have been engaged in similar callings."¹⁷⁸

As to more explicitly social activities, Evangelicals were exceedingly busy. The century witnessed an energetic outburst of Christian social activities aimed at the amelioration of many social problems. The most famous example is, of course, the Christian opposition to the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁷⁹ There were literally scores of social projects upon which Evangelicals embarked. There were schools, including some for the poor, help for vagrants, associations for the health and comfort of workers, soup kitchens for the desperate, factory reforms,¹⁸⁰ libraries, mechanics institutes, saving banks, infirmaries, literary and philosophical societies, town projects known as "bettering societies."¹⁸¹ Christian organizations and efforts proliferated as the century drew to a close, organizations with every conceivable interest.¹⁸² Philanthropy and humanitarianism were among the predominant characteristics of Evangelicals.¹⁸³

Orr describes the revival of 1859 as "the opening phase of a period of 50 years of church expansion . . . , the development of social, philanthropic and missionary enterprise."¹⁸⁴ Lord Shaftesbury's philanthropic and political victories including the legal reduction of factory working hours, were impressive

175. *Op. cit.*, ch. 4.

176. Norman, pp. 161-162.

177. Inglis, pp. 93-94.

178. *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 179. Quotation from W. Booth, *How to Reach the Masses with the Gospel* (1872), p. 77.

179. To what extent opposition to slavery arose from the economic situation or from Christian motives will not be discussed here. Objective research would probably conclude on an interplay of various motives.

180. Kitson Clark, pp. 72-73.

181. Wickham, p. 83.

182. Walker, p. 501. Latourette, pp. 35ff. Paul, p. 59. Lea, p. 76.

183. Latourette, p. 44.

184. *Op. cit.* pp. 9, 210.

by any standard.¹⁸⁵ Not only among Evangelicals, but in the church in general there was increasing social interest. The *British Weekly* asserted that "in direct obedience to the Master, all the Churches are considering earnestly their relation to the poor."¹⁸⁶ It may all have been "unsystematic, ill-organized, and unscientific," but the total result of what has been unsympathetically called mere "ambulance work" was such that Bowen agrees with Christopher Dawson's conclusion that "when we look at the social service work of the Victorian Churches, we should be astonished not at what was left undone, but at what was achieved." Though Bowen agrees that the church failed in important ways, he also insists that her social concern and teachings have prevented England from becoming a social disaster.¹⁸⁷ Elliot-Binns admits that the Evangelical movement produced few theologians, but "by way of compensation it enrolled under its banner an impressive array of outstanding laymen, one need but mention William Wilberforce . . . , T.F. Buxton, and Lord Shaftesbury."¹⁸⁸ With reference to the victories over slavery and poor working conditions, Paul points out that "it is remarkable that they were both the products of Evangelicalism. Neither the Anglo-Catholic Movement nor the Christian Socialists can claim comparable social successes." After a list of impressive Evangelical social achievements, he adds, "This fervour of social zeal . . . hardly confirms the dictum . . . that Evangelicalism handed over the temporal affairs of men either to natural laws or to the devil."¹⁹⁰ Indeed, assuming that the statistics are correct, who can berate, e.g., an apparent decrease in crime in Wales upon the immediate heels of the 1859 revival so that the number of criminal cases before the courts decreased in one year from 1809 to 1228? In one community court, cases decreased to 1 in a period of 3 months, while 614 were added to ecclesiastical rolls. In another town, arrests for drunkenness dropped from 120 to 10 nightly, and that at a time when alcoholism was a national problem. A Belfast constable reported a decrease in his district of convictions for drunkenness from an average of 21 monthly to 16 in April, 4 in May and none in June and July. The police and magistrates of another community were amazed at "the transformation wrought in the town's morals, one magistrate saying that he had nothing to do on several occasions."¹⁹¹ One does well to remember Trevelyan's summary of the improved situation as reported earlier.¹⁹²

185. Cf. Bebbington, pp. 13-15. Concerning factory reforms cf. Norman, pp. 139, 142. Paul, p. 57.

186. Inglis, pp. 251-252.

187. D. Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), pp. 335-338.

188. L.E. Elliott-Binns, *English Thought 1860-1900: The Theological Aspect* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), p. 313.

189. *Op. cit.*, p. 542.

190. *Op. cit.*, pp. 57, 59.

191. Orr, pp. 79, 87, 121, 155, 180.

192. *Supra*, pp. 17-18.

D. The Place of Social Efforts in the Evangelical Scheme

The above discussion is a clear indication that Evangelicals in no way sought a separation of religion from social affairs, as the popular myth has it.¹⁹³ Even an astute economist like Tawney states that

the doctrine that religion and economic interests form two separate and co-ordinate kingdoms, of which neither, without presumption, can encroach on the other, was commonly accepted by the England of the 19th century with an unquestioning assurance at which its earliest exponents would have felt some embarrassment.¹⁹⁴

Tawney's accusation is typical — but also in its one-sidedness. Norman re-iterates repeatedly the common tendency to regard preceding generations of Christians as having neglected their social responsibility.¹⁹⁵ "Every revival . . . of the Church is in some way one-sided," asserts John Schep. Critics tend to capitalize on the defects, while they ignore the blessings.¹⁹⁶

That Evangelicals recognized a relationship between their religion and socio-economic affairs is indisputable, but in order to grasp their view of the relationship one must enquire as to the aims of their reforming activities. Kitson Clark's remark that the social contributions by clerics during the first part of the century were in terms of the existing social order¹⁹⁷ can be applied to Evangelical efforts throughout the century. They were meant to make the existing arrangements more palatable, not to change any basic structures or their underlying philosophical premises. The more radical social critics regarded the settlements as "merely a programme for repairing an unjust system instead of replacing it."¹⁹⁸ It is one of the Inglis' themes. The Anglican Church, a mixture of Evangelicals and others, sought "a single, simple cause of workingclass abstinence from worship which could be identified and removed without endangering the foundations either of the Christian churches or of English society."¹⁹⁹ There were ecclesiastical prominents who were "earnestly arguing the case for reforms which, although considerable, would involve no upheaval of the existing social order."²⁰⁰ In a symposium published at the time the S.U.M. was still struggling for life, Arthur Henderson, a Member of Parliament favouring the cause of Labour, charged that the churches were aware of "the existence of these social sores," for this was "evident from the efforts . . . that they have made to give relief by way of . . . soup-kitchens, or doling out coal or blankets . . .," but he

193. Norman, pp. 143-144.

194. *Op. cit.*, pp. xii, 4.

195. *Op. cit.*, pp. 4, 183, 222, 229-230, 236, 280, 285, 315, 318, 422, 470.

196. J.A. Schep, *Baptism in the Spirit according to Scripture* (3rd. ed.; Plainfield: Logos International, 1972), p. 69.

197. *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

198. Inglis, pp. 171-173.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

chided them for failing to go "to the root of the evil by attacking the system which makes misery and wretchedness possible . . ." ²⁰¹ Bebbington emphasizes this aim also with respect to Lord Shaftesbury's social projects. He asserts it to be "a point of central importance" in understanding this leader to note that

none of his reforms entailed any change in the constitution or the established social order. As did the Methodists of his day, he held that the Christian's duty was to accept the existing order of society. Far from wanting to modify it, he wanted to bolster it. He believed that his reforms would have exactly that effect. By removing justifiable grounds of complaint, he was strengthening the system. "I know," he wrote . . . , "that I have conciliated thousands of hearts to our blessed constitution." ²⁰²

An equally important factor was that social work among Evangelicals had no independent justification. The Church of England regarded social involvement "as important aspects of the Divine Will . . . , but not as the essential purpose of the Church's mission. The pursuit of eternity remained the first and absorbing preoccupation . . ." ²⁰³ Social involvement was generally seen in a role subordinate to evangelism. A rather crude example was that of the head of a Wesleyan mission in Liverpool who is to have said, "Of course we have helped thousands of people who have been in distress, but never until we have assured ourselves that their religious professions or intentions were sincere." ²⁰⁴

William Booth turned to social reform because "he saw that the conditions of poverty inhibited the profession of religion" — and his was a typical case "taking place at about the same time as that of many bishops." ²⁰⁵ However, his army was not founded with that idea. To the contrary, he was initially singularly indifferent to a man's social problems. Inglis quotes Catharine, Booth's wife, who cried out:

Oh, how I see the emptiness and vanity of everything compared with the salvation of the soul. What does it matter if a man dies in the workhouse? If he dies on a doorstep covered with wounds, like Lazarus, what does it matter if his soul is saved? ²⁰⁶

His doctrines were typically Evangelical and especially at first his "most valuable supporters . . . were wealthy Nonconformist or evangelical Churchmen who saw that Booth's message was essentially theirs and who admired his zeal to spread it among the poor." ²⁰⁷ A "remarkable change of direction" took place in 1890 with the publication of his book, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. He asked,

201. Wickham, p. 200, from A. Henderson, ed., *Christianity and the Working Classes* (1906).

202. *Op. cit.*, p. 14. Quote from D.D. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828-1944* (London, 1971), p. 129.

203. Norman, pp. 4-5.

204. Inglis, p. 293. From *Methodist Times*, 29 April, 1886.

205. Norman, p. 134.

206. *Op. cit.*, p. 76, from *War Cry*, 7 July, 1881.

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of their present life?

This change took place, Inglis explains, "because he became convinced that poverty itself was a grave impediment to salvation."²⁰⁸ The new approach provided sympathetic ears for the Gospel, Booth reasoned. "Once food and shelter depots were provided . . . , his officers could put their arms around the necks of poor people and plead with them as brethren . . ." It was no change in basic theology, but, rather, only in his evangelistic strategy.²⁰⁹ The new approach was resisted by Booth's assistants because it was regarded as "a turning aside from the highest to secondary things." He himself retained interest only for a short while. Already in 1891, there were signs of his tiring of this social emphasis. It simply did not fit his basic Evangelical approach to life, especially because the new strategy did not bring the expected dividends.²¹⁰

E. Dwight L. Moody: A Personification of the Evangelical Movement

Dwight L. Moody was an American evangelist, not British. However, since in the closing chapters increasing attention will be paid to American developments, it is useful at this stage to draw attention to the relationship between British and American Evangelicals. The influence of the American revival movement was pervasive in its British counterpart. Orr's study is particularly insistent upon this link. The awakening in Ulster was greatly effected by a delegation sent by a Presbyterian church to study the North American movement; the latter "tended greatly to quicken the minds of both ministers and people" in Ulster.²¹¹ Similarly, the revival in Wales "can be traced to the influence of the American Revival of 1858." Here Humphrey Jones, a British emigrant to the U.S.A. who had become a revivalist preacher, returned home.²¹² The Irish, Scottish and Welsh revivals all "derived inspiration from the American movement."²¹³ Orr documents the work of American evangelists like Finney,²¹⁴ the Palmers', who "reaped a harvest" and who helped the revival throughout Britain.²¹⁵ There were Hammond and Bonham.²¹⁶ But the greatest of these was Moody, whom Orr refers to as "the greatest product of the Revival, in its American phase."²¹⁷

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.

209. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

211. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

213. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

215. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 149, 157.

216. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

217. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 262. Latourette, p. 35. J. Pollock, *Moody without Sankey: A New Biographical Portrait* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963), p. 252.

Moody is said to have introduced "little that was new,"²¹⁸ but he "found a well-ploughed field in which to sow . . . and reap . . ." ²¹⁹ His contribution was to extend "the scope and the methods" of an awakening already underway.²²⁰ Describing the work of various chapels and gospel halls in London's East End, McLeod asserts that "all of these religious centres were in the same tradition as Moody and Sankey: the 'Good Old Gospel' preached with no modernistic frills."²²¹ Inglis traces much of the short evangelistic campaigns to Moody's inspiration.²²² Though many evangelists held special meeting for workers, Moody's were dubbed "the most celebrated" of them all.²²³ Wesleyans copied him.²²⁴ However, even he apparently drew "but very few of the working class," a fact he is said to have recognized himself.²²⁵

Moody, writes Pollock, was no Pietist and adduces as proof for his disclaimer the evangelist's considerable involvement in social problems.²²⁶ He had no patience with those who "preached bliss in heaven while doing nought about misery on earth."²²⁷ He engaged in many forms of voluntary relief and welfare schemes, he co-operated in sending a petition to his state legislature for the establishment of a board of health and he worked with a committee that investigated the flouting of Sunday liquor laws. He preached against anarchy, greed, extortion and hate; he was the enemy of class hostility; he sought to arouse the conscience and the spiritual in man.²²⁸ In all of this Moody was a typical Evangelical. Love for the common man was characteristic of him and he would vigorously oppose oppression "when he recognized it." The restrictive clause at the end of the last sentence is important, for he did not, in fact, always recognize oppression or its causes, even though he claimed to have reflected for 25 years on how to help the workers. "It has been my very life," Pollock quotes him as saying.²²⁹

In his relationship to the middle classes, Moody was also characteristic in that he felt much attached to its most accomplished members. He had "an inevitable lean towards the captains of industry, many of whom he knew, and a 'veiled admiration' . . . for men who came to the top in almost any line of activity." We are told that millionaires donated to Moody's causes because, "they said, 'he's one of us'." One business man is to have said of him, "In the course of a life-long

218. Orr, p. 262,

219. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

220. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

221. *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

222. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

223. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

224. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

226. *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

227. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 61, 252.

229. *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 227.

commercial experience I have never met a man with more business capacity and sheer executive ability” Pollock comments:

It was a time of great fortunes fast made, often by men with no responsibility or idea of how to spend aright, a time of swift transitions from cabin to mansion, of absurd extravagances and ostentation. Moody believed implicitly in his right to direct this wealth into service. “When a man makes money by jumps, I go by jumps,” he told one protesting plutocrat. Moody regretted that “sanctified wealth is a very rare commodity in America” as contrasted with Britain where many families had been born and bred in riches and knew how to use them.²³⁰

Thus Moody, like his British counterparts, did not hesitate to prime the pump of the wealthy. He badgered the Chicago rich to finance the local Young Men’s Christian Association building. George Armour, a dean in the meat industry, and McCormick, the inventor of the combine harvester who had given \$ 10,000, were both on the board of trustees.²³¹ The latter’s son gave \$ 100,000 towards the Moody Bible Institute, the very McCormick whose own factory was the centre of labour riots in 1886.²³² Like his “soul brothers,” Moody sought to aid the poor with the help of the profits of an economic order that was at least partially responsible for their poverty, without upsetting the applecart. He asserted, “I take things as I find them and simply work for a united work in getting the Gospel before the people.”²³³ And Moody “stood in the simple central convictions of the evangelical tradition.”²³⁴

F. Contemporary Christian Critics

The Evangelical stance did not go unchallenged. Already during the early part of the century there were Christians opposing the tenets of laissez-faire and since then there was a mounting crusade “invoking the sanctions of Christianity against an industrial system sanctioned by political economy.”²³⁵ Though the charge that religion is opium for the worker is associated with Karl Marx, it was actually coined by a clergyman, Charles Kingsley, an associate of Maurice, who wrote: “We have used the Bible as if it were a mere special constable’s handbook, an opium dose for keeping beasts of burden patient while they are being overloaded.”²³⁶ Another critic was colleague Richard Yates, who more than 20 years before Engels published his criticism, chided those who profited unduly from the new industries:

The tendency of the Commercial and Manufacturing System to the rapid increase of gain, by denying a proper attention to moral improvement, has degraded the Artificers

230. *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 254.

231. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

232. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

235. Kitson Clark, pp. 295-296.

236. Norman, pp. 3-4.

and Workmen into a condition that almost extinguishes the rational faculties, and debases and curtails the animal powers and enjoyments.²³⁷

Frederick D. Maurice was the most famous of Christian critics at mid-century. In contrast to Evangelicals who regarded social activities basically as evangelistic methods, for Maurice concern for the poor was central²³⁸ and constituted a passion.²³⁹ He may have thought of himself as a prophet and at least some of his contemporaries, even among Wesleyans, regarded him as "the greatest prophet of the 19th century."²⁴⁰ Over against the laissez-faire emphasis on individualistic competition, Maurice insisted on the Scriptural teaching on community, a community that does not have to be established as Socialists sought to do, but that had merely to be recognized. He wrote of "the great principle of social faith, the principle that we exist in a permanent communion which was not created by human hands, and cannot be destroyed by them." This was a central theme in his view of society.²⁴¹ Out of this view emerged his emphasis on co-operative ventures in order to convert "a nation of competing shopkeepers into a family of loving Christians."²⁴² He was opposed to the capitalist who had "no morality but that of buying cheap and selling dear."²⁴³ This view not only pitted him against the prevalence of competition among middle-class merchants and industrialists, but also against trade unions, for they were also expressions of class interests. He preferred a "combination of men of all classes for the purpose of work." He also opposed the Chartist programme, for he understood it to seek the replacement of one class government by another class government, "the very quintessence of competitive selfishness."²⁴⁴ The cooperative idea "became the most characteristic feature of his economic thought."²⁴⁵ One result was the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations with workshops producing articles like boots, books and bread.²⁴⁶ Such experiments were to demonstrate to workers

that there was an alternative to the ruthlessness of Victorian economic theories. This alternative was to be based on the Christian Gospel, which they could recognize "as the law of their public and private life, of their inner selves, of their outward transactions".²⁴⁷

Norman suggests that Maurice "favoured laissez-faire as a trading practice" and

237. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

238. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

239. Bowen, p. 313.

240. Inglis, p. 263. Bowen, p. 321.

241. Inglis, p. 264. Bowen, p. 321.

242. Bowen, p. 316.

243. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

244. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

245. Norman, pp. 171, 168. Inglis, p. 267.

246. Bowen, p. 315. Norman, p. 174.

247. Bowen, p. 316.

“approved of classical economic liberalism.” He objected only to the competitive spirit and sought “not to change the system as such,” but rather to remind men of “the old feeling that trades are brotherhoods.”²⁴⁸ However, one may legitimately ask whether taking the competition out of political economy is not, in fact, to reject the *entire* approach.

Maurice had widespread influence, but not on either workers or Evangelicals. As to workers, his paternalism and bourgeois mentality as well as his idealistic approach kept them far apart.²⁴⁹ He expressed his disagreement with Evangelicals openly. They covered a wide range of issues. Theologically, he entertained liberal notions such as rejection of the doctrine of hell.²⁵⁰ He scorned the Evangelical approach to social problems, especially the halls, which he regarded as “specifically devoted to the diffusion of teetotal principles and the dissemination of religious tracts.” He strongly disliked the Evangelical concentration on “the personal sins of the poor” and their alleged separation of “religion from the social concerns which were of such immediate consequence to those who lived in the slums.”²⁵¹ His *Christian Socialism* of 1849 was basically an attack on Evangelicals. He accused the latter of espousing doctrine “compatible with the evil economic doctrine of competition” and of preaching a “scheme for bribing or terrifying men into compliance with certain rules and maxims,” for advocating a “method for obtaining selfish prizes which men are to compete for So it has become mingled with the maxim of selfish rivalry which is its deadly opponent.”²⁵² Maurice vigorously opposed an unacknowledged but real dualism inherent in the Evangelical approach what will be further discussed in our final chapter. Over against it, he posited the unity of the sacred and the secular. McLeod writes of “a Maurician identification of the secular with the sacred, to provide for the whole human personality, body and soul”²⁵³ Maurice *c.s.* “adjusted the relationship of the sacred and secular in order to see the world as a single unity in the providential design of God.”²⁵⁴ Maurice’s use of the term “*Christian Socialism*” was almost designed to keep Evangelicals at bay. The term initially shocked people as containing incompatible components.²⁵⁵ All these factors combined to form an effective barrier to an open-minded listening on the part of Evangelicals to Maurice, with a few exceptions.²⁵⁶ His framework was too foreign for *any* of its components to be considered on its own merits and

248. *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

249. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-175. Bowen, pp. 313-314, 317. Inglis, p. 172.

250. McLeod, p. 246. Norman, pp. 174-175. Inglis, p. 263.

251. Bowen, pp. 318-319.

252. Inglis, p. 263.

253. *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

254. Norman, p. 168.

255. Inglis, p. 262.

256. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

thus a potential corrective to a social vision marked by devout obedience side-tracked and fell flat.

Thomas Arnold was another critic who "exposed the theological weaknesses of the Church" and whose charge that Evangelicalism handed over temporal affairs either to natural laws or to the devil we have already seen challenged by Paul.²⁵⁷ He professed not to understand the usefulness of a church that does not attempt to

Christianize the nation, and introduce the principles of Christianity into men's social and civil relations, and expose the wickedness of that spirit which maintains the game laws and in agriculture and trade seems to think that there is no such sin as covetousness, and that if a man is not dishonest, he has nothing to do but make all the profit of his capital he can.²⁵⁸

Another contemporary, Edward Miall, rejected the idea that "evangelistic techniques, buildings, missions and tracts can change the situation. Only deep spiritual renewal can be effective." He castigated the church for the "unregenerate value attached to 'respectability'," for the "trade spirit of the times" that had invaded the church. The very concept of salvation, he asserted, had become one of "refining selfishness instead of destroying it." The church, he insisted, "must recognize that they sow bad seed; they must understand what revival presupposes and implies . . ." Certainly, "not least will it require that opinions on trade and politics are scrupulously tested by religion."²⁵⁹

A third contemporary charged that the middle classes, though they may

have lost in the grossness of their vices, . . . have gained in the refinements of their hypocrisy The concentrated feeling of the present age is the adoration of wealth. This embodies every virtue, and is associated with every talent, and religion seems not, in any degree, to modify the thirst for it, or to abate the ardour of the pursuit.²⁶⁰

The movement loosely referred to as "Christian Socialism" received renewed impetus after 1870 and it was strongly influenced by Maurice's theology.²⁶¹ The movement sprouted a series of organizations within the Anglican communion with names such as "Christian Socialist Society," "Christian Socialist League," "Guild of St. Matthew," "Christian Social Union," "Christian Fellowship League," and "Church Socialist League." Among nonconformists, the Forward Movement was organized.²⁶² In some quarters, the movement was almost identified as the only legitimate Christian stance. A publication asserted that "Christianity and Socialism are almost interchangeable terms." Another insisted that "socialism was simply 'the embodiment of Christianity in our

257. *Supra*, p. 32.

258. Wickham, p. 86. Trevelyan, p. 517.

259. Wickham, p. 119.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

261. Inglis, pp. 267-268, 274-275. McLeod, p. 246. Norman, p. 175.

262. Inglis, pp. 270, 272, 275, 279, 280, 294. Norman, pp. 176, 180.

industrial system,' while yet a third affirmed it to be "the duty of a Christian to be a socialist."²⁶³ Among the Wesleyans, Hugh Price Hughes was the strongest critic of Evangelicals. He rejected the Methodist ideal of no political involvement as disguised Toryism and opposed the emphasis on individual souls. He also challenged "the notion that poverty was the fruit of sin." In his *Social Christianity* he charged that in England "crimes against the *person* are regarded as almost trivial in comparison with crimes against *property*."²⁶⁴ On the whole, however, in spite of the rhetoric, the movement tended to be rather placid and vague as to its precise intentions. It had little relationship or similarity to Socialism.²⁶⁵ Definitions "could become so airy as to take it quite out of the arena of actual political and social problems, or so homely that it could provoke nobody . . ."²⁶⁶ Norman finds that the definition was eventually "so diluted as to be virtually meaningless: 'every wise endeavour which has for its object the material and moral welfare of the poor'." He adds, "That would have made every clergyman in the 19th century a 'socialist'."²⁶⁷

Though considerable differences existed among them, these Christian Socialists mostly rejected "the gulf between spirit and matter,"²⁶⁸ the dualism mentioned earlier. A report submitted to an assembly of the Congregational Union in 1890 contained the following charge that, though deleted by the assembly, is representative of contemporary criticism of Evangelicalism:

It was the defect of the honoured leaders of the Evangelical Revival, as it has remained the defect of that great movement, that it disparaged and belittled the life on earth, except so far as it was a preparation for the life above . . . It was not sufficiently considered that the life which Christ gives . . . is to rule and transform every relation in which its possessor stands to his fellow man.²⁶⁹

At the cultural end of the 19th century at about World War I stood a theological giant whom Emil Brunner proclaimed "the greatest of British theologians," P.T. Forsyth.²⁷⁰ Though originally an "out-and-out Liberal," theologically speaking, his spiritual pilgrimage, that included a conversion experience, drove him into a position that was neither liberal nor Evangelical as these two viewed themselves during his time. Hunter insists that he was "evangelical', . . . but not in the narrow and stale sense of that word . . ."²⁷¹ His writing covered an "astonishing variety of . . . themes," including volumes on

263. Inglis, p. 269.

264. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

265. *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 268. Norman, p. 176.

266. Inglis, pp. 268, 278, 284.

267. *Op. cit.*, pp. 177, 221.

268. Inglis, p. 305.

269. *Ibid.*, p. 306. Quoted from *Congregational Year Book* (1891), p. 33.

270. A.M. Hunter, *P.T. Forsyth* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), p. 7.

271. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

socialism and capitalism.²⁷² He regarded capitalism as a stage in history within the providence of God and recognized its blessings, but he also drew attention to “the curse of immense private wealth in non-moral hands, with the result that the weak and the poor too often went to the wall.” Neither did he espouse socialism, though he regarded it as “an inevitable and just protest against . . . capitalism.” An effective church requires much more than mere piety. The need is for Christian experts in economic affairs. The Christian philanthropic record has been a splendid one, but it ignores the basic problem. The church needs professionals “able to probe the root-cause in the sickness of our modern society – men who know the economic situation . . . – and can produce practical policies for redeeming society.”²⁷³ Love and faith will not suffice to keep a man aright, for

they will not give individual men moral insight on the scale of a whole civilisation. They will enable a man to make the Christian best of the current system individually, but . . . simple personal faith will not of itself give the power and the insight to apply the Christian moral principle to the accepted standards of the age.²⁷⁴

In 1916, he chided the church as follows:

. . . the Kingdom of God is treated as an interest which does not concern nations, but only missions and philanthropics. Policy may remain pagan if religion stands by with ambulance, sedatives, opiates. The Cross has for the heart a securing and consoling power, but it is not in the same position for active life. It belongs to personal religion only, and chiefly to what might be called the night side of that. It has the vespertinal note. It is not for political or business affairs. It has not the dimensions of history²⁷⁵

What, it must be asked, was the Evangelical reaction to such a steady barrage of criticism? As in the case of earlier versions of Christian Socialism, so did churches react with suspicion to “any attempt to dress socialist propaganda in holy robes.” A chairman of the Congregational Union, Joseph Parker, urged Christians to “be on our guard lest the word Christian be only the handle with which the knife ‘socialism’ is worked.”²⁷⁶ Another one-time Congregational chairman, Edward White, regarded the whole social movement as quite superfluous because of the “self-acting machinery of civilized society, by which capital is compelled to minister to the necessities of labour and poverty, irrespective of goodwill.” Thomas Green, a third such chairman, spoke of “the secular element in our church life” that he regarded as hiding Christ “by confounding the Gospel with a comprehensive but material benevolence.” Hughes was requested to preach the Gospel and to avoid social questions, a view

272. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

273. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. Wickham, pp. 201-202.

274. Wickham, p. 202.

275. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

276. Inglis, p. 270.

he described as dangerous but very popular.²⁷⁷ Inglis suggests that Evangelical resistance to the social movement was based on the belief "that body and soul were antithetical." Joseph Parker asserted, "We shall never get right by socialist theories," but only by "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." This last phrase was popular with those who separated social reform and spiritual religion.²⁷⁸ The association of the social movement with theological liberalism continued to be an effective barrier²⁷⁹ as well as its association with atheism.²⁸⁰ There was the psychological obstruction to sympathy on the part of folk "who had every reason to believe in self-help."²⁸¹ There was also the undeniable fact to which Norman draws repeated attention, namely that this criticism was frequently exaggerated and thus not wholly true.²⁸² We have earlier pointed to some rather impressive Evangelical victories that the social movement, for all its pretended deeper theoretical social insights, never matched.

Wickham judges that all the criticism came to nought: "in terms of effective consequence, it adds up to . . . nothing!" However, he immediately qualifies this conclusion:

No, that is overstatement; individuals who took part in the thinking process . . . whose contribution in society is far greater than their number would suggest. But they comprise a handful. As far as the mind of the Church at large was concerned they had come to nought. It showed . . . an alarming capacity of the Churches to produce ideas and ignore them, or to absorb them and smother them.²⁸³

Certainly it holds true for Evangelicals that "the issues were wholly subsidiary to the main continuing pre-occupations . . . and such obvious ambulance work as was found on their doorstep."²⁸⁴ Given the barriers inhibiting sympathetic Evangelical ears, it is not as astonishing as Wickham intimates that among them both "the general thinking and the official leadership" were influenced but little.²⁸⁵

V. Summary

This chapter has sought to present an overview of the 19th-century Evangelical community in Britain in order to provide the background out of which the S.U.M. arose. We have highlighted the social and economic aspects, since these will receive special emphasis in succeeding chapters as well. We have found that this community was powerful and energetic in its approach to

277. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

278. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

279. *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 307. Norman, p. 181. McLeod, p. 114.

280. Lea, p. 71.

281. Inglis, p. 299.

282. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35, 90, 144.

283. *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

284. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

285. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

economic affairs. We have noted rather enthusiastic espousal of laissez-faire concepts with a correlate lack of understanding of poverty and its social results. This community was marked by ceaseless philanthropic activity in order to bind the wounds of the victims of the economic order, but the basic cause for their misery was hardly understood. There arose a considerable and mounting Christian tradition of criticism with respect to the Evangelical stance, but because of its association with elements abhorred by Evangelicals, legitimate criticism did not get an objective hearing. And so we find that, in spite of rather momentous changes occurring round about them, Evangelicals entered the 20th century with much the same enthusiasm for the basic tenets of capitalism.

To be sure, we have not plumbed the deeper reasons for the Evangelical frame of mind on these issues, except for an occasional hint. That attempt is reserved for our final chapter, after we have accompanied the S.U.M. on her colonial journey and observed her behaviour.

Chapter Two

Beyond the Boundaries: The Colonial Incursion

I. *Introduction*

Having observed selected elements of the domestic laissez-faire economic order of Great Britain during the 19th century, we are now ready to describe the extension of that order beyond the British boundaries, particularly into the north of what is now Nigeria. Our procedure will be first of all to define colonialism and then to trace its establishment. Other elements discussed will include Lugard's dual mandate, the response of Nigerians to colonialism and the attitude of the colonial government to missions.

II. *Colonial Economics*

A. The Economic Moment

Without denying the fact that colonial motives cannot be reduced to one category, a fact that will receive further treatment in Part III, we assert that the *basic* and *primary* motive for the colonial enterprise was economic. Not all authors discussing colonialism provide definitions, but the universal testimony with respect to the primacy of the economic moment is overwhelming, an agreement that defies political, racial and ideological boundaries. Mboya, a murdered Kenyan politician, refers to colonialism as unbridled and unchecked exploitation with economic structures favourable to the West imposed on silent masses. He charges that matters such as law and order became subservient to the cause of taxation and profits.¹ Busia, a prominent Ghanaian politician, asserts that the main impetus for colonialism was not that of human relations or the welfare of Africans, but trade.² A present aspirant to Nigeria's highest political office, Obafemi Awolowo,³ years ago wrote that Britain came in order "to advance her economic interests, to gain strategic military positions, and to enhance her political prestige." To these paramount aims the interests of the people "were obviously secondary." The government established peace and order for the purpose

1. T.J. Mboya, "Tensions in African Development," in A. Luthuli, ed., *Africa's Freedom* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), pp. 57, 64.

2. K.A. Busia, *Africa in Search of Democracy* (London: Reutledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 37.

3. GKTF, May 26/78. NN, May 27/78. ST, June 4/78.

of providing "a suitable atmosphere for its economic exploitation."⁴

Though this list of African politicians could be extended considerably, let us also listen to a very different breed, Western scholars. C. Wilson writes,

From Marx and Lenin and beyond, theorists have postulated that the . . . expansion of the colonial empires during the nineteenth century must have been caused by economic factors inherent in . . . European capitalist society. They may have been right; but their hypothesis was so immediately attractive, so apparently complete and so satisfyingly explanatory that it gained wide acceptance long before the facts had been investigated.

Wilson writes this in his foreword to a study which defends the very thesis.⁵ Feddema's essay dealing with the main theories of colonialism amply demonstrates the predominant insistence on the priority of the economic moment.⁶ Tawney considers the link between economics and colonialism as "inevitable." It was the need for raw materials and for markets as well as the need for additional fields of investment of surplus capital that made colonialism "inevitable," he declared. "It was not an accident, but an historic necessity, that the generation which followed 1870 and which saw the mobilization of European economic energy on a scale unknown in the past, saw also the outburst of economic imperialism . . ."⁷ Gallagher and Robinson reject the notion entertained by Marxists *et al* that colonialism is necessary to capitalism, but they do agree that where it did occur, it was to safeguard economic interests. Though its exact form may vary according to local circumstances, imperialism "may be defined as a . . . political function of this process of integrating new regions into the expanding economy . . .," even though the relationship is sometimes the indirect one of protecting strategic positions en route to another outpost.⁸ A professor of economics in Rome, Philip Land, similarly insists that the subjection of all else to the interests of the metropolitan country and her economic needs determined all phases of colonial life: "ports, roads, railroads, housing, towns — all were built up exclusively to serve the export sector."⁹ A former teacher of economics, Paul Abrecht, affirms, "It is a documented historical fact that colonialism . . . involved . . . some form of domination and exploitation of weak

4. O. Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 58.

5. C. Wilson, "Foreword," in D.K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914* (C. Wilson, gen. ed., World Economic History; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), n.p.

6. J.P. Feddema, *Syllabus: Noord/Zuid* (Unpublished syllabus for a course in non-western sociology, FRU, Amsterdam, 1973).

7. R.H. Tawney in *Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South America* (Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the I.M.C., March 24th-April 8, 1928, Vol. V; London: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 160.

8. J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," in G.H. Nadel and P. Curtis, *Imperialism and Colonialism* (N.p.: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 102, 108.

9. P. Land, "What Is Development," in *In Search of a Theology of Development: Papers from a Consultation on Theology and Development Held by Sodepax in Cartigny, Switzerland, November, 1969* (Geneva: The Ecumenical Centre), p. 188.

and helpless people in the interest of Western countries." The *fundamental* interest of colonialism was to increase the wealth and power of a group of relatively small Western countries," he insists.¹⁰ Fieldhouse recognizes the influence of various factors, but nevertheless finds that "virtually all European expansion . . . was in some way and in some degree influenced by economics. Wherever one looks, the profit motive is stamped on the record." He adds, "To ignore these factors would make nonsense of the expansion of Europe."¹¹ Especially in West Africa does one find "economic imperialism in its purest form, virtually untainted by considerations of national prestige or strategy" And even closer to home, Northern Nigeria "was one of the very few parts of the British Empire deliberately acquired as a field for economic development," *i.e.* without any other main motives.¹² Without drawing the same conclusion from the thesis, men as diverse as Lenin and the team composed of Duignan and Gann reproduce the words of Cecil Rhodes, the British colonial architect in East Africa, as reported by his friend, Stead. Rhodes had attended a meeting of London's unemployed at which he heard

wild speeches, which were just a cry for "bread," "bread," "bread," and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism My cherished ambition is a solution for the social problem, *i.e.*, in order to save . . . the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.¹³

British Africanist Roland Oliver likewise recognizes the need for new markets as the British motivation.¹⁴

Theologians of various types have recognized the centrality of the economic moment also. The Dutch theologian, philosopher of culture and politician, Abraham Kuyper, long ago affirmed that commerce and profit were the basic colonial motivations.¹⁵ With strong emotions Gollwitzer emphasizes that the

10. P. Abrecht, *The Churches and Rapid Social Change* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 73, 107.

11. *Op. cit.*, "Preface" (n.p.), and pp. 463-464.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

13. V.I. Lenin, "The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in H.M. Wright, ed., *The "New Imperialism": Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1961), p.

31. P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, "Economic Achievements of the Colonizers: An Assessment," in P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, eds., *The Economics of Colonialism* (Gen. eds., P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, Vol. IV; Cambridge: University Press, 1975), p. 673.

14. R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (2nd ed., London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1965), p. 162.

15. A. Kuyper, *Pro Rege*, Vol. III: *Het Koningschap van Christus in zijn werking* (Kampen: Kok, 1912), p. 315. Cf. also his *Ons Program* (Amsterdam: Kruyt, 1879), ch. 19.

economy of the colonized peoples were directly geared to the interests and needs of the colonizers and were kept in that condition. Men and products in the colonies were viewed only in relation to their value to the metropolitan country.¹⁶ Max Warren reproduces a definition of the purpose of colonialism, one that dates from 1895 and is part of a speech given by Lord Rosebery:

Liberal imperialism implies, first, the maintenance of the Empire; secondly the opening of new areas for our surplus population; thirdly, the suppression of the slave trade; fourthly, the development of missionary enterprise, and fifthly, the development of our commerce, which so often needs it.

That statement, comments Warren, reflected fairly widespread opinion of the day.¹⁷ Certainly, as will become clear in due time, the statement reflects the feeling of missionaries, but, though all these elements may have played a role in a variety of circumstances, the order in which these purposes occur has little or no correspondence to colonial reality. For his own definition, Warren borrows that of an American historian, Langer, who describes imperialism as "the rule or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one state, nation or people over other similar groups, or perhaps one might better say the disposition, urge or striving to establish such rule or control."¹⁸ The definition does not insist as strongly on the priority of the economic moment as do other definitions, but Warren's subsequent discussion leaves no doubt as to its prominence.¹⁹

The Dutch missiologist, Johannes Verkuyl, has for years been concerned with colonialism. He defines imperialism as the "urge of one people to use another people as instrument for its own interests." Colonialism is a particular form of this urge that implements itself by formal political subjection.²⁰ Since Verkuyl recognizes a variety of motives in imperialism, he does not refer to any of them in the definition. However, he does emphasize that imperialism "always" is accompanied by strong economic concerns such as "the creation of economic spheres of influence, the search for export markets . . . , the exploitation of cheap labor for export into the world markets . . ." Without denying positive results, he insists that one constant of

every form of imperialist and colonialist economy was this – the economic interests of the colonizers were given top priority and the economic interests of the colonized peoples were given second-rating at best The "economic drainage policy" was typical of every imperialist economy. The largest part of the profits was siphoned off to the

16. H. Gollwitzer, *The Rich Christians and Poor Lazarus*, trans. D. Cairns (New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 7-8.

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

18. M.A.C. Warren, *Caesar the Beloved Enemy: Three Studies in the Relation of Church and State* (London: SCM, 1955), pp. 15-16.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

20. J. Verkuyl, *Daar en nu: over de assistentie aan de kerken in Azië, Afrika en Latijns Amerika in de huidige situatie* (Kampen: Kok, 1967), p. 129. *Break Down the Walls: A Christian Cry for Racial Justice*, ed. and trans. L.B. Smedes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), pp. 64-65.

investors of capital. No balance was sought between the interests of the colonized land and the interests of the capitalists.

Agreeing with André Siegfried, Verkuyl affirms that "colonialism is first of all an economic reality."²¹

The mention of Siegfried brings us to Hendrik Kraemer, another Dutch missiologist, both friend and teacher of Verkuyl.²² Siegfried produced a definition in 1934 to which Kraemer has consistently adhered and which he has repeated in publications ranging from 1935 till 1960.²³ The latest form of the definition aims to be a "condensed formula" as to the "constituent marks" of colonialism:

A country is a "colonial" country where the real dynamic economic activity is in *foreign* hands, nourished by *foreign* capital, directed by *foreign* personnel, inspired by a *foreign* spirit of enterprise, primarily directed towards *foreign* interests. A "colonial" country is therefore a country which lives . . . in a state of helotism; a country of which people and land are, in the last instance, instruments and means for *foreign* purposes, and where *foreign* decisions determine these peoples' destiny.²⁴

Again, Kraemer realizes that this definition does not cover all aspects, but it does express the basic essence of colonialism.²⁵

Verkuyl's and Kraemer's definitions are basically identical. The only difference is that Verkuyl reserves the term "colonialism" specifically for that form of imperialism that includes formal political subjection, while Kraemer uses the 2 terms indiscriminately. Hence Kraemer argues that though political subjection "is a very conspicuous trait of 'colonialism,' . . . for a right understanding of 'colonialism' it is appropriate to stress the point that political dependence and subjection are not *necessarily* part of 'colonialism'. They often are; but South America proves the point."²⁶ Where it is accompanied by political subjection, imperialism "appears strong and unveiled;" where it is not so accompanied it is "either weak or veiled."²⁷ Both men make a distinction between the 2 types of imperialism and both see clearly the intimate relationship between the 2, even though they use different terms to express the distinction. Hence we accept Siegfried's definition as perpetuated by Kraemer, while we apply it primarily to the "strong and unveiled" type of imperialism that Verkuyl calls "colonialism," for it is that type of imperialism that concerns us primarily in this study.

21. *Break Down*, pp. 65-66, 69, 75.

22. G. Puchinger, *Zending en ontwikkeling* (Delft: Meinema, 1972), p. 347.

23. H. Kraemer, "Imperialism and Self-Expression," *The Student World*, 1935, p. 336. "Grootheid en ellende van het Vasco da Gama-tijdperk," *Wending*, 1959, p. 408. *World Cultures and World Religions: The Coming Dialogue* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960), p. 65.

24. *World Cultures*, p. 65.

25. "Grootheid," p. 408.

26. *Ibid.* *World Cultures*, p. 66.

27. "Imperialism," p. 336.

B. The Establishment of the Colony

The intention of this section is to summarize the development of British trade in what is now Nigeria during the latter part of the 19th century till the establishment of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria on January 1, 1900. This will serve 2 functions. It will provide historical information useful for understanding the setting in which the S.U.M. operated, while it will also provide an example of the economic thesis of the previous section.

Liverpool and Bristol had been 2 centres for the Atlantic slave trade and depended heavily on its income.²⁸ When this trade became illegitimate, these 2 cities turned to so-called "legitimate commerce," using their traditional organization without much modification. They continued to use the same shipping agents based in these towns as well as their West African middlemen known as Brassmen.²⁹ These Brassmen were Liverpool's middlemen for their interior trade. The main Liverpool interest was now in palm oil instead of slaves, while some of the other sought-after products were ivory, timber and beeswax. Those who would formerly have been enslaved and transported across the Atlantic now became the porters for these new products.³⁰ It was a lucrative trade for the coastal middlemen as well as for the Liverpool folk; all parties sought to derive maximum profit from it without too many scruples.³¹ The Brassmen continued to enjoy the monopoly of the coastal trade with the interior on behalf of their Liverpool clients.

Other British parties were aware of the lucrative trade Liverpool was conducting with the interior via their middlemen and interest awoke in direct access to the interior, bypassing the traditional channels.³² Of course, Liverpool and her Brassmen opposed this new development,³³ but interior parties in Nigeria welcomed the new trend.³⁴ The intrusion, moreover, enjoyed the support of the British government as well as of the public, for the new economic interest went parallel with public interest in halting the interior slave trade of the Arabs by replacing it also with "legitimate commerce." The public felt that legitimate commerce would inevitably undermine the slave trade by force of the former's inherent superiority, an opinion based on the widely-held doctrine of free trade.³⁵ The stage was now set for an extremely complex interplay of traders,

28. M. Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 125.

29. J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* (West African History Series, gen. ed. G.S. Graham; London: Oxford Press, 1960), pp. 10, 14. Crowder, p. 129.

30. Crowder, pp. 129, 152.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 153. Coleman, p. 85. R. Oliver & J.D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1962), pp. 157-158.

32. Flint, p. 13.

33. Crowder, pp. 183-184.

34. Flint, pp. 14-15.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22.

both African and European, chiefs, politicians, missionaries and consuls that almost defies orderly description,³⁶ let alone summarization.

Liverpool and her Brassmen allies increasingly opposed the development of the competitive trade with the interior, the latter because their very livelihood was at stake.³⁷ Liverpool aided their middlemen by supplying them with arms,³⁸ while at home, together with their Bristol and London counterparts, they established the African Association to protect their own interests vis a vis the new competition. Their cause was aided by the fact of cutthroat competition among the new intruders. By 1878, 4 major companies had emerged along the Niger, but they were unable to arrive at a common policy with respect to the local people, who, in turn, were able to take advantage of this disunity and constantly harassed them.³⁹ The British government was forced to offer increased protection to the newcomers.⁴⁰

At this point the man of the hour arrived, George Goldie. Goldie, born in 1846, at 30 was known for his "licentious and irresponsible character." He was, furthermore, a "convinced atheist"⁴¹ who opposed the marriage of Christianity and commerce.⁴² Religiously and morally he did not conform to Victorian society, but in politico-economic terms he shared the basic tenets of his day. He believed in a naturally advancing prosperity: "civilization was a necessary product of advancing prosperity, and . . . man's duty was to assist the process."⁴³

Goldie was one of those who sought to break into the interior and in 1879 he successfully formed the United Africa Company, an amalgamation of most of the organizations involved in the interior trade,⁴⁴ with the result that he virtually created a monopoly. The company's main exports to Nigeria were firearms and liquor, the latter coming from The Netherlands and Germany via Liverpool,⁴⁵ though in fairness to Goldie, it must be said that no liquor was sold in the Muslim states.⁴⁶ However, in the Animist areas this trade in cheap gin replaced the horrors of the slave trade with a new problem.⁴⁷

36. Crowder, p. 134.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

38. Flint, p. 21.

39. Crowder, p. 184.

40. Flint, pp. 28-29.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

42. J.E. Flint, "Nigeria: The Colonial Experience from 1880 to 1914," in L.H. Gann and P. Duignan, eds., *The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870-1914*, Vol. I (Gen. eds., P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*; Cambridge: University Press, 1969), p. 221.

43. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 7.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

45. *Ibid.*, *Goldie*, p. 33.

46. M. Perham and M. Bull, eds., *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Vol. IV: *Nigeria, 1894-1895 and 1898* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 31.

47. F. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (5th ed., London: Frank Cass, 1965), p. 597.

The former disarray had barely been overcome, however, and new competition appeared on the horizon with the appearance of the French and Germans. Goldie forced the latter out of business temporarily by a price war in which he spent much of his personal fortune in 1884. He sought to entice the British government to grant his company charter rights in the style of colonial companies elsewhere, but at first the government would not hear of it. During this period the company changed its name to National African Company.⁴⁸ Though the charter was refused, the company was allowed to make treaties with African rulers.

His company was so successful at establishing such treaties that at the Berlin Conference of 1885, where European nations effectively balkanized much of Africa by recognizing each others' claims, Goldie scored a major diplomatic victory for his nation on basis of the numerous treaties he had negotiated. It was by means of such a treaty that he had forestalled the Germans at Sokoto in the far north.⁴⁹ At this same time, the Brassmen re-asserted themselves and it appeared that they might join forces with these foreign competitors against Goldie's company.⁵⁰

In 1886, as a reward for his success in undermining foreign competition and in response to continuing problems that defied solution under existing conditions, the British government gave the company charter status as an alternative to direct government interference for which Britain was not ready.⁵¹ The charter gave the company "legal" powers of jurisdiction over the area under its influence. The terms of the charter enjoined the company from any unnecessary interference in local African politics and from establishing a monopoly: there was to be free trade in accordance with the terms of the Berlin Conference.⁵² The company was, again, renamed to Royal Niger Company.⁵³

However, Goldie regarded his organization as "a purely commercial business,"⁵⁴ and this meant no holds barred. He disregarded the injunction against monopoly and the company's subsequent history is one of "bitter rivalry" with all of its competitors — African, British and other foreigners —, who rightly complained that the company was, in fact, establishing a monopoly.⁵⁵ Physical force and violence, military strategies, tariff barriers and other legalities were devised to make the entry of any other party extremely difficult and unprofitable.⁵⁶

48. Crowder, pp. 185-186.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

50. Flint, *Goldie*, pp. 34, 38, 40, 47.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 48.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 87. Crowder, pp. 188-189.

53. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 92. G.M. Meier, "External Trade and Internal Development," in Duignan and Gann, IV, p. 456.

54. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 78.

55. Crowder, pp. 188-189.

56. Flint, *Goldie*, pp. 95-97.

In response to Goldie's monopolistic practices, the traditional Liverpool agencies amalgamated with other interests in the African Association Ltd. and went into the company's area, obeying all its rules and paying all the tariffs and other taxes in order to wage a serious trade war. It appeared as if they might win, when Goldie dealt the deathblow: he prohibited the import of liquor north of Abutsi. Liquor was a lucrative trade and, besides, it was used as a form of payment, something that now became impossible. Furthermore, this prohibition won the company the support of Protestant missionaries and "stifled any criticism they may have been tempted to make. Henceforth the African Association could be pictured as wishing to debauch Africans in a sea of alcohol, restrained only by the humanitarian policies of the Niger Company." Goldie won this battle.⁵⁷ In the meantime, vigorous political battles were being waged behind the scenes in Great Britain between the various interests, all for purely commercial reasons.⁵⁸

Especially African traders suffered under Goldie's policies. They frequently would lack the British currency demanded for tariffs and license. Many were illiterate and could not fill in the required forms.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the company reduced prices paid to Africans to levels below those paid in adjacent areas where their monopoly was not in effect,⁶⁰ bartered with useless goods of inferior quality,⁶¹ dismissed all senior Nigerians in the businesses it eliminated,⁶² and, in short, impoverished the formerly wealthy African middlemen, as admitted in Lugard's Diaries.⁶³ The increasing African resentment is amply detailed for us by Crowder⁶⁴ and it resulted in opposition from "the meanest Lagos hawker . . . to the wealthiest Liverpool merchant or shipowner."⁶⁵ Several times the company's stations were attacked by the victimized Africans, to which the company would respond with actual bombardment of the responsible communities.⁶⁶

Simultaneously, there was still the opposition from the Germans and, especially, the French. There was a race between them in their efforts to contract treaties with chiefs and emirs, for a treaty represented a "legal" agreement to which European nations publicly paid lipservice as binding.⁶⁷ At all cost did

57. Crowder, pp. 193-196.

58. Flint, *Goldie*, ch. 5.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

60. Flint, "Nigeria," pp. 222, 228. Meier, p. 457.

61. Crowder, p. 153. E.D. Morel, *Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems* (3rd ed.; Cass Library of African Studies; Frank Cass, 1968), pp. 172-173.

62. Flint, "Nigeria," p. 221.

63. Perham and Bull, pp. 29-30.

64. *Op.cit.*, pp. 196-199.

65. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 155.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147, 202. Crowder, pp. 186, 190.

67. Crowder, p. 219.

Goldie want to prevent the French from establishing a port on the navigable section of the Niger River. The climax to this race came when the French marched towards Nikki with the intention of negotiating a treaty with the local chief. At this point Lugard made his debut in West Africa; Goldie hired him to head off the French — and the chase later dubbed the “Nikki Steeplechase” began. Lugard preceded the French by five days and obtained the treaty.⁶⁸

Though, as we have seen, the company was not averse to violence, it approached African chiefs in a non-violent but more deceptive way. A treaty was a document which obligated the company to pay an agreed annual sum of money to a particular ruler in exchange for exclusive trading rights.⁶⁹ Appendix I is an example of such a treaty. Frequently these documents could not stand scrutiny. According to Flint, sometimes the company would forge them.⁷⁰ Goldie instructed Lugard “in places where the French pretend that they have made treaties, to obtain a written declaration from the rulers that such statements are false, and then to make treaties for us.”⁷¹ Lugard was also ordered to “urge on all chiefs and men of influence the importance to them of Europeans bringing goods to their country, which can only be done if they sign the treaties.”⁷²

Lugard himself disliked these treaties as unworthy of British tradition; they only served to soothe men’s conscience. These documents pretended that the rulers had “voluntarily ceded all their sovereign rights” and that “at short notice.” The translators, moreover, were often semi-literates who could hardly translate them. The rulers did not understand their import. In fact, the Sultan of Sokoto “saw the payment as tribute from a vassal.” Lugard confessed that the end justified the means; open force would have been more honest.⁷³ The final results of these treaties were, from the African point of view, quite the opposite from the initial expectations. In Bauchi Province, even a low yearly revenue would be more than five times the annual subsidy paid by the company. One chief expressed his initial hopes that he would “become fat,” but eventually he “shrunk up and became dry.” In spite of his misgivings, Lugard did publicly defend the validity of the treaties.⁷⁴

This race for treaties was becoming increasingly dangerous and an army bigger than the company could afford was necessary to protect British trading interests,⁷⁵ for French interests were advanced directly by the French government.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

69. Flint, *Goldie*, pp. 115, 137-138.

70. *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

71. Lugard Papers, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 58, July 24/1894, p. 8, Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Cf. also M. Perham & Bull, IV, p. 58.

72. LP, p. 9.

73. *Dual*, pp. 15-17. Cf. also A.A. Thomsen and D. Middleton, *Lugard in Africa* (London: Robert Hall, 1959), p. 120.

74. LP, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 60, p. 8 — a letter he wrote to the editor of *The Times*, n.d.

75. Flint, *Goldie*, pp. 216-231.

Under the circumstances, Britain was not able to respond with the directness demanded and so Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, decided on a middle course of establishing a military force under Lugard to protect the company's northern fringes from the French. A cold war ensued with both sides having their armies on alert. During 1897-1898 they came to the brink of war, which was averted by diplomatic action in Europe that established a border roughly equal to the present northern border of Nigeria.⁷⁶

Clearly, the charter arrangement no longer suited the circumstances and the ground for its revocation was ripe. Liverpool interests and their allies had quietly and repeatedly suggested that the government revoke it to set up direct control.⁷⁷ The Foreign Office received a private note in which the writer complained that the company had complete monopoly and could charge any price. Refusal to submit would simply mean starvation for the Nigerian parties concerned. And, the question was asked, why? Only because the company must pay their dividends to their shareholders.⁷⁸ Of course, the government had heard the numerous complaints against the company throughout the charter years. A change had also taken place in public opinion. Whereas previously there had been a general aversion to direct government intervention in colonial affairs, the trend was now in favour of such a procedure and it was encouraged by the occasion of the Queen's diamond jubilee which was celebrated with "a veritable orgy of imperial self-congratulations." The press began to pay more attention to colonial affairs; Flora Shaw, the wife of Lugard, had a regular column. In 1897, *The Times* ran a series on the Royal Niger Company at its best, portraying the company's campaigns against Ilorin and Nupe as directed against Fulani slave raiders. It all served to make the public eager, finally, for a more direct imperial approach, a profound departure from the traditionally popular policy of non-government interference. Goldie, sensing the imminent rescension of the charter, directed all his company's energies towards one final "fast buck:" he did a bare minimum of governing and his profits rose by 50%.⁷⁹

The time for the sordid glory of the Royal Niger Company was past. The company in 1899 ceded its "land and mining rights" to the government for a "payment of £150,000 and half the proceeds of a royalty for a period of 99 years," but in 1947 the company agreed to forego this annual payment.⁸⁰ On January 1, 1900, Lugard declared Northern Nigeria as a British Protectorate with himself its first High Commissioner. The company continued for 2 decades until it was sold to Unilever for £8,000,000.⁸¹ Rodney refers to the

76. *Ibid.*, p. 232. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 195-196.

77. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 244.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 295.

80. Coleman, pp. 87, 440.

81. W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972), p. 199.

company as "one of the most notorious exploiters of 19th-century Africa;" during its charter period it "exploited Nigerians ruthlessly."⁸² Whether or not this particular company was worse than the rest is not in our interest to judge,⁸³ but its basic and almost exclusive concentration on profits clearly mark it an exploiting agency that paid more attention to its shareholders than to African needs. Thomsen and Middleton refer to the opposing evaluations of the company's friends and enemies and conclude that the company introduced what eventually led to something better than devil-worship, slavery and cannibalism,⁸⁴ That may be so, but then one may ask whether this was the main intent of the company or whether it was a by-product, a question to which we will direct ourselves in due time.

It is significant that the British government assumed direct colonial responsibility with great hesitation, initially against her will. In fact, there were attempts even to withdraw where the government had already committed herself. In 1865, a government committee recommended a reduction of British commitments in West Africa.⁸⁵ As late as 1893, Gladstone's cabinet sought to extricate itself from Uganda. British Africa was acquired, wrote Lugard, not "by the efforts of her statesmen, but in spite of them."⁸⁶ The reason for such hesitation and even opposition was the laissez-faire philosophy which at home as well as abroad frowned on government intervention in economic affairs.⁸⁷ The general aim was to be as little involved in political responsibilities as was compatible with other concerns.⁸⁸ Only when the inherent contradictions of laissez-faire became apparent, did individuals and companies seek to reduce the scope of its unpleasant consequences in Africa by government intervention. Liverpool interests petitioned the government to revoke Goldie's charter, because he had ruthlessly established a monopoly.⁸⁹ When European rivals threatened British economic interests *seriously*, only then did the Colonial Office consent to spend public money. Flint and Fieldhouse credit Chamberlain with being the first Colonial Secretary to agree to such a policy,⁹⁰ but even then there were indications that commercial, not imperial, considerations were primary, for the Secretary was prepared to make "large territorial concessions" to France, "provided British merchants could maintain free action."⁹¹ The "peaceful," non-

82. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

83. During post-World War II years Nigerian politicians often cited the United Africa Company into which it had been absorbed as a good example of Nigerianization to be followed by other companies. Coleman, p. 440.

84. *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

85. Crowder, *Story*, p. 171.

86. Lugard, *Mandate*, p. 616.

87. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 171-172.

88. Fieldhouse, *Economics*, p. 144.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 326. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 264.

90. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 264. Fieldhouse, *Economics*, p. 475.

91. Flint, *Goldie*, p. 289.

violent treaty method was abandoned in favour of a more aggressive military approach only when it became clear that the former could not cope with foreign competition,⁹² and even then Lugard went faster in establishing control than the Colonial Office wanted.⁹³ The purpose of this study does not allow us to go beyond a mere basic statement of the facts, namely that it were economic factors primarily that drove an unwilling British government into her colonial ventures in Africa. British penetration of northern Nigeria was an extension of the domestic economic order, with the government forced to create or safeguard the necessary conditions.⁹⁴

C. Lugard's Dual Mandate

We intend at this point to highlight certain aspects of Lugard's views on the colonial endeavour, for there is none more authoritative than his. In examining his point(s) of view, we do well to remember that he represented an attitude that has become unfamiliar to our present generation,⁹⁵ one, moreover, that is presently deeply suspect in many quarters. He basically adhered to the traditional laissez-faire philosophy, according to Perham,⁹⁶ a close friend and fellow worker of Lugard,⁹⁷ an adherence made complex by inconsistencies in his thought.⁹⁸

Lugard called his colonial approach the "dual mandate." That was a combination of laissez-faire economics and a sense of cultural mission of advanced Great Britain to backward Africa. European resources were used to exploit Africa for the benefit of both parties under the direction of British administration.⁹⁹ The British task was dual: the advancement of Africa and the development of resources for mankind.¹⁰⁰ Merchants, miners, engineers and others "do not enter the tropics on sufferance or as 'interlopers' or as 'greedy capitalists,' but in

92. Gallagher and Robinson, p. 108. Fieldhouse, *Economics*, pp. 141, 313, 321-324, 462-463, 475.

93. Flint, "Nigeria," p. 251.

94. The great variety of authors affirming various aspects of this thesis is indicated by the following additional references - Perham and Bull, pp. 22, 29, 31-32. Flint, "Nigeria," pp. 224-225, 238 and *Goldie*, pp. 23, 70, 216. Lugard, pp. 10, 13, 14. Rodney, p. 154. Neill, pp. 300, 302, 307 and *A History of Christian Missions* (Pelican History of the Church, Vol. VI; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), p. 376. J.V. Taylor, *Christianity and Politics in Africa* (African Series; London: Penguin Books, 1957), p. 91. Lenin, p. 30. J.A. Verdoorn, *De zending en het Indonesisch nationalisme* (H.M. Van Randwijk and N. Stufkens, gen. eds., De volkspaedagogische bibliotheek; Amsterdam: Vrij Nederland, 1945), p. 23. De Vries, pp. 1, 62. W.M.C., Vol. IX: *The History and Records of the Conference together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings*, p. 273.

95. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 280.

96. Perham, "Introduction," in Lugard, *Mandate*, p. xxx.

97. Perham and Bull, p. 14.

98. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Mandate*, p. 606.

fulfilment of the mandate of civilisation."¹⁰¹ "Our present task is clear," Lugard wrote. "It is to promote the commercial and industrial progress of Africa . . ."¹⁰² He asserted that

Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilised administration to fulfil this dual mandate.¹⁰³

Keen competition among European companies, Lugard felt, "assured the maximum prices to the producer;" profits "have been divided among the shareholders representing all classes of people, and no small share of them has gone to the native African merchant and the middleman as well as to the producer."¹⁰⁴ True to his laissez-faire creed, he expected that "in the natural evolution of industrial progress a country begins by exporting raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods, later improving its exports by better preparation and semi-manufacture, and finally becoming itself a manufacturing community." This expectation was buttressed by the illustrations of the "self-governing Dominions," which "offer striking illustrations of this process," as well as by the "closer parallel" of India.¹⁰⁵ All of this would take place under the scrutiny of the British administration that would afford the best protection of the African against abuse of power on the part of the white man.¹⁰⁶

That the African needed protection against white avarice was no secret to Lugard, himself having been in the forefront of a most avaricious company. Hence, he opposed the development of any monopolies, which, he wrote, are inimical to expansion of trade. They exclude smaller merchants and seek to increase profits at the expense of both producer and consumer, the very sin of which the Royal Niger Company had been guilty.¹⁰⁷ He furthermore warned against making profits the prior colonial concern, for he saw it as dangerous in the long run to the interests of the colonizing people: the idea that a colony should be a 'source of direct profit' to the mother country is "fatal" to the latter and "will cause her to lose the colony."¹⁰⁸ It was his conviction that a nation or individual entertaining the profit motive as primary cannot fulfil her or his highest destiny.¹⁰⁹ In pursuing her task, Britain should not give "too careful a scrutiny of the material gains to ourselves, that we may not incur the accusa-

101. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 617.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 615.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 479-480.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

tion of having inflicted upon Africa 'the grave economic wrong' for which our commercial policy in India is alleged to have been responsible"¹¹⁰ Lugard obviously favoured a modified form of laissez-faire.

From his experience with the Royal Niger Company, Lugard knew that profits in fact were the dominant motive and this did not cease to be the case during his period of administration. Apparently his government had not been able to restrict profiteering on the part of commercial interests. Prior to World War I, British merchants had been satisfied with a nominal profit on Nigerian produce, since they were getting substantial profits from their imports into Nigeria. During the war, however, shipping agents and merchants were no longer content with these marginal profits and began to seek "very large profits" on produce.¹¹¹ British merchants then began to form cartel arrangements "with the . . . object of reducing the price paid to the native producer to the lowest possible limit" When the reasons for such arrangements ceased to exist, they were nevertheless continued on other grounds.¹¹² It was Lugard's feeling, based on his laissez-faire philosophy, that, as the situation after the war steadied once again, it would be "natural" that these speculative profits should cease, and trade again follow "a more normal course." He regretted this decreasing price to the producer, especially because the price of imports continued to rise, but he professed not to understand the reason for this development.¹¹³ Lugard was also aware of the complaints of Nigerian exporters who charged that British shipping agencies did not allow them sufficient cargo space, but he felt helpless in this situation, for he considered such matters as outside the proper sphere of government.¹¹⁴ Lugard was interested in a gradual development of Nigerian industry, and, as we already noted, he expected a natural development from dependence on the export of raw materials to an increasingly refined industry of manufactured goods. Even though he was of the opinion that the time was not yet ripe, he disliked the tendency to order everything from England. He considered it a "pernicious practice"¹¹⁵ that arrests industrial development in Nigeria and leaves her natural resources unexplored.¹¹⁶ Though he had hopes for the industrialization of Nigeria, he thought that Nigerians could for the time being more profitably concentrate on exporting raw materials, since they would not be able to compete with the imported products of western industry.¹¹⁷ He could not bring himself to apply government powers to artificially make

110. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

111. Letter of T.F. Burrows to Lugard, Nov. 1/18; LP, MSS. Brit Emp. s. 74, p. 156.

112. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: a Documentary Record* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), p. 98.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

115. *Mandate*, p. 512.

116. Kirk-Greene, p. 102.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Nigerian manufactures more competitive in the domestic market: that would have to take its natural course.

It appears that Perham and Bull were correct in their assessment that Lugard himself was less extreme and selfish than some other British colonial agents,¹¹⁸ a not unusual phenomenon in colonial history. His notion of a dual mandate was hardly adhered to by economic agencies, except perhaps in theory or in public relations efforts. Lugard himself realized it, for if there was one idea which he repeated more often than that of the dual mandate, it was that Europeans did not come to Africa for philanthropic reasons: colonialism was Britain's answer to her problems of population and industry. Britain needed raw materials for food and industry, while it also required new markets for her manufactures. Many products needed by Europe lay rotting because Africans did not know their values.¹¹⁹ Africa has raw materials and foods that are "essential to civilization" and industry. Palm oil, rubber, hides, cotton and 13 more African products are listed that demonstrate "how intimately our daily life is dependent on the produce of the tropics."¹²⁰ "Who can deny the right of the hungry people of Europe to utilise the wasted bounties of nature . . . ?" Lugard quoted Chamberlain as saying, "Europe benefited by the wonderful increase in the amenities of life for the mass of her people which followed the opening up of Africa . . ."¹²¹ "The partition of Africa was . . . due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and food to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe."¹²² Africa also provided employment for Europe's excess exports.¹²³ "European brains, capital, and energy," Lugard repeatedly admitted, "have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy . . ."¹²⁴ "It would be absurd to deny, he wrote, "that the initial motive for the penetration of Africa . . . was . . . the satisfaction of . . . material necessities, and not pure altruism."¹²⁵

Need is different from greed, Lugard correctly observed; and it was the former that brought Europe to Africa, not the latter. Answering charges arising from the Labour Party, Lugard chided, "It is a cheap form of rhetoric which stigmatizes as 'common greed' the honourable work by which men and nations earn their bread and improve their standard of life."¹²⁶

Need, not greed; need, not selfish exploitation — that was Britain's motive,

118. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

119. *Ibid.*, pp. 614-615.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 615.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 613.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 612.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 617.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

126. *Ibid.*, pp. 615, 613.

according to Lugard. His friend Perham testifies to the fact that he opposed "any suggestion of exploitation in Africa by business elements" as well as "departure from the principles of freedom of trade."¹²⁷ Unlikely though this combination is to popular thought today, it was not impossible then. Perham's evaluation is supported by a prominent businessman in Warri, who wrote a letter to Lord Scarborough in order to get the latter to intercede with Lugard on behalf of a certain business venture. The man wrote:

Sir Frederick would be about the first man to view with grave suspicion the consolidation of big interests where there was even a hint that the policy might be reactionary rather than one of progress, and framed only for the accumulation of profits, without any regard whatever to the ultimate good of the country.¹²⁸

D. The Mandate in Practice

The time has come for us to enquire as to how all this was practically applied in Northern Nigeria. When looking at the general performance of the colonial enterprise one ends up with the classic picture of a laissez-faire inspired effort with its natural result frequently tempered by the morality of middle-class Britishers. Coleman asserts that, until World War II, the *raison d'être* for the government was to maximize exports and imports, that is, to create the conditions necessary for such activities, but it was to leave the actual carrying out of these to free enterprise, which, because of their superior resources, was controlled almost exclusively by European firms.¹²⁹ Shaw, Lugard's wife, summarized the object of the administration:

to promote prosperity by the peaceful organisation of the country under just laws, the maintenance of order, and the opening of communication with the outer world. When these objects have been attained, the administration may be regarded as having done its part. It holds the field in the interest alike of the native and the European. It is for European trade itself to do the rest.¹³⁰

It is all typically laissez-faire, not taking into consideration the realities of the *de facto* inequalities of structures that inherently favoured the European. And though Lugard may have been guided principally by the notion of free trade, high ranking officials did not appear to shrink from deviations if it would increase trade with Britain. They did not hesitate to create artificial situations. Burrows, a highly-placed customs official, suggested the following:

127. *Mandate*, p. xxx.

128. LP, s. 74, p. 101, Feb. 12/13. Author's name not clear, but could be Cowan. Cf. also E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Social and Political Analysis* (Ibadan History Series, ed. K.O. Dike; London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 140.

129. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

130. Flora L. Shaw, *A Tropical Dependency* (London: James Nisbet & Company, 1905), p. 495.

Cotton – The quantity required for local manufactures will be reduced if prices of imported cotton cloths are cheapened by a lowered cost in the market of export as well as by reduced transport rates and improved transport arrangements.

Hides and Skins – The cheapening of imported leather manufactures and their wider circulation throughout the country will reduce the quantity required for local use.

Oleaginous nuts, seeds, and produce – Supplies of cheap kerosene and soap will reduce the quantity required for local use.¹³¹

A confidential report by an anonymous high official suggests that the large proportion of Nigerian cotton consumed in the country for the weaving of native cloth could be decreased by importing “good strong cloth at a price which will compete with the local article.”¹³² In spite of Lugard’s interest in creating industries in Nigeria, his subordinates were not above suggesting ways to curtail such developments in favour of Britain.

We have almost unnoticably stumbled upon one of the Nigerian crops most vital to British industry: cotton, the crop that “will at first most naturally attract European attention,”¹³³ the crop badly needed to revitalize Manchester of Lancashire and to relieve “her dangerous dependence on American speculators.”¹³⁴ We have read Burrows’ suggestions that would undermine the Nigerian cotton industry, an industry that had become quite sophisticated and widespread.¹³⁵ Lugard himself likewise suggested importation of suitable cloth to decrease Nigerian demand for cotton for their own weaving industry. Ginneries and pressing machinery ought to be established in cotton areas,¹³⁶ presumably with the dual purpose of beginning the first stage of a full-fledged British-style cotton industry in Nigeria and to reduce its bulk and thus to reduce transportation costs to Manchester.

The British Cotton Association and Lugard had mutual appreciation for each other. The association sent him a letter of congratulations for his appointment to the post of Governor-General of Nigeria and wrote that they owed their position in Nigeria largely to his efforts. They were getting more cotton from Nigeria and were hopeful for an appreciable return for all their efforts at last.¹³⁷ No doubt this was partly due to the regular meetings the industry had with the Colonial Office, an arrangement later to be expanded to include other industries.¹³⁸ Lugard professed to oppose limiting Nigerian exports to Great Britain, but since the latter had been so beneficial to Nigeria, he suggested that

131. T.F. Burrows, “Raw Materials – Nigeria,” Sept. 13/18; LP, MSS Brit. Emp. s. 74, p. 57.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

133. Shaw, p. 488.

134. Morel, p. 229.

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

136. *Mandate*, p. 523.

137. LP, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 74, p. 108, Jan. 7/14.

138. *Ibid.*, s. 65, “Colonial Administration at Home and Abroad,” pp. 251-252.

Nigeria should "voluntarily" restrict her cotton exports to Britain temporarily, as it is essential to her industry!¹³⁹ — a case of the cat coming out of the bag?

Tin mining was another industry in which Europeans were attempting to undermine the already-established Nigerian effort.¹⁴⁰ During the first decade of this century at least 82 mining companies had made their debut in Northern Nigeria, but it was clearly a sordid process in the interest of neither Nigerians nor British. Lying and swindling, false claims, mortifying working conditions so that young British employees died, improper involvement of former civil servants and more such were common.¹⁴¹

Railway construction was a prominent feature of the early colonial era. It was a matter of only a few years before Kano and Lagos were connected by the metal beams. It was exclusively commercial interests that inspired its speedy construction and its route: it was designed to transport the products of the north to the coast, from where it could be shipped to Europe. The decisions as to its location were guided not by interest in communication from people to people, but solely by economic consideration. The memorandum "Lugard and Railway Project in Nigeria"¹⁴² is a clear demonstration how cotton interests and other economic measures were determinative — never a word here regarding social or other benefits to the local population. It was cheap transport vital to trade.¹⁴³ It was predicted, in fact, that it would double trade in 5 years,¹⁴⁴ an expectation that was, in the case of Kano groundnuts, 80 times below actual developments!¹⁴⁵ It was of benefit from many points of view: transportation of officers and stores, reduction of large troops, facilitating trade and thus increasing wealth also of the people,¹⁴⁶ a matter that will receive further attention in Part III. An additional profitable aspect of the line was that it cut off existing Kano trade links with North Africa by means of trans-Saharan caravan routes. This trade was now deflected to Great Britain via Lagos and would mean more trade with the mother country. This was not a mere by-product, but one of its actual aims.¹⁴⁷

The efforts to establish order and peace in Nigeria were, likewise, for the sake of trade. Shaw's testimony to that effect has already been adduced.¹⁴⁸ A report on the negotiations with the Tiv people in 1903-1904 indicates the same subser-

139. *Mandate*, p. 274.

140. Morel, pp. 120-121.

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

142. LP, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 74, pp. 205 ff.

143. Lugard, p. 461.

144. Morel, p. 167.

145. Coleman, p. 56.

146. Lugard, pp. 461-463.

147. "Lugard and Railway Project in Nigeria," pp. 205 ff. Shaw, pp. 496, 592. Crowder, *Story*, p. 234. Coleman, p. 56. Rodney, p. 227.

148. *Supra*, p. 61.

vience to the economic moment. "The first essential towards opening up trade in the country, is to ensure the safety of the trader; and, until these jungle tribes have been taught the desirability of law and order, the trader's person and goods are far from secure."¹⁴⁹

The same can be said of education: it was harnessed to the service of British primary interest in the economic re-organization of the country. This is a phenomenon typical of colonial organization generally, whether British or that of any other European effort. It usually meant either neglect of education because of the expense involved,¹⁵⁰ expenses that were rather to be spent on more direct economic developments, or it meant a curriculum designed to meet the needs and interests of the colonizing power. In the latter case the curriculum was evolved to produce clerks needed for the companies and government administration, to inculcate obedience to the colonizing power and respect for its history, language, and culture; not infrequently, in the case of colonies that were subject to change of masters, it meant an enforced change of language.¹⁵¹ Such educational motives would not be officially publicized; officially the motive might be as Kraemer describes it: to initiate the students "into the knowledge, ideals and life principles of the West, making them sharers in these excellent, elevating benefits." The secondary motive would be to produce "more efficient instruments for the administration and rule of the colonial country." The normal course was for the secondary motive to become primary, without the primary necessarily being lost altogether.¹⁵²

The process described by Kraemer summarizes accurately early educational history in Northern Nigeria. Lugard instructed his education chief to encourage a moral emphasis in the governments educational program. He referred to China and India as examples of the results of graduates who have not enjoyed moral education: graduates "lack reverence" for all types of superiors, including the government; they "lack self-restraint and control, and they lack the foundation on which all the highest and best work in the world is based . . ." Readers are to be written that will "inculcate by the lives of great men of all nations . . . the value of Truth, Honesty, deference to superiors, the dignity and pleasure of

149. LP, MSS Brit. Emp. s. 64, p. 214. Author probably Captain Wallace.

150. D.G. Gelzer, "Missions and Colonization: Education in Cameroun in the Days of the Germans," *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History* III (no's 1-2, 1969-1970), p. 8.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 10. J.F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 174. M.E. Sadler, "Education for Life and Duty," and J.H. Oldham, "The Crisis in Christian Education in the Mission Fields" in *Papers on Educational Problems in Mission Fields* (London: IMC, 1921), pp. 37, 59. H.W. Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo*, trans. D.M. Barten (World Studies of Churches in Mission: London: Lutterworth Press, 1965), pp. 112-114. Coleman, pp. 114-115.

152. *World Cultures*, pp. 139-140.

work, the reward of Unselfishness”¹⁵³ The mixture of motives is clear. There is the moral need as well as others. Firms and the government all need clerks; education is required for moral reasons as well as those of material progress.¹⁵⁴ The aim of primary and secondary schools is to provide teachers, clerks for courts and interpreters.¹⁵⁵

Little actually came of it, however, in spite of numerous government statements of intentions, for the government “consistently treated education as a low priority item in its annual estimates.” The basic reason for this situation was first of all Britain’s primary economic interests in Nigeria and that excluded spending the necessary fortunes for an adequate educational system.¹⁵⁶ Scott explains the idea clearly:

the conception of the aim of education was, that it should make useful citizens, and when we say useful citizens we mean literally citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development for the benefit of the people of Great Britain – it was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed.¹⁵⁷

E. Initial Northern Nigerian Response

Though we have not provided as many details as we might have, we have already indicated the animosity of Nigerian commercial quarters towards the Royal Niger Company and their consequent desire for the British government to take over from the company.¹⁵⁸ That, however, was primarily a southern phenomenon.

In spite of the fact that it had been necessary for Lugard to use military force to subdue Northern Nigeria, much of the population did not experience the regime in its early stages as oppressive. The principal evidence for this is the fact that the regime established and maintained itself with a surprisingly small army. Should a few rulers have decided to band together against him and had they enjoyed popular support, they would almost certainly have defeated Lugard. However, the British came at a most opportune time, for the people were about to stir against the authoritarian regimes of the foreign Fulanis.¹⁵⁹ The Fulani empire was in a state of decay with its dependence on slaves as a form of

153. LP, s. 75, Jan. 11/14, pp. 80-81.

154. Lugard, p. 458.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

156. Coleman, pp. 116-129.

157. H.S. Scott, “The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact,” *The Year Book of Education, 1938* (London: Evans Brothers, 1938), p. 737.

158. Neill, *History* p. 372. Taylor, p. 91. Flint, “Nigeria,” pp. 228-236, 240. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 225, 207, 209.

159. A. Feinstein, *African Revolutionary: the Life and Times of Nigeria’s Aminu Kano* (Wiltshire: Davison Publishing Ltd., 1973), pp. 89-90. Crowder, *Story*, p. 215.

revenue.¹⁶⁰ The people regarded the British conquest as simply the exchange of one foreign master — the Fulani — for another and as the end of slavery. The Emir of Kantagora, *e.g.*, had been an avid slaver who resisted all attempts at limiting the practice. “Can you stop a cat from mousing?” he asked. “When I die it will be with a slave in my mouth.”¹⁶¹ Slaves were used as currency and conquered rulers paid their tribute to Sokoto and Gwandu in slaves. The caravan routes to North Africa were marked with the white bones of slaves.¹⁶² Lugard testified that

In Nigeria in 1902 slave-raiding armies of 10,000 or 15,000 men laid waste the country, and wiped out its population annually in the quest for slaves. Hundreds of square miles of rich well-watered land were depopulated Nowhere was there security for life and property.¹⁶³

When the British approached the town of Babeji, the Fulani rulers fled and the people opened the gates to the British. “It was more like a liberation than a conquest and the welcome given was proof of their hatred of their cruel oppressors”¹⁶⁴ When the British army approached Kishi, the king sent a messenger welcoming them: “We thank God for your coming . . . for your presence brings peace,” he said. “The British have introduced order into all Yoruba and now it has come to us.” “We live in daily fear of the Bergu Warriors, who raid us constantly and carry off our people for slaves. We pray God that your coming is the beginning of peace.”¹⁶⁵ Our purpose here is not to describe the horrors of the Muslim slave raiding practices so much as to point to it as a reason for the relatively smooth sailing Lugard had in establishing his protectorate. It was indeed regarded as a liberation of sorts in some places.¹⁶⁶

The readiness with which Nigerians accepted the economic innovations introduced by the British also amounted to a welcome. The railway, for example, was greeted with “tremendous enthusiasm” by Africans who regarded it as an agent of progress.¹⁶⁷ Coleman emphasizes that western economics have “not been imposed upon unwilling and protesting peoples.” Once the usefulness of western technique became apparent, the initial resistance faded away. In fact, Coleman suggests, the rapidity of the change can only be accounted for by the “eagerness and receptivity of the African.”¹⁶⁸

In view of these responses on the part of Nigerians — though, to be sure, negative reactions were prominent throughout the period as well — and in view

160. Morel, p. 101. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 212, 214, 218.

161. Thomsen and Middleton, p. 155.

162. Perham and Bull, p. 29.

163. *Op. cit.*, p. 618.

164. Thomsen and Middleton, p. 160.

165. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

166. *Cf.* also Ayandele, p. 131.

167. Flint, “Nigeria,” p. 241.

168. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

of the self-complacency Lugard shared with his European contemporaries, one ought not to be surprised that Lugard regarded Britain as the true liberator of Northern Nigeria, not only from Muslim slavers, but also from the German threat of World War I. "No one," he asserted, "will be found to deny that Colonies which owe their freedom to the sacrifices made by Great Britain in the War, should not gladly accept their share of the burden . . ." ¹⁶⁹ The Nigerian Council, a body consisting primarily of British officials and that "could hardly act as a check on Lugard," ¹⁷⁰ decided that Nigeria should contribute £6,000,000 to the war effort. The Emirs of Kano and Katsina offered to pay £10,000 and £7,000 annually respectively towards the cause, offers that were, according to Lugard, "entirely spontaneous" and that their treasuries were "well able to provide." ¹⁷¹ Other emirs made similar offers, ranging from £40 and upwards, the total of which amounted to close to £52,000 for 1917. ¹⁷² This sum of £6,000,000 was to be treated as part of Nigeria's public debt and amounted to "two years pre-wars revenue"! ¹⁷³ One such letter offering "voluntary" aid to Lugard is reproduced as "Appendix II."

The point of the above paragraph is not only to display the loyalty of rulers to Great Britain during World War I, but also to demonstrate the readiness with which the regime accepted financial aid from rich native authority treasuries, money that was earmarked for public works such as schools and sanitation. ¹⁷⁴ This readiness demonstrates and supports once again the by-now-established fact that Britain's interest in Northern Nigeria was primarily economic, her own, not primarily the social advancement of Nigerians. The argument that World War I represented after all a *financial* crisis can be countered by the argument that, when it suited Britain's purpose, she would save no energies in describing the *cultural* crisis of unprecedented proportions in the north.

F. Lugard's Evaluation

Though Lugard, we have noted, realized the negative motivations and effects of certain aspects and agents of the colonial enterprise, his basic conclusion after some 20 years was positive, not to say "jubilant." Listen to his ejaculations:

. . . a higher civilisation was brought into contact with barbarism with the inevitable result . . . that boundaries were enlarged in the effort to protect the weak . . . , to extend the rule of justice and liberty, to protect traders, settlers, and missions, and to check anarchy and bloodshed . . . ¹⁷⁵

169. Kirk-Greene, p. 106. *Mandate*, p. 62.

170. Crowder, *Story*, p. 243.

171. LP, s. 74, p. 59, letter to A. Bonar Law. Colonial Secretary, Jan. 26/16.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 70, letter from Lugard to W.H. Long, Colonial Secretary, Jan. 25/17.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 64, Feb. 1/16.

174. Appendix II.

175. *Op. cit.*, p. 613.

And again,

I am confident that the verdict of history will award high praise to the efforts and the achievements of Great Britain in the discharge of her responsibilities. For . . . under no other rule — be it of his own uncontrolled potentates or of aliens — does the African enjoy such a measure of freedom and of impartial justice, or a more sympathetic treatment, and for that reason I am a profound believer in the British Empire and its mission in Africa.¹⁷⁶

Lugard so defended colonialism — and himself —, because the whole enterprise was being attacked by the same folk who also disliked the economic order in Great Britain itself, the Labour Party. British workers were told that basic to the enterprise in Africa were exploitation and common greed, arguments common in the Labour Party and their press.¹⁷⁷ He described such accusations as belonging to the creed of the “Little Englander,” who saw the following as the main characteristics of colonialism: too expensive; Britain is paying for the ambitions of chauvinists; natives are misgoverned and exploited; material developments benefit only capitalists. In short, British rule stands only for “spoliation and self-interest.”¹⁷⁸ This entire voluminous apology, in fact, was a response to Woolf’s *Empire and Commerce in Africa*, a denunciation of the whole effort.¹⁷⁹ In view of the fact that colonialism was primarily an extension of the economic order described in the previous chapter, it is no wonder that the critics were those claiming to represent the victims of the domestic system, those who had tasted its bottom dregs.

Lugard’s expectations were that his countrymen would labour in Nigeria for some 3 generations, develop the country, and leave it with Nigerians as their best trading partners.¹⁸⁰ This contradicts Perham’s claim that Lugard expected Britain to control Nigeria for a long time to come.¹⁸¹ Obviously, Lugard was not ashamed of the epithet “colonialist.” Perham cautioned that the modern reader might see him as a “ruthless imperialist.” She commented, “He would, indeed, have claimed that then honourable title while disclaiming the adjective.”¹⁸²

Yet Lugard also sensed that this venture in Africa would set the stage for a new set of problems. He predicted in 1905 that

beyond doubt the development of the resources of the tropics, and the relations of its peoples to European civilization will form the greatest problem of the twentieth century. Its produces are becoming more and more indispensable to the White races, forming as they do the raw materials for our most important industries.¹⁸³

176. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

177. *Ibid.*, pp. 612-613.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 608.

179. Perham, *Mandate*, p. xxix.

180. Thomsen and Middleton, p. 167.

181. *Mandate*, p. xlvii.

182. *Diaries*, p. 13.

183. “Administration of Nigeria,” LP. s. 65, p. 29.

Did Lugard entertain some dark forebodings in spite of his insistent positive attitudes and hopes? His prediction sounds ominously like the (rhetorical?) question of his fellow liberal Morel, who also had a positive view of the British engagement in Nigeria, but could not suppress asking whether Britain's

ultimate action be as equally beneficial as the early stages have been, or will its interference be the medium through which evils, not of violence, but economic, and as great as the old, will slowly but certainly and subtly, eat into the hearts of those Nigerian homes and destroy their happiness, not of set purpose, but automatically, inevitably so?¹⁸⁴

III. *The Regime and Missions*

A. Lugard's Sympathetic Policy

Except for the occasional reminder that this is a missiological study, so far little has been said about missions, but at this stage it would appear profitable to trace briefly the colonial regime's attitude with respect to mission efforts in the area under their jurisdiction.

One item that has played a prominent role in the relationships between the government and missions is a statement Lugard made to the rulers of the northern people: "Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please. Mosques and prayer-places will be treated with respect by us." Shaw reports that after this statement "a deep and most impressive murmur of satisfaction broke from the crowd."¹⁸⁵ This Lugardian promise, as we shall refer to it subsequently, has often been wrongly interpreted as an expression of Lugard's alleged hostility to Christian missions and as the basis for the regime's prohibition of such missions in predominantly Muslim areas.

First of all, Lugard was not anti-missionary. In fact, to the chagrin of his official subordinates, one of his most trusted counselors was Walter Miller, a C.M.S. missionary who was allowed to preach openly anywhere in the Muslim areas. Furthermore, he did allow various missions to operate in Muslim areas: Pategi, Bida, Zaria, Wase, Kontagora and Katsina. He was so strongly pro-missionary that his subordinates were unhappy.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Crampton informs us that Lugard himself denied having made a promise to exclude Christian missions, but only that the government would not interfere with the Muslim religion.¹⁸⁷ It was only when, in Lugard's opinion, missionaries betrayed a lack of political precaution that he felt the need to bear down on them more.¹⁸⁸

184. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

185. *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

186. Ayandele, pp. 141-142.

187. E.P.T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (published by author, 1975), p. 48. Cf. also Coleman, p. 136.

188. Ayandele, p. 130.

Lugard would allow missionaries in basically Muslim areas on the condition that the local emir agreed to their presence. His reason for this condition was that missions potentially were dangerous. He agreed with the West African Christian nationalist Blyden, who asserted that Muslims could not be persuaded that such mission activities were not incited by the government. The chance of converting them would, moreover, be "infinitely small," while the danger would be real of creating great perils and producing serious convulsions, causing "bloodshed, which shall be a serious permanent obstacle to that Christian religion" In the unlikely event of wide-spread conversions of Muslims, it would undermine the power of the emir, who should he allow such conversions, would be regarded by his followers as a traitor.¹⁸⁹ Morel agreed with Lugard's assessment of the danger: allowing missionaries in Muslim areas before they are ready would be dangerous and "an act perilously akin to a breach of faith,"¹⁹⁰ a reference to the Lugardian promise. Without the agreement of the emir, such missionaries would work only under British protection, a situation that would be "in doubtful accord with the principles of Christianity."¹⁹¹ Thus, though in principle Lugard originally was not opposed to mission activities among Muslim peoples, his fears and conditions were such that in fact very few projects were allowed. Some, as in the case of the S.U.M. at Wase, were subsequently instructed to break up camp and leave their areas when the local emir began to notice unforeseen disadvantages. It should be understood that we are discussing western missionaries, not Nigerian Christians. They would be free to go anywhere in the same fashion as Muslims could.¹⁹²

Lugard was much more positive with respect to missions working among the Animistic tribes, in fact, he welcomed them.¹⁹³ In one of his annual reports quoted by Coleman, he asserts, "I have . . . held out every encouragement to establish missions in pagan centres, which appear to me to need the influence of civilization and religion at least as much as the Mohammedans."¹⁹⁴ However, there was a condition attached to this type of mission effort as well: missionaries must uphold the prestige of the European. Lugard realized that the basis of his strength in the north was the myth of European prestige rather than his scant army. The avoidance of bloodshed and the maintenance of law and order depended on this prestige and, consequently, the High Commissioner was opposed to missionaries demeaning themselves, for example, by "menial work" or by an inadequate salary.¹⁹⁵ Animism, in his estimation, lacked an ethical system, a

189. Lugard, pp. 592-595.

190. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

191. Lugard, p. 594.

192. Kirk-Greene, p. 160.

193. Lugard, p. 590.

194. *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

195. Lugard, pp. 589-590. *Cf.* also Morel, p. 153.

void that could be filled by Christianity, which should become the basis for a new social organization.¹⁹⁶

We have previously summarized Lugard's view on colonial education. In common with his middle-class contemporaries, he emphasized the moral aspect as requiring primary attention. It was especially here that he was eager for mission cooperation. Sometimes he would equate moral and Christian education;¹⁹⁷ sometimes he would indicate a distinction between them but with very close relationship. In his instructions to his education chief, he proposed, in addition to an emphatically moral emphasis, the introduction of voluntary religious instruction.¹⁹⁸ Clearly, religion was subsidiary to morals in his view. He hoped missions would help in education with a "character forming" emphasis. Religion should also be taught, not any particular denominational creed, but "the force which inspires a man to a sense of duty, to unswerving integrity and loyalty . . ."¹⁹⁹ To missions, he suggested, education is a means for spreading the Gospel; to the educationist, religion is a "powerful auxiliary in the formation of character."²⁰⁰

B. Post-Lugardian Opposition

Lugard's successors were less sympathetic to Christian missions.²⁰¹ After Lugard's departure in 1906, some no longer wished for any conversions, whether from Islam or Animism, not because of political considerations only, but also because of deliberate opposition to the Christian faith.²⁰² Administrators were part of that post-Victorian generation that was indifferent to religion. Ayandele even speaks of their "proverbial" indifference,²⁰³ and supports his contention with a considerable array of concrete examples.

Lugard's immediate successor was the Canadian Girouard, an administrator with very different interests and ideas from his predecessor. Ayandele attributes to him "the bitterest hatred for missionary propaganda" in Muslim areas, though he was a Roman Catholic. His anti-mission stance was supported by his subordinates; all agreed that missions were a "menace to the peace and good government of the country."²⁰⁴ In a lengthy letter to Lugard, he complained about C.M.S. activities in Zaria and suggested they "would be far better occupied in fighting Islam at its outposts in the Pagan States." He was especially incensed

196. Lugard, p. 437.

197. Ayandele, p. 140.

198. LP, s. 76, p. 81.

199. Lugard, p. 460.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

201. J.A. Hunter, p. 88. H.G. Farrant, Feb./74, p. 4.

202. Ayandele, p. 151.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

about a public baptism performed by Miller in Zaria as tactless and considered it thoughtless with respect to the difficulties of the administration. He immediately instructed Miller that such ceremonies must in the future be performed "within missionary precincts," but suspected that Miller would use this ban as propaganda through Exeter Hall. Such a baptism, he submitted, was possible only because of British power. He continued:

Personally I should like to see the mission retire entirely from the Northern States, for the best missionary for the present will be the high-minded, clean-living British Resident. The opinion of Residents is absolutely unanimous in considering the presence of the Mission as a menace to the peace of the country.

He concluded,

It is a very sad fact that the missions, as constituted, are not of the slightest assistance in administering the country: on the contrary a constant source of worry. They say that their religion and common sense bear no relation to each other.²⁰⁵

Ayandele, however, reports that the Zaria public had watched the proceedings with mere "delightful amusement for jest at the evening fireside conversation." Girouard continually infected the Colonial Office with such "fantasy."²⁰⁶

Another high official to oppose missions was Charles Temple, who entertained "extraordinarily extreme . . . adoration of indigenous institutions." He regarded every European symbol and representative as a threat to these institutions, but the missionary was the greatest menace of all. He sought to keep missions out of Animistic areas as well. He refused the request of the Pagan *Maguzawa* for missionaries because, he said, this would make them disloyal to their Muslim rulers.²⁰⁷

Temple was no High Commissioner; he served under Hesketh Bell, who was an exception in his sympathy for Christian missions, but when he gave the C.M.S. permission to establish work in Kano, the Colonial Office vetoed him.²⁰⁸ Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary at the time, was strongly opposed to mission work in the Muslim states. Not only Bell was vetoed by this office, but when Lugard suggested an educational measure favourable to missions, he, too, was overruled.²⁰⁹ At the end of the first period, we find that this office began to oppose missionary expansion into the Pagan areas as well. In 1916, an ordinance was passed that, by refusing grants to mission schools in new areas, meant an effective obstacle to such expansion.²¹⁰

205. LP, s. 63, Jan. 25/08, pp. 197-198.

206. *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

208. Crampton, p. 55.

209. *Ibid.*

210. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

C. Pro-Muslim Conditions and Policies

A number of aspects of colonialism were favourable to the spread of Islam and, thus in a sense, inimical to the spread of the Gospel. One such aspect was inherent in the *Pax Britannica*. During the slave-raiding period, Muslims were feared or hated by many Pagan people; they were identified as slavers and hence dangerous. It would have been impossible in those days for a Muslim trader to take his wares peacefully into many Pagan areas: he would surely have been molested. With the introduction of peace, however, the Muslim trader-missionary could enter any settlement without fear, for British justice would clamp down hard on any village murdering such strangers in their midst. Because of the spiritual and cultural upheaval resulting from the European intrusion, many individuals and even tribes were groping for new foundations for their lives; some were inclined to favour the fashions introduced by white men, while others were increasingly open to the Muslim alternative. Karl Kumm, founder of the S.U.M., witnessed this process and was dismayed to find areas formerly closed to Islam now opening up and embracing it. Since the Burmawa had been conquered by the British, the Muslim trader was safely passing through their country, a Muslim teacher had settled in their capital and a large mosque was under construction.²¹¹ Under the impact of the *Pax Britannica* Islam was penetrating German Adamawa, the French Shari Protectorate, and the Eastern Sudan.²¹² This movement, we repeat, was inherent in the peaceful conditions created by the British and, short of preventing it with a strong arm, would have occurred no matter how favourably inclined towards Christian missions the government had been.

Other anti-Christian and pro-Muslim conditions, however, were not inherent in the situation but were the direct result of government policies, though not necessarily always with deliberate opposition to Christians. One practice was to place Pagan tribes under the authority of Muslim emirs. The basic reason was to increase the effect of indirect rule, but the result was decidedly not in favour of Christian missions, for missions were barred unless given permission by the emir. Since in such political units advancement was generally open only to Muslims, a general drift towards Muslim culture would be started because of its increased status. Pagan village chiefs would begin to don the Muslim robe, not infrequently the first step to Islam. The use of Muslim justice would also add to Islam's prestige. Another such practice was to declare certain Pagan areas as not safe, one that also meant the exclusion of missionaries. Muslim missionaries, however, would be free to enter such areas, for they would come not overtly as missionaries, but as traders. European missionaries would be barred basically because, if attacked, not only their lives would be at stake, but also the prestige of the

211. H.K.W. Kumm, LB, Nov./05, p. 6.

212. *Ibid.*, Jan./11, pp. 15-16.

regime, *i.e.* the basis of British power, since, as we have seen, the missionary was inevitably regarded by the people as part and parcel of the colonial regime and an attack on the missionary would be regarded by the people themselves as an attack on the regime. Penal expeditions with all the attendant problems and finances would be necessary to demonstrate the power of the government. The third practice to which we draw attention was the deposition of Christian chiefs. When the Chief of Kabwir became sufficiently interested in the Gospel to neglect some of the rites associated with his office, he was replaced by the government. A Sura chief with similar sympathies was also replaced because he discontinued the practice of compulsory Sunday farming.²¹³

The post-Lugard era was one of increased cooperation in tension. There was the pragmatic approach of a government that was ready to utilize the services of missions in areas for which the former was not equipped sufficiently. Though there was a basic hostility towards the Gospel itself on the part of many officials, a fact that will become more clear in Chapter 4, this was kept in check by their realization that these missions could render useful services as well as by the fact that they had powerful backing at the home front. Officials tended to fear the "dreaded propaganda machinery" of the C.M.S.²¹⁴ Lugard suggested that missions and their supporters had a wider means of influencing public opinion through the press and parliament than any other group, a factor that would suffice to prevent any hostile official from placing obviously unnecessary obstacles to their work.²¹⁵

D. Reasons for Government Attitudes

The hostility on the part of many officials in Northern Nigeria towards missions and their faith was no unique experience. Though the climate of today encourages authors to emphasize what missions and colonialism had in common, one can point to numerous examples of hostility, especially in Muslim areas.²¹⁶ Colonial regimes have generally recognized the fact that Islam has an inherent theological revulsion to non-Muslim domination. Islam itself is a "consistent form of *imperialism*," Kraemer explains, and hence must strongly resent when it itself is subjected to an imperialism by peoples of a foreign religion: it is regarded, religiously speaking, as "monstrous," a feeling that may be subdued temporarily, but is always "latently present."²¹⁷ This feature of Islam was recognized by all colonial regimes and was responsible for much hesitation to allow missions to upset the delicate balance of power. It was not infrequently used as an excuse.

213. Crampton, pp. 50-51, 60-63.

214. Ayandele, p. 161.

215. Lugard, pp. 595-596.

216. *E.g.* for northern Togo *cf.* Debrunner, p. 121; for Samoa and northern India *cf.* Neill, *Colonialism*, pp. 259, 388.

217. "Imperialism," p. 334.

Various other reasons have been advanced as responsible for such hostility. Temple's adoration of Hausa culture has already been mentioned. Missions would result in its demise and replace the "dignified and courteous Moslem into a trousered burlesque with a veneer of European Civilization," examples of which were alleged to be all too common in the south.²¹⁸ Pagans would turn into a rebellious lot disobedient to their emirs.²¹⁹ There was a fear of the mission's untimely insistence on equality. Said Lugard:

... the preaching of equality of Europeans and natives, however true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction.²²⁰

There was the fear of missionaries' gaining greater or, at least, rival influence with that of administrators, a possibility of which Miller was a concrete example. Another important reason is that missionaries frequently served as advocates for the rights of the peasant. Officials often were "overbearing in their attitude to the natives and condoned many acts of oppression by the chiefs and Emirs." They had "much to hide from the gaze of the British public, through probable revelations by the missionaries to the British press."²²¹ Furthermore, the prevalence of immorality among officials was not something they wished advertized abroad. Ayandele locates the basic reason for hostility towards missions as simply opposition to Christianity itself and regards all official explanations as mere excuses.²²² We refer the reader to Chapter 4 for more details of this hostility.

The situation was, however, more complex than the last few paragraphs would indicate. There were also occasions where Pagan kings in process of Islamizing were admonished to stick to their traditional ways. One such incident took place with the traditionally Pagan King of Shendam, who, as a result of his Muslim sympathies, was losing control over his people. The British Resident "advised" the king to return to his former ways and he accepted the advice.²²³ It was thus not always a case of the government encouraging Islam. Then, it must be understood, there was a broad area of cooperation between the government and the missions in the areas of education and medical work. The regime did not hesitate to cooperate and even invite missions to harness their abilities and interests in these areas. The government, being pre-occupied with creating a suitable economic climate, welcomed the missions' voluntary assumption of the educational burden and, at a later stage, subsidized mission educational institutions heavily. Coleman described educational cooperation as a "marriage of

218. Coleman, p. 137.

219. Ayandele, pp. 148-149.

220. Quoted in Coleman, p. 137.

221. Crampton, p. 63. Ayandele, p. 151.

222. Ayandele, p. 151.

223. J.L. Maxwell, *Diaries* (Rhodes House Library, Oxford, MSS Afr. s. 1112), p. 9.

included many articles in support of the regime. It advocated the celebration of Empire Day and Victoria Day.²⁴⁰ Victoria was praised as “a good monarch” who “should not be forgotten.”²⁴¹ The British Cotton Growers Association was also the subject of favourable comments.²⁴²

Another and more radical newspaper was that founded by John Payne Jackson, a Liberian living in Lagos for some 28 years. He founded the *Lagos Weekly Record* in 1891, a newspaper most nationalistic of all and *therefore* among the more popular. At one time it was so adamant in its nationalist demands that all foreign advertisements were withdrawn in an effort to undermine the paper, but it stood the test and continued.²⁴³ Coleman reproduces a number of examples of Jackson’s “pungent criticisms” which “always hung on the edge of sedition.” We borrow one:

One cannot refrain from speculating upon the bankruptcy of the New Imperialism and the apparent decay of British Imperial genius, so long as Great Britain continue to transcend the limits of political righteousness; to harbour the colour prejudice (the logical outcome of the Americanisation of England . . .) . . .; to legislate away the rights of her coloured subjects (as witness the South African Union Act); and to remain indifferent to the wishes of her subject dependencies.²⁴⁴

It is of importance to note that even this radical newspaper did not call for an abolition of the colonial status, but for improved government and an end to racism. Be it also observed that the comments bespeak an obvious awareness of world currents.

By 1908, political agitation and press criticism had become intolerable for the government and the Seditious Offences Ordinance was passed. Jackson was the first editor to be prosecuted under this ordinance.²⁴⁵ The government was further aided by a new paper founded by a Lagos lawyer and a friend of Lugard, called *Nigerian Pioneer*. This paper was generally pro-government and printed on the C.M.S. press.²⁴⁶ Because of its defense of the government on most issues and its strong opposition to what it called the “hatemongering” of some other papers,²⁴⁷ a competitor, *Times*, referred to the paper as “the official organ of . . . Lugard’s administration,” a charge dubbed false by the accused. Attempts were made to suppress the paper by having its mail and communications intercepted.²⁴⁸

From the above, the lack of unanimity was clear, but it was within certain

240. May 10/05 and 24/05.

241. May 10/05.

242. May 24/05.

243. Coleman, pp. 184-185.

244. *Ibid.*, p. 184. Taken from Feb. 26/10.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

246. *Ibid.*, p. 453. Ayandele, p. 246.

247. May 29/14 and June 12/14.

248. *Ibid.*, 29 May/14.

limits. All shades of opinion were unanimous on a higher value of African culture and a lower value of European culture. There was also unanimity with respect to the desirability of *future* independence. The rate of speed towards that independence was a point of contention, even though it was agreed that the time was not yet.

Of course, West African nationalism did not exist in isolation, but it was one particular expression of a general phenomenon in the countries under western influence. Throughout the colonized world a nationalist spirit was awakening or had awakened: China, Japan, Philippines, India, Dutch East Indies, Turkey.²⁴⁹ In Indonesia the movement can be traced back to 1820.²⁵⁰ Especially in the context of British colonialism, India provided a pattern in nationalist development because it was ahead of similar movements elsewhere. The pioneers of the Indian National Congress in 1884 denied any revolutionary intentions and during its incipient days, its leaders would heap sincere praise on British rule.²⁵¹ In view of Coleman's theory that nationalism follows a universal pattern and that Nigerians are no different from other peoples,²⁵² such movements elsewhere were of significance also for Nigeria.²⁵³

V. *Summary and Conclusion*

The main purpose of this chapter has been to indicate that, whatever else it was, colonialism was primarily an economic movement, an extension of laissez-faire capitalism of the West. This is not to say that colonialism did not include other motives as well — succeeding chapters will make clear that additional forces were operative —, but the primary impetus was to give a new lease of life to the order described in Chapter 1. As such it was largely based on the same presuppositions, though modified to suit Nigerian circumstances. Neither are we suggesting that all of the participants in Nigeria were out to exploit a vulnerable people. Lugard himself, it is clear, opposed exploitation in the negative sense. Nwerah, who has provided the introduction to Morel's work, describes John Holt, the founder of the second largest company in Northern Nigeria during this period, as an adherent of laissez-faire who worked hard at establishing British trade in West Africa, but who was also a "negrophile," "morally stern and an uncompromising fighter against injustice and exploitation of human misery."²⁵⁴

249. J. Leimene, "Nationalistische stroomingen in Ned. Indië," *Eltheto*, Feb./36, p. 222. J.R. Mott, *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), pp. 25-30. W.M.C., I, p. 32.

250. H. Kraemer, "De Houding van zending en Christendom in Indië," *Eltheto*, 1929 or 1930, p. 106.

251. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 103.

252. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

253. Cf. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 408-413.

254. *Op. cit.*, p. viii.

As unlikely a combination as this may appear to the present generation, such men were not atypical of the breed. Nor are we intimating that colonial officials always thought alike or acted in concord. Lugard gave much thought to colonial purpose, but on the whole the "deeper purposes of British dominance were not considered at all by the colonial officers at home or in Nigeria." Against her intentions, but forced to protect her economic interests, Britain drifted into the colonial venture without any concrete or long-range plans²⁵⁵ and continued to drift until the very end.²⁵⁶ The differences between officials could be extreme. There was Lugard, the unabashed exponent of a dual mandate that included a modified laissez-faire version. There was also Temple, who regarded "European industrial capitalism as a decadent form of society" from which he sought to protect Northern Nigeria.²⁵⁷ However, such differences among individual officers did not cancel the basic motivation; at most they complicate detailed analysis. Where individual officers failed to protect economic interests, the Colonial Office in London would step in. Writing about the same question as it refers to India of a few decades earlier, Neill asserts, "The arguments, repeated endlessly, really revolve all the time about the same point – the maintenance of British power in India for the sake of British aggrandizement and enrichment."²⁵⁸ As to government opposition to missionary work, especially in areas under Muslim emirs, one can only conclude that missions were used by the regime in so far as interests coincided. As soon as economic interests were threatened, missions would be either restricted or prohibited, a statement that will receive further corroboration in Chapter 4.

We have implied and are now stating explicitly that as in Great Britain the *structures* tended to victimize the working classes, so did the colonial *structure* put the African at a disadvantage. The "freedom" introduced in Nigeria was a Liberal freedom with its inherent new forms of enslavement for an emerging new proletariat: the colonial people.²⁵⁹ As the middle classes at home had developed a blind spot for the structures, so did its members who chose a colonial career, whether in commerce or administration or, as we shall see, in missions, suffer from that same blindness. It was to be expected, for they were largely the same people.

255. Flint, "Nigeria," pp. 243-244. Perham and Bull, pp. 31-32.

256. Feinstein, p. 122. Awolowo, p. 22.

257. Flint, "Nigeria," p. 253.

258. *Colonialism*, p. 86. Cf. also Kuyper, *Pro Rege*, p. 315. Crowder, pp. 233, 236.

259. H. Kraemer, *Mission und Nationalismus* (Die Sammlung der Gemeinde, Heft 8; Basel: Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1948), p. 9. Also *World Cultures*, p. 63.

Chapter Three

Beyond the Boundaries: The Missionary Dynamic

I. *Introduction*

The restlessness of the classes described in Chapter 1 found its economic and political expression partly in the colonial venture abroad, the Nigerian arm of which we traced in the second chapter. Our task for this chapter is to depict another expression of that same restlessness, the missionary enterprise. The intention is to summarize the development of this movement, to describe its characteristics and ideals, and, finally to analyze its attitude towards its politico-economic parallel. As stated earlier, we do not presume to describe the movement in its entirety, but only those aspects that have direct bearing on the questions relating to missions and colonialism. If the discussion becomes one-sided, it is because we focus our attention on merely one aspect of the mission enterprise. If it tends towards the negative, it is because our focus demands such, not because we regard the entire missionary movement negatively.

II. *The Momentum of Mission Developments*

A. Developments in General

The initiation of the modern Protestant missionary movement in Great Britain is customarily ascribed to William Carey. To be sure, there had been missions before him, but they were colonial, *i.e.*, they basically followed their nations' flag and often were state supported. Earlier British efforts often aimed at British colonists abroad, though not exclusively so.¹ The movement initiated by Carey cannot be dubbed colonial in that historic sense, for compared to earlier efforts, the new missions were relatively independent of their own nations' interests and, in theory at least, they were politically and economically free to pursue their own course of action. Many organizations actually worked in areas under the jurisdiction of governments other than those of the originating countries. Though a major point in this study is to indicate that the relations between modern missions and colonialism have been too close, we accept Latourette's assertion that seldom "has the propagation of Christianity been so

1. W.R. Hogg, "The Rise of Protestant Missionary Concerns, 1517-1914," in G.H. Anderson, ed., *The Theology of the Christian Mission* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1961), p. 106.

nearly separate from political objectives and activities" since the days of Constantine.²

At Carey's urging, in 1792 the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen was formed, a mission with a universal purview, not colonial along the old style. The floodgates had been opened. In 1795 the L.M.S. was formed as well as the Religious Tract Society. By the turn of the century the momentum that was to continue for a dozen decades began to gather and gain increasing crescendo.³ It was a movement of unprecedented expansion.⁴

Just to remind ourselves of the domestic situation, it is well to draw attention to the fact that while the home church was losing the local proletariat, she sent her missionaries abroad to evangelize what was to become the new world proletariat.⁵ In a sense the missionary movement can be called an extension or "spillover" of domestic evangelism. As evangelism at home was predominantly carried on among the "immoral" slum dwellers among whom Victorian preachers crusaded against the phenomena depicted in Chapter 1, so did the foreign effort aim at the "immoral" members of inferior cultures abroad.⁶

Though this movement was not confined to the British, they took the lead and retained it throughout the century, with the Americans trailing close behind and eventually taking over the leadership.⁷ As Evangelicals during the course of the period became the pillars of the Christian community, so they also were predominant in the missionary expansion.⁸

For our purpose it would be senseless to repeat the endless list of missionary organizations that sprung up during the century, for such enumerations have been provided by others.⁹ While Bishop Tugwell, whom we shall meet later, was marching to Kano, James Dennis was pouring forth missionary statistics at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900. Starting with the 1830s, he presented exact statistics as to the number of new organizations that arose each

2. K.S. Latourette, "Distinctive Features of the Protestant Missionary Method of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," I.M.C., *Evangelism* (Tambaram Series, Vol. III; Oxford: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1939), p. 21.

3. Hogg, pp. 107-108.

4. Latourette, *Expansion*, IV, pp. 2, 4.

5. Cf. D.T. Niles, *Upon the Earth: The Mission of God and the Missionary Enterprise of the Churches* (Foundations of the Christian Mission, Studies in the Gospel and the World; London: Lutterworth Press, 1962), p. 202.

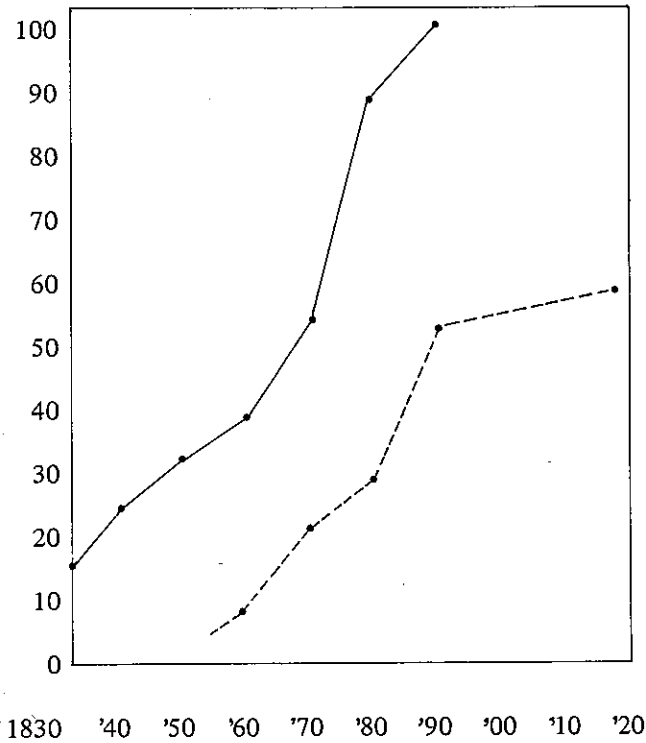
6. C.P. Groves, "Missionary and Humanitarian Aspects of Imperialism from 1870-1914," in Duignan and Gann, I, p. 490.

7. Walker, p. 502. The claim for an "enormous" British lead throughout this period, as Moorhouse puts it, is exaggerated. G. Moorhouse, *The Missionaries* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1973), p. 273.

8. Groves, p. 462. Walker, p. 502.

9. Neill, *History*, p. 252. Walker, pp. 502-503. Latourette, of course, literally devotes volumes to such an enumeration.

decade.¹⁰ The following chart of these statistics clearly demonstrates the increasing crescendo.



- Dennis' statistics regarding number of *new* missionary societies during each decade, from 1830s till 1890s.
- - - - - Moorhouse's statistics regarding number of geographical areas in *Africa* where societies began what was to them *new* work.

In terms of individual missionaries, at the beginning of the period there were a few hundred of them, but by 1914, there were some 22,000.¹¹ Britain alone accounted for some "2570 male missionaries in the field somewhere in the world and 1700 unmarried women."¹²

10. EMC, I, pp. 429-430.

11. Hogg, p. 110.

12. Moorhouse, p. 273. This would hardly make for a British lead: only 4270 out of 22,000. This may well be another indication of perennial problems in missionary statistics caused by the different policies of mission societies with respect to the status of married

The two major forms of the missionary effort were educational and medical. By 1910, 180,000 students were enrolled in secondary and higher educational institutes in mission fields. There were 86 institutions of college or university level, of which India and China received the lion's share, especially the former. Medical missions appeared on the scene during the last half of the period and by 1910 more than a 1000 medical doctors were serving as missionaries abroad.¹³

Though the majority of these missionary organizations at first were predominantly denominational, as the effort developed globally, the need for ecumenical cooperation impressed itself upon the missionary community with the result that a series of interdenominational or non-denominational conferences were organized, national as well as international. In his history of the Jerusalem meeting of the I.M.C. in 1928, William Paton summarizes the preceding tradition of meetings to which the 1928 conference was heir, a tradition that began with meetings held in 1854 in both Britain and the United States under the leadership of Alexander Duff. London meetings were held in 1860 and 1878, the latter of which had representatives of 34 societies, 11 of them non-British. A more important conference was held at Exeter Hall in 1888, with 53 British, 67 American, 18 continental and 2 colonial organizations participating. Then there were the major conferences of 1900 and 1910 in New York and Edinburgh respectively.¹⁴ In the opening chapter of the 1900 New York Conference report there is mention of an additional series of "ten or more local conferences held in different parts of the world," the details of which are presented by Johnston,¹⁵ as well as a series of joint Canadian-American conferences in the 1890s. Obviously, missions had become a sizable international enterprise.¹⁶

Missionarily speaking, the Christian community had come a long way since the days of Carey, for this shoemaker had to argue seriously that the great commission was still incumbent upon the church. By 1900, almost every denomination realized its missionary responsibility — indeed "a remarkable transformation within a century's time."¹⁷ Neill echoes, "The change wrought by a single century was astounding." Except for a few outposts, of which Northern Nigeria was one, by 1900 "there were hardly any limits to the missionary enterprise."¹⁸ The Christian religion was becoming catholic in a geographical sense.

women: some count them, others do not. If we assume that most of the males were married, we can safely inflate Moorhouse's figure by some 2300 women. We would then arrive at about 6570 British missionaries, almost one-third of the total missionary force.

13. Hogg, p. 111.

14. JC, VIII, p. 1.

15. A.P. Johnston, *World Evangelism and the Word of God* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1974), p. 56.

16. EMC, I, p. 9.

17. Hogg, p. 110.

18. *History*, p. 253.

B. Developments in Africa

Africa received its share, though at first somewhat niggardly. Moorhouse points out that during the first 6 decades of the 19th century no decade had witnessed the beginning of more than 9 new enterprises designed for Africa. During the 1860s this began to rise increasingly decade by decade, a trend we have included in the preceding chart.¹⁹ Most of the earlier efforts were initiated by denominational agencies and confined themselves to coastal areas, but by 1880, the non-denominational societies increased in number and they tended to "leapfrog" over the established coastal missions into the interior, such as the Sudan area of sub-Saharan Africa, including Northern Nigeria.²⁰

As to Nigeria, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began the race during the 1840s, followed close on its heels by the C.M.S. By 1900 this number had swelled to 8. By World War I, 15 Evangelical societies were labouring in Nigeria, some in the south, some in the Middle Belt of the north. 600 or more missionaries were now on the scene and they were backed up by almost 5000 Nigerian workers; close to 3000 churches had been established with more than 800,000 communicants claimed.²¹ It should be understood, though, that were we to differentiate between north and south, the south would have by far the majority of these members, perhaps up to 95%.

Various stabs were made specifically at Northern Nigeria. Ayandele lists a number of these attempts, beginning with Bowen of the Southern Baptist Mission in 1855, who sought to establish a base in the Muslim town of Ilorin. Samuel Crowther of the C.M.S. got permission from Nigerian rulers to establish various stations including Lokoja. By about 1880, both the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans were interested in proceeding up to the far north, Bornu and Lake Chad area respectively. During the 90s the missionaries of the Southern Baptist Mission proposed to forsake the south completely and to devote all their strength and resources to the north, hoping that the Royal Niger Company would protect them.²² Little of permanence came of these attempts; the time was not yet.

At the instigation of Graham Wilmot Brooks, for whom the mission to the Sudan became an obsession, the C.M.S. organized the "Sudan Party," consisting of 11 graduates of Cambridge and Oxford, to conquer the north for Christ. This project received tremendous publicity: "no set of missionaries had been given greater publicity; no Exeter Hall meeting had been more largely attended than the one in which the missionaries were dispatched; no missionaries had excited so much hope . . ." Brooks counted on completing the task within 6 months.

19. He is referring to each individual endeavour or field, not to new organizations: societies having two different "fields" in Africa are counted according to the number of "fields." *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

20. T.A. Beetham, *Christianity and the New Africa* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), pp. 18-19.

21. Coleman, p. 94.

22. *Op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

Expectations were too high. Emirs regarded the company as political spies and were preparing an attack on the Niger Company at whose premises in Lokoja the missionaries had put up. The party itself shrank as members resigned, were invalidated or died. It all came to nought, but the failure served only to strengthen sympathy and interest at home, as well as the illusions.²³

There were still more attempts, one by Bishop Tugwell whose party ended up in Kano and, unknown to its members, almost met their death at the hands of the Emir — a “misguided march” Ayandele calls this venture. It coincided with the New York Conference of 1900 and with Lugard’s military pacification of the north. This politically untimely missionary expedition was a basic reason for Lugard’s restriction of missionary activity amongst Muslims. Later, Tugwell himself acknowledged that this journey had been a colossal blunder.²⁴

In 1893, the British Canadian Bingham with 2 others made his first attempt to enter the north, but failed. He tried and failed again in 1900. The result of his third journey was eventually the Sudan Interior Mission, one of the great non-denominational missions even at the time of writing. Finally the time for the establishment of missions in the north was ripe. In the meantime, in 1900, the Conference of Evangelical Missionary Societies in Great Britain officially called on the nonconformist churches to save the Animist of the north from Islamizing.²⁵ The Sudan United Mission would soon join the ranks of those who heeded that call.

III. *Popularity of Missions*

A. Evidence of Popularity

The missionary movement of the time hardly existed in isolation, but it was closely related to British society, more so than later. In contrast to the situation in his own country at the time, Kraemer shows that in Britain, Christianity was always busy with social questions and had therefore many contacts and adherents in public life. To be sure, they were usually philanthropists *c.s.* in terms of Chapter 1, but *they were there*, and rather prominently. Not a few of these were also strong missionary advocates. Kraemer asserts that the advocates of missions stood in the front ranks of those battling for the great humanitarian ideals of the day.²⁶ Wilberforce, Buxton, Livingstone — these were the prominent examples of a general phenomenon. These men either themselves were among the nation’s politicians or they enjoyed their public support and would not infrequently appear publicly in their company. Livingstone, in fact, found his final resting place among the nation’s great in Westminster Abbey.

The popularity of missionary literature was another indication of the public

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

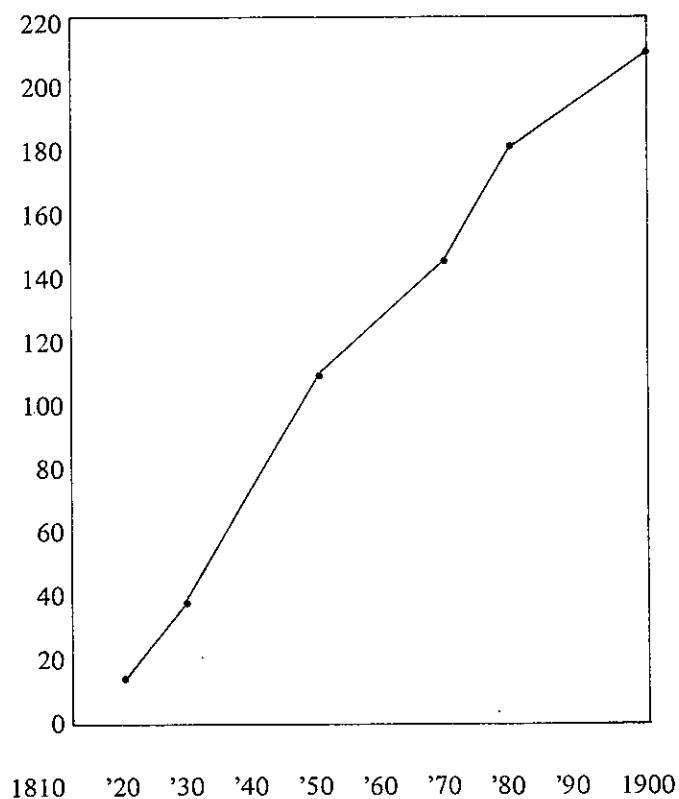
24. *Ibid.*, pp. vi, 134.

25. Crampton, pp. 37-38, 43.

26. “Houding,” pp. 105-106.

interest in the movement. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches* was a best seller: within weeks 30,000 copies were sold. Other missionary literature also increased in popularity as the century wore on, especially missionary biographies that replaced the travel accounts of non-missionary explorers on the market. Some made fortunes out of this literary genre; one author wrote 36 of them! ²⁷ Upon the first anniversary of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, *The Times* "spent a full page, six densely packed columns of minute type" to cover the occasion. ²⁸

The surest measure of popularity are financial contributions to the missionary cause and they experienced a steady rise throughout the century. Moorhouse presents the financial income of the C.M.S. as representative of the popularity of the enterprise; he records a constantly rising income from less than £3000 in



(C.M.S. income expressed in units of £1000.)

27. Moorhouse, pp. 128, 163, 190.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 299. For similar information with respect to the U.S.A., cf. WMC, VI, pp. 45, 193.

1813 to a centenary fund of over £212,000 in 1899. The graph above demonstrates this steady rise in contributions to the C.M.S. through the century.²⁹

By the first year of the new century the combined income of British missionary societies was £1,500,000.³⁰ In all of this one must not forget that in those years a pound had value! America topped all these British efforts by 2 large gifts by the end of our period. In 1910, a New York individual donated \$1,000,000 to missions – not to the C.M.S. – while in 1909 a record gift was received from one individual of \$4,000,000!³¹

B. Reasons for Popularity

1. Coincidence of Class

We have noted that many prominents among mission supporters were also closely allied to public life. However, the increasing popularity of a movement cannot be sustained over a full century merely by the standing of a few of its greats; there had to be more and weightier reasons for this wide base of support. Though the movement had its undoubted greats, it cannot be said that the average missionary, the type which most supporters would occasionally confront at church services or promotional meetings, was an outstanding personality. During the first half of the century, most missionaries “were closely associated with the more humble walks of life; they were gathered from pious congregations of artisans and tradesmen . . .” They were, furthermore, “but slenderly equipped . . . with what the world calls learning . . .” Most of them “were hardly figures to hit the headlines,”³² an evaluation with which Glasser concurs.³³ Moorhouse’s comments on missionary biographies would lead to the conclusion that, large though they might have been in faith, few were great in any other way so as to impress the world.³⁴

During the later part of the century, missionaries tended to belong to the more educated stratum of society; many were university graduates.³⁵ This change in educational status provides a clue as to the reason for the popularity of missions. It was not in the greatness of missionaries that the reason must be located, nor in their uniqueness, but, on the contrary, in their representative character of an entire class that at the beginning of the century consisted mostly of mechanics, the “aristocracy of labour,”³⁶ but that emerged during the course

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

31. Mott, p. 140. Johnston, p. 92. WMC, VI, pp. 46, 189, 193, 200.

32. Warren, *Social History*, pp. 39 (quotation from Gunsen), 50, 58.

33. A.F. Glasser, “Success and Failure in the China Mission,” *IRB*, 1975, no. 61, p. 3.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

35. Glasser, “Success,” p. 5. Warren, *Social History*, p. 50.

36. Warren, *Social History*, p. 39.

of the century to become the dominant middle class. It was not the distinctives of the missionaries that caused their popularity, but the fact that they fully shared in the distinctives of this major class, *their* class, the values and aspirations of which they superbly represented. It was the coincidence of all of this that made the missionary effort popular: it was a living embodiment of that large middle-class Evangelical community. When that class was still in its emerging state at the beginning of the century, missionaries reflected it in their status, professionally and educationally; when that class had become the dominant force in the country and became educated, missionaries likewise came from their new educated ranks. This assertion is made not only on basis of education and social mobility, but also on other instances of coincidence that will become abundantly clear as the discussion continues.

At the beginning of the previous century, when the rural population in Britain found living conditions increasingly difficult because of famines and land enclosures, the more enterprising among them would in one way or another, usually by dint of hard individual effort, work themselves up. Some would join the economic sector, some would turn to the professions, some emigrated,³⁷ and some would take refuge in missionary service. This is not a cynical snide at those missionaries, but one must recognize social factors, especially as they are advanced by a scholarly friend of missions second to none, Max Warren. "The missionary movement . . . was part and parcel of a social revolution in which vast members of ordinary people saw the opportunity of bettering themselves and took the opportunity with open hands."³⁸ "It is futile," warns Hocking, "to imagine that . . . a mixture of motives can be eliminated from any work carried on by human agencies. It is enough if the legitimate motive can be kept dominant . . ."³⁹ This may not have been a conscious motive and it definitely was "secondary to a will to respond to what was believed to be a calling from God," as is clear from the death-roll of missionaries abroad, but it was nevertheless a factor.⁴⁰ During the first part of the century, the missionary movement was "essentially a movement of the *petit bourgeoisie*,"⁴¹ which later turned into the full-fledged bourgeoisie that ruled the nation and the waves.

2. Shared Characteristics.

In Chapter 1 salient characteristics of the middle class have been described. Its members were religious, independent, hard working, enterprising, philanthropic, public-spirited, aggressive, industrious, buoyant, frugal, bent on self-

37. Van Den Berg, "Open Pad," pp. 84-85.

38. *Social History*, pp. 50-51.

39. W.E. Hocking, *Re-thinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry After One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper, 1932), p. 10.

40. Bavinck, p. 300. Warren, *Social History*, pp. 51-52.

41. Warren, *Social History*, pp.54-55.

improvement, ambitious, sober, respectable, moralistic, believing in free trade and untrammled competition, and activistic. Carey, Livingstone, Moody, Taylor, Bingham, to name but a few, represented all or most of these characteristics. Many of them emerged by their own hard labour and individual determination from the lower stratum of society to become missionary leaders in the bourgeois religious endeavour. In the case of Moody we have met most of these characteristics. Presently we shall observe them also in Livingstone. As the colonial personnel saw to the extension of the domestic economic system, so the missionaries were responsible for the export of the domestic religious establishment, 2 strands of an inherently self-contradictory movement.

3. Evangelical Roots

We have emphasized that the missionary community enjoyed such great popularity because it represented the highest embodiment of the religious ideals of its class and displayed all the other attributes of their class as well in generous proportions. They also shared in the Evangelical heritage of their class, a conclusion we arrive at not by a simplistic deduction from the foregoing, but from the abundance of unanimous historical testimonies to that effect. Latourette testifies that the 19th-century missionary effort was due "primarily to a new burst of religious life," the "new burst" being identified with the revivals of the period.⁴² Neill traces the endeavour directly to the influence of these revivals.⁴³ Walker gives Chapter 9 of his book the title, "The Impact of the Evangelical Revival. The Rise of Modern Missions." He emphasizes that not only did British Evangelicals seize the initiative, beginning with Carey, but they retained it throughout the era, with their American counterpart following upon their heels.⁴⁴ Hogg reports that when Carey called his contemporaries to the mission task, he "spoke to hearts stirred by the Evangelical Awakening," and that accounted for the response of the century.⁴⁵ Bavinck establishes a direct link between continental Pietism and Anglo-Saxon Evangelicals, both of which were responsible for the new emphasis on missions.⁴⁶ Testimonies could be adduced *ad nauseam*, but the point has been sufficiently established.

In Chapter 1, Moody is described as a classic example of Evangelicalism. He is often cited as having had great influence on missionary developments. One has only to think of his relationship to the "Cambridge Seven" and the Student Volunteer Movement, including Speer and Mott.⁴⁷ The firing influence of his

42. *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 4.

43. *History*, pp. 251-252.

44. *Op. cit.*, pp. 469, 502.

45. "Missionary Concern," p. 107.

46. J.H. Bavinck, *Zending in een wereld in nood* (4th ed. rev.; Wageningen: Zomer en Keuning, 1948), pp. 115-119.

47. Pollock, pp. 219, 224-225.

call for the "evangelization of the world in this generation" is a well-known fact. Eugene Stock, the C.M.S. historian, referred to Moody as a direct influence on British missionary development especially through his campaigns of the 70's and 80's.⁴⁸ Bingham, the emigrant to Canada, was converted by means of the Salvation Army, itself a typically Evangelical organization that Moody loved.⁴⁹ In short, Moody "had enormous influence," especially in the closing quarter of the century.⁵⁰ It is also pointed out here that such close family ties existed between Moody and Karl Kumm, the main founder of the S.U.M., that Lucy, Kumm's first wife, was buried in a plot belonging to the Moody family.⁵¹

In this section we have sought to emphasize the strong ties between the 19th-century Evangelical middle class and the missionary movement. We have by no means exhausted the matter, but further aspects are reserved for our discussion of Evangelical Pietism in our final chapter.

IV. *Livingstone*

A. His Influence

In the 2 previous chapters we have exemplified our main contentions by highlighting the ideas and accomplishments of those who were in some fashion symbols of the ideas depicted. In Chapter 1 it was Moody; in Chapter 2, Lugard. Livingstone was such a key figure. We have already drawn attention to his grave among Britain's prominents and to the immense popularity of his *Missionary Travels and Researches*. In his exemplary concise study of this missionary explorer, Van Den Berg calls him a symbol of European attitudes towards Africa who rose far above his contemporaries. Though there have been men of deeper thought and of more stable missionary character, none were to exert more practical influence upon the missionary world than him.⁵² Livingstone's vision was shared, we are told, by that other very prominent missionary statesman of the latter half of the century, Henry Venn.⁵³ Bingham, the founder of S.I.M., likened himself to Livingstone. About his first journey to Nigeria, he wrote:

All sought to dissuade us from our purpose, as long years before others had sought to dissuade David Livingstone Prayer brought to us the same conviction that had been his: 'I will open up Central Africa to the gospel or die in the attempt.' So we prayed and planned.⁵⁴

More directly relevant for this study is the fact that Karl Kumm found in

48. ECM, I, p. 409.

49. Hunter, pp. 40, 50.

50. Hogg, p. 109.

51. H.W. Kumm, letter of Sept. 28/74.

52. *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

53. M. Warren, *To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 23.

54. J.A. Hunter, p. 52.

sequently placed more and more emphasis on society. Van Den Berg quotes from one of his letters:

It is to me amusingly ludicrous to see the remarks made about the superiority of attending to the conversion of souls as the all in all important business for ministers and missionaries The conversion of a soul is infinitely important *in the person himself*, but not to the world, or kingdom of Christ, the glory of which is his chief desire and ought to be ours.⁶⁹

This must not be understood as opposition to a ministry to individuals; he himself continued this ministry during the course of his explorations to the extent circumstances permitted. He rejected this ministry as the *main strategy* for a mission.

After his first African tour, he broke relations with the L.M.S. because of a difference of opinion on strategy. His mission did not agree to his leaving established work and to penetrate the unknown interior, just that which was beckoning him. The rest of his career consisted of explorations, but always with a missionary purpose: to open the country for God's glory.⁷⁰ He viewed "the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise."⁷¹ It was a matter of duty to him. His one main goal was to somehow make visible something of the Kingdom of God in Africa.⁷²

We have noted in Chapter 1 that the Evangelical community had a rather positive appreciation of their society. Because of his extensive contact with the injustices and ravages caused by the slave trade in Africa, Livingstone's appreciation for his own native culture was reinforced and he thus entertained high expectations with respect to its potential accomplishments in and for Africa. After all, in contrast to Africans, the British had enjoyed "an atmosphere of Christianity and enlightened public opinion, the growth of centuries around us, to influence our deportment." Modern civilization has the Bible as its "Magna Carta of all the rights and privileges." Not because of any inherent superiority on their part, but because of the long influence of Scripture upon them it could be said that "it is on the Anglo-American race that the hopes of the world for liberty and progress rest."⁷³

Africa, on the contrary, was in the grip of darkness and barbarism, a situation in which Britain also found herself in earlier centuries and out of which she emerged only gradually. A few centuries back "the ancestors of common people in England — probably our own great-great-grandfathers — were as unenlightened as the Africans are now."⁷⁴ This uplifting process will necessarily be slow: for the time being, European teaching will have little effect because "no one can

69. *Op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

71. Livingstone, p. 575.

72. Van Den Berg, pp. 70, 72, 73.

73. Livingstone, pp. 94, 579-580.

74. Quoted in Van Den Berg, p. 76.

realize the degradation to which their minds have been sunk by centuries of barbarism and hard struggling for the necessities of life . . .” We are reminded that Israel under Moses was not converted and elevated in one generation, even though they were under direct teaching from God. Furthermore, “our own elevation also has been the work of centuries, and, remembering this, we should not indulge in overwrought expectations as to the elevation which those who have inherited the degradation of ages may attain in one day.”

The degradation Livingstone had in mind primarily was that caused by slave raiding — the “open sore” of Africa. As Wilberforce battled against slavery within the confines of British sovereignty and Buxton against the coastal trade, so Livingstone sought its demise in the African interior. One “half-caste Portuguese slave trader” would capture a whole village and remove all, including women and children. Slavers would get involved in a tribe’s politics and then side with the stronger party who would pay them for getting rid of the weaker. In another place, Portuguese slavers had ruined the community and sunk it into immorality.⁷⁵ Livingstone saw them pass, long rows of chained men, women and children, leaving behind them a dislocated community. The worst of it he witnessed during his Zambesi expedition. A “devilish traffic in human flesh,” he exploded. Here “Satan has his seat.” Upon witnessing a mass murder later on, he exclaimed, “It gave me the impression of being in hell.”⁷⁶

Livingstone had some definite ideas as to how to undermine the slave trade. He was heir to the Evangelical anti-slavery tradition that had included Buxton with his “Bible and plough” doctrine only a few years earlier. Buxton had looked upon legitimate commerce as a possible antidote to this illegitimate variety, “legitimate commerce” being trade based on European patterns and conducted preferably with Britain. Africa would then be incorporated in the British economic system to the benefit of both. Livingstone was present at that famous Exeter Hall meeting of June 1, 1840, when the Niger Expedition was launched,⁷⁷ and he latched on to the method.

It was the doctor’s idea that the introduction of legitimate commerce would undermine slavery by substituting other sources of income. He theorized that

if the slave-market were supplied with articles of European manufacture by legitimate commerce, the trade in slaves would become impossible. It seemed more feasible to give the goods, for which the people part with their servants, in exchange for ivory and other products . . . and thus to prevent the trade from the beginning than try to put a stop to it at any of the subsequent steps. This could only be effected by establishing a highway from the coast into the centre of the country.⁷⁸

Commerce implied more than simply economic contact to Livingstone; it would

75. *Missionary Travels*, pp. 137, 103, 157, 158, 567.

76. Quoted in Van Den Berg, p. 80.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

78. Livingstone, p. 80.

result in broad cultural contact between peoples and cultures to the benefit of both parties. Listen again and note the laissez-faire optimism as to the effect of this legitimate commerce. Commerce was to be promoted, for it quickly

demolished that sense of isolation which heathenism engenders, and makes the tribes feel themselves mutually dependent on, and mutually beneficial, to each other. With a view to this the missionaries got permission from the government for a trader to reside at the station, and a considerable trade has been the result; the trader himself has become rich enough to retire with competence. These laws which still prevent free commercial intercourse among the civilized nations seem to be . . . but the remains of our own heathenism. My observations on this point make me extremely desirous to promote the preparations of raw materials of European manufactures 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. Success in this . . . would lead, in the course of time, to a much larger diffusion of the blessings of civilization than efforts exclusively spiritual and educational confined to one small tribe.

. . . for neither civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone. In fact, they are inseparable.⁷⁹

Here, in brief compass, we have most of the elements of Livingstone's vision *as it concerns our purposes*. Trade breaks down isolation and creates larger communities that are mutually dependent upon each other. It will bring profits to all participants from the very nature of the case; no unilateral advantages are sought. It must be in terms of free trade: obstructions to this are heathenish! Such trade will undermine slavery and result in a diffusion of the blessings of civilization. Such an effort would have more effect than a more narrowly traditional mission approach; it would promote both civilization and Christianity, two inseparables. "I have a two-fold object in view," he explained, "and believe that, by guiding our missionary labours so as to benefit our own country we shall thereby more effectively and permanently benefit the heathen." Again, "we ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets, as the most effectual means next to the Gospel, of their elevation."⁸⁰ Behind all of this, it must be remembered, is the classic laissez-faire idea with its high expectations of "natural" trade patterns leading on to progressively higher civilization. We are back in the atmosphere of Chapter 1.

One aspect of this vision was Livingstone's hopes on emigration from Britain to Africa. This idea was in the air and the doctor even encouraged his parents to settle elsewhere. He expected it to result in a wide diffusion of enlightenment and to reduce the need for missionaries. The Central African highlands seemed suitable to him as such a centre for a Christianizing and civilizing influence in the continent.⁸¹

Two prominent concepts of Livingstone were those of the kingdom and

79. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 575-577.

81. Van Den Berg, pp. 84-85.

civilization. However, these were never clearly defined. It was to be a combination of the "three C's", *i.e.*, Christianity, commerce and civilization, an already classic idea in missionary theory inherited from the Buxton era. It meant a renewal of society that was in some vague way to reflect the basic characteristics of Protestant Britain. It was to include peace and demonstrate something of the Kingdom of God. Presumably it would include a church, but Livingstone paid scant attention to ecclesiastical matters; civilization was the centre of attraction for him, with Christianity and commerce as allies.

In a certain sense it can be concluded that Livingstone had his way: Christianity, commerce and western civilization did penetrate Africa and the continent has been drawn into the world vortex, but in a fashion that has given as much cause for criticism as for thanksgiving.⁸² We stress here that however negatively men may judge the final outcome, Livingstone did not so intend the results. Though the resulting problems were largely inherent in the situation, the explorer was a member of that class that did not have the Christian tools to analyze their domestic situation, a class, moreover, that was creatively active in producing that situation.

One can hardly locate a more typical member of that class. He was born in an Evangelical home, poor, but able to work himself up. He was individualistic: remember his early desire to become a free-lance missionary and understand that without that characteristic his career would have been unthinkable. It is true that his strategy became less individualistic in time, but that was due to the pressure of the African situation, not to an intellectual switch away from individualism as such. He had a strong sense of duty. His opposition to the slave trade was expressed in categories inherited from the Buxton era and was based upon an uncritical acceptance of laissez-faire that was expected to bring progress by its very nature. He disliked denominationalism in missions and can be said to have neglected the church in his purview. He operated on basis of assumptions shared by his contemporaries but not defined. He had high hopes of Africa entering the community of nations. A man of few ideas he was, with but one passion: to help Africa in her desperate need.⁸³ This was the man who hurled his challenge at the British while delivering his "Cambridge Lectures" in 1857, a challenge that fired the imagination of several missionary generations, forging dreams in the bosoms of many an admirer, including Kumm:

I beg you 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!⁸⁴

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 76, 73, 88.

83. J.C. Hoekendijk, "'Ontwakend Afrika' en de Zending," *Wending*, 1960-1961, p. 298.

84. Quoted in Van Den Berg, p. 66.

The direction had been set for some 60 years. Though future details might vary according to local circumstances or new historical developments, the basic categories of strategy found in Livingstone continued to guide the enterprise as it gathered increasing momentum.

C. The Question of Hypocrisy

In an age much aware of economic motivations in human affairs, we cannot dodge the question of hypocrisy in this context. Moorhouse, in fact, asserts that a strong dose of it was present in the situation. At the launching meeting of the Niger Expedition of June 1, 1840, Buxton *c.s.* expressed themselves in categories later associated with Livingstone, but another strand of motivation was expressed by a Mr. Gurney, a Quaker banker and philanthropist, who in 1859 gave £1000 to the C.M.S. for industrial developments in Yoruba land.⁸⁵ He said concisely what "was perhaps uppermost in more minds than would have cared to admit it openly." He enlarged on the commercial opportunities and, after paying "his respects to the missionary instincts that were abroad that afternoon," suggested that "there was no worldly policy so sure as that which was based on Christianity." He pointed out how great the possibilities of profitable interchange would be with a populous and unsophisticated people. "The olive branch, he said, would do more to produce civilization than the musket and the sword . . ." Buxton confirmed that his cause would bring more glory to Britain than had the great military exploits, for it was a peaceful method. Underneath "the great eddies and swirls of Gospel rhetoric," comments Moorhouse, "undercurrents of other interests could be detected." Though the Niger Expedition justified itself on "purely Christian principles," "it cannot really be mistaken for anything other than a great imperial excursion for the acquisition of British influence in West Africa." Behind "the high moral purpose of the missionary societies and the anti-slavery lobby, lurked the anticipations of men who were not chiefly dedicated to an end of man's inhumanity to man in Africa," a fact of which "a few wise men in the Government were well aware." After citing an example of such a "wise man," Moorhouse concludes:

And thus, in its usual sidelong fashion, the Government itself became committed to a venture that really paid no more than very loud lip service to Christian ideals. It did not even have to accent the responsibility of originating ideas which were only auxiliary to the business of converting heathen souls to God and rescuing savages from degradation. Fowel Buxton had already done this for Her Majesty's Ministers when he presented his proposals . . .⁸⁶

In an age deeply under the influence of the Marxist premise of the eminence of the economic motive in human affairs, one must be particularly careful to

85. Ajayi, p. 168.

86. *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31, 81, 82.

analyze such matters. Obviously men with a predominantly economic motive were ever present — one has only to think of Goldie. In our opinion, however, it is more correct to say there was a collusion of motives that were not always recognized for their inherent antagonism, at least not by the representatives of the Christian cause. The Niger Expedition was certainly an “imperial incursion,” but it was also more than that. The same can be said of Livingstone’s efforts: it was that, but also more, for his charge sent out missionaries that have spread a gospel that eventually aided the collapse of the very enterprise Moorhouse suggests exhausted the entire venture.

Our assertion is not to be construed as a defense of Livingstone and his colleagues. The explorer was representative of the home constituency that, human nature being what it is, was not free from an element of hypocrisy. A more important factor was a general lack of understanding, the explanation of which is reserved for the closing chapter. They suffered from an innocence that did them no credit. Naively optimistic, is Hoekendijk’s judgment of the situation,⁸⁷ and compatriot Van Den Berg concurs.⁸⁸ Considering the domestic situation, one should not be surprised.

V. *The Post-Livingstone Era*

Livingstone’s influence on missionary practice was pervasive well into the 20th century. However, history did not stop; new developments also had their influence on missionary practice. We aim now to highlight a few of these developments in so far as they will aid us in understanding the S.U.M. in succeeding chapters.

A. Missions and Commerce

The doctrine of the “three C’s” continued to set the tone in this era. This meant a continuing positive appreciation towards western trade in general and to the various companies in particular. The relationships between particular missions and companies would vary according to local conditions and could range from the missions’ themselves organizing commercial establishments to the status of customer and, sometimes, to a status that could almost be described as wards. Only if there were specific reasons would missions become hostile to such companies. These reasons could vary, but it would often be behaviour on the part of the companies that, in the missions’ judgment, did not contribute to the progress of Africa and was thus not in harmony with Europe’s civilizing mission. When missions became hostile to such companies, this was generally because of some specific evils, not because of opposition to European commerce as a whole. Deviations from the civilizing tasks would be regarded as aberrations of the basic

87. *Op. cit.*, pp. 298-299.

88. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

colonial order, not an expression of its nature. The liquor and opium trades are cases in point. Often the specific relations were a tense mixture of approval and disapproval.

B. Missions and Governments

During Livingstone's days there was interest in expansion of British trade and religion, but not in political expansion. The foreign venture was to be the province of private enterprise in terms of laissez-faire philosophy. In Chapter 2, however, we have shown that, in order to safeguard the progress of these private ventures, the government had to intervene. The popular acceptance of a more aggressive colonial politics on the part of the government was not because of a general dissatisfaction with laissez-faire economics, at least not on the part of missions. It was to ensure the extension of that system and to safeguard it. By the time the S.U.M. appeared on the scene, a more aggressive role of the government was generally accepted and had become a fact.

As in the case with companies, so did the relations of missions to the various colonial governments vary a great deal, ranging from the closest cooperation to outright hostility. These variations were seldom due to differences in mission philosophy, but to local conditions. For example, the relationships between a British Protestant mission under a French Catholic colonial regime could be tense indeed, while that between a German government and a German mission could be most cordial, provided always that the mission would support the basic aims of the government. Sometimes, as in the case of the Congo under King Leopold's private administration, missions published the regime's atrocities and were instrumental in colonial reform.

A prominent factor in this development was the continuation of the slave trade, especially the Muslim variety. Livingstone's ideal of legitimate commerce undermining the trade had not materialized; slavery continued with all its horrors and disorder. Missionaries, humanitarians and imperialists alike became convinced that the only remedy lay in European occupation on a permanent basis. The choice in many instances was not between European occupation or independence for African states, but between European or Arab occupation. The latter would mean continued slavery. Given these alternatives, European occupation would be a liberation for Africa. Having seen their efforts dashed to pieces time and again because of this trade and in other places finding it impossible to begin new work, missions generally longed for the peace and order they felt only European occupation could bring. Not lacking in nationalism, most groups believed their own country to be best equipped to accomplish the pacification task. However, missions were prepared to accept the colonial government of another country, provided they judged it interested in peace and order and would not be hostile to the missions. In no few cases were the missions directly responsible for the establishment of colonial power. As Lugard was proud to be an imperialist, so were missionaries, unabashedly so. Not that these missionaries

were always motivated by imperialism, though sometimes they were, but they had a higher kingdom in mind that would spell profit for Africa as well as for the colonizers, a kingdom that was to approximate the empire of Christ.

It is impossible for our purpose to describe the various types of relationships and forms of interplay that existed between missions and governments, even if we were to limit ourselves to the African scene. It would require more than just a short section, for unless the reasons for each type of relationship were explained, such a summary would merely add fuel to the fire of existing myths.⁸⁹

C. The Muslim Advance

For about a thousand years, Islam had been a formidable monolithic obstacle to the western world, but with the liberation of Greece from the Turkish empire in 1821, the process of its political disintegration set in. During the course of the next century European powers divided North African Muslim nations amongst themselves – the monolith became vulnerable.

Already in the 1820s men began to dream about an “Apostle street,” a route that was yet to be determined from north to south, along which would enter the King of Glory. A station was to be established every 100 miles along the route for the spread of the Gospel.⁹⁰ This idea was adapted later by the German C.M.S. missionary Krapf, who devised a complete plan for an east-west chain of stations. He envisioned a total distance of some 2700 miles which would be divided into sections of 300 miles, each with its own station manned by four missionaries. The entire cost would be between £4000 to £5000 annually.⁹¹ The project was to be called the “Equatorial Mission-chain” and it was to be completed within a dozen years.⁹²

The last quarter of the century saw British commerce penetrating far into Northern Nigeria, a Muslim stronghold. Public attention was increasingly drawn to this area as we have seen, also in missionary circles. We have seen too the initial high expectation of rapid evangelization: Brooks thought in terms of 6 months! , an expression of a general myth in C.M.S. quarters.⁹³ The expectation was a mere illusion. Instead of retreating under the colonial regime, Islam advanced so rapidly that at the Edinburgh Conference this advance is referred to as

89. Neill's *Colonialism and Christian Missions* provides useful examples of these relationships. Another most useful work with numerous concrete details is Ayandele's with its focus specifically on Nigeria, while Oliver's *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* deals concretely with the other side of the continent. Cf. also Debrunner, ch. 8.

90. Hoekendijk, p. 298.

91. Moorhouse, p. 53.

92. J.S. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background: a Study of the Encounter between New Testament Theology and African Traditional Concepts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 5. Moorhouse reports an expected completion in half a decade (p. 53). Perhaps the discrepancy is caused by different stages in the development of the idea.

93. Ayandele, p. 120.

the most critical missionary problem in Africa. It was "steadily pressing southward and westward." And what did it have to offer? We reproduce here the answer provided by one spokesman:

It offers to the primitive tribes, along with the attractions of a nobler belief, the inducements of a certain social elevation, of connection with a great religious community, and of a better standing with foreign administrations, while its terms both of conversion and of membership present no difficulty to the understanding of morality of a heathen. The plea sometimes heard in professedly Christian circles that it is better than Paganism for the African, is begging the question.⁹⁴ Can Islam effect the redemption of Africa? What has Islam made of the Africa it has dominated for centuries? What can it make of the future of Africa? It is a religion without the knowledge of the Divine Fatherhood, a religion without compassion for those outside its pale, and to the whole womanhood of Africa it is a religion of despair and doom. It is a religion without love, and only Love will redeem Africa. We are charged with a mission of Love, and the question is, shall we tarry and trifle in our mission, while Africa is being made the prey of Islam? The added difficulty of our task to-day is the penalty of our past neglect; and if we are to avert our task being made harder still by the onward march of Islam, there is not a day to lose.⁹⁵

This answer sums up the basic attitude of the day towards the Muslim challenge; there is great urgency because of its advance; it is low in morality; it has left Africa in a state of degradation and does not possess the dynamic to elevate it in the future; it is religion without love and without hope, oppressive of women. By this time Kumm had recently returned from his exploration in Africa and, in support of the Muslim challenge, presented a speech that had his audience spellbound.⁹⁶ As late as 1916, a writer whom we shall also meet in the pages of *The Lightbearer* stressed that the "whole strategy of Christian mission in Africa should be viewed in relation to Islam . . ."⁹⁷

D. Increasing Racism

The testimony of a large number of authors has it that towards the end of the 19th century Europe came to be afflicted with a heightened form of racism. Accomplishments at home, at least in the technological and organizational aspects, had made unprecedented strides. When these were contrasted with the disarray found in Africa, Europeans began to lose their perspective and increasingly imagined themselves a race of supermen, while Africans came to be regarded as children who hardly knew their own good. It was conveniently forgotten that much of this disarray was partially European disarray, caused by the Atlantic slave trade; that Europeans were really looking at themselves.

94. One example of such a position was that of Morel, pp. 27-28, reproduced partially and reviewed in LB, Jan/12, pp. 9-20.

95. EMC, I, p. 243.

96. Cf. Appendix IV.

97. W.J.W. Roome, "Strategic Lines of Christian Missions in Africa," IRM/16, pp. 353-354.

Missionaries were no exception to this development. "They too became imbued with imperialistic ideas and with a sense of the superiority of all white men to all black men." From 1890 onward, missionaries began to lose the confidence their predecessors had in the capacity of their converts; "the innate superiority of the white man in all respects came to be blandly, though often unconsciously, assumed as axiomatic."⁹⁸

Only western man was man in the full sense of the word; he was wise and good, and members of other races, in so far as they became westernized, might share in this wisdom and goodness. But western man was the leader, and would remain so for a very long time, perhaps for ever.⁹⁹

In view of Europe's real accomplishments, suggested Siegfried, it was no wonder, this sense of pride.¹⁰⁰

VI. *Ecumenical Consensus Regarding Colonialism*

In Section II reference is made to a series of ecumenical missionary conferences. The major ones were those held in New York in 1900, called Ecumenical Missionary Conference, and the one of 1910 in Edinburgh, known as the World Missionary Conference. In this section we summarize the dominant opinions on colonialism current in the missionary community as expressed at these conferences. It is well to draw attention to the fact that the S.U.M. had representatives at the 1910 conference and that they had a "wonderful time."¹⁰¹ The mission fully supported that gathering.

A. The Providential Hand of God

There was one overriding point of agreement: behind the expansion of the West and behind all the developments of the century, there was the providential hand of God at work, a notion that was expressed repeatedly at both conferences. We quote 2 speakers, one from each conference, as representative of the general opinion. Robert Speer asserted that political influence is not beyond God's control and that it is false to think

that He stands impotent before the commerce and civilization of the world. I believe His hand is upon these things; that they play at least into His mighty purposes; that they are but part of His tremendous influence; that they and all the forces of life do but run resistlessly on to the great goals of God.¹⁰²

At the 1910 conference, a speaker thus echoed the general opinion:

98. Neill, *Colonialism*, pp. 314, 382.

99. Neill, *History*, p. 259.

100. Quoted in Kraemer, *World Cultures*, p. 63. For details concerning increased racism as it affected Nigeria, cf. Ayandele, pp. 213-216, 221, 247-248.

101. Redmayne, July 5/10 (J).

102. EMC, I, p. 77.

It is God who overrules occasions and events, human movements and powers, for the furtherance of the Gospel. Dr. H.N. Lowry of Peking says, "Diplomacy has generally been unfortunate; commerce has selfishly opposed the spread of Christianity; . . . but all these together, with persecutions, wars, national calamities, have been turned to the furtherance of the Gospel." Many have called attention to the overruling hand of God in connection with the Boxer uprising in China. They recognise His power and guidance in the fact that the very action which was intended to extirpate Christianity in China has had, as one of its results, an unprecedented forward movement in missionary work in that country These are indications of the revelation of the supernatural factor in advancing the Kingdom of God in the world.¹⁰³

God overrules; He makes use of human activities and historical movements for His purposes, regardless of human motives. From the second quotation above especially it is clear that this view does not preclude criticism of colonialism and its agents. In fact, man's purpose may be directly opposite to those of God, but that does not prevent Him from utilizing or directing events for His own ends. "Many an apparent triumph of Satan has been overruled by God and made subservient to His will," a missionary suggested in 1900.¹⁰⁴

This assertion was usually related to an optimistic view with respect to the state of the world, though that optimism did not lack its challengers, such as Henry Coffin Sloan, who spoke of the shameful condition of the West and the Belial-like motives that govern her relations with colonies.¹⁰⁵ The general opinion was more positive. After all, there was a long Christian tradition that had informed its civilizations for centuries with the result that it was basically guided by a Christian ethic. At the same time, there was a strong consciousness that in practice the West was not that Christian, that its commercial and other forms of expansion brought misery, exploitation and poverty to many corners of the globe, as well as immorality, drug addiction and alcoholism. These negative aspects could only be overcome, it was felt, by missions counteracting these western evils; only through this Christian ministry could the entire western effort become a blessing for the subjugated peoples. But regardless of the evils produced by western penetration, the colonial system as such was never rejected. After all, it opened the door wide to the spread of the gospel, to the Kingdom of God. It was a God-given opportunity that no one dared despise or brand as evil *per se*. The new order presented the missions with an unprecedented challenge that must be utilized. As one speaker put it:

Every one of these wonderful facilities has been intended primarily to serve as handmaid to the sublime enterprise of extending and building up the kingdom of Jesus Christ in all the world. The hand of God is opening door after door among the nations, and in bringing to light invention after invention, is beckoning the Church of our day to larger achievements.¹⁰⁶

103. WMC, I, p. 354.

104. EMC, II, p. 33.

105. WMC, II, p. 166.

106. EMC, I, p. 101.

If only the Christian nations would act their supposed profession, their efforts combined with those of the missions would have a wonderful effect indeed. Then the kingdom of Christ would be planted everywhere; then the European empires would turn into *the* Kingdom. One missionary challenged, "Oh! you, the rising race of America, of Britain, and of evangelical Europe, you in whom, for better or for worse, is vested the empire of the world; make it the empire of your King Jesus!"¹⁰⁷ Then a march would begin that would lead inexorably to progress. Even if the West would not be true to its profession and were to bring shame on itself, even then this progress would be relentless, for "the ideals of ethical progress . . . may be interpreted . . . as the highest expressions of the central evolutionary process of the natural world."¹⁰⁸ And so the new colonial facilities of communication, railways, roads, telegraph, ocean routes are lifted into a higher plane to become highways of the Lord: ". . . both political and industrial developments are preparing highways for the Kingdom . . ."¹⁰⁹ Christian nations have been entrusted with a responsibility over inferior nations and cultures, of which Africa is the lowest of all. Ah, the rhetoric of it all, especially that of social gospel adherents!

Is there none of the nations of so-called Christendom with faith enough to venture to let the Spirit of Christ motivate its policy at home and abroad, and become God's servant to lead the world into the era of peace and goodwill, to lighten it with the glory of the Lamb . . . shining in redeeming love through all its contacts with the as yet unredeemed parts of the earth? Shall it be Great Britain, Germany, the United States of America? Or, we knowing not the day of our visitation, must deliverance arise from some other place?¹¹⁰

B. Missionary Politics

With this basic attitude and regardless of the negative aspects of the colonial effort, the missionary community was inclined to a positive appreciation of it, not only in theory, but also in practice. Missionaries openly advocated their role as re-inforcers of colonialism by teaching their adherents obedience and loyalty to whatever colonial regime happened to be in power. One non-British missionary expressed the classic idea: The missionary is to "inculcate absolute loyalty to Government," he is to

counsel patience, enforcing the lesson from English history, showing how many centuries it has required for Britons to secure their present political privileges; once more he should reiterate that only through absolute and abiding loyalty to the present authority can the native hope to secure the privileges he covets.¹¹¹

107. *Ibid.*, II, p. 333.

108. *WMC*, II, p. 169.

109. *Ibid.*, I, p. 285.

110. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 170.

111. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 83-84.

Without any sense of embarrassment missionaries would appeal to the home constituency on basis of their colonial usefulness or, if the cooperation of the government was sought, to point to their supportive role. One can hardly doubt that this, too, was a reason for the sustained increase in public support of missions.

The most amazing feature of all, however, was not missionary participation in the colonial venture, but their steadfast and unanimous rejection of political action as a legitimate constituent of the missionary program. Missionaries could act as pioneers of colonialism, they could inculcate loyalty, they could seek protection of western interests, they could oppose the negative aspects of colonialism, but they were not to engage in politics! On this point there was unanimity: "Everywhere a missionary is under a moral obligation to abstain entirely from politics." It is difficult to understand the exact importance of this insistence, except that one clue may be the stricture that all of the above are within the proper bounds of the missionary province, "provided that in so doing they keep clear of association with any political movement."¹¹² Whatever the intention, it is clear that missions were deeply engrossed in politics.

VII. *Nationalism and Missions: Mutual Evaluation*

A. Nationalism and Missions.

In the previous chapter we cursorily introduced the nationalist community of West Africa. Here we seek to depict the relationship of this movement to the missionary endeavour. The first fact to be observed is that many prominent West African nationalists insisted on the Christian character of the movement. Blyden was a Presbyterian clergyman until 1901. Casely Hayford defended the nationalist movement against accusations of its non-Christian inspiration. He contended that nationalism was the "true fulfillment" of Christianity.¹¹³ The Christian influence on the movement has more literary monuments than we can unveil in this brief discussion. The literary output of the movement's own authors is sufficient evidence. Ayandele speaks not only of Christian influence, but of "causal relationships" between the missionary and nationalist movements and then proceeds to provide us with an array of facts demonstrating this relationship.¹¹⁴ He might not have gone to this trouble if it were not for Coleman's conclusion that one must be careful in positing a causal tie between them.¹¹⁵ Ayandele, after incorrectly interpreting Coleman as denying a causal relationship, describes the latter's conclusion as "astonishing."¹¹⁶ For our purpose it is

112. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 149, 95.

113. H.W. Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanians 1897-1965* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 37.

114. *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

115. *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

116. *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

sufficient that we have the testimony of nationalists themselves and to remember the not insignificant fact that most participants in the movement were graduates of mission schools.¹¹⁷ One is not surprised, therefore, to note that a *locus classicus* of liberation theology, Luke 4:18-19, was already then referred to as a source of inspiration by both Blyden and Hayford.

The Christian influence upon the movement did not prevent it from expressing severe warnings to and criticism of missions or even to turn antagonistic to them. The close political and economic associations with the other colonial agencies, government and commerce, did not go unnoticed. In Ghana, the Ashanti were reluctant to accept missionaries because of their connection; they could not detect any difference between interest in peace and interest in trade. Ayandele's study has this close identification as one of its main foci. Nationalist Sarbah felt it necessary to warn missionaries about this connection in 1906: "A hint to the modern . . . missionary is that he take especial care, lest he become the agent of the man of commerce, or the provoking cause of a punitive expedition." The missionary was cautioned to maintain his peculiar identity, for "his most potent influence is lost, when he is suspected to be a 'trade-man' or 'governor-man' . . ." Hayford regarded the missionaries as being used by the other colonial agencies without the missions' having entered into a conscious arrangement with them. Ahuma reminded missionaries that their obligations pledged them "not to fight for their own land."¹¹⁸ Though belatedly, nationalists in Lagos observed a "necessary connection" between missions and imperialism and concluded that the former paved the way for the latter. This is the explanation, according to Ayandele, for the "extraordinary but related virulence of the Lagos Press against missionary propaganda."¹¹⁹ Missions were suspected of intending "to render Africans a prey to the exploitation of traders and the unpleasant aspects of the political domination . . ."¹²⁰ "Christianity" was only another word for 'exploitation!' " according to the L.W.R.¹²¹ Coleman posits that to the nationalist the "most persuasive factor" in all of this was missionary silence on various colonial issues.¹²²

B. Missions on Nationalism

Ecumenical records of the period indicate that the mission community was quite aware of the nationalist movement. On the whole, there was a positive appreciation of it, though its dangers were also recognized. Concerning India, one speaker suggested, "Though excellent if rightly guided, it may become a

117. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 405. Cf. also p. 369.

118. Mobley, pp. 37, 146-148.

119. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 261; June 8/01.

122. *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

great danger to the peace of the country." In various places the movement was seen to be (temporarily) retarding the spread of the gospel and could potentially retard it in many places. The general opinion was that missions ought not to crush or check it, regardless of its dangers, but sympathy for its aspirations was needed and it ought to be influenced by helping "to educate, purify, unify, guide, and strengthen" the movement. "Pure Christianity" should be brought to bear on it, in distinction from false impressions.¹²³

Mott, the ecumenical missionary strategist of the period, describes the movement in some detail and how it reacted to Christianity in various continents. In tune with nationalists themselves, he traces its origin to the missionary effort. If missions do not handle the phenomenon wisely, it can become the greatest obstacle to the gospel. He forecasts great possibilities "if the Christian Church will identify itself freely and largely . . ." Nationalism presented a great challenge to missions, he submits, to forego which would be tragic.¹²⁴

Throughout the records of the 1900 and 1910 conferences, the questions of China and of missions' use of treaties surfaced time and again. It was generally agreed that missions had a right to take advantage of such arrangements, even if it gave "enemies" of missions the reason for claiming that behind missions stand politicians. A Scotchman warned the assembly that such treaties humiliated China and that if the association of missions and politics could be undone in the Chinese mind, "then you will remove the greatest obstacle existing to-day to the progress of Missions in China."¹²⁵

When looking at the actual practice of missions, however, one can only come to the conclusion that their commendable eagerness to draw men to Christ was stronger than any other consideration, political or otherwise and that short-term advantages weighed more heavily than long-range developments. The warning fell on deaf pragmatic ears, as our discussion of the S.U.M. sources will plainly reveal.

VIII. *Conclusion*

We have been at pains in this chapter to expose certain elements of missionary thought and practice during the previous century in order to make the pronouncements of the S.U.M. in Part II intelligible. We have emphasized that this missionary community was an extension of that depicted in Chapter I¹²⁶ and shared many of its characteristics. The close similarity between missionary thinking on colonialism and that of colonial officials themselves as described in Chapter 2 is too obvious to require further comment. We have in fact set the stage for the S.U.M. and will find that that mission was the personification of all

123. WMC, I, pp. 142-144, 32-33, 35.

124. *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 36, 111.

125. WMC, VII, pp. 181, 175-176.

126. *Ibid.*, I, p. 465.

we have said so far; it was one of the latest products of the 19th-century missionary movement and one of its classic embodiments. In our research we have uncovered little during its initial period that was not typical of this tradition.



Part II

THE SUDAN UNITED MISSION AND COLONIALISM

Chapter Four

The Initial Relationships, 1904-1918

I. *Introduction*

A. Scope of the Chapter

In this chapter it is our purpose to explore the S.U.M.'s ideas on colonialism and her relationships to the enterprise during the first phase of her existence. This exploration will be divided into three main sections, the first of which will introduce the mission and her founder as well as expose the founder's ideas about colonialism. We will devote the second section to Maxwell, a missionary whose literary output is considerable and who, in contrast to founder Kumm, spent many years in a limited area as a missionary. The remaining section will deal with the rest of the mission. It can be argued that such a division is artificial, for the mission was one, not three. However, such a division will help indicate whether or not the mission was unified on the colonial issue by making it possible to highlight certain individual peculiarities. Throughout all of this we shall keep an eye on continuity and discontinuity between this mission and that of the general community out of which this mission arose, though we shall not address ourselves to that question till the end of the chapter.

B. The Sources

The sources for this chapter are of various types. There are a number of books written by members of the mission. There is *The Lightbearer*, the mission's monthly magazine. There are also the archives in the two headquarters, London and Jos, neither one of which has previously been studied for academic purpose of this nature.

As to the London archives, during World War II the S.U.M. was bombed out and had to hastily rescue what it could of its archives. We do have a complete set of minutes for this period, but many documents are missing. With the exception of one bound volume of letters, all letters are lost as well as missionary reports from Nigeria. Furthermore, these archives are not organized: they have been literally dumped in the attic in the S.U.M.'s present headquarters in Sidcup

without any semblance of order. Throughout the years, the mission has spent its scarce resources on the basic goals for which it was organized and could not afford to spend them on what from her point of view was a worthy but nevertheless secondary cause. For this reason it has become necessary to arrange artificially the archival materials in London in a way that has no correspondence to reality.

The situation is very much the same with respect to the Jos archives. They, too, were in an unorganized state and deposited rather irreverently in a basement storeroom reserved mostly for semi-disposable articles.¹ These archives are also incomplete, partly because a fire in Ibi headquarters destroyed some of the records, according to Henry Bello Garpiya, an elderly Christian who served the missionaries at an early age. The records that remain are frequently very brittle, due to the ravages of time and an uncongenial tropical climate. However, they do much to complement what was lost of their London counterparts.

Another important source of information are Maxwell's diaries, located in Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Again, they are incomplete and not a few pages are illegible, either wholly so or partly. Time and hardship, including fire, have taken their toll of them also.

In addition to these main sources, information has been gained through personal contact with relatives of Maxwell, with David Lot, a retired Nigerian pastor-politician of the Church of Christ in Nigeria, the denomination in the origin of which the S.U.M. was a major instrument. We had the privilege of visiting Farrant not long before his death as well as of receiving his written response to a preliminary version of this chapter. Finally, the family of Kumm has provided considerable enlightenment by means of a correspondence to which they kindly consented.

II. *H. Karl W. Kumm, the Founder*

A. Introducing Founder and Mission

1. Early History of the Mission

Karl Kumm and the S.U.M. in its initial stage were so closely identified that procedurally it is preferable to introduce them together. Kumm was born on October 19, 1874, at Osterode in Hannover Province, Germany² where his father was at one time mayor. Prior to moving into that community, his father had been an officer of the Guards and personally well acquainted with blind King George V of Hannover. When the Prussians included Hannover in a united Germany, the family lost some of her earlier patriotism, a fact that no doubt

1. Since the completion of this research, these archives have been organized somewhat and they have been given a more honourable place in an office.

2. M.E. Tett, *The Road to Freedom: Sudan United Mission 1904-1968* (Sidcup: S.U.M., n.d.), p. 7.

helps explain Karl Kumm's detachment and made it relatively easy for him to twice change his citizenship. Kumm, the subject of this section, had a strong distaste for Prussian militarism as it came to expression in World War I,³ a fact that makes his rather enthusiastic espousal of the British empire more intelligible. His parents were deeply spiritual Lutherans and through their influence Karl is described as having come "by his religious convictions naturally."⁴ This is stressed because his biographer claims that he had a conversion experience at a mission meeting in Britain.⁵ The religious sensitivity of the parental home is further indicated by the fact that his sister joined the missionary force in China before Karl had any such ambitions.⁶

After a compulsory year in the German army, Karl went to visit friends in Britain, where he attended a missionary meeting that caused him to decide on a missionary career and to forego his earlier ambition to journalism and writing.⁷ Impetuous by nature, Kumm decided to leave his studies for later completion and to immediately pursue his new course. Eventually he attended universities at Heidelberg, Jena and Freiburg and received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the last,⁸ having studied geography, geology, meteorology, political economy, astronomy, Semitic languages, philosophy and a minimum of medicine to be able to cope with African diseases.⁹

In the meantime Kumm went to Egypt for Arabic studies to prepare for the Muslim apostolate under the North African Missions.¹⁰ While there, his romance with Lucy, the sprightly, energetic and poetic daughter of Grattan Guinness began. Guinness was an Evangelical leader in Britain who had for some years experienced a burden for the evangelization of the Sudan¹¹ and had been pub-

3. Karl. G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74. Cleverdon, p. 2.

4. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

5. Cleverdon, p. 18.

6. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74. Cleverdon, p. 13. The latter calls this sister "Pauline;" her nephew calls her "Anna."

7. Cleverdon, pp. 6, 17.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. H.K.W. Kumm, *Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der wirtschaftsgeographischen Verhältnisse Nubiens von Assuan bis Dongola* (Doctoral dissertation, Freiburg University, 1903), p. 66. Cf. also his *Khont*, p. 21.

10. J.L. Maxwell, *Half a Century of Grace: a Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission* (London: S.U.M., n.d.), p. 24.

11. "Sudan" in these pages does not refer to that political entity in East Africa known by that name presently, but to that broad belt between the Sahara and South Africa from west to east, a huge area constantly described in the S.U.M.'s promotional literature as "a country larger than the whole of Europe, minus Russia, with from fifty to eighty million people" that are "waiting to be evangelized." (Kumm, *The Sudan*, p. 63) Cf. Rodney, p. 66, for the meaning of the name.

lishing a periodical entitled "The Sudan and the Regions Beyond," with the purpose of stirring up Evangelical interest.¹²

Kumm's interest in the region grew till it became a veritable obsession from which he was never able to release himself and in the service of which he spent himself in a not unheroic fashion. He and his bride went to Germany to launch the Sudan Pioneer Mission with its headquarters in Eisenach. When he disagreed with the mission's direction, he severed his connection and joined his father-in-law in Britain and helped arouse British Evangelicals.¹³ It was not long before they had formed a committee that was the embryo of the mission of which Kumm became the personification.

At her initial meeting in 1902, the committee adopted the name of Kumm's German mission: "Soudan Pioneer Mission," "Soudan" being a current variant spelling of "Sudan."¹⁴ In 1904, the present name was adopted because it was felt that the term "Pioneer" could not be a permanent feature of the name, for that stage would sooner or later pass. Furthermore, that distinction really belonged to the C.M.S., which had preceded the S.U.M. in Northern Nigeria.¹⁵

Originally, the aim had not been to create an additional missionary body but to enlist existing organizations among British non-conformists. In fact, one of the main activities during the first 3 years consisted of encouraging such bodies to take up the challenge. The pamphlet "Facts about the Sudan"¹⁶ witnesses to the insistent efforts in that direction. Upon being contacted, the Wesleyan Missionary Society replied that it was sympathetic to the urgency of the task, but that previous commitments already exhausted their strength.¹⁷ The London Missionary Society and a Presbyterian body responded similarly.¹⁸ These and other missionary organizations provided active encouragement by joining in a manifesto urging some sort of united effort. Gradually the S.U.M. relaxed its strenuous but unsuccessful efforts along this line¹⁹ and by the end of 1905 it had become clear that the S.U.M. had no choice but to continue as an independent organization, though no specific decision to that effect seems to have been minuted. Thus was born the S.U.M., an independent, non-denominational mission, not in opposition to existing structures, but to fill a challenging vacuum.

12. LB, Sept/52, p. 378. Kumm dates his interest in the Sudan to 1898, 2 years before his marriage to Lucy. (*From Hausaland*, p. 4.)

13. Maxwell, *Half A Century*, p. 24. Maxwell adds the information that this German mission later transferred to Switzerland, was renamed "Swiss Mission among Mohammedans," and, at the time of Maxwell's writing, was still active on a small scale in medical work.

14. SPM, 13 Nov/02.

15. SPM, 17 June/04.

16. SPM, 29 Dec/03.

17. SPM, 22 Dec/03.

18. SPM, 17 Mar/04.

19. SUM 3 is a monument to them.

Already in 1904 the S.U.M. was able to send its original party of 4 men, with Kumm as leader, on an exploratory venture to Northern Nigeria.²⁰ They headed straight for Wase, a Muslim town, at the suggestion of Lugard himself²¹ because of the availability of supplies and from where they could branch out into Bauchi Province.²² The other 3 were to remain in the country, but Kumm was to return home to report on the possibilities for work and location, on the climate and condition for health, while he was also to ascertain the willingness of the people to receive missionaries.

In Chapter 3 we have seen that the missionary community focused increasingly on the need to halt Islam's onward march. Kumm's observations that the *Pax Britannica* was aiding Islam have also been recorded already. This circumstance became the very *raison d'être* of the S.U.M., according to Kumm's explanation to the government: "The whole *raison d'être* of the . . . Mission is to counteract the Moslem advance among the Pagan tribes in the Benue region. This cannot be done by going to the Mohammedans, and therefore our work will lie among the Pagan tribes."²³ In order to achieve this aim, the mission appealed to the public for at least 150 missionaries to be placed in some 50 stations along the border line where Islam and Paganism met, approximately along the 6th to the 8th degrees latitude from the Niger to the Nile,²⁴ a line roughly coincident with Kumm's trans-Africa exploration tour of 1909. It was hoped that for each tribe "at least three white missionaries, a medical man, an ordained educationalist and a horticulturalist" could be secured.²⁵

To accelerate the progress of this grand scheme Kumm engaged in a great international campaign to enlist the interests of Christians. He travelled to Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, South Africa, Denmark, Canada and the United States with the result of many branches formed of the S.U.M.²⁶ These

20. LB, Nov/04, p. 3.

21. Lugard, 24 Feb/06 (J).

22. Burt, 25 Feb/06 (J).

23. Kumm, 15 Jan/07 (J). This aim is repeated in other documents, e.g., in the mission's "Principles and Constitution," adopted in 1907 (J) and in the constitutional revision of 1912 (J). Cf. also Kumm, *From Hausaland*, p. 41.

24. SUM 1, p. 249.

25. Kumm, *From Hausaland*, p. 41. A count of the tribes readily indicates the wide discrepancy of the plan. Only the tribes of Nigeria's Middle Belt would absorb more than that if each were to be given 3 missionaries.

26. Though the South African branch is reported to have predated Kumm's trip to that country, Kumm gave further stimulus to it in 1907. (Tett, p. 29.) Later on, Norway (1929), Canada (1924), Switzerland (1950) and the Netherlands (1970s) also had branches established, but these were not related to Kumm's efforts, with the possible exception of Canada. (LB, Sept/52, p. 84.) A second North American branch was formed when the Christian Reformed Church joined the effort as a denominational chapter in 1940. The South African branch in its early years split into 2 bodies, the one, of interdenominational composition, remained an integral member of the S.U.M., while the other became

branches work in close fellowship with each other, especially those in Nigeria, but they have a high degree of autonomy. Some, like the British branch, are non-denominational and enjoy the support of a wide cross section of Christians, while others, like the Christian Reformed Church branch, are more narrowly denominational and confessional in character.

The autonomy of these branches and their comity agreements were not within the original intent of the steering body; with regret did they move into that direction, under pressure of personnel in the field. While it submitted to this pressure, the committee sent a letter to the missionaries in which it chided them that "no necessity for the division of Nationality would have arisen if the whole circumstances had been prayerfully considered, and laid before those in the Homeland who are responsible for the constitution of the Mission."²⁷ The committee would have preferred to indiscriminately mix the missionaries without regard to denomination, branch or nationality. "We cannot afford," the letter continued, "to divide our forces in the face of a common foe . . . , but we can so adapt our organization to meet the peculiar needs or temperaments of the various forces of our united band."²⁸ Nevertheless, by 1907, this type of organization was included in the constitution as "advisable."²⁹

The British branch has usually served as coordinator of this unique international interdenominational and nondenominational alliance. She has served in this capacity for two reasons: (1) she was the original instigator of the entire effort and (2) most of the branches served under British colonial regimes and as such the British branch was in a more central position to influence the government not only in the colonies, but also in the Colonial Office in London. This more influential position is not asserted merely as a logical deduction from the fact of national affinity, but the British as well as non-British staff were well aware of its peculiar potentials along this line. The Danish branch consciously profited from the British influence;³⁰ the Dutch Reformed Church Mission

the denominational outreach of the Dutch Reformed Church without official ties with the S.U.M. During the 60s this body handed its work over to the Christian Reformed Church branch of the S.U.M., by which transition the great Tiv church came within the orbit of the S.U.M. once again. (E. Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv: A Study of the Rise of the Church among the Tiv of Central Nigeria* [Grand Rapids: Baker Bookhouse, 1969], pp. 95-96.) The Canadian branch severed its relationships with the mission because of the ecumenical relations of certain branches, while the Australian/New Zealand branch merged with the British branch upon the former's eviction from the Republic of Sudan during the 60s. The Danish Lutheran branch in Nigeria was the first to commit euthanasia recently by being absorbed into the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria, a step advocated for all by the 1976 meeting of the International Committee. The British branch has recently followed suit. The South African branch's last staff returned home recently.

27. SUM 1, p. 210.

28. *Ibid.*

29. "Principles and Constitution" (J).

30. M. Nissen, *An African Church is Born: the Story of the Adamawa and Central Saradauna Provinces in Nigeria* (No publisher indicated, 1968), p. 21.

requested that the British mission act as their regular mediator with the government, an arrangement the S.U.M. refused because it felt unable to represent a body in whose "councils one has no part, and over whose members one has no control."³¹ This special responsibility on the part of the British branch continued to play a part in the mission's thinking. Farrant, a dominant figure in the mission throughout the second and third periods, wrote about certain difficulties the S.I.M. was experiencing in its relationships with certain colonial officers. He explained their troubles as arising from the "vigour of the American character" and that his own mission, being British, could better understand the mind of the administration.³² He expressed a similar notion in connection with the government's prohibition of missions among Muslims. Missionaries of other nationalities appeared to have hesitated to protest against these strictures, for Farrant, by this time General Secretary of the mission, wondered whether perhaps the non-British missionaries "feel embarrassed in taking up a matter with the Nigerian Government." It might make negotiations easier if a British missionary were in charge. "My feeling is," he wrote, "that it may be expected of us British folk to defend the liberties of all."³³

This peculiarly influential position of the British branch becomes then a rationale for a further limitation to this study. The other branches will not be referred to except in cases where this is necessary to explain the position or action of the British branch. This implies that from here on the term "S.U.M." will refer exclusively to the British branch, except where indicated otherwise.

So far we have amassed various facts pertaining to the S.U.M.'s history with the specific purpose of demonstrating that the mission was fully a member of the Evangelical community and shared its basic motives and ideals. She continued to exist not because of disagreement with the ideas or methods of other organizations, but only because no one else was ready to take up the challenge. She drew missionaries from a wide constituency and was, in para-church style, fully ecumenical in spirit. She was one of the many para-church missions that penetrated the interior and shared the burden to oppose Muslim expansion. She even proposed her own version of the chain-of-missions tradition.

There are many other facts that confirm this Evangelical status of the S.U.M. The revised constitution of 1912 indicates the doctrinal basis of the mission to be that of the Evangelical Alliance,³⁴ a copy of which is attached as Appendix III. The composition of the Board of Directors was another evidence: a wide variety of mission organizations had the right to appoint a representative director on the Board: C.M.S., L.M.S., Wesleyan Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Church of Scotland for Missions Committee, and the United

31. Dawson, 8 June/16 (J).

32. SUM 13, 12 Aug/42.

33. SUM 21, 30 Nov/54.

34. "Constitution of the Sudan United Mission as Revised Oct. 5, 1912," p. 4 (J).

Free Church of Scotland for Missions Committee. In addition, the board was given the power to "invite any other missionary society working in Africa also to appoint a . . . director."³⁵ There was the deep interest in the Keswick movement throughout the mission's history till today; Kumm himself spoke at its conventions.³⁶ The monthly magazine continually made mention of this convention, advertised it and encouraged participation.³⁷ This is significant in view of the fact that the Student Christian Movement, though originated "in the atmosphere of the evangelical Keswick Conferences," grew away from that atmosphere after it imbibed more liberal trends;³⁸ apparently the two did not mix well. Finally, the S.U.M. aimed at a so-called "African Union Church,"³⁹ one that would be sufficiently broad to include a wide variety of Evangelicals and thus would not be under the dominant influence of any particular Evangelical denomination.⁴⁰ All these facts combine to place the S.U.M. squarely in the Evangelical community we have been at pains to depict throughout the previous chapters. It was a fully representative body, and as such we can expect it to entertain the politico-economic views of that community, an expectation in which we shall not be disappointed.

2. The Founder's Personality

The representative character we have just attributed to the S.U.M. can likewise be attributed to her main founder, Karl Kumm. Though he was a missionary statesman, he seldom made ecclesiastical references. His own church membership cannot be determined from his writings we have studied; his biographer ignored the matter. It was only from a letter from his son Karl G. that the missionary's affiliation could be determined. He was born a Lutheran; in Britain he became Anglican and continued as an Episcopalian after he settled in America. He also had strong Quaker sympathies. In fact, his son describes him as a "half Quaker" and two of his sons attended a Quaker college.⁴¹ Kumm simply did not think in denominational terms, but he "epitomized a kind of catholicity of viewpoint which was non-denominational."⁴² The reader will remember that

35. S.U.M. Bye-Laws, "Constitution."

36. Cleverdon, p. 36.

37. *E.g.*, LB, Newsletter, Apr/30. Maxwell, Diaries (1), p. 56.

38. Johnston, p. 76.

39. "Constitution," p. 3.

40. Regardless of this constitutional expression, Farrant, for one, did not take kindly to infant baptism. When missionary Richmond included statistics for infant baptism in his annual report, Farrant objected that "this has never been done, for it is more of a fertility figure than a church figure . . ." (30 Mar/44 (J). Lot claimed that Farrant wanted the Panyam area that was inherited from the C.M.S. to abandon their practice of infant baptism. (Interview, 18 Mar/75.)

41. Karl G. Kumm, 25 Oct/74.

42. *Ibid.*

his greatest hero joined the L.M.S. for such reasons and this non-ecclesiastical interest was characteristic of his missionary era.

Samuel Zwemer, in his introduction to Cleverdon's biography, described Kumm as an "intrepid adventurer," a "bold missionary explorer," one who was attracted by the unknown, by difficulties and by obstacles — and so he was *par excellence*.⁴³ In addition to the travels already mentioned, he made occasional excursions into the Egyptian desert and into Nubia, both for purposes of his dissertation and evangelism.⁴⁴ He studied Hausa in Tripoli and from there also ventured into nearly unknown places as far as Europeans were concerned, while he traversed Tunis and Algiers as well.⁴⁵ We have already referred to his exploration from the Niger to the Nile, a journey he did without any European companion and that took the major share of a year.⁴⁶ This was a historic journey into territory largely unknown as well to the Caucasian. The *Daily Telegraph* upon his return gave the event high priority and dubbed it a "remarkable narrative," "one of the most interesting and important journeys undertaken of late years, and one which will occupy a high place in the annals of African explorers." Comparison was even made to the journeys of Stanley and other early pioneers.⁴⁷ Other journeys not yet mentioned include a trek beginning in South Africa and covering much of the eastern part of the continent.

According to his main biographer, Kumm tended to be ruled by his heart rather than his head,⁴⁸ an impression confirmed by others and one which the reader of his publications will not be long in noticing. He was poetic, instinctive, intense, explosive, forceful, given to superlative exaggerations and snap judgments. His dissertation⁴⁹ is rather dull, in low key and hardly typical of his other writings. The rest of his output was characterized by alliteration, flair for drama and force. Most of his missionary literature was designed to haunt his constituency, purposed to prevent them from failing to respond to the challenge he would hurl at them. He captivated his audience, whether in writing or presenting his challenge orally, he excited them — he also exaggerated and made assertions that could not stand calm scrutiny. Having read all of his books within a brief span of time, thus having been completely immersed in "Kummanese" literature, one can almost feel the agony the explorer experienced during the writing of his partially scientific report in which he had to restrain his natural exuberance. "It has been like a nightmare to me," he con-

43. p. viii.

44. H.G. Guinness, *Lucy Guinness Kumm, Her Life Story with Extracts from Her Writings* (London: Morgan and Scott and Regions Beyond Missionary Union, 1907), pp. 17-18.

45. Kumm, *Khont*, p. 22.

46. Kumm, *From Hausaland*, p.5. His wife Lucy had expected it would take 3 years; Kumm thought 2 years or less would be sufficient. (Guinness, p. 24.)

47. 30 Dec/09.

48. Cleverdon, p. 128.

49. *Versuch*.

fessed to Maxwell, "for one has to walk so softly, softly, when putting things into print."⁵⁰

The total impression Kumm left on his audience is well attested to by a delegate to the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 at which Kumm gave a brief response to a main speaker. Though we resist the temptation to quote extensively from Kumm's writings we present this review of his performance for the flavour of it, while the speech itself is attached as Appendix IV. The reporter

recalls the tense atmosphere, as that man spoke, fresh from his long lonely trek across Africa; recalls the striking figure, the noble bearing, and the great audience hanging on his words, as he went on, relentlessly pronouncing those tribal names – "with unhurrying chase and unperturbed pace" – till black faces seem to throng the hall, mutely beseeching. The newspapers averred that whatever of the Conference passed into oblivion, that speech would never be forgotten.⁵¹

A review in *The Christian* described the deep pathos in Kumm's voice as he challenged an audience with the needs of the Sudan and even Kumm himself trembled as he unburdened himself. Cleverdon assures us that he could "hold his audience in the hollow of his hand and turn it whither he would."⁵³ Zwemer concluded his introduction by confiding that one of Kumm's supreme gifts was to win others for the Gospel, for "God used his glowing speech, his vivid imagination, his ringing convictions, his sweeping generalisations as a trumpet-call to service on the platform of many a missionary gathering."⁵⁴

As to snap judgments on the part of our doctor, we lack no evidence. After having spent a mere two days in Bauchi, he dared claim "a fair insight into the political relationship" between the colonial officers and the emir.⁵⁵ Anyone who has been exposed to the perplexities of African life will immediately recognize the gross rashness of this statement. Maxwell, a member of the original party and a very close friend of Kumm for the rest of their lives⁵⁶ found himself undercut by Kumm's influence on a certain occasion. Kumm had merely toured the area concerned and could hardly converse with the local people, whereas Maxwell remained for many years as a missionary. He exploded, ". . . how long are *you* to be allowed to be an authority of any degree on Northern Nigeria and its strategy." He then described the superficial contact Kumm had with the area in question and asked bitterly, "Wherein does his knowledge of the situation lie that then enables him so categorically to condemn the united judgment" of experienced missionaries on the spot?⁵⁷ Another missionary warned that "a

50. 1 June/10 (J).

51. Cleverdon, p. 92. It is of interest to note that a certain Henry C. Mabie made a similar claim for a speech Lucy gave. (Guinness, p. 33.)

52. *The Christian*, 27 Apr/11.

53. p. 78.

54. See Appendix V.

55. Kumm, *The Sudan*, p. 103.

56. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

57. Diaries (5), pp. 4-5.

hurried visit like that of Dr. Kumm . . . gives one a wrong impression of the place and the people.”⁵⁸

Being a man of superlatives, Kumm loved displays of strength and spectacularity; mediocrity and quiet scenes had only secondary attraction for him. His hunting tales of large game are numerous, but he approved only “the sportsman-like pitting of the brawn and brain of the hunter against the brawn and brain of the hunted.”⁵⁹ His disappointment at the initial sighting of the quiet pastoral scene of the mission’s freed slaves home was also indicative of his love of rock-like strength.⁶⁰

During his trek across the Sudan, this strong-willed leader carried with him a scrap of paper on which in his own handwriting he had copied these words of Carlyle:

It is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things and vindicate himself under God’s Heaven, as a God-made man, the poorest son of Adam dimly longs. Show him the way of doing that and the dullest day-drudge kindles into a hero.

Difficulty, abnegation, martyrdom, death – are the allurements that act on the best of men.⁶¹

That Kumm aspired to hero status is beyond doubt as well as his belief that anyone brave enough could promote himself to that status. Quoting from W.S. Taylor’s *Daybreak in the Dark Continent*, he challenged that “there is offered to the young . . . no greater opportunity for noble service and superb heroism than the contest which is now on for pagan Africa.”⁶² He quoted Krapf, who, upon the death of his wife, wrote, “Do not count the losses in this glorious battle of those who fall and suffer, but press onwards until East and West Africa are joined through the bonds of Jesus Christ,”⁶³ a statement that could have been Kumm’s own. His entire hagiography of missionary heroes and heroines is full of similar statements and allusions, especially those sections dealing with his greatest hero, Livingstone. Duty, strength, self-sacrifice, relentless effort – those made a man great, and Kumm possessed an abundance of them all, and he knew it. Like Livingstone, Mackay of Uganda fame was no “genius, but he was an idealist and a hard, conscientious worker. Perhaps these terms are synonyms, for a genius has been defined as ‘a man who is willing and able to take endless pains.’”⁶⁴ Hard work is what made Livingstone great, nothing else.⁶⁵ “Duty” was a favourite word with Livingstone, just the thing England expected of her

58. Evans, 27 Nov/09 (J).

59. *Khont*, pp. 92-93.

60. *From Hausaland*, p. 10.

61. Cleverdon, p. 165.

62. Kumm, *Missionary Heroes*, p. xvii.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

sons.⁶⁶ And “duty” was, we submit, also one of Kumm’s favourite terms.

It was his sense of duty that led Livingstone on to fame. His troubles were great and dark the shadows of sorrow and pain, “but bright was the light in which he basked – the praise of his fellow-men, and the knowledge that he was privileged to initiate great enterprises that would live through the ages to come.”⁶⁷ Moorhouse has characterized the popular literary genre of missionary hagiographies that became so popular during the last half of the nineteenth century. He asserts that in this literature the missionaries completely exposed themselves and their motives without embarrassment.⁶⁸ Kumm, though writing about others in his hagiography, revealed as much about himself as about his subjects. We have earlier noted his implicit identification of himself with Livingstone; the “bright light” and fame Livingstone received and the satisfaction of having begun a great enterprise were really among the very things Kumm coveted for himself. Some missionaries sensed this aspect of Kumm’s character. Emlyn, in a letter explaining his resignation from the S.U.M., expressed his disgust that the mission was falling for Kumm’s “vain glorious schemes.”⁶⁹ Though this exposition is not to be taken as an attempt to cast doubt on Kumm’s devotion to his Lord, something against which Farrant cautions,⁷⁰ it will not help to cover up mixed motives that are useful in understanding the doctor’s views on colonialism.

A very dominant trait of Kumm was his native optimism. His writings are basically one grand optimistic assertion that his mission will be successful. If temporary obstacles prevent immediate success, that would only increase his determination bolstered by that unflinching optimism. To his second wife he wrote, “By nature I am a most optimistic person and so far from discouraging my optimism, I cultivate it – for in optimism, I see one of the strongest roots of success.” “If we make adequate use of the Livingstone Centenary,” he exuded, “we shall build and build and build . . . I am telling the people we must aim at sending the Gospel next year to all the tribes of Africa who have not yet heard of Jesus.”⁷¹

During World War I his optimism lagged. Though a British citizen by then, he was suspected of being a German spy and of harbouring others, the charge possibly based on the fact that another German S.U.M. missionary, Dr. Krusius, was staying with him.⁷² As a result, he was of little use for deputation work in Britain, just the task for which he was so eminently equipped.⁷³ The con-

66. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

68. *The Missionaries*, p. 170.

69. 5 Jan/10 (J).

70. Feb/74.

71. Cleverdon, p. 135.

72. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

73. Redmayne, 1 Sept/14 (J).

stituency objected to having a German in such a prominent association with the mission, even though naturalized.⁷⁴ He then moved to the United States and eventually became a citizen there.⁷⁵ Though he retained a vital relationship with the S.U.M. as General Secretary of the American branch, his relationship was never again to be so dominant with the result that even his optimism began to waver. Commented Cleverdon, he was "never the same unqualified optimist."⁷⁶ And so even in this loss he was in tune with his age, for historians submit that the entire West lost a good deal of its former optimism at about that time.

Though not on the scale of his hero, Kumm did receive "bright lights" and fame. Throughout his career he had contacts with prominents in the missionary world not only, but also with numerous political greats. Lugard afforded him a cordial reception in Nigeria. Both British and German officials at their respective Colonial Offices gave him letters of introduction to their personnel for purposes of his west-east expedition.⁷⁷ The elite were among his audience and acquaintances, including the mayors of Melbourne and Sidney and even the governor⁷⁸ and the prime minister of Australia.⁷⁹ He had luncheon with the governor of Tasmania,⁸⁰ while he had cordial relations with general Smuts and De Wet of South Africa.⁸¹ The Paris Peace Conference after World War I requested him to draw maps of African territories for them.⁸²

In addition to these political celebrities, Kumm developed relations with many eminents from all walks of life and was member of a "number of geographical and scientific organizations."⁸³ He was listed in *Who's Who in America*.⁸⁴ Upon his death, letters arrived from all over the world — "letters from Presidents of Universities, from Professors, from Chambers of Commerce, from Missionaries, from the Royal Geographic Society . . . — all united in sympathy, in praise and in appreciation."⁸⁵

We have gone to considerable length to depict Kumm's career not only, but also his character, something we will not attempt to that same extent for other S.U.M. personalities. We have good reasons for including this biographical material, for it goes far in understanding Kumm's own views on colonialism, more so than in some other cases. This material also helps us to understand the

74. SUM 3, p. 272. Cleverdon, ch. 14.

75. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

76. p. 149.

77. LB, Nov/04, pp. 4-5.

78. LB, Feb/12, pp. 28-29.

79. Cleverdon, p. 111.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

82. LB, Nov/30, p. 105.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Who's Who in America*, Vol. XV (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1928-1929), p. 1241.

85. Cleverdon, pp. 185-186.

initial stand of the S.U.M. itself, for there is evidence that this pioneer could force ideas and schemes on the mission without her really being convinced of them, with the result that they were never carried out. Finally, this depiction of character, combined as it is with the early development of the mission itself, clearly marks this effort as a pure *product* of the evangelical-missionary day, not as an original creator of advanced thought. Great though Kumm's efforts and those of his initially small band of missionaries were – they can with full justification be classed among the heroic pioneers of interior missionaries – they were *followers* of current mission thinking, not creators. The coincidence with current Evangelical thought and attitudes could hardly be more complete.

In a preliminary study Kumm was once described as an imaginative missionary statesman, and he was, but the examples then adduced to support this claim later turned out to be Kumm's version of ideas and practices already common to the missionary community. This holds true for his proposal of a chain of stations across Africa, though his version, of course, was more ambitious than its predecessors. It holds true as well for his educational scheme that included all levels: elementary, secondary, and a "rudimentary University" with faculties for science, arts, medicine and theology.⁸⁶ Such missionary colleges and universities were common in India and China, as the records of the missionary conferences of 1900 and 1910 readily testify.

Kumm was a man of many gifts, but his "supreme gift was his desire to tell the Old Story to those who had never heard and win others to do it also."⁸⁷ Maxwell suggested that "only eternity will reveal all that his life and work have meant for Africa." "He will need no memorial while the Mission which he founded still continues the work of bringing the Light of the Gospel . . .,"⁸⁸ nor, we would add, while the Church of Christ in Nigeria and in other places where branches of the S.U.M. laboured exists. Whatever Kumm said or advocated with respect to colonialism, such was wholly subsidiary to that more embracing goal of the salvation of the people of the Sudan.

B. A Resounding Affirmation

The foregoing leads one to expect general approval of the colonial endeavour in Africa, but Kumm was not a man to give merely general approval to anything; he would either favour a cause and then spend himself for it or he would be completely opposed and seek to destroy. Hence the adjective in the title for this section: his espousal of the colonial cause was enthusiastic and wholehearted.

86. Kumm, *Khont*, pp. 190-191. LB, Feb/10, pp. 31-32. Wm. J.W. Roome, ed., *Who Is Sufficient: Sudan United Mission Annual Report and Review* (London: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 1911), p. 27.

87. Zwemer in *Pools*, p. IX.

88. *Half A Century*, p. 141.

1. Prevailing Darkness

In his attempt to interest western Christians in the missionary need of the Sudan, Kumm, in common with his contemporary colleagues, dwelt a great deal on the negative modalities of African society and it is here that he was at his "Kummest." "Darkness" is the key concept used to describe the essence of Africa. The term is embedded in the title of one of his books, *The Sudan: A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness*. In this book he wrote that "there is a land in this wonderful world, called 'The Land of Darkness;' . . . dark are the bodies of the people who live there, darker are their minds, and darker still their souls, — the great Land of Darkness."⁸⁹ That Kumm was serious about this evaluation is borne out by his repetition of such sentiment elsewhere: "Dark as their bodies are their minds, and darker still the souls of the sons and daughters of the Dark Continent."⁹⁰ In a promotion pamphlet the public is informed about the "heritage of a host of heathen nations" that have been left "all these ages to the reign of unmixed darkness and unmitigated depravity."⁹¹ Africans are ignorant; they wander in moral twilight; they "know not what they do."⁹² Heathen folk live in darkness and ignorance.⁹³ Africa is the "darkest region of the earth,"⁹⁴ where one encounters the lowest of the low.⁹⁵ Certain southern tribes were described as living in "unspeakable degradation," which he illustrated with examples credible enough. One is tempted to quote him at length in order to adequately relay the vehemence of these descriptions and his obvious relish in painting these dark scenes. He depicted the burial customs of a certain tribe that staked live men and women to the ground when the chief had died. But even worse was the

rampant immorality of these people. One cannot go into details, and the curtain of reticence must be closely drawn over this most loathsome sin. I can only say that they were absolutely without the faintest regard for the Seventh Commandment, except in so far as they can use the marriage bond for pecuniary purposes.⁹⁶

He pictured for his readers the king of the Gazum people sitting in front of him on the ground, the ruler of a people accustomed to eating their elderly folk. They were, he submitted, "the very lowest of the low, the most degraded of humanity."⁹⁷

In fairness to Kumm, this was not all he said about African people: he

89. p. 15.

90. *Khont*, p. 156.

91. SPM, 13 Nov/02.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *The Sudan*, p. 133.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Khont*, p. 105.

96. *The Sudan*, pp. 79-80.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

developed real affection for them and even a kind of respect. He had much positive to say about them as well, but that is not as relevant to our topic for it hardly serves to explain his views on colonialism.

2. The Muslim Slave Trade

Kumm's basic concern was to have Africans see the light of Christ, but he not only found them without that light, but he saw them living under the most inhuman conditions, especially Pagans.⁹⁸ On his trek from Niger to Nile, Kumm carried with him the photograph of a Bishareen,⁹⁹ one that haunted him and refused to release him:

Only a dark-eyed Bisharin, an untaught desert ranger, lithe, sinewy, half savage, proud, bold, free. With his wild crop of matted hair done in the style of the Sphinx and the old Pharaohs, gripping his well-worn stick in both his hands, he sits there leaning forward, searching us with unfathomable issues, sunk in a deeper silence, hanging on his relation to us, this hour, this day.

We cannot escape those eyes. Walk away, they follow. Meet them, they are watching you. Turn from them, they watch you still. Ignore them, neglect them, busy yourself with other things – still their haunting question pursues.

As we look we seem to see in and through that photograph the darkskinned peoples of the whole Sudan. The eyes that look at us from that one silent face are eyes innumerable, hopeless eyes of slaves, anguished eyes of tortured women; keen eyes of clever traders and the proud glance of chieftains; others dull, bewildered, shadowed by life's miseries, unlit by any of heaven's rays. The face with its grave question stood for the face of thousands – faces of slave drivers, of fanatic Imans, rich Emirs, lazy princes, half-starved naked Nile savages, wild Dinkas, Shillooks, Nuers, and a hundred other tribes. Their lands came up before the mind, stretching from Abyssinia across to the Atlantic – free kingdoms, ancient mountains, lakes, empty wadies, desert and green oases, palm-fringed villages and wells. Like a dream they swept before us.

The vast Sudan – 3000 miles across . . . 100 lands, 100 languages, all, all non-Christian to this hour . . .¹⁰⁰

We quote at length to demonstrate the intensity with which the Kumms experienced their burden for the Sudan and how intimately this burden was related in Livingstonian fashion to the slavery problem.

It is clear from this quotation that the Kumms relished such descriptions. With never failing vigour and a piling up of dreadful images he would pour out

98. Though many find the term "Pagan" reprehensible and laden with contempt, one needs terms to refer to the people so called and there is no reason it has necessarily to be weighted with contempt. We intend to use the term with the understanding that they are held here in as high esteem as Christians and Muslims.

99. Cf. Kumm, *Versuch*, pp. 47-48, for identification of this Nubian tribe. Guinness and Kumm had cooperatively engaged in missionary activity on behalf of this tribe. (Guinness, pp. 17-18.)

100. L. Kumm., "Introduction," *The Sudan*, pp. 6-8. The description is Lucy's, who edited the book. (Guinness, p. 26.) The statement portrays lack of detailed knowledge of the area. Only a 100 languages?! Cf. also Cleverdon, pp. 20-21.

such descriptions one after another, forever groping for more effective vocabulary combinations. There was the curse of Ham that had been Africa's "woe, and for centuries and milleniums it has been in the grip of demons. Chains have bound it. Chains of superstition and idolatry, chains of mental ignorance and physical slavery . . ." ¹⁰¹ One is tempted to pile up quotation after quotation, for a mere summary hardly does justice to the depth of feeling Kumm himself experienced and as he imparted it to his constituency. He wrote of emirs sending slave raiders into their territories in order to collect the annual tribute due to him and in the process destroying, killing, enslaving, utterly devastating large areas. "I have known close on five thousand square miles of territory absolutely depopulated by the ruling emir." He had personally seen "huge walled towns deserted, thousands of acres of farm land relapsing into jungle and an entire population absorbed. And this sort of thing is not done once or twice in a century, but it is absolutely being done somewhere or other every day." ¹⁰² With prolonged experience the cruel and ingenious methods of torture became increasingly refined: "The refinements of torture that suggest themselves to the lustful mind of the Sudanese Mohammedan are many and peculiar." ¹⁰³

The impact on individual people was as devastating as it was on the land and society in general. We cannot escape the temptation of adding one more lengthy quotation to convey the unutterable misery experienced by the hapless victims of this devilish trade:

Real misery is seen written on the faces of those whose families have been destroyed or torn from them. There is the mother who has lost her children; the lover who has seen his sweetheart torn from his arms; the chief who has lost his authority; the slaves on whom privation and disease have set their mark; the woman with sunken eyes, gaping rib spaces, and long skinny breasts and the man with tumid spear-thrust or raw, oozing sword-slash fresh upon him. Behind the shed is the body of a slave who has just drawn his last breath, his thin limbs tangled in the agony of death. ¹⁰⁴

Here we have landed in what Livingstone referred to as "hell," the place where "Satan has his seat." ¹⁰⁵

The side-effects of this terrorism as Kumm described them were astounding. During his trans-Africa safari in 1909, Kumm came across the Sara-Kabba people, who had their women stretch their lower lip to incredible ugliness, not because the men folk thought this beautiful, but, to the contrary, supposedly to make them unattractive to Muslim slavers. After centuries of harassment, these peoples had withdrawn themselves into swamps. As soon as a stranger came in sight, in this case Kumm himself, he "heard shrieks, a rush, a rustling in the

101. LB, June/08, p. 123.

102. LB, Jan/07, p. 12. Italics original.

103. *The Sudan*, p. 124.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Supra*, p. 95.

grass, and there was silence; the population of the village had decamped.”¹⁰⁶

It was this Muslim terrorism that Kumm indicated as his main reasons for favouring European intervention. In the course of describing two Arab slave routes, he advised the British and the French to cooperate in closing the one.¹⁰⁷ With the arrival of Europe in Africa, the spell cast over the continent by demons, ignorance and slavery was broken, “and in our days the giant is lifting himself from the ground, and in his half-sleep is looking around questioningly.” “Africa is today standing before the crossways, with a bent to follow the white man’s path, if only the guides can be secured for him.” The “evil dreams” that have “made Africa’s sleep unhappy and restless” have come to their end.¹⁰⁸ Though with some hesitation, the doctor supported Martin Luther’s evaluation of Mohammed as “the first-born son of Satan,” because of Islam’s “avowed acceptance, practice, and teaching of slavery.” It becomes for this reason “one of the most wicked, if not *the* most wicked religion . . .”¹⁰⁹ Kumm simply did not tire from describing the worst and most flagrant degradations he had witnessed in Africa.

Muslims were worse than Pagans in Kumm’s mind. The darkness described earlier was largely caused by the Muslim slavers; Pagans were mostly innocent victims. The Muslims were the perpetrators of Africa’s greatest evil, the agents of demonizing Africa. Though he attributed a higher degree of civilization of Islam, they also were regarded as excelling in works of evil. Whereas Pagans were often portrayed as open to the influence of the West, Islam was depicted as opposed to all progress, as the greatest “promotor of barbarism in Africa,” the “greatest enemy to European culture in Africa,” the “most serious danger for the future development of that continent.” Religious intolerance, brutality, fanaticism, unbridled covetousness, lying and deception were all characteristics of Muslims.¹¹⁰ “Wherever Mohammedanism has gone, lying and stealing and sexual diseases have spread, until certain pagan places which were clean fifteen years ago, have become syphilitic cesspools.”¹¹¹ To Kumm, Islam “was ALL BAD” indeed.¹¹²

Of course, Kumm had not forgotten European participation in the slave trade, but there was a difference in his opinion: Christians had engaged in the trade in spite of their religion, while Muslims “were and are slave raiders *because* of the teaching of the Koran.”¹¹³ Adherents of Christ had participated, to be

106. *From Hausaland*, pp. 155-156.

107. LB, May/10, p. 120.

108. LB, June/08, pp. 122-123.

109. LB, Aug/06, p. 161. *Cf.* Kumm’s *Missionary Heroes*, pp. xvii, 29-30, for more of the same, as well as LB throughout the early years.

110. *Khont*, pp. 228-229.

111. *Cleverdon*, p. 161.

112. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

113. *Khont*, p. 125. *Missionary Heroes*, p. 31.

sure, but they also saw to its suppression of which the colonial cause is a case in point. Islam gives a legitimate place to slavery; in Christianity it is a *Fremd-körper*. Being the mission promoter that he was, the secretary, in his descriptions of slavery designed for public consumption, emphasized only one aspect of the slavery problem. The fact that Pagans would voluntarily sell their children to Muslim traders in difficult economic circumstances was known to him, but referred to only in correspondence with the government.¹¹⁴

3. The Divine Imperative

Over against the atrocities of African civilization, Kumm placed the blessings of western civilization. In his evaluation of the West he stood squarely in the tradition we have been at pains to describe in the first chapters. Speaking of the three main Protestant nations, America, Germany and Great Britain, and their power in the world, he insisted that they “became what they were through the Bible and Christian influence.”¹¹⁵ an assertion of which he never tired. The British empire was built on the Bible and Christian faith.¹¹⁶ Constructions such as “Christian government,” “Christian Europe,” “Christian nations,” true to the spirit of his day, are everywhere interspersed in his writings.¹¹⁷ Northern Nigeria needed an education based on “Christian European principles.”¹¹⁸ There was the need to “uphold the integrity and humanity of ideals of which the Christian civilized nations of Europe are so justly proud.”¹¹⁹

In the context of this ideology Kumm gave colonialism its highest sanction by canonizing it as a divine imperative in the name of Christ and for the liberty and justice of the oppressed peoples of Africa. In an article that represents the tradition in classic style, Kumm wrote of the great empires of human history – Egypt, Babylonia-Medes-Persia, Macedonia, Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, France and then “we come to the 7th and last world empire of *Great Britain*, an empire utterly different from the previous,” for it is characterized by “red chains of brotherly love” and “freedom and justice will prove themselves stronger than steel or gold.”

Closed doors in the east have been burst open, while lone lands in the south, and in the Canadian west, are being brought under cultivation. The slave shackles have been taken from the dusky dwellers in the dark continent. The messengers of light leaving the land of fogs go far and wide with their Gospel of liberty, and love and life. This Gospel is being preached as a witness to all nations, and it seems almost time that the millennial Empire might be set up, and “the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ.”¹²⁰

114. Resident of Muri, 9 May/05 (J). Kumm, 5 Oct/06 (J).

115. *Khont*, p. 7.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

117. *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 121, 209.

118. *The Sudan*, p. 105.

119. *From Hausaland*, p. 65.

120. LB, Feb/07, pp. 44-46.

Kumm attributed the highest virtues to the West, especially liberty and justice. Within the West, Britain was the purest example of it all: she outshone all other nations in that “justice, truthfulness, honesty and liberty are valued more highly in Britain than in any other state on earth”¹²¹

All of this was amply illustrated on a lowly object like a key. At the opening of the Freed Slaves’ Home a key was presented to Governor Girouard that was the very embodiment of European virtues. Referred to as symbolic, it was described as follows:

On the right is the Union Jack – ever the emblem of social and political freedom; on the left the Royal Standard, representing the head of our great free Empire; while both these rest on the Holy Bible, the foundation to all our greatness.

The Key itself represents the opening of the door into this dark land, the last and largest British Protectorate – only a few years ago cursed with slave raiding, cannibalism, and all manner of cruelties, now brought to a state of comparative peace and quiet.¹²²

Higher justification and purpose would hardly be possible. To oppose *this* kingdom would almost be paramount to opposing *the* Kingdom.

Not only Kumm himself, but Africans also demonstrated eager reception of the British. The people of a certain “Niger village” shouted to the British “Welcome! Welcome, white men! Well done, well done!” He went on to describe how “every brazen pair of lungs in that . . . village joined in a ringing cheer as the British officers and men marched through” With the British was a captive whose capture was the reason for all this cheer, “a tall, patriarchal-looking Moslem chief, with flowing white hair – the deeply-dreaded Mallam Gibrella.”¹²³ As this same force traveled deeper into Bornu with their captive, the same rousing welcome was given them everywhere. The people were “overjoyed at their arrival” because of the capture of this chief. Kumm commented, “This was not to be wondered at, for every day the force passed ruined villages, destroyed by the man who had devastated the whole of lower Bornu.”¹²⁴ The people of Wase were a testimony to the new order of peace; they could now live safely on their farms without the protection of town walls. “Peace and plenty are spreading throughout the land,” and the people gratefully recognized these blessings.¹²⁵

What, Kumm asked, did all this mean? There was the divine hand behind it all:

121. *Khont*, p. 15.

122. LB, Apr/09, insert between pp. 84-85. Though documentary proof is lacking that Kumm is the designer of this key, his position in the S.U.M. and the piling up of so many symbols in so small an object is highly characteristic of Kumm’s intensity and would point to him as the likely architect.

123. *The Sudan*, p. 13.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 14. Kumm did not indicate the source of this report, but judging from a remark on p. 15, it may have been a newspaper.

125. *From Hausaland*, p. 38.

The HAND that in the century behind us has opened the long-closed doors of India, China, Korea, Japan, and the eastern world; the HAND that has flung wide the gates of Africa East and West, of Egypt, of the Congo, the Zambesi, the great lakes – the same Almighty HAND is opening in this day, this greatest, darkest sphere.¹²⁶

Islam no longer rules; the hand of God is taking its power away; the suffering is over and liberty has been proclaimed over a helpless people. That was Kumm's basic justification for the colonial endeavour and that was, according to him, how Africans experienced the British arrival – at least, in some cases.

4. Paternalism

The qualification at the end of the last sentence is important, for Kumm fully knew of course that Africans frequently were not all that positive with respect to the new order and that, in fact, they were opposed to it more often than not.¹²⁷ He was aware of the fact that such instances of rousing welcome were exceptions, not the rule. He himself frequently used the term "conquered" in reference to the British relationship with Pagan tribes in his report on the initial party of 1904. How did he account for this unwillingness on the part of Pagans to accept the British regime? Could he square this with his notions of liberty? Was he not forced to selective support of colonialism and to advocate its extension limited to the overthrow of oppressors, but not to rob reluctant and free people of their independence?

This seeming riddle was solved by the attitude known as paternalism. Few have drunk more deeply from the fountains of paternalism than did Kumm. He dedicated his book *Khont-Hon-Nofer* "To the Nations of the Future, the Races yet to Be," and entitled the first chapter "The Baby Nations of the world." Like people, nations can be divided into adults and children. The Arian race, especially its Anglo-Saxon branch,

is today in the full strength of its manhood, while in Africa and in the South Sea Islands we have the infants of our human family. The irresponsibility, credulity, and simplicity of most of the tribes of Central Africa are the unmistakable signs of youthfulness.¹²⁸

"The Negro is the 'hobbledehoy' of the human family. The stripling who does not know how to behave himself . . . , but who, with his years, will outgrow his clumsiness."¹²⁹ "The . . . heathen clans amongst whom we are to-day administering justice in Central Africa, are in our hands as little children whose fate and future we may make or mar."¹³⁰ Musa, a man some 45 years old, was

126. *Ibid.*, p. 19. One is struck by the similarity of such passages from Kumm's hand to those written by his first wife. The sentiments he wrote with respect to Africa, she put down about Latin America. (Guinness, p. 75.)

127. Cf. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 3-4.

128. *Khont*, p. 4.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

referred to by the younger Kumm as "older than the white man in years, but in mind and soul a child."¹³¹

Karl G. Kumm agrees that his father was indeed paternalistic, but he strongly rejects the notion of racism as applied to his father, a rejection he backs up with a number of examples.¹³² The primary sources agree with that analysis. Africans may have sunk low, "yet even in the lowest of the low, as they are members of the human family, there is the spark divine, the feeling after God, the possibility of the higher life."¹³³ Basically and potentially Africans are identical to Europeans in worth and ability. They are "our brothers and sisters in a common humanity. They are one with us in sin and ruin . . ."¹³⁴ Furthermore, "careful investigation" has demonstrated that Africans can indeed attain "to a civilization such as the Indo-Germanic races have evolved."¹³⁵ Eventually they will "occupy a responsible and respected position in the council of the nations, the parliament of mankind."¹³⁶ When that stage has been achieved, Kumm envisioned an Africa characterized by peace, justice, increased health and wealth, modern education and technology — all stamped with a Christian morality.

This process, however, is not to be rushed: it will take generations before they grow up,¹³⁷ for they were "only in the initial stages of civilization,"¹³⁸ at "the dawn of the morning of civilisation."¹³⁹ In the meantime, they were children "and as children they must be treated."¹⁴⁰ The present difference lay in the exposure to the gospel, not in any inherent superiority. There was no cause for pride, for the gospel is a gift. Many years ago in west central Europe there was also a race without a history¹⁴¹ that became "the material out of which Christianity formed the word Empires of the Teuton and Anglo-Saxon races." They became great *after* and *because* they became Christians. The *Bible* made them what they are.¹⁴² Hence, Kumm exhorted the staff in Nigeria to be

131. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

132. 14 Sept/74.

133. *Khont*, pp. 105-106.

134. *The Sudan*, p. 60. This statement is typical of the rash Kumm. If the 2 races are one in sin and ruin, what then remains of the alleged greatness of the Christian West? Kumm is trying to have it both ways.

135. *Khont*, p. 9.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

139. *The Sudan*, p. 204.

140. LB, Feb/10, p. 34. *Khont.*, p. 195.

141. The implied denial of a black history is contradicted in his dissertation *Versuch*, where he definitely posits a history as far as the various Nubians, including the Bischareen, are concerned (Ch. 1).

142. *Khont*, p. 8.

patient and not to expect the would-be converts to approximate the high moral standards of European Christians. The staff was to

bear in mind that the character of the African cannot be compared with the character of the European, which, other things being equal, has the moral backing of some forty or fifty generations of forefathers controlled by laws more or less Christian in character.

The African must therefore not be expected even after conversion to show us the same result that we should rightly expect in Europe. Patience is needed with them, and much patience¹⁴³

This paternalism provided Kumm with the justification for forceful imposition of unwanted alien rule. If these races were indeed mere children who did not know how to behave, then it was certainly legitimate to teach them proper behaviour, especially since there was the divine mandate.

That Kumm laboured under the notion of a divine mandate laid upon the British is beyond dispute. It was a burden they must accept and may not shirk:

God has entrusted the Britons with more of the youthful peoples of this earth than any other white race. We are trustees, appointed by God, to shield the little ones, to teach them and to mother them until they have grown up into independence.¹⁴⁴

It was because of the high premium Britain put on liberty, justice and related virtues that "God has seen fit to give us charge of the development of many of the native races . . ." ¹⁴⁵ Britain was presented by Kumm as organizing the resources of Africa for the good of Africa, not her own. Britain, Kumm explained, held that "she is *in loco parentis* to the backward people in her possessions, a trustee of their land and wealth that may not be alienated."¹⁴⁶ The British have been entrusted with "a multitude of heathen tribes," a burden of which they ought not to tire, but of which they were to be proud and to shoulder it gladly.¹⁴⁷ These "sons and daughters of the Dark Continent" with

weak, infant voices appeal to us stewards of the worship of the true God, of day and light and good, out of the shadows of the midnight land. Unless we do our duty by . . . these wards of ours, our modern European civilisation . . . will find their nemesis in the culde-sac of Islam.¹⁴⁸

The responsibility of the European was great indeed, for he could influence these infant races for evil as well as good. Failure to live up to this responsibility would render the British guilty. Warned Kumm in an admonition that summarized the above well:

Shall we who . . . as demi-gods have stepped amongst the people of the Sudan, shall we be guilty of indirectly influencing the destiny of free races for evil rather than for good?

143. SUM 3, p. 301. Kumm's authorship is established at p. 305.

144. *Khont*, p. 14.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

146. LB, Oct/19, p. 156.

147. *Khont*, p. 213.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

The pagan clans of Central Africa stand before us as little children. Children they are, and we are their guardians, guardians appointed by God for their good.¹⁴⁹

5. The Specific Blessings

What, it is time to enquire, was it that made the European presence in Africa such a blessing according to our man? Though Kumm has not left us with any systematic treatment or definitive statement on this matter, the following quotation probably best summarizes for us the blessings of the *Pax Britannica*:

... the fruits of European conquest of the Sudan appear in the abolition of slavery, which, while not as yet fully accomplished, is speedily winning its way; in the prevention of the endless tribal wars; in the opening up of the lands and linking them with the sea through the building of roads, railways and river steamers; and in the establishment of justice, righteousness and peace.¹⁵⁰

Our discussion at this point will demonstrate that the missionary statesman was interested in more than simply winning African souls: he had a great interest in everything that would spell advance for the people. Concerning the Eastern Sudan, he noted that "the well-informed are taking every year a more hopeful view of the prospects of the Sudan." It was a naturally wealthy country; only enterprise, capital and labour would be necessary to exploit it. The opening up of the area was in sight with the plans of "British and French capitalists" to construct a railway. The future of the country lay especially in cotton growing and in rubber cultivation.¹⁵¹

Kumm put strong emphasis on agriculture, husbandry and mining as the key to African development. The future of Bauchi Province would depend on cattle raising and on crops like cotton, tobacco(!), coffee and tea.¹⁵² Repeatedly he referred to this direction as Africa's economic hope; it would make little sense for us to enlarge on this, except to list the additional products he suggested at various occasions: rice, shea butter, groundnuts, monkey bread fruit, papyrus, sugar cane, kola nuts, ostrich feathers, ivory, ebony, different types of wood and, not to forget, the various minerals, such as tin, copper, gold, and diamonds.¹⁵³

These products, of course, were to make Africa Britain's supply centre, the contributor of raw materials for the latter's needy industries, while they would be paid for with manufactured goods from Britain. The reader will immediately recognize the classic supply-market scheme of chapter two. In the context of discussing the possibilities of this dual role for Africa, Kumm at least twice proposed developments that today are regarded as among the main evils perpe-

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 242.

150. LB, Oct/19, p. 156.

151. LB, May/10, p. 110.

152. *The Sudan*, p. 103.

153. *The Sudan*, pp. 103, 163, 170. *Khont*, pp. 170-171, 229, 260-261. *Missionary Heroes*, pp. xii-xiii.

trated by colonialists, namely, the undercutting and destroying of existing local industries. He suggested that Africans involved in the spinning, weaving and dyeing industries could be set free for cultivation of cotton by importing cheaper and better British finished products.¹⁵⁴ It takes a great deal of sympathy for a modern reader to understand such a suggestion:

It would seem preferable that the natives should export cotton rather than laboriously spin and weave their native material. This could be done so much cheaper and easier in Europe for them. Once it is pointed out to the natives that by bringing in a certain amount of raw cotton, they would receive in exchange beautifully finished cloth, there should be no difficulty in greatly extending the native cotton plantations.¹⁵⁵

In seeking to sympathetically understand such proposals one must remember the context of earlier chapters. And though not a few proponents of this dual role ascribed to Africa would do so only on basis of European needs with a relative disregard for Africa, this definitely was not the case with Kumm. Behind all his flamboyance there was a heart deeply conscious of the divine mandate; the developments he proposed were his obedient response to this mandate and they assumed an identity of African and European interests and eventual mutual profit. He never lost sight of the fact that all these resources belonged primarily to Africans;¹⁵⁶ to misappropriate them would be theft and failure to obey the mandate of trust.

As we have described Kumm's character, one will expect inconsistencies. It has just been noted that Kumm advocated the undermining of the traditional cloth industry, but in the same year he proposed the improvement of existing African skills: Europeans should upgrade the "rudimentary native artisan" instead of importing European handicrafts. Cast-iron tools could be improved by making them out of steel and the simple traditional weaving apparatus could be developed into a larger time-saving hand-loom.¹⁵⁷ He does not appear to have noticed the inconsistencies.

Another cause Kumm supported was that of European settlers in Africa. From childhood he had admired the enterprise of the Europeans in South Africa. He felt that the future of Africa depended largely on "what they, the white South Africans . . . should make of it."¹⁵⁸ Here Kumm parted ways with his hero between whom and the white South Africans little mutual respect had passed. But as Livingstone had hopes for white settlers in the east, so did Kumm entertain visions with respect to the Jos plateau, which, he estimated, was as promising for white settlement as any in Africa. This, too, was a blind spot he shared with most of his well-meaning contemporaries.

154. *The Sudan*, p. 171.

155. *From Hausaland*, p. 253.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

157. *Khont*, p. 195.

158. *Cleverdon*, p. 100.

Whatever the reasons for his blindspots – these certainly included his un-discussed adherence to laissez-faire economics as well as his personality – the direction which he desired for Africa is clear by now: he foresaw an Africa that would eventually have a place in the council of nations, respectable, responsible and free.

C. The Relation of Missions to Colonialism

So far we have analyzed a missionary statesman's views on colonialism as such, but we have not yet enquired as to the role missions should play in such a context according to Kumm. It is clear from the foregoing that he would attribute a positive role to missions in the undertaking as he understood it.

1. The Proud Assistant

The relationship Kumm proposed and recognized in fact between the two movements was very close indeed. Without any hesitation, in the mission's own magazine, he proudly cited the testimony of Sir Harry Johnston, a one-time high-ranking colonial administrator in East Africa:

the fact that but for the influence and preparatory work of the Christian missionary societies in Africa, but few of the modern European protectorates or colonies could have been founded or maintained. The ease with which the white man has planted himself in Africa as governor, exploiter, and teacher . . . has been due much more to the work of the Missionary Societies than to military adventure. He has found too, that more and more, as time goes on, the work has commended itself, to those best qualified to judge of it, by its practical results. The scoffer, he tells us, now scarcely exists and even the hardened pioneer is conscious that his task is made easier for him, and his relations with the natives more agreeable by the presence in his vicinity of a Christian mission.¹⁵⁹

It is not clear from this quotation just where Johnston's testimony ends and Kumm's begins, but for our purpose that is not important; the role of the missions was clearly and unabashedly displayed. The missions were thus seen as preparatory for the colonial enterprise and as aids towards its maintenance. Missions served to make the white man less reprehensible to the African because of the former's comparatively close relationship with local folk. At one time, wrote Kumm, missionaries were "the pioneers and pathfinders into the lands of Central Africa," but they had since been reduced to second place, the first having been taken by "our Government Representatives . . ., who form today the vanguard of European civilisation, the powerful agents of peace and justice . . ." ¹⁶⁰ Kumm saluted the agents of colonialism

. . . for the magnificent work they are doing in Africa. If missionaries to-day cannot be leaders of our Government Representatives, they might, at least, be assistants, and by carrying Christian civilization to the pagans before these become Mohammedans, prevent

159. LB, Sept/11, p. 147.

160. *From Hausaland*, p. 266.

the unification of the various divergent elements of the Sudan under the Crescent, and with it the possibility of seeing raised there at any time the green flag of the Holy Moslem War against our representatives of Christian Europe.¹⁶¹

Much of this is found in a chapter entitled "The Moslem Political Danger." The mission's role was to prevent the messengers of Mohammed from gaining a foothold in Pagan communities. From a missionary point of view, the primary purpose of this was of course the simple fact that these communities needed the gospel for its own sake. There was an additional reason, subsidiary perhaps to the missionary, but very significant politically: the advance of Islam posited "the most serious danger for the future development" of Africa. The rich resources of the continent would be lost to the British empire if they should fall into the hands of Islam. It was politically mandatory that the "indigenous nations owning these supplies must be given the fundamental principles on which the British Empire is built, the Bible and the faith in Christ." The mission's task was to

apply our minds to the organisation of the spiritual affairs of those places and peoples so as to ensure their peaceful and permanent development. It is therefore incumbent upon us to occupy strategic positions in Africa that will allay the advance of Mohammedanism or counteract it.¹⁶²

Should Islam gain the upperhand in Africa, "this may mean . . . the stagnation of European civilisation, and the re-introduction of the horrors of slave raiding." By means of Christian education, missions assist "the magnificent work our Government is doing to-day in those lands" and thus they help 'avert the threatened danger.'¹⁶³

Such expressions of close cooperation with the government and the expression of unity of purpose are found not only in Kumm's public expressions, but also in his correspondence with government officials. He assured Girouard that the S.U.M. was "desirous of working harmoniously with the . . . Government in Northern Nigeria,"¹⁶⁴ a notion he also expressed in a letter to the Deputy High Commissioner.¹⁶⁵ Kumm wrote Lugard a pledge of the mission's readiness to cooperate and assist in the government's educational efforts amongst Pagans.¹⁶⁶ This letter was never sent, but a corrected form of it was signed by Kumm and his C.M.S. counterpart from which the pledge of cooperation was dropped and the role of assistant emphasized more.¹⁶⁷

It is in the above context that one must understand the doctor's remarks about the "reasonableness" of foreign missions. During a visit to Melbourne in

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

162. *Khont*, pp. 229-230.

163. *From Hausaland*, p. 270.

164. 25 Feb/08 (J).

165. 15 Jan/07 (J).

166. SUM 3, p. 167; 18 Nov/13.

167. SUM 3, p. 172; 16 Dec/13.

1911, he constantly placed before businessmen the reasonableness of missions, for "to civilise without Christianizing is a dangerous proceeding."¹⁶⁸ One might initially merely pass this off as a promotion gimmick, as an attempt to frighten the business community into supporting mission work. No doubt, there was an element of promotion in such attempts, but this aspect did not fully account for such warnings. The political, economic and missionary aspects of colonialism needed to support each other if the venture was to succeed. Missions needed the support of the business community, to be sure, but the latter required the missions to instill a tolerable attitude on the part of Africans; *i.e.*, missions were needed to promote the peace and order so necessary for commerce; they were needed, furthermore, to forestall Islam, for the latter would render European commerce impossible altogether.

The political, commercial and missionary aspects of the British role in the country were so much a unity in Kumm's thought that one can hardly separate them. In an article discussing an uprising in the Sokoto area, he spoke of politics and missions in such a way that makes their unraveling simply impossible; they fused and merged into each other with no apparent line of demarcation. Should the British forces stay the uprising, then missions would have a few additional years to combat the spread of Islam. This would, in turn, ensure the continuation of British power. Should the "fanatical rising of Mohammedans" succeed, however, the area would be lost as a colony as well as mission field: a *jihad* would follow.¹⁶⁹ One cannot escape the feeling that Kumm himself operated with a Christian variety of the "jihad-complex" with the same totality based on an assumed western *Corpus Christianum* as the Muslim concept was based on the *Corpus Islamicum*.

2. Profitable Cordiality

With all the above information at hand, one would hardly expect anything but the most cordial relationships between Kumm and colonial officers. There was indeed a mutual give-and-take relationship to the advantage of both. Before embarking on the initial party of four in 1904, Kumm studied Hausa in Tripoli, where the Resident of Bauchi Province made Kumm's house his headquarters during his stay in that city. It was nothing less than natural that upon arrival of the first party at Ibi, the provincial headquarters, the members should be distributed among the senior government officers and that their loads were removed by "a detachment of convicts, guarded by policemen with guns."¹⁷⁰ He was the guest of both Lugard and his deputy. Lugard suggested Wase as a suitable place to settle, he was ready to make land grants to the mission and he allowed the S.U.M. to import their supplies duty free.¹⁷¹ In addition, Lugard

168. LB, Feb/11, p. 28.

169. LB, Mar/05, p. 25.

170. LB, Mar/05, p. 12.

171. LB, Nov/04, pp. 4-5.

granted a reduction of fares for missionaries using government steamers,¹⁷² while he also promised help for the construction of a road to the Wase station.¹⁷³ We have in an earlier context already drawn attention to Lugard's generally favourable attitude towards missions.

Kumm gratefully recorded similar cooperation from Girouard. He came away greatly surprised from a meeting with this official; his highest expectations had been surpassed. He found the governor "prepared to render every help to Missions." "To every request I proffered to the Governor he agreed, and in several cases anticipated my wishes. On nearly all points . . . we found ourselves at one. When I left . . . the Governor arranged for a special train to take me to Barejuto."¹⁷⁴ Among the forms of aid the governor promised were leases for seven stations, renting a certain complex of government buildings at a nominal rent of one shilling per year, freedom to begin work in a number of untouched tribes, assistance in the transfer of the freed slaves to the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home as well as recurring grants towards the upkeep of the children.

The cooperation of mission and government with respect to the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home is a matter of historical record. Kumm was initially approached by the government which was interested in the mission's establishing such an institution.¹⁷⁵ Kumm convinced Lady Girouard to become President of the Ladies Committee for the home.¹⁷⁶

It is difficult to determine whether or not Kumm was aware of this Governor's basic animosity to missions as recorded earlier,¹⁷⁷ but Kumm certainly had not expected such a cooperative spirit. Probably one can ascribe the Governor's cooperative spirit partly to the government's readiness to embark on joint projects so long as the latter had the governing control and did not foresee any potential clash of interests.¹⁷⁸ Partly it can also be attributed to the fact that Kumm had "a way with the Government," as Maxwell put it, so that he was able to evoke a responsive cord from officials, more so than most missionaries.¹⁷⁹

D. Misgivings Regarding Colonialism

Having described Kumm's positive evaluation of colonialism and his unabashed view of the role of missions as preparatory to colonialism and as an assistant

172. LB, Mar/05, p. 8.

173. LB, July/05, p. 10.

174. LB, Jan/09, pp. 20-21.

175. There is a considerable body of correspondence between the 2 parties on this matter, some of which is found in the Jos archives and ranges from 9 May/05 to 22 Nov/06. Cf. also SUM 1, p. 78.

176. SUM 1, p. 169. For more details concerning mission-government cooperation on this project, the reader is referred to section D of this chapter.

177. *Supra*, pp. 71-72.

178. *Supra*, p.74.

179. J4, 28 Oct/10.

in its maintainance, we have now arrived at the point where we must enquire what aspects of colonialism gave Kumm cause for criticism.

1. Forced Labour

One colonial malpractice Kumm brought to public attention was that of forced labour in German Adamawa, an area now part of Nigeria. Before commencing his description of the practice, he was careful not to annoy German officials more than necessary by first emphasizing the “wonderful change” they had wrought in the country; “most excellent” work had been performed – after all, he needed their cooperation during his west-east safari! Only after thus hedging about did he point out the serious mistake they were making by forcing people to work on public projects. His description of the situation was surprisingly similar to those of the Arab slaving activities:

There are hundreds of natives, unfed and unpaid, employed in strengthening the fort at Garua, and there are thousands of natives working on the roads. All these labourers are just slaves sent by the various chiefs to work off the taxes the tribe should pay. The half starved skin and bone bodies of these workers are a lamentable sight. The roads running through the country are splendid, but THE FORCED LABOUR EMPLOYED in making them has entirely depopulated both sides of them. The people have run away into the bush. For five days on the road from Garua to Marua I have counted twelve villages in ruins.¹⁸⁰

Kumm was an advocate of the colonial intrusion to combat just such situations. No wonder then that he should react with vehemence upon finding such a parallel under a colonial regime. Colonialism was a liberation effort, the very opposite to the German system. It will have been observed that this was a criticism of German colonialism, not British.

2. The Gin Trade

Kumm’s criterion for colonialism always included his insistence that Africa should benefit primarily from the endeavour and anything detracting from that was not true colonialism, but a shameful caricature. As he travelled along the Niger River in s.s. “Liberty,” he described a traditional European trading station bordering on the river, marked by rows of palm oil barrels. These barrels, Kumm commented, were paid for in “gin, a vile, burning spirituous concoction – one of the ‘blessings’ the white man has brought to the children of the African forest.”¹⁸¹ Though this trade had taken on considerable proportions in Nigeria, Kumm did not refer to it frequently, since it was restricted mainly to the southern protectorate. Muslim sensitivities, wrote the traveller, were responsible for its prohibition in the north.¹⁸²

180. LB, May/09, pp. 190-191.

181. LB, Jan/09, pp. 16-17.

182. LB, Oct/11, p. 175. Cf. also LB, Dec/10, p. 244 and other such articles.

3. Colonial Aid to Muslim Expansion

a. An Inescapable Dilemma

Another colonial shadow that Kumm frequently mentioned was the relationship between colonialism and the spread of Islam, a problem we have already dealt with at some length in Chapter 2.¹⁸³ Though Kumm never tired of praising the *Pax Britannica* for its blessings, neither did he tire of drawing the other side of the coin to public attention, namely that the peaceful conditions served to extend Islam among Pagan tribes formerly hostile to this religion. Earlier we have indicated this situation to be the *raison d'être* of the S.U.M.¹⁸⁴ "Tribes which were only conquered by the British last year," he lamented, "have been taken possession of already by Moslem missionaries." He reported:

I stayed for three days in the capital of the Burrum tribe . . . in a place called Kanna. This tribe was only conquered last year, and this year is witnessing the building of a large mosque at Kanna, and sees the king and his courtiers bow their knees to Allah Mohammed. The giant king of the Ankwe at Shendam was . . . a pagan only a short while ago. He is today followed everywhere by his Mohammadan Mallam. . . . In the capital of the Jukun tribe there is already quite a Mohammedan colony . . . NOT ONE OF THESE TRIBES WOULD HAVE LET A MOHAMMEDAN TRADER INTO THEIR COUNTRIES BEFORE BRITISH ARMS CONQUERED THEM.¹⁸⁵

He somberly predicted that once the Tiv would be subjected by the British, "one of the finest and most warlike tribes of Northern Nigeria will be forced to open its doors to the influences of Mohammed."¹⁸⁶ Other instances of this movement as reported by Kumm have been listed previously.¹⁸⁷ We emphasize once again that this trend was regarded by Kumm as inherent in the situation for which no one could be blamed. It was a paradoxical price that had to be paid for the liberation of Africa.

b. Active Support

Kumm drew attention to the peculiar ambivalence on the part of the governments on the matter of Islamization.¹⁸⁸ On the one hand, most officials throughout British Africa favoured missionary work among Pagan tribes and hoped to have the expansion of Islam checked. Lugard, we have seen, wished to limit Islam; Girouard was similarly understood by Kumm.¹⁸⁹ As to East Africa,

183. *Supra*, pp. 73-74.

184. *Supra*, p. 115.

185. Cleverdon, p. 60. Here we have yet another example of Kumm's rashness. The Muslim community preceded the British in Wukari by a considerable time.

186. LB, July/05, p. 8. With his scant knowledge of specific local situations, Kumm could hardly be expected to know the traditionally deep resistance on the part of the Tiv to Hausa-Islam culture: till this day, Islam has made negligible impact on the Tiv.

187. *Supra*, p. 73.

188. *Ibid.*,

189. Kumm, 27 Feb/08 (J).

Wingate, the Sirdar of the Eastern Sudan, confided to the Anglican bishop of Khartoum that he strongly favoured missionary work among the Pagans under his regime.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, through various means these same colonial governments were actively aiding Islam in its expansion. They would, for example, employ Muslims in comparatively prestigious positions among Pagans. Kumm told the dramatic story of the Bongo tribe as it was related to him by their young King. He was told of this people's hatred for the Muslim because Arabs had for years waged war against them until they were reduced to an insignificant few, though they never succeeded to enslave the Bongo. After the arrival of the European and the resulting *Pax*, Muslims were sent to the area in various colonial capacities and clothed in considerable prestige. What the Muslims had been unable to achieve through violence, under the British peace they achieved through infiltration, aided directly through government appointments. Young Bongo warriors had begun to wear Muslim robes – "fetters," according to the young King. The young had begun to follow the Muslim to his mosque.¹⁹¹ A King in Bauchi province confided to Kumm that while he needed Christian teachers, the government had sent him a Muslim secretary to enable him to carry on correspondence with the British Resident.¹⁹² Kumm had heard rumours to the effect that the government in Northern Nigeria had plans to train Muslim teachers to work among Pagans in government schools. If this rumour could be confirmed, he threatened political action at home through "some of our members of Parliament."¹⁹³ Kumm related also how in the Eastern Sudan Pagan tribes that had always successfully fought off Muslim influence were now subjected to it through the direct policy of the government which had introduced Muslim teaching, appointed Friday as the day of rest for soldiers instead of Sunday, saw to the teaching of Islam to the children of these soldiers in regular classes under government supervision. These soldiers were predominantly of Pagan origin, but immediately upon their enlistment they would be circumcised and turned into Muslims.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, the German regime in Adamawa was supporting the spread of Islam by teaching children in a freed slaves' home the rudiments of the Muslim faith and by sending them regularly to the mosque on Friday.¹⁹⁵ Other ways in which these governments aided the Muslim expansion have been mentioned before.¹⁹⁶

Kumm never attempted to explain this ambivalence on the part of the various governments, at least not in the sources available to us. He simply insisted that in

190. LB, Jan/11, p. 16.

191. *Khont*, pp. 201-205.

192. LB, Oct/05, p. 6.

193. 5 Dec/10 (J).

194. LB, May/10, p. 117.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 116. This is the second mistake of the German government; the first one is reported on p. 140. Cf. LB, May/09, p. 191.

196. *Supra*, pp. 73-74.

spite of these facts European governments were basically in favour of missionary work among Pagans and that they opposed their Islamization.

c. Restricting Missions

There was one problem that was particularly a source of friction between the S.U.M. and the government, the problem of freedom for missions to work in areas ruled by Muslim chiefs. Of course, Kumm was well aware of this point of conflict, but he never expressed himself publicly on it — a strange reticence indeed for a man of his personality and position. He made obedient reference to this government policy in a letter to Girouard, without indicating approval or otherwise.¹⁹⁷ He strongly opposed the mission's surrendering the Wase station under government insistence, but that was expressed only within mission circles.¹⁹⁸ In utterances designed for public consumption the secretary made only one oblique reference to it that a reader would hardly notice if he were not diligently searching for evidence. Discussing the trustee position of Britain over African people, Kumm suggested that it would be an advance if this theory were extended to all races, but then "linked with religious freedom."¹⁹⁹

Kumm's silence on this issue is remarkable when one remembers the prominence of this complaint on the ecumenical agenda of the day and even more so when it is known that at a conference of all Protestant missions in Northern Nigeria in 1910, a strongly-worded statement was passed in which the delegates asserted that "they are unable to recognize restrictions placed upon the work of Christian Missions" that are based upon considerations other than the maintenance of peace and order.²⁰⁰ While these ecumenical activities were going on, Kumm was at the zenith of his popularity, having completed his heroic west-east safari and having enjoyed considerable favourable press coverage. At that point he had the prestige to engage public opinion as well as political influence with politicians to press the government for greater liberty, but it appears that he failed to use the potential leverage he had in the solution of this acute mission problem.

III. Lowry Maxwell

A. Getting Acquainted

1. Brief History

Lowry Maxwell was born in 1880²⁰¹ in Northern Ireland.²⁰² Prior to his

197. 27 Feb/08 (J).

198. Redmaye, 5 Jan/10 (J). We shall hear more about this incident in due time.

199. LB, Oct/19, p. 156.

200. *Resolutions Adopted by the Missionary Conference at Lokoja, July 1910, 1913* (Northern Nigeria: The Niger Press, n.d.), p. 7.

201. Diaries (3), p. 28.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

joining the S.U.M., he held a position in the civil service that provided good chances of promotion.²⁰³ He was one of the original party of four that, under the leadership of Kumm, went to Nigeria in 1904, but he was the only one to spend many years of service in that country, until ill health finally forced his retirement to Britain in 1934.²⁰⁴

During his many years of service in Nigeria, he spent most of his time in evangelism and as a teacher of evangelism. This work was somewhat interrupted during the period he reluctantly served as first Field Superintendent,²⁰⁵ a position he eventually declined in favour of his first love, evangelism.²⁰⁶ Not only was his leadership ability recognized by the S.U.M., but at the Lokoja Conference in 1910, the first conference of all Protestant missionary bodies in Northern Nigeria, Maxwell was chosen secretary and was given the task of formulating exactly the 35 resolutions of the conference.²⁰⁷

Another gift he possessed was in the linguistic field. He reached a comparatively high level in Hausa and even wrote a handbook entitled *Yau da Gobe Ka Iya*.²⁰⁸ Maxwell, in fact, became the mission's Hausa teacher; his diaries are replete with references to that aspect of his work. Not only did he teach in Nigeria, but also in London.²⁰⁹ And not only did he teach missionaries; government officials were frequently assigned to study under him.²¹⁰ A poet of considerable ability in English, Maxwell spent many a Sunday afternoon translating hymns into Hausa, of which 25 have been published in the most recent edition of the *Littafin Wakoki*, an ecumenical Hausa hymnbook.²¹¹ In the Jukun language he also attained a measure of competence that enabled him to translate portions of Scripture into that tongue.²¹² Not infrequently he would use German, Latin or Greek phrases in his letters and diaries to add a touch of humour or to reduce tension.

Maxwell had an ecumenical bent, a *sine qua non* for one serving in the S.U.M. He entered the mission as a Presbyterian layman. As such he was not averse to prepare candidates for Anglican confirmation rites.²¹³ He ended up an ordained

203. SPM, 1 June/04.

204. Diaries (29), p. 64. Cf. also E.S. Watt, *Thirsting for God* (London and Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd., 1936), p. 110.

205. SUM 1, p. 203.

206. SUM 3, p. 26.

207. Diaries (3), p. 30.

208. The latest edition is a revision by E.M. Forshey (Lagos: Sudan Interior Mission, n.d.) This version is still in use in certain mission quarters, but it is now being eclipsed by the more contemporary approach of Charles and Margaret Kraft.

209. Farrant, 3 May/74.

210. E.g., Diaries, (1), p. 49 and (5), p. 18. At one time he was teaching 6 of them, for which they paid a fee to the mission and to him. (J2), 8 Nov/09.)

211. Evangelical Literature Fellowship of Nigeria, 1967.

212. Diaries (23), p. 68.

213. *Ibid.*, (1), p. 46.

Anglican, not because of change of conviction but simply because the missionary situation demanded such. The C.M.S. had handed over an adjacent area to the S.U.M. and to reduce the problems inherent in such a transfer, Maxwell was ordained according to Anglican orders to continue the tradition to which the Christians affected had become accustomed.²¹⁴

Upon his retirement to Great Britain, he continued to serve as Anglican clergyman until his final retirement, but throughout he retained close ties with the S.U.M. During those years he was commissioned to write a history of the mission's initial 50 years, of which *Half a Century of Grace* is the product. Up till his death at age 91, on August 21, 1971, he remained young in spirit. His widow passed away in 1975.

2. Differences from Kumm

Kumm and Maxwell were both recognized for their leadership qualifications, but their attitudes to leadership positions could hardly have greater contrasts. Kumm could not be happy except in a leadership capacity; Maxwell preferred evangelism to mission leadership and eventually resigned from the post of field superintendent.²¹⁵ While no tormenting doubts about his leadership seem to have plagued Kumm, Maxwell constantly entertained doubts as to his ability in this capacity. During a rash of missionary resignations, he asked Redmayne whether perhaps his leadership was the cause of them.²¹⁶ He regarded himself too weak in dealing with government officials.²¹⁷ Caught in the midst of a disagreement with the government over the relocation of the Freed Slaves' Home, he exclaimed:

I'm pretty sick of this palaver. You don't catch me taking on the General Superintendency once I get out of it, never no more nohow, at all at all. I'm pretty well fed up with it. Uneasy lies the head that wears a Freed Slaves Home and a Home Executive and an opposing Government . . .²¹⁸

Another striking contrast between the two leaders was that whereas Kumm was a restless globetrotter, Maxwell was content to confine himself to a few localities in Northern Nigeria for some 30 years and even then it was ill health that forced him to withdraw. As a result his view of things could differ from that of Kumm, giving rise to occasional irritation on Maxwell's part with Kumm's rash judgments.²¹⁹ This difference making for potential clashes was reinforced by the fact that Maxwell was a more practical person who would respond to

214. *Ibid.*, (25), pp. 1-3.

215. SUM 3, p. 26.

216. J1, 2 Nov/09.

217. J2, 15 Dec/09.

218. J3, 5 Apr/11.

219. Diaries (5), pp. 4-5.

concrete situations without an overdose of preconceived notions, while Kumm was more theoretical by nature without enjoying the benefit of prolonged personal contact.

The sum of the described differences might be the impression that Kumm was sure of himself, but Maxwell wavering. This could hardly be further from the truth. Maxwell, it will become clear from the discussion before us, could be very certain of himself and he had strong opinions that were expressed in strong terms. Yet he expressed himself less flamboyantly and with a generous sprinkling of genuine humour through which shone a humility combined with love and respect for his colleagues. When under tension he could express himself explosively and angrily. Though Kumm had a reputation for having a way with government officials so as to having his ideas accepted, Maxwell was regarded by them as uncooperative,²²⁰ an understandable evaluation, for Maxwell did at times ignore government injunctions or protest hard against them, though not in writing designed for public consumption.

Indeed, Maxwell and Kumm were very different personalities, in many ways opposite. We do not emphasize this to suggest a dislike of the two for each other; in fact, they deeply appreciated each other's efforts.²²¹ Their occasional disagreements were lovers' quarrels arising not from differences in antagonistic visions but from differences in personalities which neither one allowed to gain the upperhand in their common pursuit of Christ for the Sudan. The reason for stressing these differences is that they could serve as partial explanations for possible divergences in interpretation of colonial phenomena. In case of similarity in evaluation, their different personalities would give added weight to such similarities.

B. Positive Avowal of Colonialism in General

1. Negative Aspects of African Culture

In our treatment of Kumm we have noted his untiring efforts to portray the darkness of African civilization and the contrast between that and the light of European culture. European civilization was considered a divine gift; Africa went burdened under the power of demons and the curse of Ham. He struggled valiantly to present this contrast as vividly as possible and appeared to take unusual delight in its descriptions.

Maxwell did not so predominantly work with antithetic categories. Being less of a theoretician, words such as "civilization" seldom flowed from his pen. Furthermore, his work had less to do with promotion and so he could afford to express himself more calmly — when not under pressure. Yet, as a missionary in daily confrontation with a foreign culture, he was forced to evaluate and

220. Dawson, 19 Sept/13 (J). 22 Sept/13 (J).

221. *Half a Century*, p. 141. K.G. Kumm, 14 Sept/74.

compare. We find that throughout his writings shone a greater appreciation for African culture that Kumm ever displayed. However, since his positive appreciation of Africa did not form part of his basis for avowing colonialism, we do no more than refer to it here. In our context his negative reactions are more important, since they provided him with his colonial rationale.

He did find darkness in Africa. A German traveller called Habisch visited Maxwell and told him stories about the horrors of the slave trade he had witnessed. There was the *Hanyar Yaki*²²² which was marked by the bones of victims. There was Rabo, a 12-year old lad accompanying Habisch, who remembered being dragged along that route and had seen resistant slaves clubbed to death, his brother with a stone and his father with a poisonous arrow. In contrast to such situations, Maxwell gratefully exclaimed, "Thank God, — oh! a thousand times thank God — for the Light that has lightened *our* land."²²³

A Nigerian told Maxwell of earlier days around Ibi, the town where the mission had its headquarters after leaving Wase. It was dangerous to go "for a walk to the stream about a mile from the edge of the town . . . — well, you might come back or you might not . . . for the Jibu people or the Bantaji people might lay hands on you, kidnap you, and sell you!"²²⁴

Though normally a quiet and patient sort of person, when under pressure Maxwell could display great impatience and forceful distaste for his social surroundings. On a canoe trip up the Benue River, he had lost almost a full day through the tomfoolery of the captain. Under this situation of stress he exploded:

You don't know how sickening it is to live among lying, to walk about in a stifling cloud of lies, lies, lies, cunning and duplicity, falsehood and crookedness, apparently . . . so needless and cowardly sometimes, at others so annoying and aggravating, but so persistent . . . until you begin bitterly to say . . . we can trust nothing with a black skin on it. Thank God that even out here He has put His truth in some lives at least and we can see it beginning to work. Thank God that He has granted to some of us to see that men are not utterly unreliable, but His light has, to some extent, lightened this darkness that was otherwise intolerable. The night is dark, but there are the stars.²²⁵

In a moment of deep missionary passion, Maxwell cried it out in his diary:

Oh there's simply an overwhelming *need*, a deep, crying *need*, for life, clean, holy, powerful *life* among these people . . . If people could only begin to share in the sorrows of their brothers and sisters who have only a life that is death, a life spent wearily in the same old bondage to falsehood, and vileness, a darkness, with never a gleam of dawn.²²⁶

Maxwell lived a considerable number of years in Ibi, the provincial head-

222. Hausa for "Road of War."

223. Diaries (1), pp. 32-34.

224. Diaries (2), p. 21. Both Jibu and Bantaji were communities within a day's journey, measured by travel facilities of the period. Bantaji is a Fulani community.

225. Diaries (3), p. 61.

226. *Ibid.*, (1), p. 20.

quarters of the government as well as the headquarters of the S.U.M. He had been able to establish fine relationships with many members of this community, but these were insufficient to suppress the following cry of missionary exasperation: "Here at my very door is a town which is the local rubbish-heap of humanity, a social (and moral) sink or cesspool into which the soured lives of the country for miles around here poured themselves, a town where vice walks naked and unashamed." Then follow several lines of vices, most of them crossed out, and then: "This is Ibi."²²⁷ The complete statement makes it clear, however, that this situation was unusual and that surrounding communities were on a higher moral level; the town was not representative of the general situation, but contained a concentration of the worst elements.

In summary, Maxwell referred to a governor's report about the pre-colonial conditions in Northern Nigeria. The country was "controlled and ruled under conditions giving no guarantee of liberty or even life. Slave-raiding with all its attendant horrors was being carried on by the . . . Mohammedans upon the . . . pagans, and the latter . . . were constantly engaged in inter-tribal warfare." Further realities were those of exorbitant taxation, extermination of populations, cannibalism, trial by ordeal, highway robbery, ignorance, illiteracy, and disease.²²⁸

Maxwell recorded a conversation between himself and a number of Nigerians, the context and participants of which are no longer identifiable due to the deteriorated state of the Diary. At any rate, the Nigerians acknowledged a general unreliability as typical of themselves. It was agreed that if a man and his friend were attacked by a leopard, the other would run. Another volunteered the example that if someone were to find 10 shillings and return it to the owner, the latter would likely claim to have lost 15 shillings and might well blackmail the honest finder for the extra five!²²⁹

Such literary snapshots of the Nigerian scene are hardly complimentary, but they were not recorded with the obvious delight with which Kumm hammered away on Africa's negatives. Sometimes they were expressions of a person under stress and who needed to thus relieve himself of his tension. Of course, they were based on the hard facts of African life for which Kumm went out of his way to stir up his constituency, but which in Maxwell's literary output are, though by no means foreign elements, balanced by a less enthusiastic endorsement of European virtues and by a greater sympathy for African culture than Kumm could muster.

2. Apology for Colonialism

In spite of differences in emphasis, Maxwell's justification of colonialism was

227. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 37.

228. *Half a Century*, pp. 32-33.

229. *Diaries* (6), p. 41.

basically identical to that of Kumm. He also thought in terms of duty laid on the European race. Speaking of the blessings of the British administration, he recalled the unnamed poet who sang of "the duty laid upon our race: —

Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford;
Make ye sure to each his own, that he reap where he hath sown:
By the peace among our peoples let me know we serve the Lord.²³⁰

He once described the growth of Ibi as a colonial administrative centre, first of the Niger Company and then of the government. In this context he asserted:

And very badly it needed it. If ever I had been an opponent of colonial expansion in this part of the world, a short stay out here would have sufficed to teach me that it would be little short of inhuman for Great Britain to leave the unfortunate place to the misgovernment of its then rulers.²³¹

The missionary praised the Lord for the fact that these inhuman conditions were disappearing under the British regime: "Thank God that *He* does not forget, though we may, and *He* has remembered Africa, and the slave is even now being freed."²³² The conditions imposed upon the people are those of "peace, justice and prosperity,"²³³ a combination of missionary terms classic for the time. Listen to Britain's achievements:

... the roads were made safe to travel, robbery was repressed, tribal warfare was put a stop to, and justice was more or less made an easy thing to obtain, though it is sometimes hard enough to get yet, and sometimes is dealt out in a very "mailed first" kind of way. However, we are progressing.²³⁴

One effect that made a deep impression on Maxwell was the depopulation of the towns since it had become safe for farmers to live in single family homesteads. During a trek through the countryside, he chanced on a small constellation of huts that presented the home of one family and was called "*Gidan Mutum Daya*," meaning "the home of one man." The name is indicative of the unusual occurrence of such homes, but Maxwell was hopeful that they would become more numerous: "Thanks to the effective administration... by the Government, one hopes soon to see the *jeji*²³⁵ full of these little farm-houses. Formerly all the people had to live inside towns, owing to fear of raiders."²³⁶ Donga town was a case in point. "Peace is now brooding over the land. People are quitting the walled towns, having learnt they can live in the bush with safety."²³⁷

It was Maxwell's theory that this trend would produce a chain reaction in

230. *Half a Century*, p. 26.

231. LB, Oct/10, pp. 192-193.

232. Diaries (1), p. 34.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

234. LB, Oct/10, p. 193.

235. Hausa for "undeveloped land."

236. Diaries (7), p. 3.

237. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 42.

other areas of life as well. When people live on their own farms, immorality so characteristic of town life – remember the description of Ibi – would be more effectively checked. This, in turn, should upgrade the health of the peasantry in general, and, finally, result in greater prosperity.²³⁸ Because of these great achievements, Maxwell concluded that “a whole countryside is waiting for your initiative to give it the opportunity . . . into its own true dignity, into the realization of something at least of what it may be.”²³⁹

The idea of an expectant country that was grateful found support in the testimonies of Nigerians. There was Nigerian opposition, of course. It is not so “that all our people are automatically hostile to the foreigner, his Government and his religion.” One Nigerian confided that

in the old days of native rule people were only able to leave their villages and go on a journey of some distance if they went in an armed band. But now that the white man had come, he said, a single girl could roll up her sleeping-mat . . . and go off alone.

Maxwell beamed, “What better tribute could one desire than that of the blessing of British Administration?”²⁴⁰ The person who told Maxwell about pre-colonial conditions in Ibi concluded his remarks with an approving affirmation of the new order, “*Mun gode. Babu komi yanzu sai gandu.*”²⁴¹ Maxwell brushed this objection away by humorously replying, “Alas, alas my friend . . ., that’s the common lot of man.”²⁴² One Nigerian judged the new order negatively, but Maxwell took his negative judgment as supporting the thesis. An educated Nigerian expressed his opinion, “There is one thing that bothers me. We cannot get help.” Maxwell interpreted this to mean that the man now had to do his own work, for he could no longer keep slaves.²⁴³ The following represents a good summary of Maxwell’s estimate of the situation in 1910:

The proof that the Government is slowly but surely making its presence a blessing in this country is in the fact that as we can see with our own eyes the people are learning to leave the towns and live in the bush. They are safe now, and a little hamlet need not now fear marauders. Every year more country is being opened up; slowly . . . the roads are being made safer and safer till after a few years a solitary trader will be able to go anywhere. And the tax is a most trivial one, quite insignificant, in the majority of places where I have been it was *away under 3/-*²⁴⁴ per annum. Things aren’t perfect, and no wonder, but they are a vast improvement of what used to be.²⁴⁵

A comparison of Maxwell with Kumm on the issues of this section shows differences in emphasis, but none absolute. One fails to find the heaps of

238. *Ibid.*

239. *Ibid.*, p. 37. The periods represent an illegible section.

240. *Half a Century*, p. 120.

241. Hausa for “We are thankful. The only problem we have now is that of the tax.”

242. *Diaries* (2), p. 21.

243. *Ibid.*, (3), p. 79.

244. 3 shillings.

245. *Diaries* (3), p. 78. LB, Mar/11, pp. 54-55.

superlatives in which Kumm clothed his arguments. There is no grandiose attempt at equating the empire with the Kingdom of God, even though the notions of liberty and justice, ideas reminiscent of that Kingdom, were prominent also in Maxwell's thought. Maxwell, too, spoke in terms of a divine mandate. One does not find either lengthy discussions and warnings about the political dangers of Islam and its degradations; Maxwell simply did not think in politico-economic terms, whereas Kumm was particularly insistent here. The basic point at issue, however, is prominent with both: colonialism was at bottom a liberating intrusion; it had caused the cessation of slave raiding, of arbitrary powers of the traditional rulers, of dangers that used to inhibit travel and trade; the whole countryside was now open to residence and there was no more need to live in large communities for purposes of defense. The steamer by which the original party arrived in Ibi and which was owned by the Niger Company, was called "Liberty," an "appropriately enough" name, concluded Maxwell.²⁴⁶

3. Displays of Patriotism

In view of the fact that the British role in Nigeria was considered an honourable one that meant blessing to the people, Maxwell was proud of his background and did not hesitate to display patriotism. He himself read the governor's message to the students of the Institute at Wukari and to the children at the Freed Slaves' Home on Empire Day.²⁴⁷ Upon her death, Mrs. Hosking, a South African missionary, was buried in a coffin draped with a Union Jack.²⁴⁸ This display of patriotism and loyalty was rather remarkable in view of the fact that Afrikaners and British have seldom entertained special affection for each other, the group composing the South African branch being no exception.²⁴⁹ When a Jukun came to pay him a visit, Maxwell showed him a picture book of the British Empire, "but after looking at it for a little while he said, '*I prefer the story of Jesus.*'" Maxwell added wryly, "Can you guess how I feel?"²⁵⁰

4. Nigerian Folly

In an earlier section, we asked how Kumm could justify forceful imposition of colonial rule upon an unwilling and free people. The answer came steeped in paternalism. When we ask Maxwell the identical question, we do not receive as heavy a dose of paternalism, but it is not lacking either. The natives were an ignorant lot that, in his estimation, needed the protection of the government. Maxwell thus gratefully recognized the government as "*in loco parentis* of the native."²⁵¹ Certain areas not yet fully subdued would eventually accept the new

246. *Half a Century*, p. 39.

247. *Diaries* (13), p. 94.

248. *Ibid.*, (9), p. 76.

249. *Cleverdon*, pp. 99-100.

250. LB, Oct/05, inside back cover.

251. J3, 18 Jan/11.

authority, predicted our missionary; once "the natives learn what they'll get for what is asked of them they may reconsider it worthwhile to let themselves be governed . . ." ²⁵² In other words, those who opposed the British did so in ignorance. If only they knew! If only they understood! Then they would "submit to the imposition of peace, justice, and prosperity." He found it incomprehensible that these blessings had to be forced upon a people: "Curious that they have to have these things imposed on them, but they do." ²⁵³

This inability of Maxwell to comprehend the rationale of Nigerian opposition to colonialism is the context in which one must understand what otherwise could only be regarded as an extremely flippant attitude towards the deep sensitivity of the northern Muslim community against being ruled by Christian "infidels." He sought to reproduce their sentiment in a paragraph about a rising in Sokoto district against the British:

Here were these strangers who had come and dared to hinder the true believers from raiding the pagans around them! Had not Allah made the pagans to be as cattle for the Moslem to enslave and exploit? And were not Moslems being compelled to pay taxes to these foreign 'infidels'? ²⁵⁴

This quote describes a condition that is inherently problematic to Muslims, for it appears to undercut the teachings of the Qur'an. A sensitive Christian himself, Maxwell should have displayed greater appreciation for the predicament in which they found themselves.

5. Response to Nationalism

It may have struck the reader that nationalism was not mentioned during our discussion of Kumm. The reason is that, at least in the extant sources, Kumm ignored the phenomenon. Maxwell only referred to it once in the documents at our disposal and regarded it only negatively. In 1915, a religious movement was begun by an Anglican catechist Garrick Sokari Braide. He gradually came to regard himself as the second Elijah of Malachi 4. His campaign increasingly assumed nationalist tendencies as well: he proclaimed to his not inconsiderable following that British power had come to an end. ²⁵⁵ Maxwell described the effort as a "dangerous movement, whose leader declared that power was passing from the whites to the coloured people." ²⁵⁶ That is the sum total of Maxwell's comments on nationalism during our initial period. It must be understood, however, that nationalism had hardly entered the north and that Maxwell was

252. Diaries (2), p. 49.

253. *Ibid.*, (1), p. 60.

254. *Half a Century*, p. 55.

255. J.B. Grimley and G.E. Robinson, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 301-303. Crowder presents an economic rationale for the success of this movement (p. 251).

256. *Half a Century*, p. 119.

thus not acquainted with it first hand. This lack of familiarity with nationalism in Nigeria during this period was due also to the fact that communications were difficult — when World War I had already started, Maxwell had not heard and knew nothing of its causes! He recalled:

I remember well the day when we first heard of it. Of its probability, or its causes, we had heard nothing. Our newspapers from home were already old by the time they reached us, of course, and even at that, they were not very attentively read.²⁵⁷

It is clear from this statement that, in addition to news arriving very late, there was no lively interest in world affairs, an indication of a perspective that would hardly encourage Maxwell *c.s.* to an intelligent evaluation of a movement that had already taken on considerable momentum in his days.

6. The Paradoxical Price

No missionary, regardless how enthusiastically he supported the colonial cause, could remain unmoved by the fact that the *Pax Britannica* inevitably meant the advance of Islam. Maxwell recognized this movement, but only once expressed himself on it. The government, he asserted, could not help favouring Islam. Every sizable community in the country was already Muslim, for Muslims were the natural leaders of the people. Muslim traders penetrated farther and farther into the districts of the now receptive Pagan peoples who appreciated their wares. As business relations expanded, the initial mistrust would dissipate and be replaced by mutual confidence and recognition of common interests. What began with “the impersonal form of a sack of salt” would end in the conversion from fetish to Mohammed.²⁵⁸ Like missionaries in general, Maxwell did not blame the government for this development; he recognized it as “inevitable.” Unlike Kumm, he did not offer any concrete examples of the process.

C. Specific Relations with Colonial Personnel

1. Evaluation of Colonial Personnel

In contrast to his positive avowal of the colonial enterprise in general, Maxwell had a surprisingly low estimate of colonial personnel themselves, *i.e.*, of those charged with the concrete management of the enterprise. He was in fact deeply suspicious of their motives. He shrugged them off as having little interest beyond themselves. Most Europeans in West Africa were spending their weekends, he observed, hunting during the dry season, while he professed ignorance regarding their rainy-season weekends. Most of them were a general kind of atheist whose lives were “just like that of thousands and thousands of people at home.” They believed in a God and were content to leave it at that. He summarized his opinion thus:

257. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

258. Diaries (5), p. 36.

Position, "success," pleasure, at most philanthropic, is the objective in their scheme of life. Some have the progress of the Protectorate, – its civilisation, its material and aesthetic advancement, – at heart, perhaps. But they are, I fancy, few. I expect most of them are living from hand to mouth, so to speak, with really no definite object in life.²⁵⁹

Such a generalization is rather surprising in its vagueness, as if he were hardly familiar with the breed of men described, whereas in fact he had frequent official and social contact with these folk and must therefore have had more than a vague knowledge of their way of life and thought.

Occasionally these officers would attend Hausa church services conducted by missionaries, but these occasions were hardly considered normal and Maxwell would express surprise when they did.²⁶⁰ Though there were English services in Ibi for the benefit of educated Nigerians, Europeans seldom attended these as well.²⁶¹ He would complain that colonial officers did not observe the Sabbath. When government medics in Wukari vaccinated the people on Sunday, he bristled, "Why on Sunday?" This would not be allowed at home.²⁶² "I do wish we had some decided Christians among the non-mission white folk out here. I mean people who will *not* tell lies, nor break the Sabbath, nor curse and swear, nor so forth."²⁶³

Only 2 officers escaped this general condemnation. One was resident captain Rowe, whom Maxwell considered "a decent man" who used to get himself in trouble at Zunguru, the capital, for "being too straight and too stiff to bend easily."²⁶⁴ The other was resident captain Ruxton. Originally, he fell under the same condemnation,²⁶⁵ but he was converted and became one of only 2 high-ranking officials to favour the cause of Christian education amongst Pagans.²⁶⁶

259. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 34.

260. *Ibid.*, (1), p. 24.

261. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 33.

262. A writer in Lagos observed a strange conflict: Christians are taught to observe the Sabbath, but the government has building projects going on during the time of church services. (*The Lagos Standard*, 1 Feb/05.) Cf. Ayandele, pp. 160-161.

263. Diaries (12), p. 64.

264. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 87.

265. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

266. Dawson letter, 19 Sept/13 (J). Evidence of his conversion is plenty: (1) – Maxwell so claimed, according to letter from D.C. Dorward of Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham (11 July/73); (2) – Dawson saw him read a book on the atonement (6 June/13 (J)); (3) – He himself wrote a letter to Maxwell in which he said he had destroyed the many letters he had during the course of years written to the former in 1909-1910. "Yet now I must try and make amends for them and humbly beg your pardon for having written them. Then I shall be better able to ask forgiveness of our Master for the obstacles I have placed in the way of His work." (16 Oct/13 (J)); (4) – He began attending church with almost astonishing insistence. (Dawson, 6 June/13 (J); Diaries (1), p. 11; Diaries (12), p. 38.)

Though Maxwell reserved few compliments for colonial officers, it cannot be said that he could not get along with them. Ruxton obviously gave him many worries during the former's pre-conversion days. One of Maxwell's problems everytime he had to travel out of Ibi was who would face up to Ruxton in his absence.²⁶⁷ On the whole, however, it was his experience that opposition to the S.U.M. was largely a personal matter that differed according to the private whims of individual officials. Generally there was a good relationship between government and mission. Maxwell himself, it will be remembered tutored many in Hausa.²⁶⁸

2. Unofficial Relations with Colonial Personnel

The generally good relationships that existed between Maxwell and colonial personnel including white employees of the companies, was clearly demonstrated by the unofficial social traffic between them. It would make dull reading to record all the instances Maxwell reported either entertaining these folk or being entertained by them; the pages of his Diaries are replete with references to such social intercourse. The reader of the diaries can only express surprise at the frequency of these occasions.

Besides such social intercourse, there were numerous other instances of informal contacts with such personnel. When Maxwell was building a house, the local government engineer offered advice.²⁶⁹ At another time, Maxwell was allowed to purchase supplies from a government department, even though such practice was against departmental rules.²⁷⁰ On a more personal level, we read of Ruxton's wife lending her "fancy hammock" to Mrs. Guinter, a missionary, for the strenuous trek from Ibi to Wukari.²⁷¹

3. Official Relations with Colonial Personnel

a. With the Companies

As far as relations with commercial agents were concerned, Maxwell had a choice of 2 companies, the Niger Company and the John Holt Company, with both of which he had frequent business contacts. The mission was a regular customer in their stores. One important service these companies performed for the mission was that of cashing checks for a commission²⁷² and about which there were occasional disagreements, especially with the Niger Company.²⁷³ At one time Maxwell recorded his delight at having a check cashed with the smaller

267. J2, 25 Oct/09. Cf. also J2, 15 Dec/09.

268. J2, 8 Nov/09.

269. Diaries (1), p. 28.

270. *Ibid.*, (13), p. 14.

271. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 10.

272. J1, 9 Nov/09.

273. Diaries (1), p. 43.

John Holt Company, for it indicated to him the end of the Niger Company's monopoly over such affairs in Ibi.²⁷⁴ One can legitimately infer from this entry that on this score, at least, the company's monopoly had been a source of difficulty.

Apart from occasional strains in the above matter, globally speaking there was much cooperation between Maxwell and them. They would use each other's river vessels. Maxwell rented the mission's barge to the Niger Company,²⁷⁵ while the John Holt Company lent the mission their canoe free of charge.²⁷⁶ The Niger Company not infrequently allowed Maxwell and his colleagues the use of their guesthouse in Lokoja free of charge.²⁷⁷ Maxwell also recorded with gratitude that the company was "very merciful about our fares and freight."²⁷⁸

b. Miscellaneous Forms of Cooperation with the Government

The official relations with the government and her officials as well as a multi-faceted range of cooperative efforts will be detailed for us at this point. It will be noted that in most cases it was cooperation in tension, while in some cases there was outright hostility without cooperation. The reader is reminded that we are dealing with these situations only in so far as Maxwell described them and commented on them.

As the mission and companies shared each other's sailing facilities, so do we find that the government hired the S.U.M.'s barge more than once, at one time even for a half year. During his treks through the countryside, Maxwell would make use of government resthouses times too numerous to document. In matters of language, Maxwell's tutoring officials in Hausa has already been observed. In official attempts to establish Hausa spelling rules, the government consulted him.²⁸⁰ Occasionally Maxwell would act as a go-between for the Aku Uka, the Chief of Wukari, and the Resident at Ibi.²⁸¹ The missionary was granted permission to hold services in the local jail,²⁸² and he was requested to minister to two condemned Pagan prisoners.²⁸³ We have two records of this period of Maxwell's attending official government receptions to celebrate the birthday of the British king. In both cases they were attended only by Caucasians from the

274. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 12.

275. *Ibid.*, (1), p. 78.

276. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

277. *Ibid.*, (9), p. 54.

278. *Ibid.*, (13), p. 15.

279. J1, 20 July/09. J2, 25 Oct/09.

280. J1, 20 Apr/10. Diaries (2), p. 48. The attempts concerned official spelling in Roman script; spelling in Ajemi, *i.e.*, in Arabic script, though widely used, enjoyed no official standing, Lugard having decided against it.

281. Diaries (10), p. 48.

282. *Ibid.*, (5), p. 13.

283. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

government, the companies and the mission.²⁸⁴ In the case of the second one, Maxwell gained valuable information about government intentions regarding matters of vital import to the mission. It is well to note too that Maxwell was not averse to invoking colonial protection when rumour had the emir of Wase planning to burn the mission out of her original camp.²⁸⁵

c. Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home

Probably the best example of largely tension-free cooperation is that of the Freed Slaves' Home. It was recorded as a matter not meriting any further discussion that the place was officially opened by the acting governor in 1909.²⁸⁶ The government, we are told, donated plants for food as well as for decoration.²⁸⁷ One day found the High Commissioner himself suddenly dropping in for a visit.²⁸⁸

Two points of tension have been uncovered in connection with this project. The government demanded that the S.U.M. increase its personnel in the home, but Maxwell objected because of a general shortage of staff in the mission. It appears that feelings ran somewhat high on the matter, for our missionary declared, "I'm not much frightened. Maybe I'm Irish. Let us satisfy ourselves and do our duty by the children and their Lord and ours." Besides, he suggested, the government has no right to a strong stand: "note what they did when they ran the Home. They daren't say too much to us."²⁸⁹

The other point of tension concerned that of location. Originally the home was to be at Ibi, but on investigation it was found to be a Muslim town and thus closed for mission purposes.²⁹⁰ The government then wished to locate the institution at Udeni,²⁹¹ but it ended up at Rumaisha. Rumaisha, however, turned out to be unhealthy and thus the controversy started all over again. The mission again wished it to be at Ibi. Maxwell especially was adamant about that location, but Ruxton opposed it. Maxwell, however, was quite confident that here too Kumm's persuasiveness would bring victory to the mission, at least if he would go straight to the government over Ruxton's head.²⁹² But by 1911 the

284. Diaries (2), p. 11 and (5), p. 35.

285. *Half a Century*, p. 55.

286. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

287. Diaries (2), p. 41.

288. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

289. J1, 25 Jan/10.

290. Redmayne, July? /08 (J). The mission did establish a station at Ibi and even made it headquarters. Though we have found no records as to what transpired between government and mission about this town, it is probable that Kumm's persuasiveness was instrumental. We did locate a letter by him to the deputy high commissioner for Northern Nigeria in which he wrote that "Ibi is to a certain extent Mohammedan already, but the place is visited by a great many pagans from the South." (15 Jan/07 (J).

291. Kumm, 27 Feb/08 (J).

292. J4, 28 Oct/10.

matter was still not settled, for Maxwell in exasperation wrote, "I'm pretty sick of this palaver." The reader will remember his cry about the head that lies uneasy.²⁹³ Government officials themselves offered conflicting advice: some wished to leave it at Rumaisha, others preferred to transfer it.²⁹⁴ Ruxton's objection to Ibi was that it would expose the children to Muslim influence,²⁹⁵ but Maxwell charged the real reason to be government fear of competition for the school they planned at Ibi.²⁹⁶ Eventually a compromise was made with the home's placement at Wukari, a clearly Pagan town, only some 24 miles south of Ibi.

d. Location of Women Missionaries

There was a strange ambivalence on the part of the government with respect to the place of unmarried women in the Protectorate. Those employed by the government would travel either alone or in the presence of a European man.²⁹⁷ Many single nurses were placed throughout the country without any thought of the proximity of married women.²⁹⁸ However, this same government objected to the presence of single ladies employed by the S.U.M., an objection exemplifying the previously-discussed deep-seated opposition to missions. Except for the safety of women missionaries during World War I,²⁹⁹ Maxwell seldom found himself appreciating government decisions on this matter.

In the early days, Kumm objected to the presence of all women, married or not, because of harsh conditions.³⁰⁰ He and Girouard discussed the matter and agreed on the undesirability of their presence, but Girouard's reasons were different from Kumm's for the former would restrict them where they could not be suitably housed "entirely separate from married and unmarried men."³⁰¹ Thus not harshness of conditions, but possible impressions of impropriety which Nigerians might receive were the uppermost objections that continued to play a role in the policy of subordinate officials, but which were not applied to those employed by the government! With respect to the Wukari station, Maxwell found that officials disagreed amongst themselves, for Ruxton was opposed to their presence, while Rowe was in favour, provided there was also one married lady.³⁰² It appears that Ruxton's opposition was not based on government decision but a matter of principle with him.³⁰³ When Maxwell sent an appeal to

293. J3, 5 Apr/11.

294. Diaries (2), p. 50.

295. *Ibid.*, (3), p. 50.

296. J4, 3 Nov/10.

297. Dawson, 3 Nov/13 (J).

298. Dawson, 2 Dec/18 (J).

299. Diaries (12), pp. 41, 44, 51.

300. SUM 1, pp. 66-67.

301. Kumm, 27 Feb/08 (J).

302. J1, 20 Apr/10.

303. J1, 13 Nov/09.

Ruxton, it was sent on to the High Commissioner for consideration.³⁰⁴ The High Commissioner discussed the issue with Ruxton and, according to the former's letter to the latter seen by missionary Guinter, the matter was left for Ruxton to decide. Guinter also received information about Ruxton's intentions from Ruxton's wife! Maxwell wrote a letter of protest to this resident and sent a copy of it to Kumm. "This is *not* Government," he cried, "it is interference." He went on, "I do not see why we should be subject to one man's caprice. You will note that he gives no shadow of a reason for the refusal."³⁰⁵ Finally he lost hope that personnel in Nigeria could accomplish anything in the matter; he explained,

government out here has refused, its refusal was protested against and then endorsed; but no hint of a reason was given for the refusal in any letter. One's only clue is Captain Ruxton's remark about the natives' ability to mistake a single lady³⁰⁶

What follows is illegible. His final words in this entry were another cry of exasperation, "And in any case what an absurd reason for blocking all the doors for unmarried lady workers. It is simply gratuitous hindrance, capricious and tyrannical. I'd advise the S.U.M. simply to ignore it."³⁰⁷ Pursuing the matter in Nigeria, he felt, would only strain his relations with Ruxton, and so he advised the home office to work on the problem there: "you at home have a longer lever."³⁰⁸ Eventually Maxwell had his way. In 1910 he wrote a single lady that the resident agreed to unmarried ladies for the Wukari station and that there was a good chance that they would soon be allowed to go wherever the country was settled.³⁰⁹

One detects mounting tension in Maxwell on this issue, culminating in deep annoyance mixed with a sense of helplessness and a desire to challenge the ruling either by ignoring it or by having the home office press the matter with the government in London. Here, then, we have one incident where Maxwell recommended the application of pressure on the government, but he made the recommendation in documents not intended for public consumption.

e. The 440-yard Rule

Another government measure restricting missionary freedom was that of the so-called "440-yard rule," a law prohibiting European residence closer than 440 yards from a Nigerian community. This measure had its origin with Lugard himself. Townships were to be divided into "European and native quarters,

304. Diaries (3), p. 52.

305. J4, 28 Oct/10. Though the letter dates from 1910, much of this controversy refers to events during 1909.

306. Diaries (5), p. 93.

307. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

308. J1, 13 Nov/09.

309. J2, 16 Mar/10.

separated by a non-residential area of a quarter of a mile in breadth . . .” This belt was to be kept clear from undergrowth and might be used for recreation. The reason advanced was that medical science had “established the endemicity of yellow fever and that natives are hosts from which mosquitoes are infected with its germ.”³¹⁰

Even though this legislation was no mere whim of local officers but had its origin in Lugard himself, Maxwell was terribly unhappy about it and was not to be goaded into an obedient attitude on the matter. The law forced a missionary

to do the big thing and get away from the people and sit alone, *alone* with a vengeance, instead of coming quietly in among a people living among them continually till they know you and trust you and listen to what you have to say.

He partly blamed the mission for this arrangement, but admitted that even if the mission should wish otherwise, the government would not allow him to live in a community: “Of course they won’t give you a lease . . .”³¹¹ Maxwell advocated that the mission simply ignore the rule. Without proposing action to affect the removal of the restriction or even requesting formal permission to locate in a town, he suggested that they “just go softly in.” If only the mission would go about it in the right way, Maxwell did not expect any “vehement opposition” on the part of the government.³¹² Within the same week during which Maxwell recorded these thoughts, he approached Resident Rowe concerning the possibility of a school near Wukari market to be located in the building of a company that had ceased operations. The Resident suggested that Maxwell proceed by quietly renting the building without seeking a formal lease from the government.³¹³ The missionary and officer thus cooperated privately in a compromise.

f. Prohibition against Preaching in Muslim Communities

The reader will recall the coincident of the basic aim of the S.U.M. and government restrictions: both served to limit the mission’s activities to Pagan areas. From the earliest time on, Maxwell was never at peace with this arrangement and chafed against the restriction. He lived in Ibi, a town in the early stage of Islamizing, and found that most of his contacts were with Muslims, not Pagans. Privately, in his diary, he firmly insisted, “I’m not going to be bottled up to working among pagans only. They don’t come near me, it is the Mohammed-an lot who come.”³¹⁴

Later, when Maxwell was stationed at Rumaisha, the site of the Freed Slaves’ Home, he began to hold services in the home of a local judge in the town. The Assistant Resident wrote a letter protesting this practice, for “it is unwise to hold services in a Mohammedan house or town.” Maxwell sneered,

310. Kirk-Greene, pp. 162-163.

311. *Diaries (5)*, p. 8. The rest of the last sentence is illegible.

312. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

314. *Ibid.*, (2), p. 51.

Perfectly absurd, as Umaisha³¹⁵ is not a Mohammedan town, nor is the chief a Mohammedan. I'd risk a good deal on the belief that F. thinks the chief and his people are Moslem. However, the letter contains no *order*, only an "opinion". I also have my opinion.³¹⁶

This confrontation upset Maxwell. He wrote, it "makes me angrier than I have been for a while with the Government" He vowed,

Notice that the letter is not an order but merely an expression of opinion. I shall not notice it in any way, but shall keep on preaching in the market as heretofore, unless I receive orders to the contrary from government.

I am too hot over it to think or write coolly about it.

Yours, somewhat "agin" the government³¹⁷

We see thus that Maxwell could get angry about such official restrictions and that he was inclined to a rather casual attitude towards them. He never proposed that the mission(s) should put pressure on the government to change this law and never did he suggest that members of the constituency apply pressure to that effect. When he did make public reference to these restrictions he would do so gently and even offered a rationale for them. Commenting on events that took place during the period of 1911-1913, he uttered the hope that

constitutional developments since then will give a more open door to the proclamation of the . . . Gospel There may well be more liberty under a newly appointed African authority for the free . . . proclamation of the Gospel than has sometimes been available under a non-native Government, which may feel itself unable to move as freely as local opinion would be prepared to allow.³¹⁸

g. Restrictions against Working in Unsettled Areas

Missions, we have learned from Chapter 2, were prohibited from working in "unsettled areas," that is, areas where British dominion was still disputed by the local people. This stricture brought Maxwell into contact with the government several times on behalf of South African missionaries who wished to begin work in Saai or Salatu, a Tiv community some 25 miles south of Wukari.³¹⁹ The main road south from Wukari which divided the town into 2 was the official boundary between the settled and unsettled areas. Because of the law, the mission was allowed to work on one side of the road, but they were prohibited from visiting their neighbours across the road! "Ridiculous," snorted Maxwell, but he did not

315. The name is spelled variantly with and without the "R."

316. Diaries (8), pp. 73-74.

317. 4 May/13 (J).

318. *Half a Century*, p. 103.

319. Diaries (3), p. 72 and (4), p. 15.

suggest any action against the rule.³²⁰ Eventually the South African mission did begin a successful work there.³²¹

h. Cooperation in Education

In Northern Nigeria there was no venture in which the government and missions cooperated so closely as the educational effort. Maxwell recognized the need to collaborate by providing qualified teachers for Pagan districts in order to reduce the need for the government to place Muslim teachers in these areas. The government was only beginning in education and Maxwell did not expect

that we missionaries will be satisfied with what they do, but they recognize that they must do something and they are going to try. All honor to them. As I at present know their purpose, I feel that it will only accentuate the need for mission work *more* of it and *better* of it.

They are even now training at Kano a number of teachers in the rudiments, linking together book and hand work. These . . . will be utilised up and down the country. They will *all* be either Moslem or Islam-invested. Missions, it's up to *you* to provide teachers that *Government will recognize as qualified*, for the Pagan districts, so that the schools in them need not be taught by Moslems.³²²

Maxwell was not particularly eager for such a joint venture, for he did not really have confidence in the motives of government officials, but the situation demanded such cooperation. Hence he discussed with the government the

possibility of the missions' meeting the Government halfway in the educational palaver, by producing a staff of teachers – non-Moslem . . . who could meet the government's qualification requirement, thus avoiding the placing of Moslem teachers in Pagan districts.³²³

Maxwell saw the situation as dangerous. In a letter to Kumm, he listed many places where Christian teachers could be placed "*before the Government comes with its Kano-taught malam to set up an Islam-tainted Government school.*" "It is *coming*," he predicted, "and we must get up to meet it."³²⁴

Rowe, an Assistant Resident, originally preferred to place Muslim teachers among Pagans for they would have more prestige among them, he argued. Maxwell countered his arguments with the suggestion that, properly trained, teachers of Pagan tribes would have more prestige, especially among the tribes with anti-Hausa sentiments.³²⁵ Whether Rowe changed his mind or whether he was overruled we do not know, but one day he informed Maxwell that the

320. *Ibid.*, (5), p. 28.

321. A large concentration now exists, a large Christian primary school and a busy dispensary. A monument has been erected to commemorate the beginning of mission work among the Tiv.

322. Diaries (3), p. 79.

323. *Ibid.*, (4), p. 10.

324. J4, 28 Oct/10.

325. Diaries (4), p. 10.

government did not wish to aid Islam in its advance through education. He suggested that the education of Pagans was the missions' task,³²⁶ a policy more in line with general government thinking.

Maxwell realized, of course, that if the mission was to take up the challenge referred to, it would have to accept grants from the government, for mission resources would be insufficient for such a huge task. Maxwell was willing to seek such, but with mixed feelings. He did not wish the mission to appear as recipients of gracious favours from the government and therefore opposed automatic application for grants. "Let us deserve it first," was his attitude, "and *then* apply."³²⁷ Hence, when Ruxton had procured grant money for this purpose and planned to distribute it according to results already obtained, Maxwell proposed to the mission that it be accepted on those terms.³²⁸

His proposal to accept these grants on basis of results included yet another condition, one that he expressed on several occasions and that indicated his deep suspicion of government motives. The condition was that the mission would "retain complete control of the schools."³²⁹ Already back in 1910, Ruxton and another official tried to persuade him to insert alterations in the resolutions of the Protestant Missionary Conference in Lokoja that would increase government control over the schools, but Maxwell adamantly refused:

No, sir, our schools are *ours*. If we get Government grants, we shall ask them for *results only*; we shall present children for examination in subjects for proficiency in which grants may be made, but as to our schedules, our timetables, our mode and spirit of teaching, — hands off.³³⁰

4. Treatment of Nigerian Christians by Government Officials

Though this section does not deal with foreign missionaries, the information here given does expose an attitude on the part of officials to the faith the mission had come to plant. Maxwell composed an extensive diary entry describing the hostile ways in which certain government officials tried to intimidate Nigerian Christians. The instances he listed were not personally witnessed by him, but were reported at the 1913 Lokoja Conference. One Nigerian Christian asked a colonial officer a question about the Bible, whereupon the officer responded by grabbing the man's Bible, throwing it on the ground and stamping on it, an action that would make a more profound impression on a Christian recently converted from Paganism than it would on the average European Christian. Another Christian, called to witness in court, refused to swear as Muslims and Pagans were accustomed to doing. He was subsequently "brow-beaten and insulted." A third Christian was instructed by an official to live 400

326. *Ibid.*, (5), p. 35.

327. J4, 3 Nov/10.

328. Minutes of Field Conference, 21-29 Aug/13 (J).

329. *Ibid.*

330. Diaries (6), p. 18.

yards outside his town. One government representative warned the people not to listen to missionaries. Displaying deep bitterness, Maxwell commented that though the law forbids molesting, vexing or insulting a man for the exercise of his religion, if the person so treated happened to be

only a Christian, it doesn't matter. Insult him, browbeat him, annoy him, persecute him, the law isn't meant to protect *him*. The Government, the gentle, kindly, considerate Government mustn't force Christianity on the Moslem! ! ! !

He realized that such actions were not according to government policies, but that they indicated merely personal prejudices on the part of officials who "have acted foolishly and illegally." He expressed the hope that "possibly some of them may be severely sat on by the Headquarters office. It will be good for the local officials to learn the limit of their powers."³³¹

It is of interest to note that Maxwell decided to withhold just such information that would be certain to arouse a storm of public protest among the home constituency. Missionaries' diaries were scanned by the editor of *The Lightbearer* for information suitable for public consumption. Occasionally Maxwell would add a prohibition in his entries restricting use of the material in the magazine, a warning that accompanied the stories just reproduced. Possibly he sought thus to protect his reputation with the government in prohibiting their publication. In his jubilee book he alluded to this report, but still did not reveal the details, which had by that time lost their urgency and was only of historical interest for the constituency. "There is one grim page," he recalled, "marked 'Not for publication.' It deals with some of the saddening ways in which hostile authorities had acted towards our work and our converts."³³² Though Maxwell did not report any such incidents he himself had witnessed, it would appear that he must have witnessed similar occurrences, for otherwise he would not likely have expressed himself quite so sarcastically in his diary.

5. Seeking a Distance

Maxwell, we have seen, fully approved of colonialism as he understood it, even though he had certain reservations. He was in no way embarrassed about the mission's colonial connection and did little to discourage Nigerians from positing a very close relationship in their minds. But this is only part of the picture. There was another aspect to the missionary Maxwell that stood in a relationship of tension to the above positive connection. In spite of everything said so far, Maxwell was *extremely* eager to have Nigerians realize the difference between the mission and the colonial government. He was well aware of the attitude of many folk towards the mission and its association with the government. The missionary belonged to what the local Muslims called the "*ama masu*

331. *Ibid*, (9), pp. 50-51.

332. *Half a Century*, p. 103.

duniya,” that is, “the heathen who hold the authority in the world.” The white man, including the missionaries, was thought to have long ago opted for this world in preference to the next. Hence the white man could enjoy his wealth and power now, but the Muslim could be sure of receiving his consolation in the next dispensation. Maxwell sourly suggested that perhaps the S.U.M. ought to cut the allowances of its missionaries!³³³ A few days later, Maxwell was still struggling with this identification on the part of the local people. They simply must know the difference because of the *missionary* importance of this disassociation.³³⁴ Occasionally Maxwell would go to pains to emphasize this difference. On one of his journeys Maxwell slept on the river bank. When a local dignitary asked him why he did not stay at the government house, he replied that he was not a government man,³³⁵ even though he was accustomed to using these facilities rather freely.

In this context, World War I had at least one positive value for the mission, for it should help Africans learn to distinguish between missionaries and other white men.³³⁶ Maxwell knew of the futility of any attempt to break this association in the Nigerian mind. Any such attempt would be regarded as deceit by the Nigerian. They pointed out that all Europeans had the same colour, spoke the same language, wore the same type of clothes, lived in identical style, missionaries ate with government officials and *vice versa*. “Oh look here, old man, you needn’t try to take us in with that yarn about your not belonging to them. You say that you are out here to preach – tell that to the marines, you only keep your real work hidden from us,” – so ran Maxwell’s interpretation of their objections. One result of this identification was that whenever the mission asked someone for a favour, it would frequently be performed as a duty. The next time government officials came in the area, they would be told that Maxwell had forced them to carry out certain tasks. “And then the fat is again in the fire,” concluded Maxwell,³³⁷ pointing to a source of friction between the mission and the government of which we will hear more in the next section.

Such frictions with the government were not the main reason Maxwell desired to disassociate the mission from the government in the Nigerian mind. A certain man fell ill, but for months he declined to seek help from the mission. Maxwell asked himself as to the reason for such a failure and concluded that the association of the mission with the government was responsible. This led Maxwell to wonder whether the white man’s prestige had not been working against the mission for many years. After all, missionaries associate with the Residents, policemen show special respect to them, even chiefs kowtow to them:

333. Diaries (5), p. 19.

334. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

335. *Ibid.*, (3), p. 82.

336. *Half a Century*, p. 113.

337. Diaries (2), p. 78.

"Beware of them therefore."³³⁸ A clear example of policemen showing special respect to missionaries is the time Maxwell was preaching in the market of Umaisha. A policeman arranged the crowd "to suit what he thought most fitting." When the session was over, the officer escorted Maxwell part of the way home.³³⁹ Maxwell did not explain the policeman's motive for rendering such service, but it cannot be denied that such incidents, in themselves quite innocent and perhaps no more than a friendly gesture, would once again confirm the popular notion as to the colonial connection.

We note then at least two different motives for Maxwell's desire to break this association in the minds of Nigerians. The one was that it had created friction with the government. The other and more important motive was that the association was responsible for preventing people from coming to the mission. One wonders whether any other motives played a part. Possibly the non-Christian witness of the colonial personnel could have been a reason, but he never advanced this as such. Certainly the colonial connection was not regarded by Maxwell himself as evil *per se*, but only in so far as it created situations disadvantageous to the mission.

The surprising factor in all this was the fact that regardless of his wish to break the association, Maxwell continued to socialize with both government personnel and trading company employees and also to cooperate with them in various matters. And in spite of his one-time refusal to stay overnight in government quarters, we do find him constantly making use of government resthouses. It appears that his desire to break the association, necessary as it was from the missionary point of view, was not as strong as his need to socialize with his own race or as strong as the need for the relative comfort of government quarters when on trek. Whether or not Maxwell ever experienced this ambivalence as a tension he hoped eventually to overcome cannot be determined from our sources.

IV. *The Mission*

A. Introduction

In this section we complete our presentation of the data of the initial period. The same areas and problematics will again appear, but whereas in the previous sections we were treating views of particular individuals, here we examine that of an organization and of a host of writers whose total literary output is insufficient to treat them separately. It will be of interest to see just how unanimous these authors were.

The materials in *The Lightbearer* are not without exegetical difficulties. The magazine featured a great variety of articles: missionary reports, announcements,

338. *Ibid.*, (9), pp. 5-6.

339. *Ibid.*, (8), p. 86.

government documents, newspaper articles, promotional materials and a not inconsiderable amount of articles borrowed from other missionary publications. Occasionally the articles contradict each other, reflecting the fact that few restrictions were placed on the editor's choice of materials and that he passed this same freedom on to his authors. There is no statement indicating whether or not any of these articles were expressive of the S.U.M.'s official position, but it is quite clear that, even though the mission might not wish to support every article in detail, the conceptions most dominant in the magazine were also those of the mission.

Readers familiar with *The Lightbearer* in its current form only, will be surprised at the broad scope of interest displayed in its early pages. The numerous government reports, for example, have no parallel today. The editor's motive for including such politico-economic materials was that, in his opinion, such matters would be of interest to the constituency. "Our readers, he explained, "will be interested in these extracts, because everything that concerns the development of the country and the well-being of its inhabitants is of importance to the mission."³⁴⁰ This broad inclusive interest underwent a gradual reduction to the point where the magazine now largely limits itself to immediate and narrow missionary concerns, ignoring most of the context in which the mission operates. Neill's charge that much of 19th-century missionary literature was oblivious of the framework of current events within which missions operated cannot be applied to *The Lightbearer* of the initial era.

B. Colonialism: Attuned to the Kingdom

1. An Exciting Adventure

If the atmosphere created in the pages of *The Lightbearer* was representative of the general psychological climate within the S.U.M., these missionaries must have been very excited at the chance to participate in an adventure as exhilarating as colonialism. A sense of excitement and adventure was found everywhere. In an article culled from *West Africa Mail*, we are told that mighty events were in the moulding. "The men of the present generation, who are working in West Africa and for Africa, are the pioneers of a future they themselves can hardly forecast; moulders of a race's destiny." The article went on to describe the exciting task of the day: "We are dragging them into the vortex of the world's industrial movement. It is our destiny."³⁴¹ An unnamed mission executive visiting Nigeria, quoted Mary Kingsley: "Whatever we do in Africa today, a thousand years hence there will be Africans to thrive or suffer for it . . ." He went on to comment, "The moulding of that way is in the hands of the white man, whose superior power in arts and crafts gives the mastery; but all that mastery gives is the power to make the future of the negro and the white

340. LB, June/05, p. 12.

341. LB, May/09, pp. 126-127.

man in Africa prosperous, or to make it one of disaster and misery to both alike."³⁴² Balmer chimed in optimistically with respect to the uncertain future. "Exactly what the future of that people will be is next to impossible to say," he proclaimed, for "there are so many unstable factors in the situation." But there were signs of response and the "African will have to develop moral strength almost in spite of himself."³⁴³ Optimistic uncertainty, a sense of excitement, of adventure and destiny were clearly discernible in the S.U.M.'s participation in the colonial enterprise.

2. Contrasting Civilization

a. Gratitude for Western Culture

It has already been amply demonstrated that both Kumm and Maxwell enthusiastically endorsed colonialism basically because of their high appreciation for their own culture and what appears to be a necessary correlative: deprecation of African civilization. The "light vs. darkness" theme is characteristic of the entire S.U.M. of our period and, likewise, formed the basis for the mission's favourable attitude towards colonialism.

In the course of recommending a memorial to Livingstone on the centenary of his birth, the mission assured its constituency that they were "richly endowed . . . with the blessings of the true gospel and of the highest civilisation . . ."³⁴⁴ The blessings of western culture were thought to include superiority in the intellectual, moral, commercial and political aspects of that culture.³⁴⁵

As Kumm attributed the greatness of western civilization to the influence of the Gospel, not to any inherent superiority of the white man, but as a gift from God,³⁴⁶ so do we find expressions to this effect in the non-Kummanian literature of the early period. We reproduce the grateful description of Rooker on the development of Great Britain from a state of savagery to that of the greatest of all empires:

There was once a General, belonging to the greatest Empire of the day, who 1900 years ago visited a certain island. He found only naked savages. His visit resulted in the permanent occupation of the island. But it had no promise of any great future. Then some Christian missionaries came and taught the Christian religion, and the island became devoted to the Christian faith. It took time, but the end was that that island became a greater Empire than Rome, and those savages were your forefathers, sir. What Christianity did for Britian it can do for the Sudan. Therefore I believe in Foreign Missions.³⁴⁷

342. *Who is Sufficient*, p. 31.

343. LB, Oct/12, pp. 159-160.

344. LB, Mar/13, insert between pp. 50-51.

345. LB, Jan/12, pp. 18-19.

346. *Khont*, pp. 7, 230. *From Hausaland*, p. 65.

347. LB, Mar/11, p. 58. Reprinted from *The Record*.

The European civilization worthy of such praise must, insisted various writers, not be divorced from the Christian Gospel that is the cause of its greatness, for then it would degenerate into something worse than Paganism, then white civilization would turn into a "white peril" that would menace Africa, not bless her.³⁴⁸ Civilization is not necessarily Christianity, we are told, but each have their own sphere. However, though they must be distinguished, they ought not to be separated, for the former without the latter "frequently makes the last state of the native worse than the first."³⁴⁹ This is a recurring note, especially in *The Lightbearer*.

b. Pagan Degradation

Parallel to this gratefully high evaluation of European culture was the corresponding low estimate of African culture. Descriptions similar to those of Maxwell and, especially, of Kumm abound in our sources. The inhabitants of the Kabwir-Panyam area were described as "wild, naked savages," "given over to cannibalism." They were without either God or hope – and that village after village,³⁵⁰ a condition described with alliterative relish as a "state of sin stained darkened souls."³⁵¹ "The host of heathen nations" of the Sudan were regarded as for ages existing in a "reign of unmixed darkness and unmitigated depravity." They wander about "in moral midnight; they know not what they do."³⁵²

One missionary described a religious occasion observed in Donga, a town "very sunken in sin and degradation." Women were engaged in a *bori* dance, "an awful sight," their facial expressions were "terrible," and they appeared "demon-possessed." A Late-night dance was accompanied with "all kinds of vicious practices."³⁵³

The depravity and moral degradation so characteristic of Africa was considered to be largely the result of the slave trade that had reduced the nations of West Africa into "fragments of nations," "disintegrated nations," "broken nations" that "are the spent waves of a stream of harassed humanity testifying to terrific tempests of strife that for ages have swept over the seething millions of the vast interior," explained Palmer. "The "calamity of slavery" has left "the crushed mass a mere heap of . . . particles." Though potentially the Negro is no degenerate creature, division and oppression of the weak, enforced by "superstition, sorcery and cruel practices of dark abomination too hideous to be detailed" are responsible for this humiliating degeneration. To be sure, external parties

348. LB, Apr/07, p. 93.

349. *Who is Sufficient*, pp. 31-32.

350. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

351. L. de Villiers, "A Testimony from the Field," a handwritten document (J).

352. Promotion pamphlet inserted after the minutes of the first council meeting of the mission, SPM, 13 Nov/02.

353. J.W. Roome, ed., *After Many Days: Sudan United Mission Annual Report and Review* (London: Marshall Brothers Ltd., 1912), p. 26.

enslaved them, but this would not have been necessary if "Africa's children" had not been so prone to "a tendency to quarrel amongst themselves. Esau despised his own birthright and sold it to his brother. The Negro's sin was worse; he despised his brother's birthright and sold it to any one who cared to buy it." It was supposed to have been this tendency to so misuse his brother that invested the history of West African with "any interest or value" at all during the last few centuries, for "apart from that, the peoples would appear to have been nothing more than the passive objects of other folk's energies." Their history lay mainly before them in the future "and the significance of the past few centuries of the influence of European rule upon the West Coast people is the preparation for that Future."³⁵⁴

c. Debasement of Islam

As with Kumm, so with our present writers did Islam have to bear the brunt of missionary castigation. Under the power of Muslim Emirs, Northern Nigeria was regarded as having a history that was mainly a record of slave raids and other cruelties. Barbarism reigned supreme. Amongst Muslims, it was asserted, there is no necessary connection between religion and morality. " 'Might is right' has been the maxim of Islam from its earliest days . . ." ³⁵⁵ This alleged divorce between religion and morals in Islam was a frequently-stressed theme in these pages. The same writer reported the case of a very religious *alhaji* in Turkey, who was said to have repeated the 99 names of God more than any other man. This man turned into a highway robber, was brought to court, but instead of being sentenced, the judge kissed his "holy" hand. Islam is different from all other non-Christian religions in that it is "essentially the spirit of Antichrist." The heathen is ignorant of Christ, but the Muslim rejects him. Islam leaves a man "sunk in sin" and "panders to all that is lowest in human nature." In countries where Islam has reigned supreme, the record showed mainly destitution, low morality, "insecurity of life, bribery, and corruption, degradation of womanhood, persecution and cruelty." The many evils found in Christian lands were performed in spite of Christianity, but in Muslim countries evil was the direct result of that religion.³⁵⁶ The editor of *The Lightbearer* quoted from the journals of the explorer Henry Barth, who traveled from Tripoli through the Sahara Desert to Kano in 1850, a scene depicting the atrocities of the slave trade in language reminiscent of Kumm:

There a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half-starved slaves torn from their native homes, from their wives or husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desparately upon the buyers anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall.³⁵⁷

354. LB, Oct/12, pp. 157-158.

355. LB, Jan/12, p. 11.

356. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

357. LB, May/07, p. 99.

Paganism, asserted Walter Miller, does not debase as much as does Islam — an insult sharper than which is hardly possible to a Muslim. Prior to the British take-over of some of the Muslim realms in Africa “the pastime, the exhilaration, and the joy of life . . . was the annual raid into native pagan territory to catch slaves!”³⁵⁸ Thus one can understand the mission’s strong opposition to Morel, who advocated that Islam is more suitable for Africa than Christianity. Islam, the S.U.M. countered, debases the land and devastates the continent.³⁵⁹ The picture is clear and no more than a repetition of sentiments already observed in previous sections.

3. The Great Liberation: *Pax Britannica*

The colonial cause of Great Britain in Northern Nigeria was affirmed enthusiastically by the S.U.M. because the new era would inaugurate the amelioration of the evil conditions described above. The colonial effort of the British was described in our sources as being directed “by the policy of stopping slave-raiding, and breaking the power of oppressive native rulers, and restoring the liberties of the people.”³⁶⁰ Here we have again the familiar thesis that colonialism represented freedom for the people on whom it was imposed, a theme of which the mission and, especially, the editor of *The Lightbearer* never tired.

In a brief submitted to the Free Church Council, an organization comprising the majority of the Free Churches of Great Britain, for the purpose of having them consider the S.U.M.’s request to take up the challenge presented by the Sudan, the testimony was that “oppression, tyranny, and the slave trade have received . . . their deathblow, and an oppressed people are now free.”³⁶¹

Not only was there the negative task of eliminating oppressive conditions, but there was also the positive task of bringing the blessings of Christian European civilization to Africa. Previously we quoted at some length from an article by Rooker. We adduce yet another lengthy quote from that article:

What God had done for English savages centuries ago, could He not do for these black men today? How strangely England was compelled to take over the Sudan! Was there no divine purpose in this occupation? And could England be so selfish as to let the River of Life flow by the Sudanese without pointing them to its healing waters? Oh no! a thousand times no! To restore justice to the oppressed, to set the captive free, to help men and women to live in peace and comfort, to educate them in gentle arts and sciences — that is a noble aim worthy of an English administration.³⁶²

Viewing colonialism in the context of the familiar divine mandate, the S.U.M. had really no choice but to support the venture. In a series of short news items we are told that “the advance of peace and quietness — the *pax Britannica* — in

³⁵⁸ LB, Mar/12, pp. 51-52.

³⁵⁹ *After Many Days*, p. 65.

³⁶⁰ LB, June/06, p. 102.

³⁶¹ SPM, 29 Dec/03.

³⁶² LB, Mar/11, p. 59.

Northern Nigeria has been so marked that before many more years will have gone slave-raiding, with all its associations of cruelty and savagery . . ." The entire British team was regarded as introducing peace and justice as well as "the distinctive Christian blessings of education and civilisation."³⁶³

There was plenty of evidence that in fact peace and stability had been largely realized. The unnamed executive officer from the S.U.M.'s home office earlier mentioned was traveling by river steamer and he commented that such safe travel had not been possible ten years earlier without the vessel being fully armed.³⁶⁴ One of Maxwell's favourite themes related to the depopulation of the towns, a theme that was also echoed by his colleagues. The walls of the towns were generally dilapidated, for they were no longer needed.³⁶⁵ Aust related how the Yergum tribe, as they began to realize the peaceful conditions prevailing under the new order, came out of their hiding places and penetrated the fertile plains. "Huts sprang up here and there, dotted all over the plain near the streams. Bush was cleared and the country gradually became the scene of prosperous little homesteads surrounded by farms." An added benefit was that the tribe's isolation broke down in the process: "Intercourse with the outside tribes for trading purposes . . . inspires confidence and faith in the goodwill of others, with a sense of security which is the basis of civilization."³⁶⁶ The same information is provided by other writers about other times. Only a few years earlier, none dared live outside the walls of Wukari, but now many were living healthy lives on their farms and the walls were falling into disrepair.³⁶⁷ The process was witnessed with respect to Donga³⁶⁸ and Wase: "in these days of peace and security many . . . are . . . living on their farms."³⁶⁹

The prevalence of peace was responsible for such developments but additional aspects of colonial developments encouraged this trend as well. Governor Bell informed the constituency that the railways were a cause as well:

The advent of railways is a new and important factor in this connection, and we find small settlements growing up with extraordinary rapidity at a number of spots along the line from Baro to Kano wherever opportunities for trade and traffic present themselves.³⁷⁰

The settled nature of things was not only considered politically and economically advantageous, but also from the missionary point it meant that "the work" could advance freely. In a letter, Aust reported on the Mahdi uprising in Sokoto that was threatening to cause general restlessness among the people. He con-

363. LB, June/08, pp. 125, 127.

364. *Who is Sufficient*, p. 33.

365. LB, June/08, pp. 125, 127.

366. LB, Mar/10, p. 66.

367. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 41. Cf. also Farrant, 9 Sept/15 (J).

368. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 42.

369. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

370. LB, June/12, p. 117.

cluded, "The unsettled state of the country is a serious matter — not that I think there is any immediate danger to ourselves, but that it will effectually hinder any forward movement in our work."³⁷¹ In a footnote to this letter, the editor quieted such fears by informing the reader that in the meantime the rising had been squelched. "Under the wise and strong action of the authorities the whole district is becoming more settled, and our work will not be hindered."³⁷² The difference between settled and unsettled states of affairs was the difference between missionary progress and stagnation. This no doubt was a primary concern of missionary Broadbent who invited Ruxton to subdue a tribe he described as "lawless cut-throats and cannibals."³⁷³

4. Economic Developments

British accomplishments were not limited to the political success of having established the *Pax Britannica*, but the blessings for Africa included efforts in the commercial sector with the necessary parallel endeavours to create an effective system of communication and transportation. The mission's attitude towards all such developments was basically one of gratitude to God. "We thank God that our statesmen are earnestly considering what can be done in the interest of those in Nigeria . . .," concluded our editor after having presented a resume of a speech of Winston Churchill, then a mere "Mr." and Under-Secretary for the Colonies.³⁷⁴ The government reports reproduced either fully or partly in *The Lightbearer* are too numerous for our purpose. These were frequently reproduced without further editorial comment.

The official government report on Northern Nigeria for 1908-1909 is summarized here to indicate the typical issues discussed in these reports. The year was said to have been "very peaceful," so that few military operations had been necessary. Both rulers and people were demonstrating increasing acceptance of the new situation and even friendliness. Farmers are described as being in a state of "progressive tranquility." A general sense of security prevailed that was encouraging trade throughout the territory, aided by improved traditional markets and roads. The slave trade was thought to have been almost extinguished. The railway from Lagos to Ilorin also increased the flow of trade and brought the administration closer to the people. With the completion of another branch of this railway to Kano, exports were expected to increase. It was considered likely that the large trans-Sahara caravan trade to Tripoli would be diverted to the Niger River. Once the road into Bauchi Province would be completed, the minerals of that area could be profitably exploited and the tin ore exported to Europe.³⁷⁵

371. LB, June/06, p. 102.

372. *Ibid.*

373. Ruxton, 31 May/08 (J).

374. LB, June/06, p. 101.

375. LB, May/12, pp. 112-113.

One concern that was rather prominent in most such reports but hardly mentioned in the one just summarized was that of agriculture. It was especially on this sector that the government was placing high hopes and primarily for its development that railways were constructed deep into the interior. Speaking on the general developments taking place, Girouard said that it was "the wonderful agricultural development" that "perhaps appealed most to him in the Protectorate."³⁷⁶ Another report is quoted concerning "very large tracts of land suitable for cotton planting . . . on the banks of the Niger and Benue Rivers." Unfortunately, the terrible effects of the slave trade was still presenting an obstacle in that the area was still sparsely populated. However, the government expressed that it was "most willing and keen to assist the enterprise shown by the British Cotton Growing Association."³⁷⁷

The frequency of such government reports and statements in the pages of the S.U.M.'s magazine demonstrate the vital interest the mission had in such developments and her basically positive attitude towards them. Anyone who has experienced the total exhaustion caused by travel in the more backward regions of Northern Nigeria even in the present decade can well appreciate the almost audible sigh of relief that was expressed in a letter from Bailey to a staff member in Nigeria. All missionaries, he supposed, would be glad to see the newspaper extract he was sending the field staff, for it contained indications that there was a good probability of better rail and road travel as well as improved communication in the near future in some of the more neglected regions.³⁷⁸ It is not to be wondered at that the editor singled out as "the special necessity of Northern Nigeria" "the opening up of lines of communication and transport."³⁷⁹

With all these grand schemes slowly being realized, and keeping in mind the sense of excitement in the air at the time, one will not be surprised at the implicit and explicit expressions of British pride and patriotism that marked *The Lightbearer*. There was mention of the "unspeakable blessing" of the fact that the British flag was hovering over Northern Nigeria, for it symbolized all the advantages inherent in the British policy of protecting and safeguarding the people.³⁸⁰ Such great work as had been embarked upon in Nigeria

will endure; for it is no mere selfish enterprise conceived on a narrow basis of racial domination and supremacy. Pride of Empire assuredly there is, and rightly so. But alongside a material activity, almost feverish in its pushfulness, wise heads there and here are building up a charter of native rights, founded upon justice and equity. So to our pride in the genius of the race we can add confidence that the millions of Africans who watch our progress, partly in awe, partly in bewilderment, partly with suspicion, will be made more prosperous by our advent.³⁸¹

376. LB, Mar/08, p. 69.

377. LB, Apr/08, p. 90.

378. SUM 6, p. 142. 26 July/07. Cf. also similar comment SUM 6, p. 143, Bailey, 26 July/07.

379. LB, Feb/07, p. 25.

380. LB, June/07, p. 128.

381. LB, May/09, p. 127.

5. Identity of Interests

That all of the developments above were benefitting Great Britain considerably was well realized by the S.U.M. Speaking on the future of West Africa, Lord Onslow, the president of the African Society, said that West Africa

was the most important part of that vast continent for the British nation. Three millions of the people of this country were directly and then millions were directly or indirectly, interested in the cotton trade, and in Northern Nigeria alone lay the possible salvation of Lancashire.³⁸²

In similar vein, Falconer, in a speech to the British Association, was asked for his opinion about the value of Northern Nigeria to the empire. He replied that there was a great future in the colony as a cotton-growing country. The large tin fields, furthermore, would also prove profitable. The editor added, "We are glad to know of the material prospects of the country . . ."³⁸³

It will be remembered that Kumm was in favour of undermining certain traditional crafts by supplying cheaper British-made substitutes. We find this notion advanced also by the authors scrutinized for this section. One author advocated the already quite popular notion as to how Northern Nigeria could be turned into the salvation of Lancashire. The British Cotton-growing Association could cause the native loom to fall into disuse when

instead of the women of Kano spending days in the weaving of a piece of cloth, the Association's representative will hand a piece of cloth to her in exchange for her unginmed cotton; her cotton will become cloth as quickly as she can gather it from the plant. As the loom of Lancashire was doomed by the introduction of the power loom, so is the loom of Africa doomed by the introduction of Manchester-made cloth and by the British Cotton-growing Association's willingness to purchase the cotton from the native.³⁸⁴

At least twice does the reader come across the expressed hope that someday Africa will become the home of European settlers. The first reference is to East Africa as the possible future home "of many settlers from this country, and also, like West Africa, destined to become the seat of great commercial enterprise."³⁸⁵ Falconer regretted the fact that the climate of West Africa prevented the area from becoming the location for "a white settlement," but he was hopeful that with increased research this hurdle would be overcome and West Africa would then become suitable for European residence for extended periods of time.³⁸⁶

Having uncovered these various proposals from the pages of *The Lightbearer*, one standing in the eighth decade of the century could easily accuse the S.U.M. of having harbored the most sinister of colonial theories. However, it must

382. LB, Apr/08, p. 90.

383. LB, Dec/10, p. 245.

384. LB, Sept/08, p. 194.

385. LB, Apr/09, p. 83.

386. LB, Dec/10, p. 245.

immediately be pointed out that these suggestions were considered quite suitable in a scheme, the totality of which was expected to contribute to the well-being of the African as much as to that of the British people. A purely exploitative relationship that would benefit only the British was against all the hopes and intentions of the S.U.M.: they considered the entire colonial enterprise in terms of an identification of African interests with those of Britain. The very proposals from which the entire missionary enterprise of today would hastily part company, in those days could be calmly suggested in a mission magazine as useful strategy for carrying out a divinely-imposed mandate of liberating Africa. There was no recognition of any conflicting interests, not even, as will be shown in the appropriate place, by many Africans directly concerned with those developments. The Earl of Crewe, Colonial Secretary for West Africa, was reported as expressing just such an identification of interests: he spoke of the "promise of commercial enterprise of great value, as we hope, both to the natives of Africa and to the people of this country."³⁸⁷ One was assured that "it is a point with us in the development of our trade that the native should be helped to be educated and properly treated; that he should have his reward; that his welfare should be increased as well as ours."³⁸⁸ We have already noted that the editor included many government documents because such matters were thought to be of interest to the constituency, for

everything that concerns the development of the country and the wellbeing of its inhabitants is of importance to the missionary. And we thank God that our statesmen are earnestly considering what can be done in the interests of those in Nigeria who have come under British rule.³⁸⁹

Governor Bell could speak expansively of the developments undertaken by the British in the country in the same breath as of "the general improvement of the conditions of life among the native population."³⁹⁰

A key term in describing the identification of interests was "*kingdom*". The S.U.M. could think of the entire colonial enterprise — political, social, economic and missionary — as well within the plan of God to establish His Kingdom. "The natives of the Sudan," we are told, "have come under our rule, so that we, in turn, might bring them under the rule of the Kingdom of God. So shall 'the Kingdoms of this World become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.'"³⁹¹ This was no identification of the two kingdoms, but the line of demarcation between the two became very vague — in the spirit of Kumm. At the same meeting, a missionary from Eastern Equatorial Africa interpreted the completed railway in the Sudan in terms of Biblical prophecy. "It might be looked upon as a fulfillment of the prophecy, 'And a highway shall be there.' A highway for the

387. LB, Apr/09, p. 83.

388. LB, Mar/08, p. 53.

389. LB, June/06, p. 12.

390. LB, Sept/11, p. 146.

391. LB, Aug/09, p. 163.

Lord, and to be the means of spreading the gospel." Apparently this type of interpretation was not quite acceptable to the editor, for he betrayed a degree of scepticism by inserting an editorial comment that this "was said in all seriousness."³⁹²

Balmer entertained a more pronounced scepticism regarding the motives of colonial politics and commerce than most other writers in *The Lightbearer*. He warned that no one must deceive himself by thinking that

the representatives of European power and commerce have consciously laid themselves out to aid the Negro in his . . . struggle to mental and moral attainment. Even the British Government is not a charitable institution, nor is a Chartered Company a benevolent society acting from disinterested motives.

History, he pointed out, "belies any such idealistic conception." Happily, however, a change of mind has occurred amongst those responsible in Africa and they now "work under a real sense of responsibility . . . for the well-being of the native." As a result, governments in West Africa have aided the work of the Gospel through grants for education and medical work as well as through the suppression of slavery and other "inhuman practices". Balmer concluded that

while one cannot say, on a dispassionate survey of the history of the doings of Government and Companies, that they are very "great in the sight of the Lord," yet the tenth chapter of Isaiah is not applicable to them, and it may at least be set to their credit that they have been great allies in the work of "making ready a people prepared for the Lord."³⁹³

What promised to be a less affirmative evaluation of the colonial endeavour, still culminated in an interpretation similar to that expressed in the previous paragraphs.

6. Interpretation of Nigerian Openness towards the Mission

Such basic approval of the colonial enterprise was to be found not only on the side of the S.U.M., various authors in *The Lightbearer* asserted, but Nigerians themselves demonstrated a basic acceptance of the new order. Pagan readiness to attend to the Christian messengers was interpreted as a result of their favourable attitude towards colonialism. In an early advertisement encouraging young men to present themselves for missionary work in the Sudan, the mission gave seven reasons they should do so, one of which stated that the elimination of slavery and the establishment of "civilised government" had caused "the heathen peoples to look upon the white men as their friends, and to be ready to welcome Christian Missionaries' teaching."³⁹⁴ One can indeed cite numerous instances in which local traditional Pagan rulers welcomed the mission and even invited them to settle in their communities. John Burt, one of the original party of four,

392. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

393. LB, Oct/12, pp. 158-159.

394. LB, July/04, p. 22.

related how the Miri, the King of the Gazum people, called Kumm his father and declared his country open to the mission. The Yergum tribe affirmed their intention to send men as soon as the harvest was over in order that they might receive the new teaching. Again, the Ankoï of Shemankar also expressed interest in having a teacher.³⁹⁵ The King of Suntai requested not merely an occasional visitor to his community, but a resident missionary.³⁹⁶ The visitor from the home office reported a visit to Dampar, which Chief was particularly insistent on a resident missionary. The missionary visitors arrived in this community in the early afternoon and left the following morning. Throughout this time, the Chief continually returned to this topic. "The old man sat on. Again and again he returned to the one topic that was so evidently on his heart."³⁹⁷

Though the advertisement quoted above interpreted this openness to the S.U.M. as the result of a positive evaluation of colonialism on the part of such traditional rulers, there is at least one case on record in which the local ruler welcomed the S.U.M. but simultaneously expressed his resentment against the colonial regime. The Aku Uka, the King of Wukari, welcomed the missionaries, but openly affirmed that "he only suffers the white governors as an evil which cannot be helped."³⁹⁸ Some years later the Aku still showed deep interest in the S.U.M. On "several occasions" he would order some 200 of his subjects to repair the roads on the mission compound.³⁹⁹

We are confronted here with a typical example of conflicting reports or evaluations within the covers of the same volume of *The Lightbearer*. The advertisement interprets such openness towards the mission as the result of an affirmative opinion with regard to colonialism; the case of the Aku posits a clear disjunction between the colonial and missionary enterprises. If there was a causal connection at all in the mind of the Aku, it was more likely a negative one. The openness he displayed as well as that of his colleagues may have been caused by a desire to understand the secrets of the white man's power in order, possibly, to eventually undermine this power. This approach is not unheard of in Africa; we have a classic example of this in the flirtations of Mutesa I of Buganda with both Islam and Christianity, a flirtation that ended in his successor's killing a considerable number of Christians once the sought-for secret became a dangerous threat.⁴⁰⁰ "Would learning the white man's wisdom not be the surest way of winning back what the white man had taken?" asked Ikkiddeh.⁴⁰¹

395. LB, Mar/05, pp. 20-21.

396. LB, Mar/09, p. 65.

397. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 46.

398. LB, Oct/05, p. 13.

399. Fleming, Wukari station report, 1912 (J).

400. D.A. Low, "Converts and Martyrs in Buganda," in *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, ed. C.G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 150-163. Cf. also J.V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda: an Attempt at Understanding* (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 30.

401. J. Ngugi, *Weep Not, Child, with Introduction and Notes by I. Ikkiddeh* (London:

The arrival of the Reverend Baker, a black Jamaican missionary, apparently presented a potential problem to the Resident at Ibi. In order to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the king of Ibi concerning Baker's standing, the Resident required of this ruler that the new arrival was to be received "with the respect due to a white man,"⁴⁰² sufficient a reason for the King to extend a warm welcome to Baker and probably a good example of the political pressures placed on such rulers to demonstrate positive attitudes. The examples of these two traditional rulers from Wukari and Ibi respectively, hardly served to confirm the claim in the recruiting advertisement that missionaries were welcome because they were regarded as part of the "liberation movement" known as colonialism.

7. Paternalism, A Familiar Refrain

In previous sections we have noted that Kumm and Maxwell defended the imposition of colonialism upon a reticent people on basis of paternalism. When the question is asked concerning their contemporaries as they expressed themselves in official minutes, letters and in *The Lightbearer* one again hears this familiar refrain. To be sure, fraternalism was not entirely absent. Baker explained to the King of Ibi that "it is the duty of mankind to lift up his brother."⁴⁰³ Balmer predicted that once the African had developed moral strength, he would become an "object-lesson" to the world. In the meantime, however, these countries would "need political tutelage and spiritual guidance before society can become sufficiently stable to warrant its standing alone in either respect" for *many centuries*.⁴⁰⁴ Yes, Africa will do "tremendous things" in the future, but the "time is not yet, it may not even be near . . .," wrote Farrant.⁴⁰⁵ The task to bring Africans up to this desirable level had fallen on Great Britain, which has "under God, been permitted to assume the trusteeship of the most valuable parts of the African Continent." In addition to developing and exploiting the natural wealth, this task involved "the responsibility of introducing the moral and mental principles that have been linked by the Creator with the trusteeship over rudimentary races."⁴⁰⁶ The Tiv people were described as having "already been taught to respect the white man to a certain extent; and once his fighting proclivities have been subdued, his country should prove one of the most valuable portions of Nigeria."⁴⁰⁷

Though in our modern context such attitudes would be regarded as blatant

Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1966), p. xii. Cf. also Neill, *History*, p. 371 and K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953), pp. 316-317.

402. LB, Mar/07, p. 63.

403. *Ibid.*

404. LB, Oct/12, p. 159.

405. LB, Mar/18, p. 43.

406. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 16.

407. LB, June/06, pp. 106-107.

aggression and certainly out of harmony with the idea of a Christian mission, in the context of the paternalistic framework entertained by the S.U.M., it was perfectly in concord with the aspirations of an agency purporting to bring the gospel of liberation to hope that these "fighting proclivities" should soon be subdued and that respect for the white man be taught. After all, the entire colonial enterprise was regarded as benefiting Africa. The Kano resident who poured out such invective against the British regime was, fortunately, an intelligent man who listened to reason. After Miller pointed out to him the advantages of the British regime, the man went away "with a very different attitude of mind, acknowledging much what I had said and with very much modified and improved views of British government."⁴⁰⁸ Though we do not find the extreme paternalism as espoused by Kumm, we do find that at least once the term "child" is applied to Northern Nigeria as a whole.⁴⁰⁹

A number of statements made in the *Lightbearer* can be understood only if exegeted in the atmosphere we have tried to create in the above paragraph. Aust wrote, "The Yergum had resisted the pacific representations of the little British force and murdered some of those sent with the message of peace."⁴¹⁰ Striking here is the use of terms such as "pacific" and "peace," when in actual fact these messengers were armed with an ultimatum! The expiration of the bearers of this "peace" message at the hands of the Yergum was described as "murder," a category also used to report the death of Lieutenant Alexander, an explorer, at the hands of the Wadai people. The Wadai had not yet been subdued when the lieutenant entered their territory. While he and his companion encamped themselves under a tree, they were summoned to appear before the local King, but the lieutenant arrogantly replied that he would see the King the following morning, an insulting provocation unimaginable in traditional Africa. The result was that the crowd attacked and killed him — "murdered" him, in terms of *The Lightbearer* report.⁴¹¹ The French subsequently scored a victory at Wadai and subdued most of the slaving chiefs of the area, a "success they have attained under God."⁴¹² Again, during May, 1906, Lugard was reported to have organized a punitive expedition to Hadeija in Northern Nigeria after the failure of three years' conciliatory efforts and after the "murder" of a soldier. In this same report the opposing emir's subjects were said to possess weapons illegally.⁴¹³

Failure to remember the categories in which the S.U.M. thought will force one to the conclusion that the mission had achieved expertise in "double think." If, however, the colonial enterprise was indeed based on a divine mandate and in

408. LB, Mar/12, p. 56.

409. LB, Mar/09, p. 66.

410. *Ibid.*

411. LB, Oct/10, p. 188.

412. LB, Mar/11, p. 42. Taken from *The Times*.

413. LB, June/06, p. 101.

tune with the coming of the Kingdom of God, then opposition to it would be opposition to the law of God and killing its agents would indeed be murder according to a law higher than that of nations. Then, too, one can understand the remarks published upon the death of King Edward VII: "no war marred his reign."⁴¹⁴ The military expeditions through which countless tribes in Africa were subdued could not be classified as wars since they were in response to a higher calling, not that of mere politics or economics. This statement could stand, even though in the same issue of the magazine, 2 pages earlier, one is confronted with a report on the forced subjugation of a Nigerian tribe!

8. A Note of Caution

We have seen in the case of Kumm and Maxwell that even the highest evaluation of colonialism did not preclude all criticism of the effort. So it was also in the sources for this section. Time and again *The Lightbearer* emphasized that European civilization divorced from the Gospel is no advance for Africa, but has in some cases meant deprivation and disaster for the African. The situations in the Belgian and French Congo were adduced as examples of the evil impact of Europeans that have virtually enslaved Africans in their own homes, where they were perishing for lack of food. The accomplishments of the European in the French Congo are described as "bestial." The European effort in the Congo Basin merited the description of being "stupid, as well as wicked — for the native cannot be replaced; a grisly satire on twentieth century civilisation."⁴¹⁵ In another context the constituency was reminded that "Christian civilisation without Christ is worse than paganism." There was mention even of a "white peril" that "menaces Africa," namely the immorality among Europeans living in Africa which is "scarcely whisperable. It is awful the amount of filth and corruption introduced by them." West Africa was known as the white man's grave, but Bishop Tugwell from the C.M.S. testified that the death of Europeans was by no means always due to malaria alone: 75% was due to the sins of the victims!⁴¹⁶ A certain Rev. W. Temple, speaking about the white atrocities in the Congo, concluded that "some of the greatest hindrances to the cause of Christ was the inconsistent lives of professing Christians abroad."⁴¹⁷ In contrast to the self-sacrificial lives of missionaries, the European officials were said to go to Africa merely for the sake of a good salary, promotion, and to qualify for a pension; the military came for promotion and honour; the trader arrived to make rapid profits.⁴¹⁸

Earlier in this chapter we referred to Balmer's reservations about the entire effort of Europe in West Africa, beginning with the earliest attempts of the

414. LB, June/10, p. 131.

415. LB, Mar/08, pp. 52-53.

416. LB, Apr/07, p. 93.

417. LB, June/10, p. 139.

418. LB, Nov/07, p. 239.

Portuguese to make effective inroads. Balmer warned against entertaining any idealistic notions about European governments and trading institutions in Africa, for they were no charitable institutions or benevolent societies. Balmer however, applied most of his reservations to the European efforts prior to the period of ethical colonialism. Since the British had decided on a more responsible approach in their colonies, their efforts falling within the period of our study must be evaluated more positively, according to Balmer. The modern facilities of transport and communication introduced by the British may be regarded as "highways for the Lord." Yet, these agencies and their agents could still not be classified as "great in the sight of the Lord."⁴¹⁹

Judd, a South African staff member, expressed fears as to the future effect of the new economics on the country. He foresaw a possibility that development would turn into exploitation in favour of the dominant party, that competition would arise congenial only to the interests of the strong. The second danger he foresaw was the demoralizing influence of modern commerce upon the Pagan who was thought to possess little resistance against its temptations.⁴²⁰ It was fully realized that material progress too often hindered "spiritual progress."⁴²¹

C. Relationships between Missions and Other Colonial Agencies

1. The Boasting Assistant

A present S.U.M. staff member complained in a discussion about the fact that an African had misused a certain S.U.M. publication in support of his thesis that the S.U.M. had been a partner to the colonial enterprise. This missionary is obviously in tune with the time in assuming that such a connection would have been dishonourable to the mission. The S.U.M. during the period under discussion, however, experienced no such embarrassment about the colonial connection. We have seen this to be true for both Kumm and Maxwell and will now demonstrate that this was true for the entire mission. In cooperating with colonialism the mission thought itself to be advancing the Kingdom of God; to have opposed colonialism would have been going counter to the demands of God at that hour of history. We have already shown that Balmer thought of colonial governments and trading companies as "allies in the work of 'making a people prepared for the Lord',"⁴²² a function the New Testament attributes to John the Baptist and which the mission applied to David Livingstone when he was lauded as "the John the Baptist of the 19th Century."⁴²³ Instead of regarding the colonial connection as a shameful factor as the missionary referred to above did, the dominant theme of the time was that

419. LB, Mar/07, pp. 158-159.

420. LB, Apr/18, p. 62.

421. LB, Dec/10, p. 245.

422. *Supra*, p. 177.

423. SUM 3, p. 162.

colonialism was “an unspeakable blessing.”⁴²⁴ Instead of embarrassment, the pages of the S.U.M.’s magazine bespoke pride in the privilege of participating in such a grand undertaking. Morgan, a former Resident of Kabba Province, Northern Nigeria, was unhesitatingly quoted in support of cooperation between mission and government, for the mission frequently found itself in a better situation than did government officers to keep the people quiet and peaceable.⁴²⁵ Winston Churchill in his early days as member of parliament “paid a glowing tribute to missions” – and note the editor’s evaluation: ‘a glowing *tribute*.’ Without the forces represented by missions, the empire would not have been kept together for twenty years. In fact, the empire would not have been acquired at all. Missions, continued Churchill, have won Uganda, not armed force.⁴²⁶ The editor also judged it proper to publish a letter from H. Hesketh Bell to the S.U.M. stating that as a colonial officer in Uganda he had found missions “very valued and loyal helpers” and that he hoped for the same relationship in Northern Nigeria now that he was about to become Governor in that colony.⁴²⁷ Another testimony to the S.U.M.’s singular lack of embarrassment about the colonial connection was that of Sir Harry Johnston, who is quoted as saying that “the ease with which the white man has implanted himself in Africa . . . is due more to the work of missionary societies than to the use of machine-guns.”⁴²⁸ Walter Miller raised the question as to whether the government should regard missions as an ally or a foe, the whole context being the matter of missionary freedom in Northern Nigeria. He provided his own answer by pointing out to the numerous ways in which missions were aiding the government:

Will not our brothers who are engaged in political work believe that in hundreds of ways which they can never know *we are helping the work* of their administration and not making it more difficult.

Cannot suspicion give way to a sincere desire to understand, cannot opposition give way to friendliness and sympathy, and may they not see that, in seeking to win men to Christ, we are doing what is for the highest ultimate blessing of any race, and that this path along which also lies the greatest safety and blessing for our own rule.

Miller did not hesitate to share with the home constituency his defence of British rule during his conversation with the gentleman from Kano previously mentioned – and, it must be added, neither did the editor of *The Lightbearer*. During this conversation, Miller pointed to “the great work of regeneration and amelioration” in process under the British regime, to the “uncorrupted justice of the Administration,” to “the noble self-sacrificing and strenuous work of our administrators.” The result of his noble defense was a marked improvement in

424. LB, June/07, p. 128.

425. LB, Nov/07, p. 239.

426. LB, Apr/08, p. 80.

427. LB, Dec/09, pp. 233-234. Letter dated 17 Nov/09.

428. LB, Jan/11, p. 3.

the attitude of this one individual not only, but in that of "the whole Arab community in whose quarters I am living."⁴²⁹ Elsewhere Miller argued that the presence of an African Christian community was the best safety against any Muslim uprising and that, from that point of view, the missionary "may be more valuable to Government than regiments of soldiers." The reason for this situation was to be found in the fact that Christians, especially those of the first generation, realized that, without being unpatriotic, the future of their country lay more in Christian than in Muslim rule.⁴³⁰ Morgan had it that a missionary would get "a wonderful hold over the native people of his district. He is their 'guide, philosopher and friend.'" Frequently the missionary would settle palavers rightfully belonging to the province of the government, but the latter should be glad for such cooperation, not jealous, for "what does it matter which of them settles a palaver as long as it is settled, and the people are kept quiet and peaceable?"⁴³¹

At the 1910 Lokoja conference, missionary freedom among Muslim people was also defended on this basis. In a resolution opposing restrictions on missions, it was asserted that "sufficient proof has already been given that the peaceful propagation of the Gospel in Mohammedan centres, such as Zaria, Bida, Wuhishi, and Shonga, has aided rather than hindered in the promotion of good relations between the Government and the peoples . . ."⁴³² This argument was also used to obtain assistance from the government for the Freed Slaves' Home. In a letter to Crossley, a member of parliament and also a trustee for the Home, Redmayne suggested that the S.U.M. was "indirectly a great political force in counteracting the flood of Mohammedanism which is sweeping over this province and recognized to be a serious danger to the peace . . ." In view of this function of the mission and her intention to train the inmates "to become useful citizens," the mission hoped the government would recognize her value and therefore provide assistance.⁴³³

In addition to the astonishing pride in the colonial connection, the above paragraphs indicate that the relationship between the government and mission was regarded as one of teamwork, in which each member had his own task. Horton spoke of the need for men "who are great Christians, but also politicians . . .," else the team would not be adjusted. He attributed to the government the task of "safeguarding the country politically," while the Christian people must be committed to the country's evangelization.⁴³⁴ At an annual meeting of the S.U.M., a resolution was passed which delegated the "spiritual

429. LB, Mar/12, p. 56.

430. LB, Aug/09, pp. 155-156.

431. LB, Nov/07, p. 239.

432. Resolution no. 7.

433. Redmayne, 24 June/08 (J).

434. LB, June/07, pp. 128,131.

responsibilities of their great Tropical Dependencies in the Dark Continent" to "the Christian subjects of the British Empire."⁴³⁵

In the light of all these positive witnesses to the proud connection, it is no surprise to read the affirmation of one of the S.U.M.'s executives in London that "it has always been our aim and effort to carry on our work in full accord with the officers of the Administration . . ."⁴³⁶ Neither will one be surprised after all this to find that the Executive Committee of the S.U.M. sent instructions to the staff in Nigeria, insisting that they exercise full cooperation with the government, especially

that agents of the S.U.M. should endeavour to inculcate in the minds of their neighbours and dependants principles of loyalty to the Government and obedience to its demands in this (taxes) and other respects, pointing out the benefits of open roads, cessation of slave raiding, etc. etc. which have been conferred upon the country in return for which but a slight impost is made.⁴³⁷

If there was anything surprising in the above instructions it is the fact that its background was not a spontaneous desire to thus wholehearted buttress colonialism. One would think that after all the praise heaped upon the enterprise that the missionaries did not need such instructions, but that was not the case. The instructions were a pragmatic adjustment to government complaints about missionaries. These instructions were the "outcome of representations made by Government officials" on basis of the government's unhappiness with missionaries on issues we shall hear about later. The following of these instructions was regarded by the committee as "absolutely essential to the well-being of the Mission."⁴³⁸

But for the last paragraph, this section would lead one to expect completely harmonious relations between the S.U.M. and colonial agencies. Our investigation as to the concrete relationships will demonstrate that they were not quite that harmonious. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that most of the data for the present section are drawn from sources designed for public consumption, through not entirely so. The data for the next section dealing with concrete relationships and demonstrating more friction than the present section would lead us to expect, are found predominantly in documents not written for publication, with the two major exceptions of the liquor trade and restrictions. This is no mere accident. The mission depended entirely on voluntary support of individual Christians and since the colonial endeavour enjoyed considerable popularity during this period, the mission exploited that theme to the hilt. In fact, relations turned out to be full of tension and not infrequently bitter. This section has dealt basically with the mission's unofficial but *de facto* colonial

435. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 17.

436. SUM 6, p. 223. Letter from Bailey to Beresford of the Secretariat at Zunguru, 18 Nov/07.

437. SUM 1, p. 179.

438. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

theory; the next will deal with concrete issues and it will be hard to recognize the affinity at times.

2. Association with and Evaluation of Commercial Agencies.

The mission also had a variety of relationships with the other partners of the colonial team, the trading companies. These relationships were important enough for the mission Executive Committee to warn her staff against arousing the ire of the Niger Company. The question was asked whether or not "S.U.M. workers" should be allowed to engage in trading activities. The mission at first gave tentative approval, but added the warning that care must be taken, since anyone engaging in "any system of trade will have to face the resentment and opposition of the Niger Company."⁴³⁹ Needless to state perhaps, the mission was originally entirely dependent on the Niger Company for transport of its goods as well as for banking services. All the salaries of the missionaries were initially forwarded through the facilities of the company.⁴⁴⁰ The company offered to transport goods into the interior from the coast at exceptionally favourable rates,⁴⁴¹ while only six months later the additional offer was made to transfer the personal belongings of the missionaries completely free of charge.⁴⁴² It appears however, that some missionaries abused this privilege by shipping more than the agreement provided for and the company was subsequently compelled to become more stringent in its application of the measure.⁴⁴³ Missionaries themselves could travel by company steamer at two-thirds of the normal fare.⁴⁴⁴ In addition to such generous provisions for the mission, there were many specific acts and forms of aid the companies performed on behalf of the mission, some of which were discussed in the sections on Maxwell. One example not so far mentioned was that the Niger Company provided the coffin for the burial of Mrs. Hoskins.⁴⁴⁵ In view of such heavy dependence on the company, one readily understands the mission's hesitation to do anything that might offend this commercial giant.

The above paragraph is not designed to give the impression the association was wholly without its problems. There were points of friction, but they were only the type one would expect from organizations with overlapping interests but different motivations. There were a number of incidental cases of disagreement about specific transactions. When on account of a Tiv uprising, the mission lost valuable loads stored at the company's premises at Abinsi, the mission charged the latter with responsibility, but the company did not accept it on the

439. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

440. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

441. SUM 6, p. 106.

442. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

443. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

444. S.U.M. Manual, p. 4.

445. Dawson, 10 Sept/13 (J).

ground that such "risks lie outside of all ordinary business responsibility . . ."446 Other such disagreements occurred,447 but since they involved no more than problems about specific transactions, we will not dwell further on them: they cannot be regarded as a calling into question of the enterprise as a whole or of its assumptions.

The mission had also a cooperative relationship with the mining industry. Farrant, in his report of the Jarawa people, mentioned several instances where missionaries made use of mining facilities for residence or rest. Bristow itinerated along a route with five unoccupied mining camps which he used for rest houses. The Jarawan Kogi camp was temporarily used as mission residence, with the approval of the company.448 Yet the more than superficial difference of interests was well appreciated. Commenting on changes within the industry, Bailey predicted that "our opportunity of working upon a simple unspoilt population may be sacrificed to the greed of gain."449

3. The Liquor War

One aspect of colonial trade to which the S.U.M. strongly objected was that in cheap gin. Even though the problem was largely limited to Southern Nigeria — it had been banned in the North450 — the problem received much attention in the S.U.M.'s monthly. Bishop Tugwell received praise for his courageous attack on "the degrading traffic . . . carried on by unprincipled white traders among the pagan tribes of West Africa." He had been able to extract a promise from government officials that a commission would enquire into the entire situation. In the meantime, the bishop warned, "we must . . . be prepared for violent and organised opposition." The constituency was urged to "earnestly join with him in prayer" to have this "disastrous and immoral business" come to a conclusion.451 When the conclusions of the enquiry were published, British Christian leaders were hardly pleased. A conference was held at Cambridge at which their disagreement was publicly aired and, later, reproduced in *The Lightbearer*. The government was challenged to repudiate the conclusions of the report and to strike a blow at the trade, which was said to be in violation of the Brussels General Act, "discreditable to the British name," "derogatory to true Imperialism," and ultimately "disastrous to British trade."452 An editorial from *The Times* was reproduced in the mission's magazine that explained the difficulties involved in proscribing the trade. It was not a matter of British trading interests, for it was manufactured by the Dutch and Germans; "no harm would

446. SUM 6, p. 317.

447. SUM 1, p. 221.

448. "The Jarawa" (J).

449. SUM 6, p. 165.

450. LB, Oct/11, p. 175.

451. LB, Jan/09, p. 7.

452. LB, Dec/10, pp. 243-244.

be done to British trade interests if the traffic were abolished tomorrow.” The point was that the trade had been the source of much of the revenue on which development plans were based.⁴⁵³ In 1908, for example, spirit revenues amounted to more than double the income from all other trading activities combined.⁴⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the editor expressed his hope that public opinion would reject this as a legitimate source of income for these plans.⁴⁵⁵

One might enquire as to the reasons the S.U.M. gave so much publicity to this controversy, in view of the fact that the trade was proscribed in the north. One reason undoubtedly was that, though proscribed, its effects were not lacking in the north, for smuggling appears to have been practiced on a large scale,⁴⁵⁶ and drunkenness was on the increase.⁴⁵⁷ Mary Kingsley, no admirer of missions, suggested that missions were using this crusade as a means of whipping up support from a constituency instinctively favourable to such activities. She emphasized that in West Africa there is not one quarter of the drunkenness in Great Britain and not “one seventieth part of the evil, degradation and premature decay.”⁴⁵⁸ That temperance crusades were popular at home is no secret to readers of earlier chapters, nor the prevalence of alcoholism. We are inclined to view the mission crusades as simply additional support for our themes that these missions were an extension of the home front and therefore we can only expect such parallel activities. However, Kingsley’s suggestion cannot be rejected altogether.

One could argue that a discussion on the liquor trade logically fits into our earlier discussion of economic developments. However, that discussion was in the context of describing the mission’s enthusiastic support for the colonial venture, whereas this trade was considered an aberration of it. This trade was not regarded as an expression of the deepest nature of colonialism, but as a perversion of it. The matter is thus an illustration how the S.U.M. could militate against aspects of colonialism without opposing colonialism itself by reducing such negatives to aberrations incidental to true colonialism.

4. Miscellaneous Relationships with Government and General Attitudes

The most prominent example of early cooperation between mission and government – and the one most free from friction – was the Freed Slaves’ Home. The notion of the mission taking over the home from the government came originally from government quarters.⁴⁵⁹ The government granted the

453. *The Times*, 10 Apr/09, reproduced in LB, May/09, pp. 118-119.

454. LB, Oct/11, p. 175.

455. LB, May/09, pp. 118-119.

456. LB, Dec/10, p. 244.

457. *Resolutions Adopted by the Missionary Conference*, pp. 5, 16. The resolutions of 1910 are reproduced in LB, Oct/10, p. 204.

458. Moorhouse, pp. 269-270.

459. Kumm letters, 9 May/05 (J); 5 Oct/06 (J); 31 Oct/06 (J); 3 Apr/08 (J). SUM 1, p. 78.

inmates as well as uncultivated land for this purpose.⁴⁶⁰ When the home was later to be moved to Wukari, the government provided the necessary barges free of charge, thus saving the mission at least £100.⁴⁶¹ In view of the fact that an unknown highly-placed official instructed government officials to render every possible assistance to the S.U.M. for this project,⁴⁶² the mission did not hesitate to press for across-the-board financial assistance from the government for the home.⁴⁶³ The upshot was that in 1912 Guinter wrote a letter to the Resident of the province expressing the mission's profound gratitude for "the sympathetic attitude and continual courtesy shown towards them by the various Government Officials . . ."⁴⁶⁴ The government in turn was happy with the S.U.M.'s performance.⁴⁶⁵

As in the case with Maxwell, so did the mission as a whole relate to the government in a myriad of ways. It will be recalled that Maxwell used to cash checks at the companies' facilities in Ibi. Later, however, the S.U.M. decided to use government channels for the transfer of funds to Nigeria.⁴⁶⁶ The reason for the switch was economic: the government was expected to render this service free of charge.⁴⁶⁷ The government built a church at Lokoja by means of prisoners' labour at no cost to the C.M.S. mission.⁴⁶⁸ We already know that Maxwell used to tutor officials in Hausa for a fee. The home office's interest in this relationship was not pecuniary so much as its usefulness in promoting "respectful and happy relations."⁴⁶⁹ The government gave discounts for missionary travel on their steamers,⁴⁷⁰ the government physician at Ibi reduced charges for treating missionaries to about one quarter of normal fees.⁴⁷¹ The death of Mrs. Hoskins provided an occasion of perfectly harmonious interplay between the various British agencies in Ibi. All the Europeans, no less than 19 in number, attended the funeral. The Niger Company, it will be remembered, had the coffin made. Government officers had the grave dug, supplied pallbearers in the form of a police squad and draped the coffin with the British flag. Mrs. Ruxton sent a "beautiful cross of flowers."⁴⁷² Occasionally missionaries would obtain vital information about tribes from government sources.⁴⁷³

460. SUM 1, p. 177. Kumm, 27 Feb/08 (J).

461. J6, 31 Oct/17.

462. Letter from Zunguru, 22 Nov/06 (J). LB, Feb/08, p. 31.

463. Redmayne, July/08. Exact date not recorded. (J).

464. 6 Jan/12 (J).

465. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 15.

466. SUM 1, p. 339.

467. SUM 6, pp. 642, 652.

468. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

469. *Ibid.*, p. 602.

470. SUM Manual, p. 4.

471. Dawson, 22 June/14 (J).

472. Dawon, 10 Sept/13 (J).

473. Dawson, 22 June/14 (J).

Occasionally government officers would suggest likely tribes or places to begin work. One resident, having visited a mountain tribe near the Cameroon border, suggested that the mission open work there, for the people were "open for workers."⁴⁷⁴ Ruxton advised the S.U.M. to begin work among workers at a new bridge across the Benue.⁴⁷⁵ Lot supplied the information that one missionary Hayward functioned also as district officer. At his retirement, Rowe, an official of some standing, was prompted to write a letter to the S.U.M. expressing his pleasure at the cordial relationships he had enjoyed with the staff in Nigeria.⁴⁷⁶ At the last meeting of the executive committee of the mission during the period covered in this chapter, Lugard was suggested as a possible speaker at a public meeting the S.U.M. was about to organize for purposes of fund raising.⁴⁷⁷

One aspect of these relationships between missions and government may at first glance appear to be mere polite pleasantries. We refer here to the fact that occasionally government officials would introduce missionaries to local traditional dignitaries. The Ibi Resident's introduction of Baker to the King has already been mentioned. Frank Aust related how, when an assistant resident toured Yergum country "in order to see whether the people had settled down," Aust was asked to accompany him to the King, whereupon the official "VERY KINDLY OFFICIALLY INTRODUCED THE MISSION."⁴⁷⁸ The effect of such introductions were more than mere innocent gestures of politeness: to the Nigerian they indicated a unity of purpose and effort on the part of government and mission; they inferred that the military force buttressing the authority of the colonial government would likewise serve the interest of the mission. These impressions were further strengthened by the frequency of social intercourse between missionaries and officials. Since we do not have extensive personal accounts for this section like Maxwell's diaries, we have few accounts of such intercourse, except a brief diary kept by Farrant that indicates the Ruxton's were over for dinner at the mission about once a month from January till May, 1914.⁴⁷⁹

In the next period, medical work became a prominent area of cooperation between mission and government, but in the initial period there is little of it. Some medical work was done in Wukari, but it was minor in scope. At the end of 1913, the government approached the mission to consider work among leprosy patients,⁴⁸⁰ but the home office expressed itself negatively.⁴⁸¹

474. *After Many Days*, p. 22.

475. J6, 20-21 Aug/14. The construction site is referred to as "close to Abinsi," a flourishing Jukun fishing community now overshadowed by Makurdi, the town that sprung up at the bridge and is now the capital for Benue State.

476. SUM 4, p. 9.

477. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

478. LB, Mar/09, p. 68. Capitalization original.

479. (J).

480. Redmayne, 13 Dec/13 (J).

481. Dawson, 26 Feb/14 (J).

Though the facts presented above would give the impression of carefree relationships with government officials, nothing could be further from the truth. There were, a myriad points of friction, strong friction, that makes one almost wonder about the sincerity and truth of the glowing tributes the mission publicly paid to the colonial venture. There was a general attitude of mutual suspicion that was never far from the surface. One month Bailey had cause to expect "happier relationships with the Administration;"⁴⁸² the next he confided to a colleague that the attitudes of a certain official did "not augur well for our work." Two years later, Bailey complained that the governor's report on the S.U.M. was "miserably inadequate and altogether misleading,"⁴⁸³ an accusation similar to Emlyn's who lamented that "Ruxton has been lying as usual about our mission."⁴⁸⁴

In view of these circumstances, one is not surprised at the mission's insistence that not every missionary have direct access to the government, but that communications should be channeled through headquarters, a measure so important that it received place in the Principles and Constitution adopted in 1907:

In view of the particular difficulties incidental to missionary work in Pagan and Moslem lands, recently brought under the control of a European Government, and the danger of political complications, too great care and prudence cannot be exercised by the missionaries, and no step likely to involve the work in such complications should be taken without consulting the Field Council, who will immediately report to the Directors if likely to develop into a matter of importance or difficulty. Any correspondence or negotiations with Government officials locally should be immediately reported to the Council of Directors.⁴⁸⁵

A field secretary was to be appointed who would conduct all communications with the government on behalf of all the branches.⁴⁸⁶ In addition, the International Council was charged with the responsibility of settling basic policies and political matters pertaining to government in order to ensure a unified approach.⁴⁸⁷ In 1908 Kumm was appointed to deal with all negotiations with the government, especially with reference to the opening up of new stations and traveling in the country, but this was qualified with an "if possible," it being realized that often a person in Nigeria would be in better position to carry on some of this.⁴⁸⁸

Failure to comply with this regulation by missionaries occasionally created problems. Missionary Barton had been conducting such "illegal" correspondence with the Resident of Central Province, which led to a controversy between him and Dawson, the field secretary, and to misunderstanding on the part of the

482. SUM 6, p. 1.

483. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

484. Emlyn, 3 Dec/09 (J).

485. Principles and Constitution of the S.U.M., p. 6 (J).

486. *Ibid.*

487. *Ibid.*

488. Memo of interview with Captain Ruxton, 19 Mar/08 (J).

government. The case called for discipline, wrote Dawson, and he threatened that if the mission were to take no action, "it would be quite impossible for me to continue to act as Field Secretary. No one could . . . work under such conditions."⁴⁸⁹

The mission experienced no little anxiety that relations with the government be as amicable as possible. A tribute was minuted upon the retirement of Aust for health reasons: ". . . it is gladly recognized that in his tactful dealing with the British authorities . . . he did much to disarm prejudice or to make the way easier . . . It is impossible to over-estimate the value of such work."⁴⁹⁰ Though the mission tried her best to stay on good terms, she was forced into so many confrontations with officials that Dawson, commenting on a home minute about the high reputation of the S.U.M. with the government, wondered just who had such a reputation, for he saw little evidence of the mission's popularity with the government.⁴⁹¹ This anxiety covered also the contents of the magazine: "All the Government men around here read the 'L.B.' as a rule," we are informed, "hence our anxiety at times regarding its contents."⁴⁹²

5. Education Palavers

Lugard, it will be remembered, was interested in missions' taking the burden of the education of Pagans upon themselves. Maxwell was also interested and was agreeable to grants to this end, provided control of the schools would remain in mission hands. Governor Bell had similar interests in order to forestall the advance of Islam.⁴⁹³ The 1910 Lokoja Conference welcomed grants from the government, but on Maxwell's condition of retention of control.⁴⁹⁴

Not much came of it, but by 1913 discussions and consultations on the subject increased. The 1913 Lokoja conference expressed interest in training students for the civil service and for commercial clerks; they intended to seek government advice and cooperation in the matter.⁴⁹⁵ They also declared themselves to favour cooperation with the government in the production of textbooks "and in other questions pertaining to education."⁴⁹⁶ In 1914, the mission discussed these matters with the government's education officer, Hans Visscher.⁴⁹⁷ In 1915, the S.U.M. accepted the government's offer to sell textbooks to the mission.⁴⁹⁸ Field Secretary Dawson expressed the basic idea

489. Dawson, 21 Oct/14 (J) and 7 Dec/14 (J).

490. SUM 1, p. 231.

491. Dawson, 22 Nov/13 (J).

492. Dawson, 2 Dec/13 (J).

493. LB, Apr/11, p. 65.

494. Resolution no. 12. LB, Oct/10, p. 97.

495. Resolution no. 22.

496. Resolution no. 37.

497. J6, 20-21 Aug/14.

498. J6, 9 Nov/15.

entertained by the missionaries on this issue. It is the government's business to promote education, while the mission is interested only in evangelism and training of church leaders. Hence, the mission should "secure the advantage for Christianity of the education by Government to the people." This should be done by placing a teacher in each school to teach religion and by issuing Christian literature. Visscher was reported to have stated that the government would expect the missions to supply the teachers for "distinctly Christian religious instruction." He concluded, "We think, therefore, that it is a matter for congratulation that Government should save us the trouble of issuing school books and opening schools, and leave us free . . . to devote our energies to more direct Christian propaganda."⁴⁹⁹

In 1913, the government planned an elementary school in Ibi, the site of the mission's headquarters, for chiefs' sons. Both Ruxton and Visscher wanted a missionary as headmaster who would be paid by the government, but they were alone in government for favouring such mission involvement; their colleagues opposed it. Dawson favoured the arrangement because the alternative would be a Muslim principal, while the mission would be allowed merely to come in occasionally to teach religion. Dawson looked at it in the spirit of the previous letter: it would amount to the government "paying our men to do the work the Mission sent them out to do, and providing the scholars for them to teach and win for Christ; and Government can get pupils in a way we cannot."⁵⁰⁰ The plans did not materialize, for Ruxton went on leave and that left no one on the scene pushing for the mission.⁵⁰¹

Besides the two officials mentioned, other government men displayed no real interest in mission participation in education. They would not prohibit Christian teaching, but neither would they do anything to secure it. The only other ones available were Muslims, who, though they would be prohibited from actively promoting their faith, would still have other means available to make their impression on scholars.⁵⁰²

Ruxton, eager for mission-government cooperation in education, when he saw his Ibi plans dashed, suggested to Dawson that the S.U.M. make an offer directly to Lugard, who was by then Governor-General of all Nigeria, to cooperate.⁵⁰³ While on home leave, Ruxton met unofficially with mission executives in London and suggested ecumenical pressure on the government.⁵⁰⁴

Already prior to Ruxton's suggestions, the mission at home had approached Lugard together with the C.M.S.⁵⁰⁵ and a working agreement had been made

499. Dawson, 5 Sept/14 (J).

500. Dawson, 19 Sept/13 (J).

501. Dawson, 5 Dec/13 (J).

502. Dawson, 10 Sept/13 (J) and 19 Sept/13 (J).

503. Dawson, 2 Dec/13 (J).

504. Redmayne, 16 Mar/14 (J).

505. Redmayne, 15 Nov/13 (J).

between the two missions to regularly address the government jointly on educational matters.⁵⁰⁶ The result was a considerable number of joint presentations, including the letter in which the missions offered to assist the government in education.⁵⁰⁷ A more Lugardian policy was finally offered to the missions at the eve of our period.

In spite of all the controversies and policy decisions during the course of the decade, it still had to be said that at this point government education for Pagans was practically non-existent. The provincial government had appointed a clergyman, Bargery, as Director of Education in Pagan Areas and missions were *asked* to cooperate in education. The aim was education with a strong emphasis on character building and religion. In Pagan areas only the Christian religion was to be taught, not Islam. Religious instruction was, furthermore, to be compulsory for these schools, though objectors had the right to be excused during this time. The policy was judged so favourably by the mission that they not only agreed to participate, but also placed some of their own schools in this government scheme. It was also agreed that graduates from approved mission schools would be recognized as proper graduates and eligible to compete for positions on the same basis as graduates from government schools. All of these matters were discussed and agreed on at a meeting of the Resident and the S.U.M.⁵⁰⁸

At one level, then, the struggle by the mission for cooperation with the government in education had been won, but at another front new frictions arose. The missions' wish for government grants to supplement the income of *mission* schools has already been noted earlier. Farrant recorded some of his efforts with the government in this line; it was obviously a struggle, but one from which the missions emerged as victors.⁵⁰⁹ By about 1916, it began to appear that these grants were not without strings, for the government presented an ordinance prohibiting grants to mission schools established after the law went into effect. The ordinance in effect curbed the establishment of new schools, for the mission's resources were too slender to continue their expansion program without such grants. It represented an attempt of the Colonial Office to oppose the uncontrolled expansion of mission education even in the non-Moslem area.⁵¹⁰

The missions, especially the S.U.M. in conjunction with the C.M.S., objected strongly to the measure. The Acting Field Secretary wrote a letter of protest to the Governor-General in Lagos in which he listed 3 objections: (a) it was discriminatory; (b) its definition of "schools" was too wide so as to include even ecclesiastical gatherings such as choirs, Sunday schools, catechumenate classes, and even sewing classes c.s.; (c) it was in effect a withdrawal of the earlier

506. SUM 3, pp. 165-166.

507. *Ibid.*, 16 Dec/13, p. 172.

508. 16 Dec/18 (J).

509. Feb/74.

510. Crampton, p. 93.

promises of cooperation in Pagan education. The letter ended with an implied threat: "The present Ordinance . . . would scarcely appeal to our friends and supporters in the Homeland as an 'encouragement'."⁵¹¹ At the home front, both the C.M.S. and the S.U.M. appealed to the Colonial Office and the S.I.M. was encouraged to do likewise.⁵¹² Only two months later the executive committee of the S.U.M. received the reply: the ordinance had been approved and there was no hope of repeal.⁵¹³ The missions did not relent, however, for Farrant reported a "desultory correspondence for about five years with a succession of officials." Success was obtained, but that story takes us into the next period.⁵¹⁴

At the final meeting of the executive committee during our period, held one day after the meeting in Nigeria with the Resident of Muri Province, the S.U.M. secretary was instructed to investigate British educational codes in other British African colonies "for comparison with that in Nigeria and further action there anent if necessary."⁵¹⁵ And with that threatening pose on the part of the mission our period drew to its close.

6. Matters of Location

From Chapter 2 the reader will recall certain conditions Lugard entertained for missions to operate. One of these was that local rulers had to invite them; opposition on the part of the rulers would mean automatic exclusion of the mission. This rule held especially for predominantly Muslim areas. Furthermore, missions were expected to uphold the prestige of the Caucasian, the underlying myth that formed the basis of British power. In many clear-cut cases where the people were clearly Pagan and where the ruler was no Muslim, there would be little friction, but there were many border cases where tension could run high and, in the case of Wase, even lead to eviction. We will briefly examine 2 instances of such confrontations, one of them involving Wase.

With respect to Wase, various problems cropped up that brought friction between the missionaries and the Chief. The government felt it necessary to warn the mission to do all in their power to avoid such frictions and it cleared up certain misunderstandings the mission appeared to have entertained about the taxes to be paid by their labourers.⁵¹⁶ The tax palaver at Wase took on sufficient proportions to lead the Resident to write another letter to the Wase staff ordering them to refrain from interference in political affairs.⁵¹⁷ This

511. SUM 3, p. 338. Letter from Ag. Field Sec., no name, but probably Ginter, and no date; it was a response to government Gazette no. 61, 29 Nov/17 (J).

512. SUM 3, p. 338. SUM 4, p. 4.

513. SUM 4, p. 7.

514. Feb/74, p. 5.

515. SUM 4, p. 18.

516. Asst. Resident of Muri, 9 Jan/06 (J).

517. SUM 1, p. 111.

problem was solved, and the mission breathed a sigh of relief when she was fully exonerated.⁵¹⁸ This exoneration, however, did not benefit them greatly with respect to Wase, as we shall shortly see. In the meantime, the mission requested permission "to preach and teach in Wase."⁵¹⁹ The station was outside the city walls, it must be understood, but now the mission sought to work inside the town, a Muslim citadel. Permission was granted, but before long it was withdrawn again and the mission was advised not to spend more money on its Wase station, for there was the possibility that they might have to abandon it.⁵²⁰ The following excerpt is a good example of the type of intra- government correspondence on this and similar issues relating to the S.U.M. The Acting Resident of Muri wrote to a higher authority at headquarters:

. . . the Mission has not had the entire good will of the Wase people and I do not think that it is desirable that they should be allowed to remain there any longer than necessary, except perhaps to use their present quarters as a rest camp. Their great ambition being to get into any touch with pagans, I fail to understand why they have gone to the trouble of building a big station . . . when it would so obviously have been more useful somewhere on or near the river where their stores etc. must be unloaded.⁵²¹

The mission negotiated and protested against an actual eviction, but it was faced with a direct order from Lugard himself. The various issues that gave rise to this eviction notice were complicated and many, so that we have chosen to reproduce a lengthy part of the letter containing the order, for we could hardly describe the problems more succinctly ourselves.

Government House
Northern Nigeria
Zunguru, 24th Feb., 1906

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Resident of the Muri Province reports to me as follows:

(18. *Missions*) "With reference to the request of the Sudan United Mission for permission to open a school and hold religious services in the town of Wase (which I reported in my letter No.507/05 and which Your Excellency has referred to me for a further report) my remark that I saw no objection to purely secular instructions being given was made too hastily and based on the statement of the mission that the Serikin Wase had actually invited them to open a school, and welcomed the idea. Further information, however, leads me to believe that if the Seriki did give such an invitation, it could not have been a very cordial one and more probably consisted merely of polite acquiescence in a request which he believed to be supported by the administration.

(19.) Mr. Berkeley, as Assistant Resident, reports from Wase that the mission and the Seriki are by no means on good terms. The former complained that the Seriki accepts

518. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

519. Burt, 13 Jan/06 (J).

520. Lugard, 2 Sept/06 (J).

521. Gordon, 11 Sept/06 (J).

their money and does nothing for them in return, and that they find difficulty in obtaining supplies. The Seriki, on the other hand, complains that they try to induce his people to leave the town and that their labourers behave in a very truculent manner when they come into Wase. For some reason, possibly because Dr. Kumm is a German, the missionaries are locally known as "Germans"⁵²² and popular rumour credits them with being the emissaries of a rival administration trying to undermine our influence. Their presence is now at any rate, whatever may have been his original sentiments, far from welcome to the Seriki, who no doubt voices the opinion of the Mohammedan "big men" of the town. Mr. Berkeley says, "There is constant friction between the king and the mission folk. The king told me that the mission was only waiting till they were strong enough to oust the Government and he added that, when Lt. Pearson and his Company came here (for field training in December), he (the king) was in hopes that the troops had been sent to drive the mission out of the place. If permission is granted to them to start a school in the town I am certain from what they told me that they intend to make it the thin edge of the wedge, and to begin a religious crusade under cover of teaching English.

(20.) I think this is extremely probable. Wase is a Mohammedan town. The Mohammedan view is that children should learn to read the Koran in the first place, and Mohammedan schools are semi-religious institutions, where religious teaching is given. The establishment of a rival mission school in the town might I think appear to be aimed directly at the Mohammedan religion.

(21.) Whatever may be the real belief of the Serikin Wase as to the objects of the mission the relations now existing between them seem to indicate that the methods employed by the mission have not been very tactful. In view of the above considerations I would venture to express my opinion that any attempt either to teach or to hold services in Wase should be expressly forbidden. The mission station is near the town, and any one who wishes for Mission instruction can easily go there.

(22.) It would by this time probably be safe for the mission to establish a station, experimentally at any rate, in the Yergum country, which is entirely pagan and independent of Wase."

(23.) When you consulted me on the question of the establishment of a mission in this district, you most emphatically assured me that it was intended solely for Pagans, and you had no intention of touching Mohammedan centres. When you asked permission to go to Wase, I pointed out that it was a Mohammedan town, and I was most reluctant that you should settle there, but I understood that it was only temporary until you could select a station in the Pagan area. In the circumstances described in Mr. Gowers' report, I regret I am unable to concur in your remaining at Wase or in any preaching or teaching in that Mohammedan centre, which is entirely opposed both to our original understanding and to the policy of this Government, which has consistently refused to force Christianity upon Mohammedans, and has only consented to the establishment of missions where the Native Chiefs and people are not opposed to them. This view I placed before Dr. Kumm, and I understood that he thoroughly concurred in it.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(signed) Lugard
High Commissioner.

522. The station was locally known as "Gidan German," i.e. "The German House."
(Ruxton, 25 Mar/07 (J).

Not only does this letter present us with the various problems, but many of these problems occurred in connection with other communities as well; they were representative. There was no doubt on the part of the government as to the actuality of the invitation. If it were indeed extended, it was probably because of a misunderstanding on the emir's side. There were the problems of services and remuneration, of truculent behaviour on the part of the mission's workers. There was also suspicion of the missionaries' tactlessness. And, of course, there was the fact of Wase's Islam status.

Though the archives are not complete, we reproduce some of the correspondence concerning a station at Kwinkum. Again, various representative issues are brought to the fore in this correspondence.

S.U.M, Kwinkum
Feb. 18/06

To the Resident of Bauchi Province

Sir,

We are now in a position to accept the invitation of the last Resident, Mr. Temple, to begin work in Bauchi province, having been invited by the King of Kamum to come among his people and live at Kwinkam.⁵²³ One of our missionaries, Mr. J. Young, is now living here. Mr. F. Aust will also come in about a month and reside in the country and before we decide on a permanent site we are building temporary huts 10 minutes West of the King's house. I respectfully ask permission to acquire a building site and garden in the district. Also that they may be allowed to travel in Burum country. If you have any suggestion as to a suitable place for a Mission house, we shall gladly hear from you, as we are anxious to develop tribes among whom we may work or of the restricted areas in Bauchi province.

I am Yours,
J.G. Burt, Pioneer Camp, Wase

Before the above letter reached the resident, he had already heard of the S.U.M.'s moving into the area and was highly offended at the mission's apparent ignoring of the government in such important matters. Here is his letter that crossed that of Burt.

Resident Bauchi Province
Feb. 20/06

To the Wase Mission

I understand from the Sarikin⁵²⁴ Kanna that you propose to establish yourself at Quinquam, and he has sent to ask me whether he is to offer you facilities for building. 2. This is the first time that I have heard of your proposal to establish yourself in Bauchi province, and I have to inform you that I cannot allow you to establish yourself in any part of it, until I have been communicated with on the subject, and until I have had the

523. The name is spelled differently throughout this correspondence.

524. "Chief" in Hausa.

opportunity of discussing the matter with the local chief. 3. You will be good enough on receipt of this letter either to meet me at Bauchi or to return to Wase, as I consider it unsafe to travel in the Kanna country unescorted until I have approached the people through their chief. 4. The Sarkin Kanna has had instruction not to build you a house.

O. Howard
Resident of Bauchi
Feb. 21/06

Mr. Burt, Kwinkum

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th. As you will have learnt from my letter of the 19th, I cannot agree to your remaining either in Kanna or any other part of the Bauchi Province.

2. The Sarkin Kanna has sent a messenger to me requesting that you should not remain in his country. 3. I shall be glad to discuss with you later any proposals that you may have to make regarding starting Missions in Pagan districts, and after I have obtained His Excellency the High Commissioner's sanction, I have no doubt that the necessary arrangements can be made. 4. At present it is unsafe for you to remain or to travel in the Bauchi province without an escort, and I do not consider that the time is well chosen for starting Missionary stations.

O. Howard
S.U.M. Kanna
Feb. 25/06

Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th. In accord with your command to see me at Bauchi I am on my way thither. Here I met Mr. Chey, who told me of the dangerous state of the country. I have decided to return to Wase as I do not wish to burden you with the care of another white man if any fighting should taken place. You say that the request of the King of Kanna to be allowed to build huts for us was the first you have heard of our intention to begin work in Bauchi province. I humbly apologize for not asking your permission. The reasons for not doing so are: - 1. We have the last Resident's permission, Mr. Temple. 2. His Excellency High Commissionar's words are something like this: I would advise you to settle first near Wase, where supplies can be had and then go into Bauchi province. 3. Three times has the King of Kanna invited us. In the face of these we did not think it needful to ask permission, although my letter of the 18th was written informing you of our move immediately we arrived in Quinquam. Seven out of nine huts desired were almost finished when your letter arrived, the roofs only being necessary to complete them before all work is finished. Now I would ask you to oblige me by asking the King to put roofs on them so that the rain won't spoil them. We have paid a good sum of money for them and so are desirous that they be preserved if possible.

John G. Burt.⁵²⁵

525. Another copy of this letter was located with slight differences in pronouns and spelling. We have no standard by which to judge the more accurate.

S.U.M. Kanna
Feb. 25/06

Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st. I am surprised that the King of Kanna has sent a messenger asking you not to allow us to remain in his country. As I have said in my letter in an answer to yours of the 20th: he has invited us three times to his country. When we arrived in Kwinkum on the 16th, he again expressed his pleasure at our coming and at once began building . . . building 7 huts in 2 days, this shows how anxious he is to have us. In another way also he has shown his eagerness to have us among his people, e.g. he gave one of our representatives a present of his own accord of a beautiful horse worth about ten pounds. I am glad to see that work among the Pagans in the Bauchi province. As we have a few men waiting and more coming, I am eager for fixing the day sometime in March to discuss matters with you.

John G. Burt

Resident Bauchi
Feb. 28/06

Mr. Burt,

I am in receipt of your two letters of the 25th: I have sent for the Sarkin Kanna and shall ascertain his views as to your establishing a Mission station in his country. 2. I shall be in Bauchi for the next two or three weeks . . . and shall be delighted to discuss matters with you if you care to come here.

O. Howard

The following is an extract from Resident Howard's report to the High Commissioner dated 31 March/06.

The S.U.M. established itself in Kanna district not only without consulting me, but without informing me that they had done so, I accordingly instructed them to leave the place until I had an opportunity to ascertain the Sarkin Kanna's views, and until I had received Your Excellency's instructions.

It appears that the members of the Mission . . . behaved in a very high handed way, ordering work to be done for which no actual payment was made, demanding the Sarkin Kanna's horse as a dash and making an inadequate return. I spoke to Mr. Burt on the subject and told him that unless he made adequate payment for the horse and the work, I should deal with the matter in . . . court. These people are entirely ignorant of the laws . . . , and appear to think that they are at liberty to give orders to Native Chiefs. I disillusioned Mr. Burt on this point.

I think that they could not do much harm at Bukuru and might do good, but they would require watching.

The Emir of Bauchi is alarmed lest the Missionaries should be allowed to settle in his Emirate If ever they do come in this Emirate, it would be advisable to increase the Military Force in order to protect them.

Lugard responded with the following comments:

I am glad you spoke plainly and you would, of course, take any necessary action

in . . . court. I am sending extracts of your remarks to the head of the Mission. Tell the Emir that it has been my invariable custom to forbid Missionaries to go to any place unless the Emir and the Resident welcome them. I promise them not to interfere with their religion as long as I am here. I have no intention of changing this procedure. I certainly should not dream of increasing the Force to protect Missionaries.⁵²⁶

Suspicious on the part of the reader that perhaps the missionaries had gone into the area fully expecting government opposition, but hoping to force them into agreeing to the new station by such sly methods should evaporate on reading Burt's explanation to Kumm, an intermural communication: "We did not write before, not knowing or thinking it necessary to so do, seeing Mr. Temple knew our intention as also . . . Lugard."⁵²⁷ The next document is a government demand that the mission explain "as to why the provisions of the lands proclamation have been set aside, and to inform you that if there is any repetition of such conduct, legal proceedings will be instituted against your Mission." This letter indicates that a similar offence had been committed at Semankar in Muri Province, a fact which would add fuel to the fire.⁵²⁸ Wallace, Acting High Commissioner, addressed Kumm on these problems, explaining that

. . . there was a strong political reason against the establishment of a Mission station. The Secretary Mr. Burt has explained that they acted in error through their ignorance of the "Lands Proclamation"⁵²⁹ and I have willingly accepted his explanation . . .⁵³⁰
 . . . it is necessary for me to point out to you the grave embarrassment which may be caused by such irresponsible action on the part of the S.U.M. . . .

I have now arranged that the Mission shall be granted all facilities should they desire to establish stations in Wukari . . . or in the Bukuru or Angas districts . . . These districts are . . . the most suitable for . . . mission stations.

I shall be travelling up the Benue river towards the end of this month and I will endeavour, having due regard to political exigencies, to arrange with the members of the Mission for the establishment of such stations as they may desire.⁵³¹

Here we have a warning by a known sympathizer of missions, indicating that the problem did not arise out of hostility only. It is also a good example of how the government tried in various ways to direct the mission's interest to different areas considered more pliable; there are several documents indicating that the government was consciously attempting to redirect the S.U.M.'s interest.

The controversy raged on into 1908, with Howard continuing to insist that the mission had been guilty of all the misdemeanours originally accused of:

526. Extracts from H.E.'s comments on Resident Howard's Report No. 27 for Quarter ending 31st March '06. Paragr. 106 to 107. (J).

527. J7, 8 Apr/06.

528. Sec. to the Administration, 3 May/06 (J).

529. This letter has not been located in the archives.

530. Remember that Wallace was pro-mission.

531. 1 Aug/06 (J).

... the S.U.M. did demand and receive dashes from Native Chiefs for which they made inadequate payment. E.g. one of the representatives of the S.U.M. who proceeded to Quenquam without authority, asked for the Sarkin Kanna's horse, the return present given was valued at from £1.10 to £2. The horse was returned on my threatening to take legal action, and was sold, later, ... for £8. ... Mr. Burt and another representative of the S.U.M., when proceeding to Bauchi, did not pay an adequate amount for provisions supplied ... their defence being that the food was a "dash." Mr. Burt instructed the Sarikin Kanna to build houses for him at Quenquam, no payment was made or promised until I threatened this gentleman with legal proceedings. I have to add that Sarikin Kanna reported to me and his statement was supported by several witnesses that when Burt settled at Quenquam, Sarikin Kanna desired to report the matter to the Resident, but was ordered not to do so by Burt.⁵³²

However, when the mission finally demanded a full-scale investigation into the entire complex of problems, the government refused to accede. Lugard considered "that after this lapse of time and owing to difficulty in collecting evidence no good purpose would be served by acceding to your desire for a formal enquiry."⁵³³ Kwinkum was by no means the only focus of this type of controversy. Semankar and Wase also were such, but few are the issues that have not surfaced in the "Kwinkum correspondence." One issue that generated considerable heat was the charge that Burt had sent an enquiry to the Emir of Bauchi whether or not he had any complaints against the government,⁵³⁴ a charge the mission promptly denied.⁵³⁵

7. The Presence of Women

A more definable issue causing dissonance between mission and government was the presence of women, a problem we have already met in connection with Maxwell. Originally, the government objected to the presence of all, but later married ladies were permitted except at the Freed Slaves' Home,⁵³⁶ already in 1908 we read of conditions under which they would be allowed, namely "suitable homes ... in which they will be entirely separate from married and unmarried men."⁵³⁷ At the 1910 Lokoja conference a polite resolution was passed expressing the desire for a "larger measure of liberty ... in the location of unmarried lady missionaries."⁵³⁸

During World War I a problem arose concerning the presence of Mrs. Farrant in Ibi. The Resident had declared the town unsafe, an action labeled "nonsense"

532. Letter to Sec. of Administration, no date, except, 1908 (J).

533. Ag. Sec. to the Administration, 1 Apr/08 (J). Two main references in London documents to the controversy are SUM 1, p. 160 and SUM 6, p. 223.

534. Howard, 10 Dec/06 (J) and 11 Feb/08 (J).

535. 10 Jan/07 (J).

536. Redmayne, 14 Nov/11 (J).

537. SUM 1, p. 177. Kumm, 27 Feb/08 (J).

538. Resolution no. 8.

by Dawson, for other places, such as Wukari and Zaki Biam, were not so declared even though they were closer to the front. He planned to inform the Resident that he would not conform to the measure and that he would appeal it to the Governor if necessary. Though not keen on "a row with the Resident," "sometimes it cannot be helped." He asked the executive committee at home to decide on the course he should follow.⁵³⁹

8. The Quarter-Mile Rule and Lease Palavers

In Chapter 2 as well as in our discussion of Maxwell we have learned of the Lugardian quarter-mile rule. This issue aroused considerable emotion in the mission and was the occasion for much correspondence and activity, for it was experienced as a serious obstruction to effective communication with the people. Dawson described the ruling as "a rather ridiculous one and would make our stations of very little use excepting as dwelling places . . . ; they could scarcely be called centres of work with the natives kept at a safe distance . . ." ⁵⁴⁰ One disputed site was that of the South African station at Zaki Biam which was recommended by officials at Zunguru, the capital, but about which the government later had second thoughts because of proximity to the village. Dawson wrote,

Should the Government try to insist on their ruling . . . , I do not see anything for it but to fight them on the point. They have the trading companies up against them . . . , and we cannot afford to give in; there must be a limit to their power of making ridiculous rules.⁵⁴¹

The government had suggested that the people could easily walk that distance to the mission, a reply dubbed "absurd." "It tempts one to be sarcastic," commented Dawson, "one would like to say things, . . . but it would not pay."⁵⁴²

He expected that the companies would also register protest against the measure,⁵⁴³ even though it did not affect them in the same way. Since the rule concerned residence, not trading site, the companies did not feel as hampered by it as did the S.U.M. The Niger Company, for one, was able to claim exemption to it on basis of a territorial clause in their agreement with the government. Furthermore, the rule was not enforced as strictly with respect to them, for there were "a great number of Europeans occupying places within 400 yards . . ." ⁵⁴⁴ Thus the missions regarded it as a specifically anti-mission measure.⁵⁴⁵

The S.U.M. engaged in many negotiations with the government about the

539. Dawson, 1 Mar/15 (J).

540. Dawson, 8 July/13 (J).

541. 18 Nov/13 (J).

542. 5 Feb/14 (J).

543. Dawson, 8 July/13 (J) and 18 Nov/13 (J).

544. Dawson, 12 Jan/14 (J).

545. Farrant, Feb/74, p. 11.

location of individual stations as well as about the law itself. We will here trace summarily the development of the controversy as it touched upon the Donga station. There had been a probing correspondence between mission and government about this particular station. The S.U.M. had established itself in the centre of the town on basis of an agreement with the local Chief and was paying a monthly rent of 10 shillings, an illegal arrangement, according to Ruxton,⁵⁴⁶ but somewhat similar to Maxwell's arrangement with Rowe concerning a property in Wukari town.⁵⁴⁷ Elphinstone, on behalf of Ruxton, expressed his opposition to the Donga site because of its proximity to the mosque and suggested that the mission seek a plot at some distance "where there would be no chance of your grating against the local prejudices." He referred the matter to the High Commissioner for a decision.⁵⁴⁸ The mission secretary responded that the "so-called mosque was merely a dilapidation, a square of rain-washed mud walls with no roof, and I should say that was at least for several seasons disused." Missionaries had never seen anyone praying there or heard complaints from local folk. A reprimand to Elphinstone was implied in the secretary's expressed regret that the former had referred the matter to his superiors without himself having seen the situation.⁵⁴⁹ It is doubtful whether Dawson's data were correct, for other mission sources indicate that the mosque was visited "by from two to a dozen persons daily."⁵⁵⁰ Elphinstone's reply to the reprimand was not altogether unreasonable. He accepted Dawson's description of the mosque, but reminded him "that few mosques in this country consist of anything else" He insisted that the mosque was in use twice daily. True, no complaints had been registered, but he had not intended to convey that they had, but "from the examples of other Mohammedan countries, you must acknowledge that there is always the danger of friction."⁵⁵¹ Kurtzhals, an American member of the mission staff, was ready to involve his nation's state department,⁵⁵² a move averted by Maxwell who provided the information to Kurtzhals that the mission did not have a proper lease for the property, but merely rented from a Nigerian landlord "on a tenure terminable any month."⁵⁵³ By the end of March, 1908, during an interview by officials with Ruxton in London, Ruxton had agreed to a lease *in* the town⁵⁵⁴ and it appeared that the matter was settled.

The lease was good for only a few years, however, and when it became time for renewal, the government threatened to refuse it. The mission continued to negotiate with officials, but had secretly decided that should a renewal prove

546. Ruxton, 12 Oct/07 (J).

547. *Supra*, p. 160.

548. Elphinstone, 12 Dec/07 (J).

549. Dawson, 30 Dec/07 (J).

550. LB, Jan/08, p. 89.

551. Elphinstone, 12 Jan/08 (J).

552. SUM 6, p. 418.

553. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

554. Memo, 19 Mar/08 (J).

impossible, the mission would request a few years' extension of the site, while preparing to transfer the main work to Takum, of which Donga would then become an outstation. They would also request that the town site, though given up as a residence, would still be used for public work.⁵⁵⁵ The next year, Dawson protested against applying the quarter-mile rule to existing stations and expected to secure a fair treatment from the Resident, even though the latter was described as a "firm upholder" of the rule.⁵⁵⁶ At the end of the period we learn that the lease had been renewed, but only till October, 1921, while officials gave "frequent hints" that no renewal would then be in the offing.⁵⁵⁷ Transgressing slightly our own scheme, we can report that in December, 1919, the government informed the S.U.M. that they would after all renew the lease in due course.⁵⁵⁸

Similar problems were experienced with respect to other existing stations, such as Wukari, Ibi and Numan. Getting leases for new stations was frequently a trying matter, especially in the case of Zaki Biam. Occasionally strong language was used in this context, for missions felt insecure. Leases of one year would make it impossible for the mission to build useful stations.⁵⁵⁹ United attempts were made against this measure. The 1910 Lokoja Conference requested leases for 21 years.⁵⁶⁰ The C.M.S. and the S.U.M. discussed making united appeals,⁵⁶¹ while the mission secretaries of the north agreed also to a joint appeal, which it turned out to be Farrant's lot to make personally with the High Commissioner, Hugh Clifford, who expressed the opinion that where the demands of health and duty clashed, the latter should have priority.⁵⁶²

In spite of all the steam released during the years on this controversy, no station was ever closed on account of it and eventually the steam went out of these arguments. The rule was not always adhered to, as has already been noticed; in some cases urban expansion engulfed outside stations and churches.⁵⁶³

9. The Great Prohibition

Farrant classified government restrictions against mission work among Muslim people as the biggest problem the mission faced.⁵⁶⁴ Time and again the S.U.M. was prevented from beginning work in such areas. Initially it appeared that even

555. Farrant, 13 Nov/15 (J).

556. Dawson, 12 July/16 (J).

557. J6, 9-11 Dec/18.

558. J6, 1-2 Dec/19.

559. J6, 9 Nov/15.

560. Resolution no. 13.

561. Dawson, 27 May/14 (J).

562. Farrant, Feb/74.

563. *Ibid.*

564. *Ibid.*

Ibi would be out of bounds, for it was considered a Muslim town.⁵⁶⁵ We are already familiar with the troubles between the S.U.M. and the Chief of Kanna, but an additional reason and the justification used to keep them out was that he told the Resident he and some of his assistants had turned Muslims – and that would clinch it as far as the government was concerned.⁵⁶⁶ The Resident's reminder to the chief and his men that their people would profit from instruction in various trades could not budge their opposition.⁵⁶⁷

The government had placed certain Pagan tribes under Muslim administration, and these too were out of bounds. The Emir in charge of the Kona, Mumuye and Wurkum tribes refused to allow the S.U.M. to enter. His reasons were the need to preserve the Pagan rites (!) and fear of disturbances amongst them. Resident Fremantle told the mission that he considered it the government's duty to break down such prejudice, but that was apparently a matter dependent on the local administrator's personal whims, for his successor was asked officially by letter from the mission whether he shared his predecessor's opinion.⁵⁶⁸

Missions were far from placid on this issue. At the Lokoja Conference of 1910, surprisingly strong resolutions were passed against these restrictions. On basis of the principle of religious toleration, the conference asserted the "inalienable right" for a people to choose their own religion. This implied that the missionary must be free to present the Gospel "courteously and peacefully" wherever folk are ready to listen.⁵⁶⁹ Though the conference recognized the need for peace and order, these, it asserted, were often unfairly adduced as reasons to prevent missions from entering certain regions. The missions, so the resolution stated, were "unable to recognize restrictions placed upon the work."⁵⁷⁰ Finally, the government pledge not to interfere in the Muslim religion would not be violated by the presence of missionaries if tactful and peaceful methods were employed. In fact, examples were adduced where the missions had been instrumental in improving relationships between local peoples and the colonial regime.⁵⁷¹

The reader will recall Maxwell's angry response to a Resident's attempt to prevent his preaching in what he alleged to be a Muslim Rumaisha. Dawson expressed astonishment at the "audacity" of the resident's letter and wondered what would come next. "It is ridiculous to contend that it is a Mohammedan town; so far as one can see the Mohammedans are strangers in the town, tolerated by the Pagans." "What right has the Resident to interfere with the

565. Gordon, 11 Sept/06 (J).

566. O. Howard, 12 Feb/08 (J).

567. Extract from Resident Howard's Report no. 27 for the quarter ending 31 Mar/06 (J).

568. J6, 9-11 Dec/18 (J).

569. Resolution no. 5.

570. Resolution no. 6.

571. Resolution no. 7. LB, Oct/10, pp. 204-205.

actions of private citizens . . . ?" Would he depose the judge in whose home these occasions took place? "... it is just the sort of thing some of these Government men would do." Maxwell was advised to continue, except that he better be sure the homeowners did not permit this under any imagined but unexpressed threat, for the government could well contend that "the people are afraid to refuse us entry when we ask it" The Resident "has expressed his opinion . . . , we do not agree with it, but I think you should send a formal acknowledgement of the letter, without comment."⁵⁷²

A new problem arose with the increase of Nigerian evangelists, some of which were stationed in Muslim towns. The S.U.M. corresponded with a number of individuals to discover what the government and mission feelings were in such cases. One acting resident was of the opinion that as long as the evangelist fulfilled the obligations of citizenship and did not take advantage of his position, he should be able to freely work. Wedgewood of the C.M.S. replied that even though there was no official government regulation covering such people, the officials would often insist on the mission's filing an application for placing such an agent. The C.M.S. maintained that the government had no right to prevent a native of his own country to live in any town from carrying out his work. The S.I.M. reported no trouble, but their agents were unpaid volunteers to which the government could not possibly have any legal objection.⁵⁷³

The obstacles placed before the missions became so irksome that the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland placed the matter on their agenda in 1918 at a meeting Dawson attended. The problems experienced by the S.U.M. were not unique: the adverse views of government officials were "widely prevalent in official circles" and it was feared that their attitude would soon spill over into the arena of popular public opinion. Hence it was decided to do a survey of all predominantly Muslim areas under the colonial rule of any European nation to determine how these matters were treated elsewhere. In the light of the information obtained, the conference would prepare a memo that would constitute an "apologetic for missions to Moslems," and would include the following: a statement regarding the Christian duty to evangelize Muslims; recognition of the historic difficulties of this task because of traditional antagonism between the two faiths; evidence of the usefulness of missions to colonial governments in terms of development projects of the missions and their effectiveness to enlist the sympathy of Muslims; and finally, "evidence of the political un wisdom and inexpediency of a policy which unduly favours Islam . . ."⁵⁷⁴

There was no issue that received such prominence in *The Lightbearer* as the question of freedom to work among Muslims, while the executive committee at

572. Dawson, 19 May/13 (J).

573. J6, 2 Oct/16.

574. Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, *Seventh Annual Report* (June 19-21, 1918), p. 37.

home also displayed increasing concern with it. In the magazine, different authors repeat the same arguments time and again. Concerning Lugard's promise of non-interference in Islam, Roome reminded the reader that subsequent to the Indian Mutiny, Queen Victoria prohibited government interference with the religions of India, but that was never understood as prohibiting Christian missions. As to missions causing unrest the "mere presence of the British Governor is calculated to cause unrest," whereas Christian preaching had seldom caused a disturbance. The entire notion of the British government's prohibiting freedom of religion was, argued Roome, a novelty in British history. And though Roome considered it right for the government to provide the opportunity for all to be furnished with the religious education they chose for themselves or their children, it is wrong for the government to insist that Muslims remain Muslim and to place obstacles to their conversion to Christ. While Christians met with legal restrictions against the propagation of their faith, Roome complained, Islam was given complete freedom wherever it went. Roome added the warning that Islam could not be reformed and that it was opposed inherently to the civilization the colonial effort sought to impose on Northern Nigeria. From the point of view of civilization, he insisted, history had amply demonstrated Islam to be static.⁵⁷⁵

One of the arguments common to both the Lokoja resolutions and Roome's article is that Christian missions do not produce unrest, an argument adduced to allay the fears of government officials who sought law and order more than anything else. The mission itself, we have seen, favoured peaceful conditions. It was in no way disposed to favour unsettled circumstances. The approach of the two bodies was, however, quite at variance. The government had no vested interest in changing the religion of the Muslim and was, therefore, strongly opposed to the very presence of foreign missionaries among Muslim communities. Why add unnecessarily to the chance for upsetting the fragile equilibrium that existed in Northern Nigeria by arousing the ire of the Muslim emirs whose loyalty was so essential to the continuation of British rule? The mission countered the argument by seeking to demonstrate that it did not create unrest, but, to the contrary, served as buttress to the regime.

This buttressing function of missions was posited frequently in *The Light-bearer*. Usually it took the form of missionaries helping to instill a sense of loyalty to the government, examples of which we have met in earlier contexts. Miller added a second dimension to this function of missions, namely the factual loyalty of first-generation Christians to colonial governments. Whether the missions, in his opinion, are to be credited with having instilled such loyalty is not clear from his writing, but the fact remains that such Christians "are always splendidly loyal, especially in the first generation, and why? Because . . . they see that the only hope for their country is Christian rule . . ." The Hausa

575. LB, Jan/12, pp. 12-14. *After Many Days*, ch. 1.

Christian, he asserted, was no exception in this matter. On the other hand, he pointed out that it was not uncommon for second-generation Christians in certain colonies to display less loyalty, for they have observed government prejudice against them in favour of both Pagan and Muslim. Government sentiment against Christianity thus was interpreted as a suicidal course. The greatest safeguard against a Muslim uprising was a Christian nucleus, so Miller's argument had it. The time had come for missionaries to fight the real battle not in Pagan outposts, but in the Muslim citadel itself – but always peacefully and without pressure.⁵⁷⁶

Miller also made a unique contribution to the “unrest argument”. Whereas the more common reply from missionary sources had been that missionary endeavours, wisely pursued, did not disturb and created no unsettling conditions, Miller contended that all parties participating in the British enterprise in Africa had unsettling influence, whether mission, government or company. Missions, he insisted, represented a wholesome disturbance, also from the political point of view.

I think it is as well to acknowledge at once that missionaries are disturbing influences! A clean, fresh, wholesome wind passing through a dusty place will stir up what is not pleasant! New thoughts coming into old, settled, stereotyped ideas will make their owners wake up and stir uneasily! Influences which bring new life and reform will always come into violent collision with the powers of death and vested interests, whether of the bodies or souls of men. If the raising of dust is a necessary concomitant to the ultimate cleaning of the city, should not Government seek to sprinkle water and assist the cleaning process rather than enforce the leaving of matters “in status quo,” i.e. moral, physical, and spiritual death?⁵⁷⁷

Somewhat later Miller continued that even the government “must necessarily come into collision with . . . Moslem feeling. I have been surprised to find how little Government officials realise this . . .” Examples of such necessary interference are (1) the government’s prohibiting the “pastime, the exhilaration, and the joy of life in these Moslem lands”: the annual slave raids; (2) the “limb for limb” provisions of the *Shari’u* have been emasculated; (3) lack of slaves forced “proud and lazy men” to do their own work. More examples were adduced in Miller’s article, but these 3 suffice for clarity. The conclusion Miller sought was expressed in rhetorical form: “Who will say that the quiet prosecution of his duty, and the making known his faith in love and gentleness, by the missionary is to be compared with the above in exciting the hatred of conquered Moslem peoples?”⁵⁷⁸ The implied answer was that though both government and missions were to be considered disturbing influences, the government must take the credit for surpassing missions on this score.

576. LB, Aug/09, pp. 153-156.

577. LB, Mar/12, p. 50.

578. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

Miller did not easily run out of ammunition. In addition to the more obvious arguments just reproduced, he argued from the point of view of the differences in interest and life style of missionaries and other colonial patriots. The missionary in earnestly seeking "to be all things to all men," was much less likely to offend Muslim susceptibilities than his governmental and commercial counterparts. The typical missionary Miller described as spending his best years "in seeking to assimilate the customs, language, and manners of the people among he lives." He was, furthermore,

not caught up at random and sent out anywhere at haphazard, to follow his own sweet will, to have a picnic, to make a convert, and to come back with *eclat* to the land of his birth! He is sent out after long and careful training: his special character and disposition are noted, and the sphere of his work is chosen after much thought, prayer, and foresight: he is sent out *under careful instructions*: even then he remains for years a probationer, under the guidance of older and experienced men. His motive is to build up and establish a permanent, progressive work, based on the love and good-will of the people to whom he is sent: will he then rashly upset his own work, and for the sake of a temporary "score" throw away a permanent position? His bent is toward caution, not from fear or because he is not willing to give up his life, but because he wants to build deep and strong, and to work for the ages, not for time.⁵⁷⁹

Over against such a missionary character, long-term interest and attempted assimilation, Miller contrasted the effects, interests and life-style of commercial and political agents, once again culminating in a rhetorical question:

Can it be honestly contended that in a Mohammedan land, where railways are being laid down, trade is coming in from all quarters, and prospecting for minerals and large mining operations are being undertaken, which involve the presence of engineers, foremen, labourers, traders, and prospectors, all of whom are seeking a living and many of whom are only out for a year, and who are utterly out of touch with all that concerns the chief things of the life of the people — can it be contended that the missionary is the one harmful disturbing element, that he alone is to be kept out? To ask the question is . . . to answer it.⁵⁸⁰

Miller feuded against government restrictions on the Christian witness among Muslims by reducing the principle advanced by the government to its *reductio ad absurdum*. Missions, he contended, were not seeking advantages for themselves, but demanded merely equal opportunities for Muslim and Christian alike. If Christians were prevented from presenting their witness in Muslim communities, then the government ought likewise instruct the emirs that they will not be allowed to have their people enter pagan areas. That would be equality! — but not the sort of equality Miller sought to advocate, of course.⁵⁸¹

Government claims to be religiously neutral were based, according to Miller, on "confusion of thought" for a Muslim is always a missionary. If the government did not wish to offend Muslims or upset the fragile working relationships

579. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

580. *Ibid.*

581. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

with emirs, what about Pagans? Again Miller enveloped his powerful thrust in a rhetorical framework:

Why, then, does a Christian Government enforce the Pax Britannica and compel these pagan peoples to permit Mohammedan traders and malams (teachers) *all practising and teaching their religion* to come and live and trade among them, teaching their children and perverting them against their will, and, as we know, to their disgust and sorrow, for at present the hatred of Islam is deep and bitter?⁵⁸²

10. Active Government Aid to Islam

In Chapter 2 we already touched upon the tendency of the government to provide active aid to Muslim advance, a situation that deeply alarmed the S.U.M., but which was by no means peculiar to Northern Nigeria. At the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, one American missionary reported a conversation with a British official who suggested that missions might as well curtail their operations, for "we make ten Moslems to your one Christian!"⁵⁸³ The threat that the government was to place Muslim school teachers in Pagan areas has already been discussed. We have also at various points referred to the practice of giving emirs jurisdiction over Pagans not previously within their territory. The S.U.M.'s executives were deeply worried about the effects of the Bauchi Emir's being given jurisdiction among such Pagan peoples,⁵⁸⁴ but in that case their fears were not realized. Bukuru was also a focus of such fears. As soon as the tin mines were beginning to be developed, a Hausa market sprung up, followed soon by Muslim teachers. By the end of 1912, their call to prayer was heard where only a little while ago there was nothing but wilderness. The British government was accused of aiding this process. The Du Station Report for the same year further elaborated. The entire Bukuru area was to be placed under the Emir of Bauchi politically, while juridically Muslim influence was also extended to the area by the appointment of a Muslim judge. The juridical move was initially to be temporary, but would become permanent if proved workable.⁵⁸⁵ The government was said to do all it could to accustom the Pagans to this new Muslim regime.⁵⁸⁶ The fear that the mission might be requested to leave by the Emir was not unfounded, for it had its precedent. Farrant reported a similar case with respect to the Mumuye people. Because of unsettled conditions, the mission was prohibited from entering this country, but the Resident did approve the application for a station at Kona, on the border of Mumuye territory.⁵⁸⁷ A month later, Farrant wrote that the tribe had been closed by the government on account of objections submitted by government-appointed Muslim chiefs.⁵⁸⁸

582. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

583. LB, Mar/13, p. 54.

584. SUM 3, p. 60.

585. E. Evans, Annual Station Report for Bukuru, 31 Dec/12 (J).

586. A. Dann, Annual Station Report for Du, Bukuru, 1912, p. 1 (J).

587. Emlyn, 6 Oct/13 (J).

588. SUM 4, p. 14.

589. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

As in education, so in these matters, Ruxton was said to be the only to resist this government policy: "From all one hears, he is resisting the Government's pro-Islam tactics as far as Muri Province is concerned; they want to put the Pagans everywhere under emirs, but he will not agree to it in this Province."⁵⁹⁰ Though Lugard's promise was often appealed to as the ground for such policies, in a meeting with Lugard in London arranged by the Conference of British Missionary Societies during his days as Governor-General of Nigeria, the ruler said, "Sometimes when a soldier is told to stand up straight, he is so keen to obey that he falls over backwards."⁵⁹¹ This seemed to indicate the general attitude on the subject.

Again it was the crusading Miller who exposed for us various forms of active aid the government rendered to Islam. The so-called policy of neutrality has been responsible for the following forms of aid to the Muslim community, he claimed:

circumcision of pagan recruits for the army and freed slave pagan children; the handing over of little pagan girls and boys, saved from slavery, to the care of Moslem Emirs, with the probability of their becoming Moslems, and to be members of Mohammedan harems; subscriptions of Government to building and repairing of mosques; attendance at Mohammedan festivals by Government officials as representatives; the gradual reduction of strong pagan tribes – who for generations had held out against the Mohammedan raiders successfully – and bringing them under the rule of, and to pay their taxes to, these same old enemies; these and many other things show the tendency of the Government policy.⁵⁹²

Balmer added to this statement: "The avowed policy may be impartiality, but in practice it does not work out so." The African, he explained, did not understand impartiality. He envisioned African thinking as follows:

The Government has interfered with me in my religion in putting down such and such ancient customs. The Mohammedans are left alone in their observances; they are ever employed in large and increasing numbers as officials. Therefore the Government must be on the side of Islam.⁵⁹³

We have here yet another instance of a contradiction in the analysis of issues that the editor probably did not notice and that is the result of the S.U.M.'s failure to have engaged in its own official studies of these matters. Whereas Balmer suggested that the government interfered only in Pagan affairs, Miller in his article entitled "Ought Christian Mission to Be Allowed in Moslem Lands?" has shown clearly that the government interfered in the Muslim religion as well. The articles of both Balmer and Miller are found within the covers of the same volume of *The Lightbearer*.

To demonstrate that missionaries were not unique in their opposition to the

590. Dawson, 6 June/13 (J)..

591. Farrant, Feb/74.

592. LB, Aug/09, p. 154.

593. LB, Oct/12, p. 160.

policies of the British regime in Northern Nigeria, the editor included a report on a German Colonial Congress held in 1910. The report does not indicate the make-up of the Congress nor its sponsor, but it was clearly not a mission-inspired conference. This congress, reported the editor, "was conspicuous by its friendly attitude towards mission work." After 3 papers were read on the problem of the Muslim advance a resolution was adopted that was, according to the editor, wholly in favor of missions. We reproduce the resolution:

In view of the fact that from the spreading of Islam serious dangers menace the development of our colonies, the Colonial Congress advises careful consideration and thorough study of this movement. Though in principle impartial in matters of religion, they think it necessary that all who are engaged in the opening up of the colonies diligently avoid what may tend toward the furthering of the spreading of Islam, and toward restraining or prejudicing Christianity, and recommend missionary work of civilization, especially in the sphere of education and care for health, for effective assistance, also to the Colonial Government.⁵⁹⁴

It appears that the editor did not object to the tendency in this resolution to reduce missionary work to a tool for development or, perhaps, he did not recognize this trend. He included the article to demonstrate that others, non-missionaries, held a more positive view concerning the role of missions and saw the political menace of Islam more clearly than did British colonial authorities.

11. The Need for Dissociation

Despite the glowing tributes the S.U.M. paid to the colonial enterprise throughout our period, there was also a contrary tendency for various missionaries to seek to disassociate the mission from the government in much the same way we noted in connection with Maxwell and for similar reasons. The reader will remember how the Aku of Wukari welcomed the mission while he openly resented the colonial regime. Missionary Burt promptly replied by insisting that the mission was indeed not to be identified with the government.⁵⁹⁵

Another reason for seeking disassociation was the fact that in various localities people had suffered greatly because of the white man. The Du people were suspicious of all white men because of the suffering inflicted on them by whites and by Muslims. Evans, the local missionary, had done much to "enable them to judge the different relationship in which he stands to them." An additional staff member was soon to arrive and he would make it possible to demonstrate even more that missionaries were distinct from other white men, and have only come to bring 'good' to them."⁵⁹⁶ In another context, the Miango people had slaughtered some 60 cattle belonging to Fulani nomads. The government met

594. LB, Sept/11, p. 150.

595. LB, Oct/05, p. 13.

596. *Who Is Sufficient*, p. 53.

with violence in their attempts to force the community to compensate the owners and attacked a section of the town that was not associated with the incident. The Chief then called upon the S.U.M. medical doctor, Emlyn, to provide medical aid to the wounded innocent. The reporter commented, "It is encouraging to know that they know enough of the missionary to distinguish him from other white men They have learnt . . . that he has come to their midst to save life and not to destroy it." Such medical aid, it was added, "will greatly help to open a station there when there is a man ready for the place."⁵⁹⁷ This desire for disassociation must not be understood as a reflection on missionaries' estimation of the colonial enterprise: it can best be regarded simply as a pragmatic emphasis for the purpose of gaining Nigerians' confidence.

We have also already overheard Walter Miller defending colonialism against the irate resident of Kano in the same article in which he also pled strongly against too close an identification of missionaries with colonial officials. He warned his colleagues

not to claim the privileges that often accrue to a ruling caste. For it may be taken as an axiom that any apparent social gain, any political advantage gained, any legal victory scored by the missionary, will have disastrous effects on his work and after-influence. Decorations from Government, Government favour, and even too much association with Government officials, are . . . not among the things which conduce to the increase of Christ's Kingdom. To be too much in the limelight of Government favour is not a thing which the true missionary seeks⁵⁹⁸

The reasons Miller advanced for his opposition to such close identification were not clear. They were said to be political in nature: absence of such identification would prevent political difficulties, but he failed to identify these difficulties. Possibly they would cover such problems as those that passed between Bailey and Beresford.⁵⁹⁹ One thing is certain: the reason for seeking such disassociation was not motivated by a basic rejection of colonialism any more than was Maxwell's or Burt's.

Balmer is another writer who warned against the danger of too close an identification of the mission with the regime. His reasons were 2-fold. The first was that the mission's dependence on government help and protection had weakened their "spirit" of reliance upon their resources in God and entire devotion to their work. There have been instances where pressure and criticism have been applied to our Missions by Government." The second reason he adduced was that since in practice the government favoured Islam while it sought the eradication of Paganism, the Pagan community might also resent the missions if they noticed a close identification and thought of them also as favouring Islam.⁶⁰⁰ Again we notice that this fear of identification was a tactical

597. Author not clear, but letter originated from Ngel, Bukuru, 16 June/09 (J).

598. LB, Mar/12, pp. 53-54.

599. SUM 6, pp. 223-224.

600. LB, Oct/12, p. 160.

matter, not one motivated by a basic disavowal of the colonial enterprise.

One final reference in our sources to the question of disassociation is located in a speech welcoming Kumm home from one of his numerous journeys. The question was asked, "Is Africa to be in the hands of the official, or in the hands of the mission?"⁶⁰¹ The question received no answer from the speaker, but it did indicate a distinction that was more than a mere distinction in role and that implied a difference in purpose and intent greater than one might expect from an organization that regarded colonialism as divinely inspired. As in the case of the others pleading disassociation, the remainder of Baxter's speech did not indicate that Baxter actually opposed the colonial idea.

In all cases cited, the desire for disassociation was a matter of missionary strategy, of pragmatic adjustment to Nigerian thought. Some missionaries appear to have been well aware of the fact that in missions not only the facts are important, but possibly even more important than the facts is public opinion, informed or otherwise. Hence it was possible for authors in the same article to heap the highest praise on colonialism and to point to the necessity for preserving a distance from the regime.

As in the case with Maxwell, so did these considerations carry little practical weight in the affairs of the mission. Official and unofficial relations with government officers were hardly affected by this need to disassociate. We make this assertion in spite of Dawson's claim that "we have endeavoured to distinguish between ourselves and the Government in the midst of the folks with whom we have had to deal, feeling that identification, which they are prone to make, is not helpful to our work . . ." This statement was made in the context of the possibility of having a missionary become the headmaster of the Ibi school. A "minor objection" had been raised that cooperation with the government in this project "would tend to strengthen the people's idea." It was indeed a minor objection that was easily brushed aside by a rather silly twist of thought:

Ruxton met this with the suggestion that this case was not one of our identifying ourselves with the Government so much as one of the Government identifying itself with us by co-operating with Christian work. In any case, we felt that any objection along that line was unworthy of consideration in view of the issues involved.⁶⁰²

That about expressed the pragmatic spirit in which affairs were conducted.

D. Evaluation of Nationalism

References to nationalism do not abound in our sources; the official minutes are silent about it, but *The Lightbearer* contains a few discussions of the phenomenon. An article concerning the pending World Missionary Conference of 1910 sought to show the significance for Christians of the awakening of a "new national spirit among non-Christian peoples." In keeping with the documents

601. LB, Feb/10, p. 51.

602. Dawson, 22 Sept/13 (J).

later published by that conference, the writer regarded nationalism as a basically neutral phenomenon capable of good and evil, depending on the direction it would take. If "enlightened and quickened by a true vision of Christ," it might become the "means of regenerating the national life." It could also turn against the advance of the Kingdom if nationalists should come to identify Christ with the West.⁶⁰³ In the same volume, Caper presented a positive evaluation of nationalism. The victory of Japan over Russia, he wrote, "has stirred the national spirit all though the East, and the movement towards democracy has been greater the last five years than in any previous fifty."⁶⁰⁴

During the closing year of our period, two S.U.M. missionaries presented their prognosis as to the effect of World War I upon Africans, one element of which would be an increase in national awareness. Judd predicted that after the war "Ethiopianism may spread. The psychological and political factors may change, resulting in unrest among the natives."⁶⁰⁵

The second S.U.M. missionary to dare a prognosis was Farrant. He discussed the magnitude of African participation in the war and sought to measure the effects of it. His thesis was that the war would "put power into the hands of the people" as it had in Great Britain and in India. Whereas the latter had demanded self-government in return, Africa sought no political advantages, only higher wages. The difference in response was to be accounted for by the fact that "Africa is so young and so unorganized." However, Farrant expected that "one day perhaps a man will arise who will be able to cement all the African tribes into one race, and make each negro proud of that race." Once that has occurred, Africa would do "tremendous things" and historians would trace the beginning of this new trend to World War I, when "black and white fought and laboured in a common cause and the black felt himself to be, not the slave of, but the co-worker with, the white." This would mean an awakening requiring "careful handling," for "awakening spells revolt." The virile optimist that he was, Farrant did not fear this new development. As long as there was "understanding and sympathy between ruler and the ruled, awakening would mean strength and power to the whole," he theorized. Once awakened, the people would demand education and since authorities were agreed that education without religion was self-defeating, the new movement would present a great challenge and opportunity for the Christian mission.⁶⁰⁶

Affairs in Southern Nigeria received scant attention in *The Lightbearer*. One exception was the liquor trade and another was the prophet Elijah, whom we have met earlier in this chapter. Information about him was culled from *The Times*⁶⁰⁷ under the title "A False Prophet in Nigeria." The reader was informed

603. LB, Feb/09, p. 45.

604. LB, Mar/09, p. 72.

605. LB, Apr/18, p. 61.

606. LB, Mar/18, pp. 43-44.

607. 22 June/16.

that many of Elijah's adherents were from the more enlightened element of the population, while "powerful chief and common people alike" were said to revere him for his powers that were supposed to include the ability to stop the war and to raise the dead. The prophet declared that power was passing from the whites to blacks, the reason the writer considered the movement dangerous to "government authority and Christian influence." The article was concluded with the reassurance that "the great loyalty shown by the more important chiefs has held in check its more dangerous aspects."⁶⁰⁸

An examination of these comments brings to light the striking fact, first of all, that the article from *The Times* expressed greater hesitation than did those originating from missionary pens: it regarded the movement as a threat to British power. The author shared with Judd the realization that such indigenous religious movements were related to nationalism, but beyond that point of similarity the missionary authors betrayed greater openness to nationalist movements. Neither of the two missionary writers expressed any concern that the movements might possibly contain the seeds of the demise of colonialism.

Farrant predicted the day Africans would be proud of their race, but one wonders whether he did not realize that day had dawned already, for example, on the West African coast. More pertinently, one may legitimately ask whether there ever was a time when Africans were not proud of their race. Perhaps Farrant was in fact prophesying an awakening of European awareness of that pride and sensitivity. Farrant obviously thought in terms of an identification of interests of ruler and ruled, for he proposed that mutual understanding and sympathy would prevent revolt and result in "strength and power to the whole." Properly handled, a national awakening would not necessarily, apparently, lead to the demolition of empire. His comment that some day the African would no longer regard himself a slave but as a co-worker is tantalizing. Did Farrant mean to suggest that the African had in fact been enslaved under colonialism or merely that the African so regarded himself? In either case, the answer would imply a rather dim view as to the purpose of the colonial enterprise as the S.U.M. implicitly defined it: as a liberation movement. Farrant never satisfied our curiosity. Though he commented extensively on a preliminary version of this chapter,⁶⁰⁹ he chose to remain silent here.

E. Observations

This is not the place for final conclusions; these are reserved for our final chapter. However, we do wish to make a few observations. The first observation is the representative nature of the S.U.M. The mission rode the crest of the last wave of mission popularity that accompanied the last stage of imperialist

608. LB, July/16, p. 71.

609. Feb/74.

expansion. It was one of the last of the larger missions to enter Nigeria. Its plans and policies reflected the general mentality of the Evangelical community of the time. Whether one thinks of Kumm's plan to cross the African continent with a chain of stations or of his university, one can point to similar ideas that preceded his. The goal to win Africa's Animists before they would fall prey to Islam was a common ecumenical theme. The positive and negative views entertained concerning the West and Africa respectively were representative of the main currents of thought among the missionary community.

The S.U.M. never defined colonialism, but it did operate with quite a definite view of this movement that can be summarized in the following definition: *colonialism is a form of imperialism based on a divine mandate and designed to bring liberation – spiritual, cultural, economic and political – by sharing the blessings of the Christ-inspired civilization of the West with a people suffering under satanic forces of oppression, ignorance and disease, effected by a combination of political, economic and religious forces that cooperate under a regime seeking the benefit of both ruler and ruled.* It is in the light of this definition that one must understand the many assertions in the documents made about colonialism.

The basic attitude towards the colonial adventure was appreciative, but this attitude did not preclude criticism of various practices. However, the points singled out for criticism were not regarded as expressions of the basic nature of colonialism. Rather, they were thought of as aberrations of true colonialism, as betrayals of a great cause. Truly liberating colonialism would not prohibit one member of the team from carrying out its legitimate function. True colonialism would not allow the gin traffic or forced labour. Legitimate colonialism was for the mutual benefit of both parties and would eventually lead Africans into the chambers of international diplomacy on an equal footing with other nations.

The way the S.U.M. handled conflicts with the government is worthwhile noting. In concert with other missions, the S.U.M. publicized the "liquor war" and the restrictions on work among Muslims were also drawn to public attention, but these were the only 2 issues so handled. Other points of confrontation were mostly hidden from public view and confined to documents not meant for the public. The reader may have observed that the sections dealing with colonialism in general, those conforming to the general Evangelical view of such matters, are based mostly on public documents such as articles in *The Light-bearer* and in books, while those treating controversial concerns draw basically from non-public sources such as minutes, diaries and memoranda. It is clear from both chapters 2 and 4 that missions had political clout, but they were reluctant to use it. Thus most controversies were concealed and a greater semblance of colonial unity was maintained than conformed to the facts.

Finally, we draw attention to the disparity in colonial experience. While missionaries experienced it as a positive blessing introducing liberation, Nigerians, whether businessmen or nationalists, experienced it otherwise, especially

the latter. If one were to read missionary opinion separately from advanced Nigerian views, he would have little reason to suspect they were describing the same phenomenon. The one recognized it as liberation; the other, as oppression. Even though nationalist sentiment was publicly aired in newspapers and books, missionaries betrayed little consciousness of or sympathy for this opinion.

Chapter Five

The Interim Years 1918-1945

The goal of this chapter is to explain the context in which the S.U.M. operated during the interim years from 1918 till 1945. We shall trace colonial developments during this period as well as summarize nationalist reaction to and ecumenical missionary evaluation of these developments. After we have accomplished this, we shall devote the next chapter to a detailed exposition of the S.U.M.'s relation to colonialism during this second period along the order of Chapter 4.

I. *Colonial Developments*

A. Stagnation and Development

These interim years in Nigeria have been described in various ways, mostly in negative terms. Crowder refers to these years as "dull."¹ The excitement of the earlier years had abated, the country had been effectively subdued and routine had set in. Emphasis on colonial sufficiency and instability of prices for West African cash crops contributed to this negative situation.² Compared to developments in other parts of the world, Crowder depicts the era as one of "immobilisme."³ Moreover, British ignorance regarding West Africa remained "profound." Few parliamentarians in London had any personal knowledge of Africa and colonial debates were conducted with perhaps one-fifth present. The Colonial Office received little guidance from parliament and had to solicit advice from a few interested government people while the rest was to be gleaned from various sources such as the business and missionary communities. Under such circumstances, progressive and constant policies were difficult to formulate with lack of clear direction as result.⁴ The period was also described as one of stagnation that was forcibly ended by World War II.⁵

1. *Story*, p. 253.

2. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 308.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

4. W.E.F. Ward, "The Colonial Phase in British West Africa," (i) "The Period of Direct Rule," Eds. J.F. Ade Ajayi and I. Espie, *A Thousand Years of West African History: A Handbook for Teachers and Students* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1965), p. 405.

5. Oliver and Fage, p. 225. C.C. Wrigley, "The Colonial Phase in British West Africa," (ii), "Economic and Social Developments," Ajayi and Espie, p. 431.

Bauer disagrees with these negative descriptions. He insists that developments in communications, international relations, education and other social improvements were profound. The period, he argues, was not one of stagnation, but of rapid development. The problem was that it was uneven development, a situation that was inescapable.⁶ Bauer's point is closer to the opinion entertained by the S.U.M. than that of the others adduced above. In the economic sector, however, developments were slow, as Appendix VI clearly demonstrates.

1. Government Policies

The British public, in so far as they reflected at all on colonial issues, had generally held to the doctrine of trusteeship as the underlying justification for the enterprise. This doctrine was re-asserted with increasing vigour during and after World War I, partly by the general population, but also by the League of Nations. Oliver and Fage suggest that it was largely, hypocrisy, though those with integrity were not lacking among the influential.⁷ The doctrine was supposed to be put in practice, however, within the context of a laissez-faire economy — 2 unlikely bedpartners.

During the height of the depression, the Governor of Sierra Leone said,

It is the duty of every African Government, not to provide work for the workless, but to govern that private enterprise is encouraged to do so; that trade is allowed to grow without hindrance; that business houses are given every facility and encouraged to start new productive works, and that the inhabitants are helped to cultivate and utilise the soil.⁸

That was the characteristic government attitude throughout West Africa during the inter-war period. It was not merely a continuation of original policy, but a deepening of it. When in Britain the government "moved from a system of free trade to one of full protection and the grant of imperial preferences," in Africa this change had "but limited effects."⁹

Laissez-faire spelled limitations on development. Main government activities consisted of collecting taxes, maintaining order and building transportation and communication facilities such as roads, railways and telegraph as prerequisites for modern economic activity. Other functions were left for companies and missions.¹⁰ Meier identifies this policy as the main villain responsible for inadequate development, for it prevented an "alternative course" of more even development that "is not difficult to envisage."¹¹ It meant an underdeveloped

6. P.T. Bauer, "British Colonial Africa: Economic Retrospect and Aftermath," Duignan and Gann, Vol. IV, pp. 634-637. Bauer was commissioned by the Colonial Research Committee to study West Africa between 1949-1952.

7. *A Short History*, pp. 208-210.

8. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 308.

9. Bauer, p. 642. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 275.

10. Oliver and Fage, pp. 207-208.

11. G..H. Meier, "External Trade and Internal Development," Duignan and Gann, IV, p. 466.

educational system, since the government recognized only her duty to produce clerks and technicians for herself and the commercial sector.¹² With that limited an object, one is not surprised at the low number of elementary scholars throughout West Africa. In 1939, there were little more than 25,000 children in Northern Nigerian schools. The previous year saw 33 secondary institutions in the south, but only 3 of these were government owned. Crowder asserts that all colonial governments in West Africa gave very little support on education "in relation to its importance for the developments of Africa." In 1938, the Gold Coast pioneered educational development with an expenditure of £ 213,000, less than 6% of the total budget – and it exceeded that of all the others.¹³ Fraser from Achimota College made most scathing remarks about the educational progress in Nigeria in 1927 because of its snail-pace development; money spent on education was not regarded as an investment as in the case of roads and railways, but as merely a financial drain.¹⁴ Likewise, little was spent on agriculture and the few personnel available spent more energy on the development of cash crops for export than on food crops for local consumption. By 1938, there were a mere 82 agricultural officials in all of Nigeria!¹⁵ Medical services, though paid for from Nigerian taxes, catered primarily to Europeans. In 1936, only 3503 government hospital beds were available to Nigerians and a mere £387,600 was spent that year on medical aid.¹⁶ Most money was spent on railways and that was because private enterprise refused to take the initiative in spite of the fact that the railway represented their lifeline.¹⁷ In spite of strenuous efforts in this field of endeavour, vast areas of Nigeria remained untouched by the railway.¹⁸

In fact, large segments of the population remained untouched by the entire colonial order. During the 40s, a commission reported that Africans were still largely outside of the money economy and continued to live along basically traditional patterns.¹⁹ This situation was no accident, of course, but inherent in a system that left initiatives to private enterprise that was guided by the profit motive and that prevented missions from large areas. Where the private sector was not interested – and we are speaking here mainly of expatriate companies – there the government had no reason to create the conditions. Insistence on financial self-sufficiency for colonial development was a further obstacle to progress.²⁰ In fact, according to Crowder's chart, from 1922 till 1945 the

12. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 374.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377. Cf. these pages for more statistics.

14. Ajayi and Espie, pp. 415-416.

15. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 274, 314.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-327.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 311. Oliver and Fage, p. 216.

18. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 347. Wrigley, pp. 427-428.

19. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 347. Wrigley, p. 435.

20. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 308-310. Wrigley, pp. 430-431.

government received £1,774,171 more in revenue than it spent.²¹ With limited budgets, development could not but be retarded. However, more could have been collected by taxing the foreign companies, a measure not resorted to till 1939.²² In addition to effects of colonial policy, there were the hurdles placed in the way of development by the depression.²³ Finally, the few conscious developments embarked upon were geared primarily to benefit external trade, not the internal economy or the social aspects of life. African interests were subordinate to trade with Europe.²⁴ Given all these limiting factors, one would hardly expect the realization of the very high hopes for Nigeria we read about in previous chapters.

2. The Commercial-Industrial Sector

The policy being *laissez-faire*, the colonial government by and large left trading, both internal and external, open to all interested parties, regardless of country of origin. And thus one could find sizable French, Greek and Dutch concerns competing with the British, while the Lebanese operated at intermediate levels. Minor exceptions occurred, as in the case of a duty on palm kernels sold outside the British empire and, later, specifically outside Britain, but the measure was withdrawn after only a couple of years.²⁵ In 1934, Japanese products began to intrude at the expense of Lancashire, already plagued by massive unemployment. Liberal principles in this case had to submit to the temptation to protect the troubled British economy and the Japanese were faced with special textile quotas, while the African consumer was deprived of lower prices.²⁶ On the other hand, Britain continued to purchase whale-oil from Norway, for it was cheaper than African palm-oil.²⁷ When the chips were down, Britain was tempted to arrange things in her favour at the expense of Africa, but on the whole British business had to compete on an equal footing with other foreign firms.²⁸

Under the *laissez-faire* system, these companies enjoyed a large measure of freedom and could even be said to be in paramount control, rather than the government. There were no effective labour laws or wage controls. The government did not even have control over currency; that was in the hands of private banks.²⁹ Gradually conditions similar to those of pre-colonial days re-occurred:

21. Cf. Appendix VII. Total receipts were £7,142,270, while expenditures reached £5,368,099.

22. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 302.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

25. Geary, p. 256. Wrigley, p.434

26. Wrigley, p. 434. Bauer, p. 643.

27. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 324.

28. Bauer, p. 643.

29. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 305, 320.

fierce competition eliminated the weaker parties and the stronger concerns turned once again into monopolies. In fact, Wrigley asserts that monopoly was "one of the most striking features of the inter-war period." In 1921, there were 104 companies engaged in external commerce; by 1940, two-thirds of West African trade was conducted by seven firms! One of these, the U.A.C., the product of the 1929 merger of the Niger Company with the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, handled some 40%!³⁰ This company was itself a subsidiary of the Unilever octopus that controlled many companies throughout Africa.³¹ Cartels were formed that enjoyed official support.³²

It is not for this study to unravel the intricate behaviour and interplay between the various companies, but we are here concerned simply to indicate the direction in which the economy was moving and to summarize its effects on Africans. That direction was, it is clear, towards increasing monopolies with a decreasing number of participants — and it is not difficult to guess who were the first to be eliminated. Since these were capitalistic companies organized primarily for purposes of profit, such concentration of economic power could not but spell ill.

The octopus nature of these companies discouraged establishment of industries in West Africa.³³ Some of them would have contracts with manufacturers abroad. Some of Unilever's subsidiaries had their own factories in Europe and shipping companies. These were powerful reasons for them to discourage themselves and others from initiating industrial development in Africa. Though obstacles were not completely unsurmountable, for a few did actually get off the ground, generally speaking conditions favourable to such development were not abounding.³⁴

The problems Africans experienced during the days of the chartered company were thus not solved by the colonial takeover. Once again Africans were progressively excluded from participation in the economy, except in certain sectors the foreign companies had not found profitable, such as the trucking industry. The African remained largely the producer of raw materials and sold either directly to the European companies or indirectly through the Lebanese. He lost his status as middleman that he had previously enjoyed.³⁵ A number of cocoa producers had done well financially and they sought in the 30s to use their capital to establish direct links with foreign manufacturers, but they found themselves defeated by the established European importers as well as by new government initiatives we shall discuss shortly.³⁶ While Lagosians had enjoyed

30. "The Colonial Phase," pp. 431-432.

31. *How Europe*, pp. 169-170.

32. Kilby, p. 519.

33. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 303.

34. Wrigley, pp. 491-492.

35. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 345.

36. Coleman, p. 252.

considerable direct contact at the beginning of the century, by the 40s their share of external trade had been reduced to less than 5%.³⁷

The exclusion of Africans from prominence in the economic sphere was no isolated phenomenon, for it was part of a more general process dating back to the 1890s, a trend to which attention has been drawn in Chapter 2. The same process had taken place in the public service and in the church.³⁸ The inter-war period was basically one in which all significant decisions were made by expatriates. Few were the Africans in responsible positions³⁹ and minimal the efforts of the companies to train them for such position.⁴⁰

Of course, Africans participated in the lower ranks but largely as underpaid labourers. Unskilled mineworkers on the Jos Plateau during the 30s, for example, received a daily 1/6, a rate lower than normal and too low for their standard of living to improve significantly. In some industries the daily wage was as low as 4 pence.⁴¹ In view of almost total lack of legislation regulating such concerns, low produce prices were also the order of the day, especially where monopolies existed. Where there were a number of companies, they would form cartels and agree on prices and wages as they saw fit. Added to these conditions favourable to the foreign companies, in the short run at least, was the fact of very low investments. From 1870 to 1936, total investment in Nigeria has been estimated at some £75,133,789, a sum covering both public and private investment, an annual average of a mere £1,145,966. The profits were, of course, largely repatriated for the benefit of European shareholders. Crowder refers to "the most scandalous example of expatriation of profits" enjoyed by the Niger Company and its successor, a total of £2,225,000 between 1906-1944 from the government as compensation for the loss of their charter.⁴²

The total economic results of the colonial organization by 1940 was that the *Pax Britannica* had made it possible for modern economic organizations to be imposed on a people without they themselves deriving significant profits from such developments. Chapter 5 of Rodney's study constitutes a clear and detailed summary of the direction of colonial economics in Africa. Whereas monopoly was seen as the dominant characteristic of European commerce in Nigeria, from the African point of view perhaps the most dominant feature was "the ousting and consequent frustration of the African businessman from a share in the profits from the expansion of the economy that took place . . ."⁴³

It must not be thought that the government was not aware of the developments described, but it had bound itself to the dogma of laissez-faire in the same

37. Wrigley, p. 433.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 433. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 382, 426, 466.

39. Oliver and Fage, p. 215.

40. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 304.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 320, 351.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-305, 346. Oliver and Fage, p. 225.

43. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 353.

way Lugard bound himself and thus prevented himself from instituting changes he would like to take place. One notable exception was the government's asking the U.A.C. in the early 30s to refrain from trading in subsistence crops because of fierce African opposition.⁴⁴ The government's annual report for 1930 decried the low prices paid to producers and recognized it to be the result of monopolistic conditions. It could only breathe a sigh of relief when this particular agreement between the offending companies ceased.⁴⁵ In not opposing the basic inequality of access to colonial economy, charges Kilby, the self-styled trustees "must stand condemned of grievous wrong."⁴⁶

Crowder summarizes the situation well for these inter-war years. Positively, the government had made real contributions in the creation of a transport and communication system and the introduction of modern currency. The government failed, however, on 3 important counts. (1) It failed to regulate the activities of expatriate companies. (2) It devoted a minimum to necessary agricultural research. (3) The sense of Britain's mission faded into the background so that educational and other social services received scant attention.⁴⁷

B. War Initiatives and Effects: End of Laissez-faire

1. Colonial Welfare and Development Act

The previous section emphasizes the laissez-faire order of the economy in Nigeria, but from the very inception of the British takeover there was a subordinate tradition of opinion that was suppressed most of the time and did not have any appeal until World War II. In distinction from the British, the French had a policy of spending French revenue on their colonies, a policy which Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain had advocated for British colonies as well as a prerequisite for their development.⁴⁸ Lugard had also favoured this approach for Northern Nigeria, for prior to an amalgamation with the South, the colony was continually suffering from deficits.⁴⁹ As an exception to the general rule, then, Northern Nigeria received grants-in-aid.⁵⁰ Guggisberg had an ambitious development plan for the Gold Coast, but that was still to be paid for from local sources.⁵¹ During the early 30s a Colonial Development Fund came into being because of problems caused by the depression, but the amount given to Nigeria was a mere £69,024.⁵² It was, furthermore, not an attempt to develop Nigeria for her sake, but to stimulate the stagnant economy of the colony to enable her

44. *Ibid.*, p. 301. Bauer, p. 644.

45. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 301.

46. "Manufacturing," p. 518.

47. *West Africa*, p. 275.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

49. LP, MSS. Brit. Emp. S.65, p.29.

50. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 202, 310.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 310.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

to purchase British imports.⁵³ By 1936, besides loans to Nigeria, British grants had from the beginning totalled £5,908,000.⁵⁴ From the C.D.F. itself, thus from the early 30s, British Africa as a whole had received a mere £4,000,000 by 1938.⁵⁵

The real change came with World War II, but not *because* of the war. A commission had studied the causes of riots in the West Indies and concluded that the cause was the undeveloped economy of the region. Britain then decided to attack this cause by the Colonial Welfare and Development Act, its application to cover all colonies.⁵⁶ The imperative for development was now clearly recognized,⁵⁷ but not because of increased concern for the welfare of Africans as our approaching discussion on marketing boards will illustrate.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, there was the "outstanding fact" of the "abandonment of the principle of self-sufficiency for the Colonies. Nigeria cannot balance her budget and make all the progress required," announced Governor Bourdillon to the West African Students' Union.⁵⁹ In 1940, £5,000,000 was budgeted for colonial development; in 1946 it was increased to £12,000,000.⁶⁰ Bauer insists, however, that most of the development funds did not come from Britain, but largely "from the taxation of export crops, and to a lesser extent from mining royalties and corporation taxes, together with some external loans under foreign-aid schemes, and with some contributions from Colonial Development and Welfare funds."⁶¹ Regardless of the origin of the funds, Crowder suggests, these were "anyway more than covered by the grants and loans made by the . . . colonies to Britain for the war effort." Nevertheless, a new principle had been established that had to overcome strenuous opposition through the decades.⁶² The result was a series of development projects, both wise and foolish.⁶³

2. Introduction of Marketing Boards

The enigmatic nature of colonial politics constantly forces upon the researcher the intriguing question as to the type of scheming that must have taken place in the inner sancta of policy makers. Did they have any real powers of decision or were they merely the prisoners of economic interests, a status they would seek to cover up with legislation that would throw a sop at public

53. Oliver and Fage, pp. 220-221.

54. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 310.

55. Oliver and Fage, p. 221.

56. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 502. Coleman, pp. 230-231.

57. Coleman, p. 231.

58. Bauer, p. 651.

59. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 503.

60. Oliver and Fage, p. 222.

61. "Economic Retrospect," p. 651.

62. *West Africa*, p. 503.

63. Cf. Wrigley, p. 437.

sentiments, but that was usually blatantly self-contradictory? While on the one hand increased attention was paid to African development, on the other hand and simultaneously, the government took bold new steps in the economic sphere that, rather than support African indigenous development, canonized the unequal access to commercial participation and thus were hostile to social development.

Before World War II, the foreign companies bought up African products and marketed them, but now the government established agencies that bought and sold these products at prices determined by the government. The entire system of each colony was directed by the overarching West African Produce Marketing Board.⁶⁴

Wrigley presents 3 reasons for this development. (1) War circumstances required that West African products be sold in bulk to the British government; (2) popular dissatisfaction with existing economic structures; (3) alleged desire to protect West Africa from extreme price fluctuations in the world market.⁶⁵ The last 2 reasons hardly hold up when one examines the actual operation and results of these new entities.

The new marketing method was significant in the sense that prices were now determined by the government rather than by profit-oriented companies. It was, however, less of an upheaval and less of an improvement than one might expect, for these boards utilized existing channels for the collection and distribution of products — and that meant the foreign companies. In effect, these companies lost price control, but their buying monopoly was now more firmly established and African hopefuls faced an establishment as formidable as ever, if not more so.⁶⁶ The suggestion for the establishment of these boards originated in the business community, including the exact blueprint for their operation. The Colonial Office accepted it much like it was suggested to them.⁶⁷

While in the process of establishing these boards, the government assured the public that they would not be used as instruments of taxation, but that they were to act as “agents and trustees of the producers.” Bauer comments, “Even official statements were rarely discredited so speedily and completely as these assurances.” They became, in fact, organs for most discriminatory taxes. The boards would pay very low prices to Nigerian producers: they would withhold as much as one-third or one-half of the commercial value. This money would be put in reserve and often used for developments that would benefit certain sectional interests and thus represented a heavy tax on the peasantry for the benefit of other groups, including the urban communities. It was “hardly the way to raise living standards.”⁶⁸

64. *Ibid.* Coleman, p. 251-252. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 492.

65. “The Colonial Phase,” p. 438.

66. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 493.

67. Bauer, p. 647.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 648-652. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 494. Coleman, p. 252. Wrigley, p. 438.

3. Economic Stimulation

World War II created certain conditions favourable to increased economic activity in Nigeria and that constituted further encouragement for the government to take greater initiatives. West Africa's strategic importance was enhanced when the Italians made the Suez route uncertain and Japan deprived Britain from some of her Asian sources. To equip West Africa as an efficient staging base for troops and supplies, existing ports such as Lagos and Port Harcourt were improved, airports were either improved or newly constructed, military camps and extensive roads were constructed. These activities all served to stimulate many new business ventures, especially in the cities.⁶⁹

The loss of Asian sources of supplies also enhanced the value of Nigeria as a source for needed tropical products.⁷⁰ Traditional exports were stepped up, abandoned ones came back on the market and some new ones were tapped. The tin mines on the Jos Plateau were now worked by forced labour to speed up production, even though the profits went into private pockets, a matter that raised considerable dust among "progressive" British circles. A wide range of secondary industries was established, but not only to provide the military, for shortages of products needed by Nigerians themselves also began to occur. Many products were manufactured on the spot, such as "building materials, concrete, furniture, leather goods, preserved fruits, dried fish and meat,"⁷¹ as well as shingles, butter, potatoes, sugar, cigarettes, beer and soap.⁷²

These developments took place largely through European initiatives with the blessings of the government. Though the bulk of the profits went abroad, Nigerians did derive some profit from the new situation. The total number of wage and salary earners went up from 183,000 in 1939 to some 300,000 by 1946.⁷³ Africans also made gains in the retail sector where "the large companies were forced to concede." European staff was enlisted in the military and that meant closure of the outlets supervised by them. Some retail establishments were forced to close down because of lack of supplies from traditional suppliers. A few of these had been supervised by Nigerians and upon their release, they used their experience to organize their own retail organizations, drawing supplies from an assortment of less traditional channels.⁷⁴

Thus the Nigerian economy expanded rapidly. This rapid expansion made it imperative for the government to seize more initiatives to prevent chaos. Advisers were appointed for economic planning, for urban development and labour unions. "From now on the colonial Governments were to abandon their *laissez-*

69. Coleman, p. 253. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 491.

70. Coleman, p. 231.

71. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 495.

72. Coleman, p. 253. Wrigley, p. 437.

73. Coleman, p. 255.

74. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 494-495.

faire approach to the economy, and to intervene more and more in a system of economic exploitation with which 'the entire West African population (was) growing more and more dissatisfied,' according to *The Times*.⁷⁵ By the end of the war, the stage was set for a strong Nigerian push towards independence and for a more equitable share in their own economy.

II Nationalists

A. Attitude towards Colonialism

The nationalist movement continued to develop slowly during these interim decades. In distinction from the earlier period, one of its main characteristics during this era was its organizational aspect. A cursory reading of its organizational history is apt to leave one confused with the mass of organizations, meetings, committees, petitions, and delegations. We do not intend to list them all, but only to indicate the general drift of the movement in so far as it sheds light on our primary interest. Organizationally, the movement did not begin with a main concern for Nigeria or even West Africa, but for Pan-Africanism. The first Pan-African Congress was called in Paris in 1919; the greatest delegation came from the United States, while only one represented all of British Africa.⁷⁶ Subsequent meetings were held in 1921, 1923, and 1927.⁷⁷ While this series of conferences was conducted predominantly under the direction of Du Bois, an American black, a more specifically West African organization was developing under the name "National Congress of British West Africa",⁷⁸ which held its first meeting at Accra in 1920. This congress sent a delegation to London to establish contact with a wide assortment of organizations and individuals, including the League of Nations, British politicians and West African students. In Nigeria this congress enjoyed little success, for it was strongly opposed especially by Governor Clifford. This Governor together with his West African colleagues opposed the congress on various grounds, one of which was that it had bypassed the colonial governments and established direct contact with the London government without so much as notifying the former. Furthermore, the representative nature of the organization was denied by these governments, while the idea of an alleged West African nationality was dismissed as nonsense. Clifford did little to hide his contempt for the members of the congress in his speeches and his communications with London.⁷⁹ Like its Pan-African counterpart, this congress also organized a series of meetings and, similarly, achieved little in terms of change in political and

75. *Ibid.*,

76. J.A. Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 63-64. Cf. also Coleman, pp. 188-189.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 84, 87. Coleman omits the 1921 meeting in his listing. (*Nigeria*, p. 188).

78. N.C.B.W.A.

79. Coleman, pp. 192-194. Langley, pp. 110, 131, 182, 256-265.

economic structures during this period. Langley admits that participants may not have been as representative as they claimed, but "they were nevertheless the proverbial straw that showed how the wind was blowing."⁸⁰ The government should have recognized them as such, especially because Clifford had also served as governor in Asian colonies where such nationalist movements were in a more advanced state.

These conferences issued their official declarations, aims and demands which were strikingly similar as the decades rolled by. A notable refrain was insistence on their loyalty to the "mother country" and the empire, a note inherited from the earlier period. At the first Pan-African Congress, for example, French rule was "eulogized."⁸¹ The 1920 congress called for dominion status within the British empire. Constitutional changes were sought within the empire. Members of the Clifford legislature asserted their loyalty likewise. Even Macaulay, frequently a thorn in the flesh to the government, consented to British rule and so did the Nigerian Youth Movement that spearheaded a more radical approach in these matters during the later years of our period, express their loyalty to crown and governor. In 1938 this organization advocated autonomy within the empire, equal partnership and even agreed to the principle of trusteeship rightly conceived.⁸² Even Azikiwe, the first Premier of Nigeria, whom we shall shortly introduce, spoke in those terms.⁸³ When Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Nigeria in 1926, he was given a memorandum of the National Democratic Party at Lagos. He detected no signs in it of "sedition or Non-Co-operation." He commented,

One thing is at any rate clear. There is universally in British West Africa a dominating sense of loyalty to the British Crown and to the Empire . . . Throughout the overwhelming mass of the people this loyalty is no mere matter of lip service, but is demonstrably a very real thing.⁸⁴

In short, during this period the general mood was to work within the system and to reform it.

The demands of these nationalists tended to be similar as well, congress after congress. Since we have defined colonialism basically in economic terms, we will confine our reporting to demands related to that core. The 1919 Pan-African Congress resolved that "note should be taken of the growing needs of the natives and part of the profits should be used for work relating to the moral and material development of the natives."⁸⁵ The third Pan-African Congress

80. *Pan-Africanism*, p. 110.

81. *Ibid.*, p.65.

82. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 419, 454, 460. Langley, p. 117. Coleman, pp. 197, 218, 225.

83. WAP, 2 Feb/38, 28 Nov/37. N. Azikiwe, *Renasant Africa* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968, but originally published in 1937), p. 79.

84. Geary, p. 273.

85. Langley, p. 65.

demanded "the development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans." Commerce and industry were so to be re-organized "as to make the main object . . . the welfare of the many, rather than the enriching of the few."⁸⁶ The Nigerian National Democratic Party of Macaulay, the dean of nationalists during the inter-war years, had for its objectives "economic development of the natural resources of Nigeria under controlled private enterprise" and "free and fair trade in Nigeria and equal treatment for native traders and producers of Nigeria."⁸⁷

Throughout this era there was an acute awareness that colonialism, though it had brought certain improvements to Africa, basically did not represent freedom but economic subservience. Constant were the complaints against this grating feature. The progressive exclusion of African merchants by the increasingly monopolistic expatriate firms caused a continuous cry in these circles.⁸⁸ The 1920 conference of N.C.B.W.A. favoured attempts to organize African banks, African shipping facilities, cooperatives and produce-buying centres in order to overcome the disadvantages of the traditionally small size of African enterprises in the face of European conglomerates.⁸⁹ Marcus Garvey's "Black Star Line" was welcomed in view of the "difficulties . . . experienced in the matter of space on British bottoms by legitimate African Traders and Shippers."⁹⁰ Organizations covering almost every area of human endeavour were formed by Africans in their attempts to keep their heads above water.⁹¹ In 1938 the Nigerian Youth Movement organized a protest against the "Cocoa Pool," which Coleman describes as a "buying agreement . . . by the leading European firms exporting about 90 per cent of Nigerian cocoa."⁹²

The majority of nationalists were by no means anti-capitalist. Langley emphasizes that the leadership of N.C.B.W.A. was typical in its adherence to Victorian tenets such as belief in progress, natural harmony of interests, the role of property; in short, all the main laissez-faire doctrines. Their arguments, in fact, were based on these beliefs, something that in Clifford's mind reduced their weight, since such notions were, in his opinion, not suitable for non-European races.⁹³ The leaders were no revolutionaries that sought radical alterations in economic philosophy. "That would have been unthinkable for a leadership brought up on Adam Smith, Locke and Mill. Like all good liberals, all they wanted was mutual accomodation of interests, equal opportunity, and an effec-

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

87. Coleman, p. 198.

88. Langley, pp. 192, 202.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

91. *Cf.* Coleman, pp. 211-212 for examples.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 252.

93. *Pan-Africanism*, p. 131, incl. fn. 91.

tive voice in their affairs." They were essentially bourgeois in their thinking.⁹⁴ Literary and debating societies arose that turned increasingly to political subjects. One scheduled a debate in Lagos in 1940 on the proposition "Resolved that Capitalism is a better institution of National Economics than Socialism."⁹⁵

That proposition reflected accurately the predominant attitude concerning Communism: the movement displayed little interest in that ideology, though Communist influence during World War II increased. Speaking on behalf of the N.C.B.W.A. before the League of Nations, Bankole-Bright disavowed any Communist inclinations, "We do not believe in . . . the principles of Bolshevism." Zizer, proprietor of the *West African Nationhood*, referred to "the hampering tactics of Bolshevism." In 1936, a small group of Pan-Africanists including Jomo Kenyatta began forming a new ideology of liberation and in the process rejected Communism as not useful for their purposes. Another organization of short duration, the International African Service Bureau, disclaimed adherence to any European system, eschewing Communists as "hypocrites," though its membership had leftist leanings. Russian silence at the time of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia did little to enhance her popularity.⁹⁶

The lack of sympathy was mutual. During the 20s the Comintern was hostile to pan-African organs and considered them merely as "petit-bourgeois nationalism" that needed to be destroyed before Communism could make progress among Africans.⁹⁷ Their hostility, however, did not prevent Russia from seeking to infiltrate nationalist movements, though with little success as far as British West Africa was concerned. Padmore, a Jamaican, was a card-carrying Communist for some time, but later expelled.⁹⁸ During the early 30s, some nationalists visited Russia. Wallace Johnson, a Sierra Leone journalist and agitator, was the first West African nationalist leader to openly avow Communism.⁹⁹ Communist literature was sent to various leaders and some, including Azikiwe, contributed articles in their publications.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Communists were widely quoted in African newspapers. Particularly did Russia seek to condition youth, with the West African Student Union as special focus.¹⁰¹ During the war some Nigerian youths founded the Red Army Club.¹⁰² On the whole, however, Russia booked little success in British West Africa and fears of Communist infiltration were highly exaggerated, as our sources unanimously indicate.¹⁰³

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 224.

95. Coleman, p. 216.

96. Langley, pp. 131, 133, 186, 326, 335-336, 338.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 88. Coleman, p. 208.

99. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 474-475. Coleman, p. 208.

100. Coleman, pp. 208-209.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 239. Crowder, *West Africa*, p.471.

102. Coleman, p. 249.

103. *Ibid.*, p.209. Langley, p.343. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 474-475, 484.

Nationalist proceedings did not take place in secret chambers, but they were given full coverage in the press, both West African and London-based. In fact, nationalism was the *raison d'être* for much of the West African press, according to Edmonds. Most of the leading nationalists were closely related to some newspaper(s) and not infrequently as their editors or owners, specific examples of which are at hand.¹⁰⁴ Though there were dissenting newspapers,¹⁰⁵ there was a generally stubborn unanimity throughout these decades, strong enough to force the government to pay attention and respond to some issues, though not strong enough to force basic changes. Certainly, enough commotion was made to draw the issues to public attention, both in West Africa and in Britain. Anyone not aware of the ferment or the issues either was not interested in African affairs or deliberately chose to isolate himself from these currents. A rather arbitrary selection of issues of the *L.W.R.*¹⁰⁶ indicates that all the elements and aspects we have uncovered in the foregoing discussion were brought before the public constantly, from praise for the British effort to the most cynical exposé of colonial economics. And if one were to object that during the first few decades of this century these papers would hardly find their way to the remoter regions of the S.U.M., it must be remembered that this particular newspaper had a London affiliate, *The African Sentinel*.¹⁰⁷ The issues were there before the public, inescapably so, and if not before the isolated missionary, certainly before the home staff.

As far as the Northern Region where the S.U.M. was working went, many of the political activities so far described were remote; they centered on the coast. It was Nnamdi Azikiwe, popularly known as "Zik," an Ibo, who was a main force in spreading these concerns in the north. It would take us too far afield even to summarize his history,¹⁰⁸ but a short resume of his nationalist career will be of value. He was a fiery nationalist with mission-school training,¹⁰⁹ though hardly loyal to the missionary faith.¹¹⁰ After about a decade in the United States, he returned with a doctor's degree ready to tackle his cause. He soon published *Renasant Africa*, a book written in the style of Christian revivalist preachers, even speaking of "my gospel" and "my evangelism regarding the New Africa," to arouse fellow Africans from their sleep.¹¹¹ He also founded W.A.P., a newspaper that carried on Jackson's tradition and had, according to Coleman, a "racialist orientation." In addition to this main paper with its Nigeria-wide circulation, he founded a quartet of provincial dailies, one of which

104. Coleman, pp. 120-121, 188-189. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 427

105. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 427. Langley, pp. 92-93.

106. 3 Jan/20-17 April/20. Cf. also Coleman, pp. 184-185 for examples.

107. LWR, 14 Feb/20.

108. Cf. Coleman, pp. 220-224. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 472.

109. WAP, 6 Jan/38.

110. WAP, 6 Jan/38, 22 Jan/38. *Renasant*, pp. 110-113, 188-191.

111. *Renasant*, pp. 17, 38, 71, 184.

was based in Kano, that were "crucially significant" in spreading nationalism in the interior.¹¹² In addition to his literary efforts, he traveled about, giving lectures in "many provincial centres."¹¹³ Together with H.O. Davies, a Yoruba student of Harold Laski, Zik re-organized the youth movement into the "first Nigeria-wide multitribal nationalist organization in Nigerian history."¹¹⁴ It gained considerable popularity among educated northerners, but a rift occurred between him and the Yoruba leadership with his withdrawal as result.¹¹⁵ While the Yoruba were increasingly represented by Obafemi Awolowo, the founder of the Action Group, Zik continued to enjoy the support of the educated and youth from most other tribes. Zik founded the "National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons" of which we shall hear more in Chapter 7. He represented the new type of nationalist that differed from the earlier generation in a greater sense of urgency, intensity, impatience, ambition and that was to push Nigeria on to independence after World War II.¹¹⁶ A review of his *Renascence Africa* in another newspaper and which was reproduced in W.A.P., referred to Zik as patriot, philosopher, historian, geographer, economist, spiritualist, politician, scientist, preacher and moralist.¹¹⁷ The piling up of these titles shows something of the esteem he was beginning to gain. About himself he wrote:

I have never claimed to be a New Messiah, although for reasons best known to a section of the West African Press I have been elevated to that creditable and immortal position. It is possible that I may be one of the apostles of the New Africa, and I do not mind the ridicule with which my gospel is regarded.¹¹⁸

Though one might dismiss such statements as *via negativa* expressions of delusions of grandeur, the fact that he was to become Nigeria's first Premier is an indication that he did indeed represent the direction of the times.

Zik's *Renascence Africa* is a powerful tract baring all African grievances against colonialism and urging Nigerians to wake up to the times. Though imperialism is seen as inevitable in human history, western colonialism is opposed especially because of the priority of the profit motive. Coleman's charge of racism is hardly substantiated in these pages. Though the West is vigorously castigated, he did not tire of denouncing Nigerians either for a host of negative qualities.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, certain colonial officials, like Governor Guggisberg of the Gold

112. Coleman, p. 222.

113. WAP, 6 Jan/38.

114. Coleman, p. 220.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 229. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 266-267, 272 and *West Africa*, pp. 472-473, 477-478.

117. 28 Jan/38.

118. *Renascence*, p. 17. As late as 1977, Zik was referred to as "Nigeria's greatest politician." (*Nigerian Herald*, 26 Aug/77).

119. *Renascence*, pp. 44, 132-133. chps. 5, 6.

Coast, received praise for their efforts and cooperation with the government was advocated.¹²⁰

The columns of the *W.A.P.* were generously sprinkled also with colonial questions, especially to the problems created by the various European cartels, so generously, in fact, that Zik feared readers might be tiring of the theme.¹²¹ His reporting encompassed all of West African developments, not excluding those in Northern Nigeria, especially those related to African attempts to counteract these pools. He would constantly encourage farmers to organize against them. African producers, he repeated time and again, were forced to sell at unreasonably low prices.¹²² Hausa producers of cotton and groundnuts were reported to be about to forsake cash crops in favour of those suitable for local consumption.¹²³ The pools were said to grind Africans into dust.¹²⁴ They clearly demonstrated the evil of capitalism with its primary motive of profit.¹²⁵ Specific companies came occasionally under fire, including the Elder Dempster Lines¹²⁶ and the U.A.C.¹²⁷ The public could not really understand colonialism, for its real motives were hidden from them, he asserted.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, he did not even at the end of our period suggest that the white man simply pack up and leave, but he must speed up the process of teaching Africans the necessary skills for self-government and quit exploiting them.¹²⁹ All the complaints against colonialism were harped upon repeatedly in a way designed to create dissatisfaction with the colonial order.

B. Attitude towards Christian Missions

Nationalists throughout the world had not failed to notice the problem of missionary cooperation with colonial regimes, for their understanding of the gospel and of colonialism did not really allow for such cooperation. In 1920, Bevan reported that Indians had given up on missionaries as opponents of injustice.¹³⁰ In 1928, "Cold Coaster" de Graft Johnson drew attention to the political alliances of missionaries with colonialists and raised his eyebrows at their teaching submission to their wards.¹³¹ At the Jerusalem conference of the I.M.C. there was much more bitterness than the official reports indicate, though its resolutions mirror opinions that were already commonplace and to be heard

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 76.

121. 5 Jan/38.

122. *E.g.* 11, 21 Dec/37. 6,7,19,25,26,27,29Jan/38.

123. 25 Jan/38.

124. 28 Jan/38.

125. 15 Jan/38.

126. 2 Jan/45.

127. 29 Jan/38.

128. 5 Jan/45.

129. 13, 15 Jan/45.

130. E. Bevan, "Missions and the New Situation in Asia," *IRM/20*, pp. 330-331.

131. Mobley, p. 148.

everywhere.¹³² During the 20s, nationalists in Indonesia were discussing breaking with Christianity because of its relationship to colonialism, a tragedy averted by the arrival of Van Doorn and Kraemer, 2 missionaries who understood the issues. In 1933, the S.C.M. held an Asia-wide conference in Indonesia where these issues were in the forefront.¹³³ With respect to Nigeria, Coleman asserts that there was increasing cynicism about missionary motives and bitterness about missionary silence. His suggestion that nationalists underestimated the aid missionaries did in fact give to their cause directly and indirectly may be true,¹³⁴ but it cannot be said that missionaries in Northern Nigeria were much enamored with nationalists.

Azikiwe may have received his basic training from missionaries and he may have employed the gospellers' rhetoric and language, but his basic attitude to missions was negative. Referring to the "trinitarian tragedy" of the politician-trader-missionary team, he repeated the classic charge:

the religious man must, and did, teach the Native not to lay up treasures on earth; this enabled the commercial man to grab the earthly treasures; and this facilitated the role of the Government to regulate how these earthly treasures are to be exported for the use of the world's industries.¹³⁵

Though he admitted that missionaries had in some respect been of value to Africa, after weighing and balancing all their contributions, he came up with a debit: they had not improved the lot of the people. By their emphasis on eternal rewards for suffering in this life, he charged, missionaries broke African physical resistance. He regarded missionaries as colonial tools.¹³⁶

Zik's *W.A.P.*, was less radical than his book in its statements on missionaries, possibly to avoid unnecessary public hostility. Occasionally praise is accorded the missionary movement for its contributions in education¹³⁷ and even to the nationalist cause,¹³⁸ but the pen from which such praise flowed was not that of the editor.

III. *Ecumenical Missionary Attitudes*

The history of the I.M.C. is too well known and documented for us to trace here. Our goal is to trace the development of opinions within this movement concerning the colonial question. We have already drawn attention to the fact that during the 19th century a process of separation set in of the Evangelical

132. Kraemer, "De houding," p. 120.

133. C.H. Koetsier, *Zending als dienst aan de samenleving: de houding van zending en kerk ten opzichte van sociaal-economische vraagstukken in Indonesië, in het bijzonder op Midden-Java* (Delft: W.D. Meinema B.V., 1975), pp. 118, 129-130.

134. *Op. cit.*, pp. 108-111.

135. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

137. 21 Dec/37.

138. 16, 19 Jan/45.

from the liberal theologians. The Evangelical Alliance was founded in 1846 as a protest against rationalist theology.¹³⁹ The break of the S.C.M. with the Keswick movement was another step in that direction. The tensions between the 2 camps increased till each organized its own separate international conference in 1907.¹⁴⁰ In mission circles, the lines hardened later. At the ecumenical conferences of 1900 and 1910 both camps were present, and, though a reading of the reports enables one to identify the leanings of most speakers, there was considerable unanimity with respect to the colonial question for reasons we have explained in Chapter 3. As the influence of the social gospel increased in the I.M.C., Evangelicals began to withdraw. The China Inland Mission withdrew in 1916,¹⁴¹ a process accelerated after the 1928 conference.¹⁴² The Evangelical missionary magazine *World Dominion* boycotted Jerusalem by not reporting on its proceedings at all, except for an article devoted to Arab reactions to such a conference in their midst.¹⁴³ S.U.M. representatives professed to have enjoyed the Edinburgh conference and *The Lightbearer* includes a few articles on the topic, but subsequent developments leading up to the organization of the I.M.C. and beyond received no attention in its pages, though Oldham did have considerable contact with the mission in the ecumenical battle against restrictions on missionary activity in Northern Nigeria. Though no records indicate that the S.U.M. ever considered joining the I.M.C., the C.M.N.P., upon being approached by Oldham on the question, decided "no gain would result from affiliation."¹⁴⁴ In spite of this lack of contact with the I.M.C., we include a summary of the development of opinions concerning our topic on basis of the fact that, even if the missionary staff in remote Northern Nigeria might have found it difficult to keep up with such developments, the home staff had ready access to literature originating from these quarters and it is difficult to believe they were not familiar with the trends.

A. The Jerusalem Decade

The assertion that World War I meant a profound decrease in European self-confidence may be commonplace, but it nevertheless strikes the student as he moves from the literature of Edinburgh to that of Jerusalem. There were still echoes of the earlier optimism,¹⁴⁵ but they did not represent the dominant mood. One speaker referred to the positive side of western civilization, to "honor, trust, and fidelity," to "loyalty to truth and righteousness," to occa-

139. Johnston, p. 42.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

143. Bashir, "Arabic Press on Jerusalem Conference," WD/28, pp. 264-266.

144. CMNP, 1935 (J).

145. *The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, March 24-April 8, 1928* (New York and London: I.M.C., 1928), I, p. 378.

sional "bursts of idealism," but he warned that "the 'darker side' of secular civilization is very much in evidence, and it was an ominous fact." Human progress, he declared, was no more viewed as "inevitable." "Blind cosmic forces do not push the world of men up into beauty, truth and goodness," but progress "depends essentially on the moral and spiritual cooperation of individuals and social groups." Progress was seen as possible, but not inevitable; it depended on what man would make out of history. The direction the West was pursuing was seen as leading to "disaster and collapse," something that could be avoided only by "a profound religious awakening and a great revival of moral earnestness." "The civilization which we have been building is inadequate for man's life The world of business and industry and secular aims starves and dries up the soul . . ." ¹⁴⁶ The pendulum of missionaries who had come to India during the days of high optimism had now swung to one of discouragement. ¹⁴⁷ Fortunately, it was not all darkness, for "it is possible also to detect light in the darkness . . ." ¹⁴⁸ That mood was indeed a far cry from the easy optimism of the Edinburgh days. There was still the social gospel optimism with respect to man's potential, but the pride with respect to actual western accomplishments was greatly reduced.

The kingdom postulated earlier had not arrived; in fact, it seemed further away than ever. The *shalom* the West was to introduce in its colonial territories and that had served as the Christian justification for the effort had not materialized. Instead, the basic nature of colonialism as described in Chapter 2 had become increasingly clear even to the mission community. Prior to the great war, missionaries had enthusiastically supported colonialism as a liberation movement, but their role in relationship to this western expansion now became a matter of "widespread and serious heartsearching." The facts had made it impossible to continue to give "full and uncritical credence to the officially declared metropolitan claims of altruistic, humanitarian and idealistic intentions in . . . holding colonies." ¹⁴⁹ In 1900 and 1910 there was an awareness of the negative aspects of commerce and industry in the colonies, but during the 20s these negative aspects received the bulk of attention. ¹⁵⁰ Paton remarked the following concerning this change of emphasis:

The complete absence of any discussion of such a subject at the Edinburgh Conference in contrast with the prominence given to this and kindred issues at the Jerusalem meeting has suggested . . . a great change that is really evident. Both missionaries and Christian leaders in such countries as India, China, Japan and Africa have for years past

146. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-259.

147. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 201.

148. *Ibid.*, V, p. 146.

149. C.G. Baëta, "Missionary and Humanitarian Interests, 1914 to 1960," Gann and Duignan, II, p. 425.

150. Koetsier, p. 6.

given attention increasing in seriousness to the emerging industrial problems of these countries. The Jerusalem agenda merely reflects this fact.¹⁵¹

While the earlier conferences regarded these seamy sides as aberrations of true colonialism that were the result of the deviancy of individual morality, by 1928 there was a deep consciousness that the problem was not one of mere individual behaviour but that there was something inherent in western economics that had driven it in the wrong direction. That inherent defect was identified as the primacy of the profit motive.

Consequently, the profit motive came under sharp fire at Jerusalem. Grimshaw, head of a department of the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.),¹⁵² asserted that the profit motive in the colonies "acts almost entirely without restraint." This meant that the colonized workers derived only a marginal profit from their efforts, a situation that held true for the colonies as a whole as well. Instead, the profits went "to swell the riches and increase the comfort of others, more 'enlightened' than he."¹⁵³ McConnell, an American Methodist bishop, put it very strongly:

What I mean is the sums that are in a sense left over after wages, earnings of management, interest, risk and charges have been met – sums that do not represent real effort on the individual's part – is at the back of a great many forces that make trouble the whole world round. We can feel very free in using money that we have personally earned, but when we see mills in China in which American capital is invested and getting 100 per cent return, the question as to the justification of profit is upon us; when we see machinery sent to China stripped of all its safety devices as soon as it arrives, then we may well raise the question as to the control of profit. It is the desire to get large sums representing nothing that is earned by the profit-seekers that is at the back of all the oppression arising through economic exploitation. The time has come when this profit motive should be thoroughly examined.¹⁵⁴

Colonialism, the participants from the colonized world insisted, had not put an end to exploitation but merely given it new forms. They reported unprecedented "new contrasts between riches and poverty, new forms of human misery, new and apparently invincible organizations of wealth exploiting the economic need of the masses . . ."¹⁵⁵ Likewise, the urban slums in colonial cities were regarded as effects of industry.¹⁵⁶

The culprit responsible for this situation was identified as an unbiblical dualism that had crept into the church, that, along with individualism, had kept the church from understanding the situation and had encouraged her to participate in the erection of the order now so heavily criticized. A new understanding

151. *Jerusalem*, V, p. 1.

152. Koetsier, p. 10.

153. *Jerusalem*, V, pp. 149-150.

154. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172. Koetsier, pp. 10ff.

155. *Jerusalem*, V, p. 15.

156. *Ibid.*, I, p. 256.

of the full scope of the gospel was developing within the I.M.C. that militated against this dualism. Already in 1921 Watson announced,

It is frankly and fearlessly claimed today that Christ's message is to the whole of life and that there are no neutral zones of political, social and industrial life within which Christian morality may not press its claim and conquest. Men are seeing that it is not to dim the glory of Christ but to reveal it, it is not to reduce faith but to challenge it, for the Church to declare every sphere of human life open to Christian conquest and rule.¹⁵⁷

Watson's sentiment was frequently echoed at Jerusalem. Economist Tawney objected to the traditional approach with the following remarks:

To divorce religion from the matters of social organization and economic activity which occupy nine-tenths of the life of nine-tenths of mankind, on the ground that they are common and unclean, is to make them unclean and ultimately to destroy religion in the individual soul to which you have attempted to confine it.

It must be the task of Christianity . . . to overcome that divorce. It must overcome it not in order to secularize the Church but in order to spiritualize the society. It is not a question of allowing economic interests to encroach on spiritual interests, but of dedicating man's struggle with nature, which is what, properly understood, his industry is, to the service of God in order that it may no longer be a struggle with his fellowmen.¹⁵⁸

He asserted that "the whole distinction between the life of the spirit and the fabric of society is a false antithesis" and added the warning that "we must beware of the not uncommon fallacy of saying that what we desire is a change of heart, while meaning that what we do not desire is a change of anything else."¹⁵⁹ "Christianity," chimed in McConnell, "cannot be a half-way religion. It must aim at all or nothing."¹⁶⁰ Under pressure of such masculine stuff, the conference included in its official statements a rejection of such dualism: "the New Testament does not recognize the antithesis frequently emphasized . . . between individual and social regeneration."¹⁶¹

These notions were hardly new, as we have seen from the tradition of critics at the homefront and from nationalist comments on the colonial situation. The novelty consisted in the fact that these problems were now considered serious issues by the missionary community. In theory at least, even Evangelicals might agree with these as legitimate Christian concerns, but they would challenge them as lying within the province of the missionary. By this time the imperative of the "three selves" pattern of mission was gaining popularity among Evangelical

157. C.R. Watson, "The Relationship of the Missionary to Public Questions," IRM/21, p. 468.

158. *Jerusalem*, V, pp. 165-166.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

missions.¹⁶² Once these churches were established, it would be the function of their individual members to address themselves to the problems under discussion. The fact that in the home churches few ever took this function seriously and those who did would not have a sympathetic audience was either ignored or not realized.

In view of such objections, how did these ecumenists defend their missionary interest in such social problems? First of all there was the totality of the gospel that included such interests as legitimate kingdom concerns, the neglect of which by missions would mean a truncated message that would result in a warped understanding of the Christian life. Typical Christian virtues were described as love, peace, joy, patience, self-sacrificial service and it was recognized that

by the revelation of such qualities with ever-increasing fulness, in their industry, in their politics and in the other practical affairs of their daily life, not less than in their personal conduct, that Christians must seek to commend their Faith to peoples and individuals¹⁶³

It was regarded as part of the Christian task "to prepare for the establishment among all mankind of the Kingdom of God," an entity that included political and economic aspects.¹⁶⁴

The second defense of missionary interest in these affairs was that the historical association of missions with colonialism had turned out to be a liability. Nationalistically-inclined educated Christians in the colonized world were becoming bitter about this association and the continued missionary silence concerning colonial problems. A Nigerian writer warned that in such matters "what Europeans, missionary or other, intend is of far less moment than what Africans feel or think."¹⁶⁵ This bitterness was on the increase, more so than the Jerusalem documents reveal, Kraemer confided.¹⁶⁶ At an Indonesian conference dedicated to these very issues, Moelia, a leader among Indonesian Christians, clearly portrayed such bitterness as typical of his breed.¹⁶⁷ The Indian Christian Cumaraswamy demanded mission involvement in the battle against colonial injustice.¹⁶⁸ The fact that missions had not been vocal in these concerns had turned off many prospective Christians, so a host of authors affirmed.¹⁶⁹ Missionary statesman Oldham succinctly expressed the ecumenical sentiment:

It is not sufficient that they should ignore them as lying outside the religious sphere. The facts are there, and if the hearts of Asiatic and African peoples are embittered against

162. Cf. e.g., S.U.M.'s own H.J. Cooper, "Indigenous Principles and Practice in Nigeria," WD/28, pp. 184-195.

163. *Jerusalem*, V, p. 193.

164. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

165. Fulani Bin Fulani, "Christianity and Labour Conditions in Africa," IRM/20, p. 546.

166. "De houding," p. 120.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 121. Koetsier, pp. 26-32.

168. Kraemer, "De houding," pp. 116-117.

169. E.g., Bevan, pp. 331-332.

western nations on account of their selfishness and injustice they will be steeled against the teaching of missionaries who are representatives of these nations. The only means by which this danger can be averted is that it should become known and patent to all that those who bear the name of Christ are actively opposed to policies and practices of selfishness and injustice.

If Christianity is to win the peoples of Asia and Africa it must be made clear to them that in the moral struggle . . . the weight of Christian influence is on the side of right and that Christians are the fearless champions of justice, fair dealing and human brotherhood.

If mission bodies fail to enter their protest where it is needed against the unchristian elements in western nationalism, their Christian witness is to that extent impaired. We cannot preach convincingly in word what we deny in national act and policy. In the ultimate mutual relations of different peoples in our complex modern world the range of mission duty has expanded until it includes not only the winning of individual souls but the endeavour to Christianize the national policies of the professedly Christian nations, and the former part of this task will be handicapped if the latter is ignored.¹⁷⁰

With such opinions repeated time and again throughout the decade after World War I, Jerusalem was bound to emphasize this arena as a legitimate mission concern, necessary even. Unless this association in the minds of colonial peoples is broken, popular opinion had it, missionary work would be severely hampered. Missionary silence here "has been a positive hindrance — perhaps the gravest of such hindrances — to the power and extension of the missionary enterprise." These problems, "unless treated in the spirit of Christian wisdom, present grave obstacles to the progress of Christianity . . ."¹⁷¹ Given the activities of their commercial and political compatriots in Latin America, American missions could not expect to book great successes in that continent, the council was told.¹⁷² Tawney prophesied that one "cannot win the individual to a life of service and self-sacrifice if the social environment within which he is set is dominated by a ruthless economic egotism."¹⁷³ In her eagerness to impress the matter upon missions, the conference followed Tawney and almost declared man a prisoner of circumstances that put him beyond the reach of the spirit: ". . . man is a unity, and . . . his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions — physical, mental, and social."¹⁷⁴ Though they may have had theological and historical objections to this assertion, missions should not have ignored the basic concerns of these discussions.

All of the above did not constitute an outright rejection of modern capitalism or of its colonial extension. The trustee principle had become politically orthodox by its embodiment in the Covenant of the League of Nations and,

170. J.H. Oldham, "Nationality and Missions," IRM/20, pp. 379-380.

171. *Jerusalem*, V, p. 185.

172. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

largely due to missionary influence, was even acted upon at occasion.¹⁷⁵ Grimshaw of the I.L.O. reported at Jerusalem that due to the influence of conscientious administrators and missionaries who were willing to make "the last sacrifice," colonial policies were becoming "more and more humanitarian."¹⁷⁶ No wholesale condemnation, but selective opposition and protest were the need of the hour, according to Tawney.¹⁷⁷ Oldham posited a mixed situation; there were aspects in colonialism he referred to as "ideal elements with which Christian missions can heartily co-operate." It was the evils that were to be opposed and from them missions must disassociate themselves.¹⁷⁸

The trustee principle demanded opposition where necessary, but cooperation in so far as possible with colonial regimes. This, too, was called for insistently within the I.M.C. Early in the decade a report was published on the relations between missions and Roman Catholic governments of colonies in which the main emphasis was the call for missions to demonstrate loyalty to such regimes and to assume their legitimacy.¹⁷⁹ Jerusalem called for cooperation. Concerning education, the statement was adopted, "... we desire to co-operate in the fullest measure with them in the performance of this task."¹⁸⁰ The conference supported "willing and loyal cooperation with governments."¹⁸¹ Oldham himself worked closely with the government in education and other concerns.¹⁸²

The various individual mission organizations, including the S.U.M., had generally taken a positive stand with respect to their participation in colonial education, but it had become urgent that they also take a conscious stand on the economic issues. Missions, Oldham insisted firmly, "must take a definite attitude towards the political and economic aspects of western nationalism."¹⁸³ This implied first of all a search for understanding the facts, for Jerusalem was deeply aware of traditional and tragic lack of knowledge of our issues.¹⁸⁴ Grimshaw charged that long as missions may have been on devotion, they were short of knowledge.¹⁸⁵ Pearl Buck's Andrew was hardly unique in his attitude:

175. Baëta, pp. 435-436. Cf. Oliver, pp. 252ff on the question of forced labour in East Africa, as well as J.H. Oldham, "Christian Missions and African Labour," IRM/21, pp. 183-195. W.S.F. van Doorn-Snijders, "Oldham als mens in de spanning tussen kolonialisme en zending," WZ/72, pp. 460-462.

176. *Jerusalem*, V, p. 155.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

178. "Nationality," pp. 378-379.

179. A.L. Warnshuis, *The Relations of Missions and Governments in Belgian, French and Portuguese Colonies: a Statement Prepared for the Meeting of the I.M.C. at Oxford, July 6-16, 1923* (London: I.M.C., 1923).

180. *Jerusalem*, II, p. 228. "Them" refers to government.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

182. Van Doorn-Snijders, p. 462.

183. "Nationality," p. 378.

184. *Jerusalem*, V, pp. 156, 193.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Imperialism! It was the first time he had heard that word, but he was to hear it often in the years to come. He never had any idea what it meant. "It's one of those words people use," he used to say in his own imperial fashion, and there was an end of it.¹⁸⁶

Thus the first task for the mission community would be to gather knowledge and understanding of the problem. Having done this, public opinion was to be informed and popular support sought for necessary reforms.¹⁸⁷ Grimshaw summarized the suggestions made by various speakers at Jerusalem: "What is called for is concentration in the three directions . . . : the collection and collation of knowledge, the education of public opinion and the organization of public support, and the formulation and advocacy of policy." It was his opinion that these tasks were especially incumbent on missionaries because of their comparative intimacy with the colonized people.¹⁸⁸ The conference passed a number of resolutions on the colonial problem and suggested Christian solutions in matters such as investments in underdeveloped areas, development of economic resources in such areas, economic and social injustice, avoidance of friction between the colonizing nations in their bid for resources and markets.¹⁸⁹ These resolutions and solutions were not novel, for they constitute basically a repetition of a labour congress held in Washington in 1911 and they can also be found in statements of the I.L.O.¹⁹⁰ Again, the novel element in all this was that this all took place in the context of urgent missionary debates, not on the part of a few isolated advanced strategists, but on the most public forum the missionary community had at its disposal. The discussion was concluded with the formation of a Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information that would collate and disseminate information, advise missions, provide for joint action where desirable and cooperate with all efforts to raise economic and social life in the colonies.¹⁹¹

The above must not be construed as attempts to have missions become embroiled in politics. Missions were to influence the various interest groups, including and especially governments, but consensus had it that they were not to engage in politics itself, for that lay beyond the missionary province.¹⁹² The missionary should limit himself to moral issues – understood in an almost unlimited way – but not identify himself with specific political programs or parties.¹⁹³ He should exert his influence behind the scenes, not in public.¹⁹⁴ As in earlier chapters, it is difficult to determine what this restraint in fact meant,

186. P.S. Buck, *Fighting Angel* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1964), p. 116.

187. *Jerusalem*, V, pp. 113, 171.

188. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

189. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-191.

190. Koetsier, p. 28.

191. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

192. Bevans, p. 330.

193. Watson, p. 472. G.M. Fisher, "Missionaries and International Political Questions," IRM/20, pp. 522-524.

194. Fisher, pp. 522-524.

for the concerns expressed and the actions proposed had a political flavour about them. However, the various writers on the issue do not appear to have been troubled by what we can only describe as lack of clarity on this rather basic issue.¹⁹⁵

B. The Madras Decade

As the third decade of the century had its missionary climax in the Jerusalem conference, the fourth had its in the Madras conference exactly one decade later. We will here examine the main notions leading up to and including those overheard at Madras. Prior to this, however, we will summarize Hendrik Kraemer's thoughts on the matter. Kraemer rose to ecumenical prominence during these years as an outspoken foe of the social gospel, which he described as "the fruit of natural aggressiveness of temperament, spiritual imperialism to claim the world for Christ and His Divine purposes", and a naive and robust faith in the irresistible triumph of progress."¹⁹⁶ It will be of interest to observe how this Barthian's reaction to colonialism differed, if any, from that of the social gospel adherents. Though some of Kraemer's writings are hidden in a relatively unknown tongue,¹⁹⁷ his opinions on our topic were not thus hidden, for Kraemer was member of the professional set of international ecumenical conferees.

1. Hendrik Kraemer

Kraemer thought of colonialism as an inevitable suprahuman movement that overtook man, that was driving at a hidden purpose, and that could be depicted simultaneously as fortunate and satanic.¹⁹⁸ His definition of colonialism concentrates on the egocentric economic moment that constituted the dominant human motivation in the movement. In his estimation, it would be of little value to judge the movement in categories of good or evil, for this

clash and intermingling of East and West has given birth to a stupendous situation, which cannot be satisfactorily or adequately handled by efficient administration, even if it is good and just, or by providing the economic forces with the opportunity to have their due effect, or by providing for the safety of the general status of those countries. The clash and intermingling of West and East means to the East an entirely *new* era in its history, a radical revolutionizing of its being in all its roots and ramifications. It is entering on a new phase of life.¹⁹⁹

195. Bevens, p. 331.

196. "Imperialism," p. 341.

197. This exposition is thus a partial, though minimal, fulfillment of Warren's wish to have some of "the treasures of missionary history, theology and practice at present concealed by the Dutch language . . . made available in English." (*The Missionary Movement*, p. 15).

198. "Imperialism," p. 335. "Grootheid," pp.406-407.

199. "Imperialism," p. 344.

The stagnant, unchanging East was suddenly confronted with a spiritual ultimatum by the European incursion.

For good or for evil, the East simply *must* take on a new spirit, a new face and a new pace. It has to choose only between adaption in one form or another, or desolate mutilation . . . *The root of the whole problem* is that the East has to accomplish this radical change by entirely inadequate means. Its ancient foundations and structure, suited to its former situation, but radically unsuited to the new situation, are still the only instrument available.²⁰⁰

Being caught up in such a historic confrontation, the westerner was not to allow his superiority to becloud his thinking or to lead to self-glorification, but to view it as a "categorical imperative" that was to drive him on and discipline him.²⁰¹ Kraemer could even speak of the "great moral task" with which Europe was faced in the East that was to be accepted gladly, a task not reserved only for politicians, but in which every sphere of European culture was to participate in categories peculiar to each.²⁰²

The western task was to lead the colonized world on to full membership in the community of free and strong nations, a notion we have met in various earlier contexts, including that of the S.U.M.²⁰³ They were to be helped towards self-government based on their own nature, towards "self-expression," a favourite term with Kraemer meaning "the striving for the normal status of taking one's own fate in one's own hands, *rightfully founded on one's own spiritual and material ability and activity.*"²⁰⁴ The colonial task was to convert the status of these nations from that of object to subject. They were the victim of a "world-historical fate," a status that was to be transformed into participants in a "world-historical act."²⁰⁵

Since these nations did not yet possess the necessary requirements, Kraemer did not consider the time ripe to discuss independence,²⁰⁶ though he was careful not to predict the timing of independence: "we simply do not know how much time it will take, as we do not know at what time hidden life-springs, entirely falling outside our powers of calculation, will appear on the stage and cause a decisive turn of events." Such developments would probably occur in

200. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

201. *Zes jaar padvinder*, (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Bijbelgenootschap, 1928), p. 15. "De houding," p. 114.

202. "De houding," pp. 113, 111.

203. This and some of the succeeding notions of Kraemer are also to be found in A.C. Doodkorte *et al*, *Missie and Nationalisme* (Utrecht: De Gemeenschap-Uitgevers, 1932), published on behalf of the Roman Catholic Studenten-Missiebeweging. For various influences on Kraemer concerning these issues, cf. C.L. Van Doorn, "Zending in de eindfase van het kolonialisme," *WZ/72*, pp. 451-455.

204. "Imperialism," p. 338. Italics original.

205. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

206. "De houding," p. 114.

unexpected fashion.²⁰⁷ Kraemer recognized that strong movements of self-expression had arisen everywhere.²⁰⁸ Unfortunately and inevitably, this new spirit was accompanied by a mistrust towards Europeans for a number of reasons, including the "sharp contrasts in economic interests that had created increasingly antithetical attitudes between colonizers and colonized."²⁰⁹

Kraemer was no admirer of the social gospel, but he did fully endorse Jerusalem's missionary concern with our issues. Jerusalem's concerns were normal and necessary historically, morally and religiously.²¹⁰ An examination of his reasons for this position reveals them to be largely identical to those of 1928. The "power of facts and events" forced the subject on missions. Colonial questions were part of the context in which missions existed, an increasingly complicated context that called for re-orientation, and discussion of which could not possibly be evaded by missions.²¹¹ Missions no longer faced a static society, but a dynamic one with new movements that were as necessary for missions to understand and respond to as a farmer has to be acquainted with his soil and know how to treat its various types.²¹² An awakened colonized people observe closely the stance missions take with respect to colonial problems and measure mission response by Christian norms, a painful tribute.²¹³ Men expected something from missions precisely *because* they were missions.²¹⁴ Kraemer expected that the East would

continue to harass us with these arguments, especially Missions as claiming to bear the banner of the Gospel. Especially from Missions it insistently demands the clear manifestation of spiritual reality and truth. The East is right in this insistence, and we, who represent Missions, have to be grateful for this salutary and indispensable reminder. The East, in fact, *expects* this attitude from Missions, just because they are *Christian* Missions, and so pays unconsciously and involuntarily a compliment to Christianity.²¹⁵

The bitterness that had set in several decades ago was now preventing an understanding of the "truly divine glory of the gospel," for the effects of colonialism were regarded as Christian effects.²¹⁶ The reader is reminded of Kraemer's reference to the Indonesian Christian nationalist politician Moelia who was representative in his deep bitterness, if not outright despair, at missionary silence.

Kraemer's demand that missions concern themselves with colonial issues arose not only from nationalist response, but also from the fact that missions were

207. "Padvinder," p. 15. "Imperialism," p. 338.

208. "De houding," p. 97. "Imperialism," p. 338.

209. "De houding," pp. 98-99.

210. "Padvinder," p. 10. "De houding," p. 120.

211. "Padvinder," p. 15. "De houding," p. 101.

212. "Padvinder," pp. 150-151.

213. "De houding," p. 112.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

215. "Imperialism," p. 344.

216. "Padvinder," p. 10.

part and parcel of the European intrusion and as member of the team were called upon to make their own contribution. The mission was one among the communities representing various European interests and as such must take a prominent place among the team that was creating a new set of conditions. Continuing along the traditional path under the new circumstances would amount to unfaithfulness.²¹⁷

The third reason lay not in the situation, but in the nature of the gospel and its preaching that must include the prophetic call to justice. Kraemer here also closely associated himself with Tawney *et al* at Jerusalem so that no more need be said here.²¹⁸ And thus we have seen Kraemer's reasons as a combination of his response to the context which demanded a realistic appraisal and approach and to the Scripture that demanded prophetic obedience.²¹⁹

This missiologist was aware, of course, of objections to such missionary concerns. To the claim that Christ did not engage in such affairs, he responded that Christ had come for a deeper work, *i.e.*, to lay the foundation for new human relations. Paul's refraining from involvement in similar concerns was attributed to his sense of an imminent return of Christ. Almost impatiently Kraemer brushed aside such objections by pointing out that it was undeniable that the spirit of Christ aims at new creatures that would not simply leave whole areas of human endeavour to human autonomy or even satan's.²²⁰

Kraemer suggested 2 reasons missions had avoided our issues. The first was simply the context: the traditional three-pronged approach of evangelism-education-medicine was sufficient in societies not yet opened to world influence; simple methods were suitable for the relatively simple context of isolated communities.²²¹ The second reason was that missions had a strong inclination to *Jenseitigkeit*. This was "principally cause for amazement," for thus Christians fell unconsciously victim to the spirit of modernity in the wrong sense of the word. Kraemer posited a most painful and difficult conflict between Christianity and modernity in the area of trade and industry. He employed the strongest terms to describe those aspects of modern culture that constitute the central moments in colonialism. They had developed autonomously, apart from the laws of God. This autonomous concentration on profits and production had ended up in antinomies and anomy. Demonic powers had revealed themselves, in this area of western culture.²²² Missionary silence on these problems could only be based on ill-conceived piety that in effect denied what it intended to promote, namely, Christ as Light and Life of the world.²²³

217. "De houding," pp. 111-112, 114.

218. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

219. "Imperialism," pp. 345-346.

220. "De houding," p. 119.

221. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

222. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

223. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

whom missions had been sent, the "sheep not having a shepherd."²⁴⁵ The priestly service to be rendered to them consisted of welcoming, encouraging and supporting them as much as possible, on their way towards mature self-expression, the colonial goal from the missionary point of view. We have not been able to determine whether missions had similar priestly obligations towards participants in colonial commerce and industry.

Anglo-Saxon Evangelicals tend to identify missionary interest in these colonial questions with social gospel theology. Conservatives of the 19th century allegedly had more personal and ecclesiastical interests.²⁴⁶ We have already seen that social problems of the type discussed here were of deep missionary concern to all who stood in the Buxton-Livingstone tradition, including Evangelicals like Karl Kumm. Now again we see deep missionary interest in such social questions on the part of a missionary who clearly rejected the social gospel. The identification is obviously faulty. We shall note the same feature for the 1938 Madras Conference of the I.M.C.

2. The Madras Conference

During the 30s, the ecumenical movement continued with increasing impetus. There was not only the I.M.C., but also Faith and Order as well as Life and Work. These organizations were not unrelated to each other as both their agendas and membership indicate. Oldham was chairman of the 1937 Oxford Conference and editor of the conference report.²⁴⁷ Mott was chairman of the Business Committee. Mott, Oldham and Paton also attended the Faith and Order Conference in 1937.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, Madras included certain Oxford findings in its statements.²⁴⁹ It is only to indicate that the I.M.C. did not exist in an ecumenical vacuum that we draw attention to these facts, not in order to analyze the probable contributions of these other conferences to our topic.

Neither is it our purpose to trace theological developments within the I.M.C. from Jerusalem to Madras. We wish merely to indicate that the strong influence of the social gospel at the 1928 conference evoked a strong reaction, especially after the publication of the Hocking report. Johnston summarizes these developments nicely for us,²⁵⁰ and is supported by the Madras reports themselves.²⁵¹ The new theological direction was towards neo-orthodoxy, encouraged espe-

245. "Imperialism," pp. 339-340, 343.

246. Johnston, p. 174.

247. J.H. Oldham, *Foundations of Ecumenical Social Thought: the Oxford Conference Report* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.)

248. Johnston, pp. 178, 182-184.

249. *The Madras Series: Presenting Papers Based upon the Meeting of the International Missionary Council at Tambaram, Madras, India, December 12th to 29th, 1938* (New York, London: I.M.C., 1939), I, pp. 179, 181. *Oxford*, sections I and III.

250. Johnston, pp. 172-179.

251. W.M. Horton, "Between Hocking and Kraemer," *Madras*, I, pp. 137-149.

cially through the influence of Kraemer.²⁵² The emphasis at Madras was less on social involvement and more on evangelism and the church, though, as we shall observe, social involvement continued to enjoy recognized legitimacy.²⁵³

A striking contrast between Madras and its I.M.C. predecessors was the pall of despondency that hung over Madras. The buoyant optimism of former days had evaporated. World War I had come and gone; the depression had hit; a new conflagration was on the horizon. The Kingdom of God envisioned by an earlier generation of missionaries had not only failed to materialize, but seemed farther off than ever. New York and Edinburgh were optimistic with respect to past, present and future; Jerusalem recognized western failure, but still had faith in human ability to rectify the wrongs in the future; Madras saw mostly darkness in every direction. The one-word description reserved earlier for the non-Christian world, especially for Africa, now applied to the entire world indiscriminately: darkness. The world "is groping in thick darkness and crying out desperately for light and guidance . . ." ²⁵⁴ "Everywhere there is war or rumor of war. The beast in man has broken forth in unbelievable brutality and tyranny. Conflict and chaos are on every hand . . ." Men "are overwhelmed by a sense of utter impotence and despair." ²⁵⁵ True, some were still optimistic with respect to the future, ²⁵⁶ but they were a minority. The colonial peoples sensed the tragedy of the West and knew they, the colonials could not withdraw. Said a Bombay Muslim to a missionary, "You have taken us thus far, only now we know that you yourselves don't know the direction; we only know we can't go back." ²⁵⁷

Apart from the despondent spirit in which they took place, little of the discussions on our topic was original or different from those of Jerusalem. The increased emphasis on evangelism and the church did not cause an unhealthy reaction away from colonial concerns. Colonialism and its economic and social effects continued to elicit interest. Jerusalem's evaluation stood: colonialism had been exploitative and had abused nations and peoples for the benefit of the West. Though one speaker attempted to look at the powerful economic entities that characterized the colonial order in a positive spirit, asserting that they belong to God and represent His gifts to man that the church must learn to utilize in the interest of the Kingdom, ²⁵⁸ the majority opinion recognized mainly shadows similar to those seen at Jerusalem. There was talk of "the great betrayal when — for all the leading of God — imperialism was uncontrolled and economics ran riot." ²⁵⁹ The economic system "disregards the

252. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149. Johnston, pp. 165, 181-182.

253. *Madras*, VII, p. 113. Johnston, pp. 174-175, 179, 183, 188-193. Koetsier, p. 76.

254. *Madras*, I, p. 145.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 172. Cf. also V, p. 110 and VII, p. 21.

256. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 251.

257. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 50-51.

258. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 23-24.

259. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 48.

personality of the workers, and, for the profit of the few, condemns the many to soul-destroying work or corrupting idleness” The conference recognized the “inequality of economic opportunity open to various nations which gives to some a privileged position in access to the world’s raw materials, financial assistance and open areas which is denied to others.”²⁶⁰ Social development was seen as occurring in a competitive industrial framework, “controlled by a minority and often involving imperialistic domination.”²⁶¹ Colonial raw materials were taken abroad, processed, and returned to be sold at substantial profits.²⁶² Africa and Asia knew what imperialism meant, cried C.F. Andrews. “Oh, how terribly have we treated Africa! Of all the people in the world, we white people have done the most dastardly wrong to those dear Africans . . . !”²⁶³ Missions and colonialism were seen as opposites. The latter sprung from selfish motives, while missions sprung from indebtedness to God for His gift of Christ and were thus eager to share all good things. “The true missionary comes as a friend, not as ruler or exploiter,” “. . . as brothers, not as rivals or enemies”²⁶⁴

Missionary concern for the colonial order arose naturally from the Gospel, according to Madras:

The Gospel of Christ carries with it the vision and hope of social transformation and of the realization of such ends as justice, peace, freedom and peace. A living Church cannot dissociate itself from prophetic and practical activities in regard to social conditions. True evangelism will always include a forward-looking vision Active efforts to serve the community, and faith in God’s power and will to redeem it, are the inescapable consequences of the new personal relation to God which is brought to men in the Gospel. Social programs grow out of the Gospel²⁶⁵

Since the Kingdom includes the personal and the social, Christians must work for “individual conversion and social change both.” There was no opposition to individual conversion, for “in the interests of individual conversion we must demand social change.” However, the traditional argument that such changes would come automatically upon conversion was only “a half truth.”

For the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. It is made up of inherited attitudes which have come down from generation to generation through customs, law, institutions and these exist in large measure independently of individuals now living. Change these individuals and you do not of necessity change the social order unless you organize those changed individuals into collective action in a wide-scale, frontal attack upon those corporate evils.

The other side of the coin was true as well, namely, that social change will not

260. *Ibid.*, V, p. 560.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 554.

262. *Ibid.*, p. 530.

263. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 88, 93.

264. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 255.

265. *Ibid.*, III, p. 391.

necessarily produce individual conversion. Thus social change and individual conversion re-inforce each other. In the final analysis, the great prerogative belonged to Him who had promised to make all things new. The Kingdom was a hope, a gift, and a task. Men and missions with the best insights and methods would not bring it about.²⁶⁶ It was a question of obedience for a task that must avoid all false dualisms between the personal and the social.

To those who argued against these concerns as lying beyond the missionary mandate, the Madras answer was similar to Jerusalem's: the people among whom missionaries worked forced the issue on them. "It has been difficult, if not impossible, for these peoples . . . wholly to disassociate the rapid growth of missions . . . from the political and economic exploitation of the mission-sending nations."²⁶⁷ Missionaries' silence or approval in these areas had made them suspect in nationalist eyes.²⁶⁸ Like it or not, missionaries were forced to concern themselves with such issues.

Participants at Madras entertained no doubts that Christians and missions had participated in the colonial endeavour and had sought to derive benefit from it. Latourette's claim that the modern missionary era was characterized by an unprecedented divorce between missions and their countries of origin may have been true, but the conference was more concerned with the remaining ties than with the accomplished separation. Neither his assertion that western governments, especially those of Great Britain and the United States, had "in general been averse to using missionaries as tools for their imperialist purposes" nor his protest that the protection they afforded missionaries was no different from that offered to their other citizens abroad found an echo.²⁶⁹ Christian participation was emphasized and a strong sense of remorse expressed. Treaties contracted with various nations and enforced militarily made it possible for missions to work in certain countries, but the local people did not fail to notice this coincidence and had doubts concerning the "singleness of purpose of western missions." This religious enterprise in such areas was forced on them.²⁷⁰ Missions had in fact been used by governments.²⁷¹ No one could really extricate himself, according to one speaker, for "we all live by the fruits of an unjust and un-Christian social order. Yet our lives are so embedded in it that we often fail to recognize our collective selfishness as sin . . ."²⁷² A clear example was churches that had investments in various industries not consistent with the Gospel, for example, the liquor and armaments endeavours.²⁷³

266. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 556-558.

267. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

268. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 274; VI, pp. 39-40; VII, p. 111.

269. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 18-19.

270. *Ibid.*, V, p. 4; VI, pp. 39-40, 72-78.

271. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 15-16, 150.

272. *Ibid.*, V, p. 558.

273. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

The church was in for some harsh criticisms because of these developments. Speaking of the West in general, including the church, a speaker asserted that since the Renaissance our history has been but "the missing of the opportunity."²⁷⁴ Another burst out, "How often have concern for its own material interests, and too close connection with the State or with the existing social order, reduced the Church to cowardly silence or rendered her testimony suspect . . .!"²⁷⁵ One speaker sought to soften the blow by suggesting that in the early stages of the colonial era "the contradictions and failures of the civilizations of the mission-sending countries were not yet fully known," but these became clear only as colonialism developed.²⁷⁶ Another voiced the more accurate opinion that this failure "has been due in part at least to the fact that we . . . have not sufficiently sought the mind of Christ on the whole problem and its implications, and so our most sincere and earnest attempts to solve it have often led us astray."²⁷⁷ In short, the church had become worldly so that it "dare not speak of God's full word of truth unafraid . . ."²⁷⁸

The discussion so far could easily lead the reader astray. It would almost seem as if the church's mission was regarded as a total failure, but that was not the case. That churches had taken root under such circumstances at all was considered a miracle and a testimony "not only to the good qualities of the Christian missionary . . . , but to the power of Christ to transcend the severest limitations that human selfishness and ambition can place in the pathway of His Church."²⁷⁹ "He overrules and works through the purposes of men . . ."²⁸⁰

The discussion could also lead one to expect that Madras would condemn colonialism wholesale, but it did not do so any more than did Jerusalem or Kraemer. In fact, loyalty to colonial governments was advocated repeatedly and their legitimacy assumed throughout.²⁸¹ Even the Congo government was said to have "no keener admirers than many of the protestant missionaries."²⁸² Cooperation with governments in education, moreover, was welcomed and subsidies not rejected.²⁸³ A sentiment was even unearthed referring to the role of missions as undergirding colonial administration. They, together with the "younger churches," were potentially "the mediators of a quality of, and outlook upon, life, upon which the administrator can build the edifice of civil organization and advancement."²⁸⁴ An independent stance was to be adopted

274. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 48.

275. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 253.

276. *Ibid.*, V, p. 110.

277. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 259.

278. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 173, 179.

279. *Ibid.*, V, p. 5.

280. *Ibid.*, I, p. 174.

281. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 179 and ch. 6; VII, p. 113.

282. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 180.

283. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 260, 209.

284. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

by the church towards the government, assisting, guiding and cooperating where possible, but, where necessary to "fearlessly criticize the State when the latter contravenes principles of justice and righteousness."²⁸⁵

Throughout the speeches and official statements a wide range of proposals for action were offered to rectify the problems created by colonialism. Some were nonpolitical in nature, such as the church's emphasizing her potential as a brotherhood based on the love of God that transcends sectional interests and could thus embrace both colonialist and nationalist.²⁸⁶ We must clearly "be the family of God," and that would require a willingness to "jeopardise everything till we have the living Water to give them."²⁸⁷ Christians were to come in "deep humility" in order that "His strength shall be made manifest in our weakness."²⁸⁸ During public prayers economic and political matters should be remembered.²⁸⁹ Some emphasized the church's role as the conscience of society, which, for one speaker at least, implied a critical attitude towards culture, but no identification with "some secular system of economics or social propaganda," for then she would abandon her "New Testament character, because . . . the Church represents the higher spiritual order. The Church is holy."²⁹⁰ Since the church had been blind to the problems at hand, it was suggested that "comprehensive and penetrating studies" be made of evangelism in such problematic context, especially how Christian fellowship could be achieved "in a cruelly competitive economic order."²⁹¹ The church ought to educate Christians as to the truth of world economy and stir them "to a more sensitive conscience through the presentation of the Gospel."²⁹² It must "seek to open the eyes of its members to their implication in unchristian practices."²⁹³

New prerequisites were prescribed for missionaries that included a "sensitive appreciation and understanding of the changing currents of political, economic, social and religious life" as well as "the capacity to understand and appreciate the aspirations of other people." In the same context, it was also demanded of the missionary that in a colonial situation he "should understand and appreciate the ideals of the Government."²⁹⁴ The combination of these demands could lead one to suspect that the conference sought to devise a new *modus operandus* based on hard facts, not on myths, but nevertheless equally pragmatic as the

285. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

286. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 77.

287. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

288. *Ibid.*, I, p. 173.

289. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 3.

290. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 31, 109.

291. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 406-407.

292. *Ibid.*, V, p. 559.

293. *Ibid.*, I, p. 176.

294. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 239.

traditional approach. That this was not the intention becomes clear from the various political and economic suggestions that were also proposed.

Various ideas and proposals were advanced touching the economic sector of life. The need for such interest apparently still required defence. Economics, it was argued, was concerned not only with clothes, housing and food, but also with the producers and consumers of these products. "For Christians then to deal in economic activities is not to cross the barrier of their rightful domain but to create the only circumstances in which the whole man can be built up."²⁹⁵ The time for treating mere symptoms, it was felt, was past; the church must move on to attack the problems at their roots.²⁹⁶ The situation called not just for "social service activities for those who are victims of the social order," but to reconstruct the order so that resources benefit all men and "cooperation replaces competition," an order characterized by justice and equal opportunity.²⁹⁷ Equality of opportunity, it was asserted in an official statement, did not exist in the contemporary economic order and therefore the conference said to "stand for a just distribution of those goods among the nations . . . so that every man may have enough to promote his full growth as a child of God and not too much to stifle it."²⁹⁸ For the same reasons, western firms abroad were advised to train locals to participate in the higher echelons.²⁹⁹

Words of advice were also directed to governments. "No nation may deliberately pursue its own interests at the expense of its neighbors," they were warned. "We condemn the effort to impose the will of one people upon another by force, and especially the invasion of the recognized territory of one people by the armed forces of another. Responsibility for aggression and oppression must be borne by all who derive profit there from" – and that included Christians. "Justice requires the elimination of the domination of one people by another." The conference did not wish to determine specifically the route by which this foreign domination should cease, for an international conference would only present generalities, but the desired direction was clear: "Where government of one people by another exists, its goal should be that the people so governed comes freely to order and control its own life,"³⁰⁰ language in keeping with most of the modern missionary movement and especially reminiscent of Kraemer.

Though we have noted resistance to political involvement on the part of the church, one detects greater openness to such involvement than previous conferences displayed. "Political action by churches," it was asserted, "may be as Christian as any other type of Christian social action . . ." In the past, Chris-

295. *Ibid.*, V, p. 569.

296. *Ibid.*, I, p. 176.

297. *Ibid.*, V, p. 566.

298. *Ibid.*, V, p. 560; VI, p. 248.

299. *Ibid.*, V, p. 530.

300. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 248-249.

tians organized for "political action for such causes as temperance, Sunday observance . . .," so why deny the right to apply the principle to these concerns? This did not imply that the church "should identify itself with a particular political party," but it did mean that the church "should stimulate its members to make a right use of political machinery for the welfare of those who suffer from oppression or exploitation." The church could, e.g., "encourage and promote small groups within the fellowship organized for specific types of social action, even when these groups work through legislative and political machinery."³⁰¹

As to nationalism, there was strong awareness of its growing impetus throughout the world, and even though nationalists, for reasons already referred to, might look askance at the Christian religion, the missionary must not counteract in kind. One qualification for missionaries was now to appreciate their aspiration. A Burmese delegate demanded that missionaries "identify . . . with the legitimate aspirations of the people. Sympathy for, not condemnation of, such aspirations is essential. The mission's attitude should be that of a real friend of the people . . ."³⁰² The conference basically adopted the sentiments of the Oxford conference on this issue, which, in turn, recalls Kraemer's attitude. It was pointed out that the West had long suffered from a type of nationalism described as "self-satisfied" and "self-assertive". The western church "has seldom been awake to the dangers of hypocritical pharisaism" inherent in their nationalism and "has often too easily identified itself with this entirely worldly attitude, forgetting its prophetic task of exposing it to the light of the Gospel." Colonial nationalism was to be met by a two-fold attitude "distinctly affirmative and at the same time discerningly critical." The former was called for as a glad acknowledgement of "God's purpose for the nations that they should contribute as free peoples to the life of the world in accordance with their peculiar gifts . . ." The latter was needed because of the negatives that frequently characterize nationalist movements as they were discussed by Kraemer.³⁰³

It has been pointed out earlier that the Evangelical mission magazine *World Dominion* basically boycotted the Jerusalem conference, but Madras was not so treated. Two articles were devoted to the event, one by McLeish, the survey editor for the magazine,³⁰⁴ the other by Camargo, a Mexican.³⁰⁵ Both reviews were favourable, though the different emphases marked the reviewers as true representatives respectively of Anglo-Saxon Evangelicals and southern Christians. The former's emphasis was on Madras' insistence on the primacy of evangelism and the importance of a personal response to the Gospel, but he also expressed genuine appreciation for the missionary concern for the social, economic and

301. *Ibid.*, V, p. 565.

302. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 268; VI, p. 256.

303. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179-180.

304. A. McLeish, "Some Impressions of Madras," WD/39, pp. 118-122.

305. G.B. Camargo, "A Mexican Appraisal of Madras," WD/39, pp. 123-131.

political realms and joyfully recognized no limits to the reign of Christ. He acknowledged these concerns to be as legitimate as those of the traditional triad, since they deal with nine-tenths of a man's life. While McLeish regarded these areas in language traditional to the Evangelical — "Not only as a Christlike service, but as opening a wide field of fruitful contacts to the evangelist" —, Camargo saw the proposed integration of social activities with traditional concerns "in terms of witness to the redemptive love and power of God in Christ," and as "one and inclusive witness of the Church." The first expressed himself in Evangelical terms that tend to construct a hierarchy of missionary activity with evangelism at the top and the others subsidiary to it; the latter employed terms that appear to place all these activities next to each other in the service of the Kingdom. Camargo welcomed the conference's recognition that Christians ought to push for radical changes rather than merely minister to victims of the social order, but together with others he felt that Madras could have been stronger on the evils of the state of affairs. He realized, however, that considering the differences of opinion, the conference did as well as could be expected — and it *was* an advance.

C. The War Years

During the early 40s a few articles on our topic appeared in IRM. We wish to indicate in short compass the main opinions expressed. After all these years, in spite of fine statements on the part of governments to the contrary, colonies remained "of material interest for the governing empires," it was affirmed, and equality of opportunity for colonial peoples had not materialized. Colonies continued to be treated as appendices of the West.³⁰⁶ The Colonial Fund of 1929 was recognized as serving British interests.³⁰⁷ The inherent opposition between missions and colonialism was no longer the secret of a few eccentric prophets.³⁰⁸ Continued missionary interest in justice for colonial peoples was affirmed, for broad development and for their participation at all levels with eventual independence in view.³⁰⁹ Dougall summarized all the classic problems inherent in colonialism and its contradictions between theory and practice. He did not advocate an immediate pulling out of colonies, for still he regarded them as "a responsibility from which we cannot escape."³¹⁰ Britain had to make up her mind as to direction, for "opposite tendencies" were at work.³¹¹ The British public must be informed as to the true situation so as to rid them of the myth that colonialism spelled nothing but advantage for its subjects.³¹² The

306. F.M. van Asbeck, "Our Colonial Problem and Task," IRM/41, pp. 316-325.

307. M. Wrong, "Colonial Development and Welfare," IRM/40, p. 470.

308. T. Price, "Missionary Agency in Colonial Development," IRM/40, pp. 463-464.

309. Van Asbeck, pp. 317-319, 324.

310. J.W.C. Dougall, "Colonial Policy and the Christian Conscience," IRM/41, p. 477.

311. *Ibid.*

312. *Ibid.*, pp. 480-483.

public must insist that African social development be taken into consideration as much as the interests of British investors.³¹³

These authors generally welcomed the new C.W.D. Fund. The new government money thus made available was regarded as a new challenge for cooperation between missions and government of education, public health and agriculture.³¹⁴ On basis of the proven record of missions in development efforts, Price claimed that they had a right to part of these new funds. Of what did this proven record consist, according to Price? His answer dripped with contempt for colonialists and their policies:

Putting it in its most uncompromising terms, Christian charity saw and acted on what it has taken riots to bring to the notice of those officially responsible. At a time when the ordinary sub-Christian in Britain regarded the world . . . as his oyster, which he with sword or system of accountancy would open to such effect that he could retire home in a few years, the missionaries and their supporters saw that it was a vast expanse of preventable physical and mental misery.

. . . these people were thinking in terms of the whole earth when even our imperialists were thinking in terms of coaling-stations. Nor did they confine themselves to barren thought. When colonial men of affairs were content to seize where they could from existing conditions, the mission supporters were contributing their earnings to alter these conditions.

But now that our statesmen have reached the point of diverting some of the proceeds of an enormous tax to remedy the evils that our practical men have allowed to grow up in the colonial empire, the position of the historical developers must not be lost from sight.³¹⁵

The importance for our purposes of these expressions is that they demonstrate that the ecumenical mission community had become fully aware of the shortcomings of the colonial system and has thus come a long way from the New York-Edinburgh era. Nevertheless, they still thought to detect a colonial task that remained, one that was surprisingly similar to that discussed in the initial period. The most penetrating effects had been negative, but missions continued to be hopeful that now, finally, a real change of heart had come and the colonial task would be tackled. Fully aware of nationalist resentment and suspicion, these authors still insisted on cooperation with colonial governments, though they also pressed for changes in government policies.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 487-488. Wrong, pp. 475-476.

315. Price, pp. 463, 465.

Chapter Six

Continuing the Pattern

I. *The Mission as a Whole*

A. Introduction

This chapter follows basically the same pattern as did Chapter 4. Having traced colonial developments during the interim years of 1918 till the end of World War II, as well as the nationalist and ecumenical reactions to these developments, we are now prepared to examine the S.U.M.'s evaluations of these developments and their concrete relations to the colonial government and companies. Again we divide the chapter into three main sections, one on the mission as a whole, one on Farrant and one on Maxwell, in that order. As before, we are aware of the artificial nature of this method of treatment, for Farrant and Maxwell were part of the S.U.M. Farrant, in his leadership capacity throughout the period, had the greatest influence in shaping the mission's policies in Nigeria. We nevertheless insist on this arrangement in order to thus demonstrate differences in nuance, if any.

One definite point of discontinuity was the more subdued spirit of the mission during this period. The first period was characterized by a sense of excitement and adventure. The actors were deeply aware of participating in shaping a new but uncertain future for Africa; they were helping in determining the continent's destiny. There was the fascination of the mysterious unknown qualities of a totally different culture. And, of course, there was that grand optimism they shared with their contemporaries. All this had changed. The excitement had waned; the adventure had turned into more settled procedures; the lively tales of exotic customs had made way for more sober descriptions. In common with their contemporaries, optimism had also begun to lag: "There was a general desire to recapture the optimism of the early days of the Mission."¹

B. The Traditional Affirmation

1. The Pax Accomplished

The basic justification the mission advanced for the colonial enterprise during the initial years, be it remembered, was the prevailing chaos in Africa. These

1. J9, Feb/42.

conditions were not forgotten, but already early in these interim years they were referred to largely in the past tense, Wingate constituting the only exception in his address to the S.U.M.'s annual meeting of 1928. He described Africa as "a roadless region, unbridged rivers, swamps, tall grass, woods, sparsely occupied by tribes, who live much as the beasts around them, collecting food for themselves, until lately preying on one another, and being hunted to provide slaves for Moslems." He referred to slavery and other alleged evils perpetrated by Islam in the present tense. "We thought," he asserted, "we had put down the slave trade," but "the Moslem is a continuing menace to the African." The trade revived during World War I. A recently published book had documented the current situation and showed Arabia still well stocked with African slaves. "What boots it to tell us that they are kindly treated when their service is procured at the cost of burnt and slaughtered African hamlets?" "Islam is the stronghold of slavery and slaughter." In a style reminiscent of earlier days, Wingate reminded his audience of various Muslim cultural debits:

And what is the morality of the strictest sect of Islam? The Koran limits a man to four wives, but the ruler of the Wallebis has had seventy-five by the simple expedient of divorcing one girl before he takes another.

What was the result of centuries of Mohammedan rule in India? It debased the Hindu by stimulating vile sensuality and horrible cruelties, by accentuating the degradation of women, and, if it failed to impart to the Hindus Moslem contempt for education, it left India's population cleaved by a bitter and ineradicable hatred. How can Moslems be anything but a scourge to pagan Africa?²

Wingate's sentiments, we repeat, constituted the single exception to the general tone.

Hepburn represented the more common attitude. The differences between precolonial and colonial days were those of chaos and stability, of oppression and liberty. Internal fighting had largely ceased, according to him, the first missionary to tour the area of the Mada people. The Mada tribe initially resisted the British, for they identified them with an earlier series of invaders that raided them repeatedly for slaves, but all that had now come to a halt "and the Mada people are now beginning to trade peacefully with those who were once slave raiders and their bitterest enemies."³

In an article commemorating 40 years of missionary work in the Sudan, Dawson clearly described some of the details of the scramble for Africa and expressed the opinion that "whatever were the aims of the European Governments in annexing territory in the Sudan, the condition of affairs they found there constituted justification for their action." He then proceeded to expose the conditions in the familiar terms of the "dark Africa" theme: cannibalism, ignorance, superstition, disease, war and slave-raiding that caused the depopula-

2. LB, July/28, p. 68.

3. LB, July/23, p. 78.

tion of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan during the last 13 years prior to the coming of the British from 8.5 million to about 2 million. Europe brought peace, health, trade and development. The developments introduced since those days were very extensive — roads, railways, bus services, trade, mining, sanitation, medical services, and education.⁴

Another incident proving the blessings of the British presence was reproduced in the mission's magazine, even though the incident took place back in 1908. Upon emerging from his sleeping quarters during a tour of his outstations, a captain Ross found

a woman lying down with her arms round the flagstaff, and on enquiry I was told that she had come for protection, and had been there for some hours waiting to make her complaint known to me, and that so long as she clung to the pole under the Union Jack she felt perfectly safe until her case had been considered.⁵

The real proof that chaos had come to an end was the natural death of the Freed Slaves' Home in 1925. It was shut down because of lack of new arrivals.⁶ The *Pax* had materialized. Britain had lived up to Wingate's evaluation as the "land of most influence for the uplift of Africa, and especially for the spread of the Gospel."⁷

The *Pax*, of course, remained a two-edged sword and was thus recognized throughout the middle period, the only difference being that references to this aspect were more sporadic. Though Beahm was not the only one to address himself to the problem, he was the only one to do so somewhat extensively. The new order had seen to it that previously-feared Muslims were now welcome traders. Quoting from Roome, he reproduced the picture of earlier days:

Along the new wide road comes the Moslem trader, protected by British justice, stopping to pray in the villages, selling his charms, influencing chiefs, securing the erection of a grass hut he styles a mosque, and throwing the glamour of his religion and superstition over the submissive minds of the pagans.

While the railway gave Europeans easy access to Kano, "... it also gave the Moslem Hausas easy access to the south."⁸ No professional missionary would appear, for "even the Moslem mallams⁹ ... are in effect more trader than teacher." It was only natural that "the primitive pagan is also attracted to the religion of the man who introduces to them the products of modern trade." A thought not expressed during the initial period was that the universal appeal of Islam met a new need. In an era of more travel, the Pagan found his faith too tied up with local institutions and thus found Islam more suitable,¹⁰ a sugges-

4. G. Dawson, "Forty Years in the Sudan," WD/39, pp. 54-55, 57-58.

5. LB, July/26, p. 52.

6. Tett, p. 27.

7. LB, July/28, p. 68.

8. LB, March/38, pp. 23-24.

9. Hausa for teacher.

10. LB, May/38, p. 43.

tion corroborated by our own experience in the Kurmi district of Gongola State, where the first family to turn to Islam consisted of large-game hunters that traveled widely in the pursuit of their profession. As in former days, no one was blamed for this development; it was the inevitable price to be paid.

2. Continued General Approval

Though as we shall see in due time, various points of criticism were aimed at the government, there was among missionaries a general basic approval of the colonial enterprise throughout these years. Incidental remarks such as "the splendid record of British rule in Nigeria" are significant.¹¹ Walter Miller expressed his "unstinted tribute of praise to the Government of Nigeria" for their accomplishments, many of which he listed, after which he concluded, "these things must eternally go to the credit of the Government . . ."¹² Missionary Veary wrote,

While sometimes we are not entirely in accord with what is done, and some actions seem harsh and even cruel from our missionary viewpoint, we have to confess in the long run that the . . . policies are good and wise, and just and effective, and that we benefit by them.¹³

To indicate that such sentiments continued till the very end of the era, we quote from the last issue of *The Lightbearer* of the period: "The Conference is well aware that great benefits have been brought to the native peoples through British rule, settlement, and commerce, and that much further progress is being planned."¹⁴

Of course, the mission profited gratefully from government services and developments. The government's pacification of a certain tribe considerably reduced the cost and time involved in a route missionaries frequently traveled.¹⁵ The benefits of the government's nearness were considered so essential to the mission that when it was merely rumoured that Ibi would cease to be provincial capital, it was suggested that it would no longer be useful as headquarters for the mission either.¹⁶ Eventually the mission did move its main office from the town.

The mission's own profit from government accomplishments and the fact that the people appeared to profit from the peaceful conditions served to encourage attributing to the British venture functions related to the Kingdom of God in the tradition of the earlier period. Britain's uplifting role was no mere historical contingency, but it was the Spirit of Christ that "drove these men into the pestilential swamp and forest in order that the sympathies of the whole world

11. LB, July/23, p. 77.

12. LB, Jan/23, p. 7.

13. LB, July/28, p. 76.

14. LB, Oct/45, p. 76.

15. LB, July/24, p. 71.

16. J8, Nov/25, July/28.

might be stirred to bring this vast continent back into the commonwealth of mankind and within the warm light of God's love."¹⁷ Here we again find this virtual identification of missions and colonialism as one single movement induced by the Spirit, all in the grand style of Kumm *c.s.* It was the Lord who had done "great things for our empire."¹⁸ Since it was among the mission's purpose "to lead whole nations into light and liberty, and to shape aright their future,"¹⁹ any movement or organization sharing that purpose was considered an ally in the deepest sense, and that included the colonial effort. If Ruxton did not intend an actual identification in the following statement, the remark was certainly suggestive in that direction, especially when viewed in the light of the traditional language employed: "... may the kingdom of our God . . . be extended in our time over all the peoples of Africa . . . to His glory, their salvation, and England's honour."²⁰

In the tradition of the pioneering days, the mission continued to frankly "make hay" of her political usefulness to colonial governments as an aid in the pacification and civilizing process by frequently publishing reminders. The Governor-General of New Zealand praised missions for their civilizing influence: "There were some people who doubted the efficiency of this work, but on the ground alone that it raised the natives from savagery to civilisation it was worthwhile, he asserted."²¹ In an anniversary speech, Wingate presented a testimony to the value of missions:

A remarkable testimony to the excellent service rendered by these missionaries is the changing attitude of the British officials. Not so long ago missionaries were regarded askance. Now almost everywhere in Africa missionaries are recognized to be a humanizing and civilising influence, an essential preparation for the reception of education, trade, and prosperity.²²

A Nigerian chief who formerly opposed the gospel had detected this influence on people and thus began to welcome the mission: "because he . . . had been watching, and now saw that wherever the Gospel went the people became tame and quiet."²³ Ruxton described the spread of the gospel as "a political necessity for the maintenance of the Commonwealth . . ." The "political result of conversion . . . with reference to pagans is that thus a great barrier is removed and a relationship of trust becomes possible between black and white."²⁴ An article from *West Africa* was reproduced that affirmed "a tactful missionary can be of immense assistance to the Administration, and often is, as long as he is consulted

17. LB, July/28, p. 68.

18. LB, May/21, p. 69.

19. LB, Feb/20, p. 14.

20. LB, March/34, p. 26.

21. LB, July/25, p. 80.

22. LB, Jan/29, p. 1.

23. H. Spencer or H.E. Jump, Annual Report for Panyam, 1930 (J).

24. LB, March/34, p. 26.

by the political officer . . . ,"²⁵ which, according to Henry Bello, happened frequently in the case of Farrant. And all of this without embarrassment.

A letter was reproduced in the magazine from a governor in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to the Australian-New Zealand branch of the S.U.M. working there:

I would take this opportunity to tell you how glad I am that the Mission is able to extend its work in this Province. The Mission at Heiban has amply fulfilled my expectations of it. As you know, the original idea I had in mind in asking the Mission to be allowed to come to Heiban was to get in touch with the particularly wild Nubas . . . and make them friendly towards the Government. They had it in their mind that the Government was their enemy, but they gave sullen obedience because they were not strong enough to oppose . . . orders.

We have to thank the Mission to a very great extent that the attitude of these Nubas has now entirely changed. They no longer have any fear of . . . Government officials, but . . . are extremely friendly. They are now easily administered and give the Government practically no trouble. This is a very great step towards civilisation, and the Mission have my cordial thanks for so much facilitating the work of the Government.²⁶

A letter from another official in that part of Africa who invited the S.U.M. to open up new work in his area was introduced by the editor as follows: "Gratifying testimony has recently been borne to the appreciation with which the work of missionaries of the S.U.M. is viewed by . . . the . . . administration . . ."²⁷ Though one can hardly avoid classifying such sentiments as little more than propaganda on the part of the mission, fairly extensive correspondence was carried on between that government and the mission, the former eagerly encouraging the latter to establish work in that colony, either by joining the attempts of the Australian-New Zealand efforts or by replacing them, for that branch did not live up to government expectations in education. The mission was even offered subsidy for 3 stations and more for every school opened. The government wished to prevent the Nuba people from turning to Islam. Eventually, the government invited the C.M.S.²⁸

Close identification with the empire was thus not shunned. Occasionally missionaries were awarded membership in some imperial order. The mission was grateful for such distinctions and did not hide it. At one time 7 missionaries were thus honoured.²⁹ The mission similarly participated wholeheartedly in imperial celebrations. In keeping with activities throughout Nigeria, the mission did her share in the Ibi observances of Empire Day, 1920:

A service was held in the Mission Chapel in the morning which was attended by all the

25. LB, March/20, p. 22.

26. LB, July/23, p. 67. Also reproduced in Maxwell, *Half a Century*, p. 145.

27. LB, July/26, p. 81.

28. SUM 5, 23 Aug/32. SUM 8 and SUM 10 both contain copies of letters from Governor Newbold to Dawson, 12 Aug/34, 16 Sept/34. Cf. also Report on Anglo-Egyptian Proposals, n.d.

29. SUM 8, 25 June/35. Cf. also LB, July/31, p. 83.

Europeans in the town,³⁰ most of the educated natives from . . . the coast, and the local Christian natives. Later the chief and people, school children, educated natives, and the Europeans gathered at the Residency, where all were addressed by the Resident, after which the flag was saluted.³¹

The missionaries thus helped bolster the empire and cooperated with the government "for the honour of the race and the good of the country," something expected at home also from any citizen, but a more critical need in the colonial situation.³²

3. Evaluation of the Colonial Economy

Failure on the part of the mission to determine an official and well-defined stand on the issues of this study has throughout been responsible for occasional contradictions and differences of opinion. This was particularly true for missionary evaluation of the colonial economy during the interim decades. Appreciation for the economic system remained high as in former days. During the earliest part of the period one author expressed wholesale support for the laissez-faire tradition of free trade. The author claimed that experience had confirmed

the soundness of the opinion, which has long been an article of faith for the majority of our countrymen, that the best help that a Government can afford to commerce is to leave it and its agents as untrammelled in their business arrangements and organisation as circumstances may render possible.³³

Though Walter Miller was aware of the deepest motivation of colonialism, he estimated that "the interchange of wealth is opening up the countries of West Africa. The African people themselves are largely sharing in this wealth, and the standard of cleanliness, prosperity and luxury is being raised."³⁴ The idea of identity of interest remained a basic assumption. The colonial function as supplier of raw materials and market for manufactured goods continued to receive the nod of approval. Miller wrote:

This country, which twenty-five years ago was largely closed to trade, and practically unknown to the big merchant firms, now bids fair to be the most valuable of all the Crown Colonies. Palm oil, kernels, leather, hides, tin, rubber, ground nuts, cocoa, cotton — to mention only a few of these essential products which Nigeria gives us in exchange for our homemade manufactures — bring out every year fresh firms to trade.³⁵

The importance of Nigeria's resources was not doubted.³⁶ Government encour-

30. The reader will realize the solemnity of this occasion when he remembers Maxwell's complaint that these Europeans seldom entered the church.

31. LB, Sept/20, p. 78.

32. LB, July/28, p. 77.

33. LB, Oct/20, p. 90. The author borrowed this passage from a speech given by Clifford, the Governor of Nigeria.

34. LB, Jan/23, p. 7.

35. *Ibid.*

36. LB, Oct/20, p. 90.

agement for Africans to grow more cotton and other cash crops was viewed as a useful policy.³⁷ Reference was made by Bristow to the fact that "weaving was abandoned as it was found impossible to compete with European cloth,"³⁸ but without any indication whether this was good or bad.

One sordid aspect of colonial trade that had been cleaned up during World War I was the gin trade we described earlier. An article in the magazine, culled from *West Africa*, described the missionary movement as having won the battle against government and commerce on this score. The article credited the mission with victory: "After a long fight he has won, aided by wheels within wheels, of which his single-minded purpose took no account."³⁹ In reality it was no mission victory at all, for other factors, the "wheels within wheels," were responsible for its cessation. The economic structure in Nigeria had changed in such a way that the resulting revenue was no longer needed. Anyhow, the trade had always been "adverse to British commercial interest," since it was Dutch gin, not British that was imported!⁴⁰ The problem was solved by changes in the economy, but not through any shift in economic thought.

As in the first period the mission lent its magazine pages to the gin crusade, even though the problem did not exist in Northern Nigeria, so during the current period was coverage given to the forced labour problem in East Africa, and in neither case were the problems identified as related to the basic impulse of colonialism. At the instigation of Oldham, a memorandum was presented to the London government, signed by many influential Christians, opposing this practice. No person known to be related to the S.U.M. was among the signatories' names reproduced, but S.U.M. support was indicated by printing it in *The Lightbearer*.⁴¹

A rather innocent-sounding statement is hidden in a memorandum that, because of its very innocence, spoke volumes about S.U.M.'s fuzzy thinking on these matters. In his explanation to colleagues of a new government education scheme, Bristow wrote about tremendous changes that were taking place in colonial philosophy and practice at the Colonial Office in London. Among the "stupendous" changes was the new "policy of the Empire of buying up all the export crops at prices that will bring a fair return to the peasant farmer and will push up the social and economic standards of the country at a great rate."⁴² At that stage Bristow could hardly have been aware of the real impact these marketing boards were to have. The statement, however, implied that fair prices

37. LB, Nov/26, p. 124.

38. Ibi Monthly Logbook, Sept/19 (J).

39. LB, March/20, p. 20.

40. LB, Apr/19, p. 61.

41. LB, Jan/21, pp. 11-12.

42. W.M. Bristow, Memorandum: "New Scheme for Government Grants for Schools," n.d., but probably 1941 (J).

were a *new* feature in colonial policy, something no one in the S.U.M. had ever suggested before. Probably, Bristow did not intend that inference and the statement should be taken as another product of ill-defined views.

A few articles in *The Lightbearer* indicate an awareness of the centrality of the profit motive of colonialism. Beahm, a missionary of the C.B.M., recognized it,⁴³ but the results he emphasized were peace, development and the spread of Islam. The fact and result of exploitation were not mentioned and probably not realized. The object of the large firms, affirmed Miller, was "frankly self-interested" and they had certain negative effects that were "inevitable." Nevertheless, the "interchange of wealth is opening up the countries of West Africa," and the government's task was to "restrain and curb" those "inevitable" results.⁴⁴ This is the one and only statement we have uncovered in our sources that did not relegate the negative results of colonial commerce to immoral aberrations but recognized them as inherent. It appears however, that he did not recognize the extent of these "inevitable" outcomes, for he was quite content with the African share in the bounty, as we have seen. The role he attributed to the government seemed to be at odds with that prescribed by the advocate of free trade quoted at the beginning of this section, but perhaps it was a mere difference of emphasis dictated by the context. Dawson summed up the general feeling that "the people as a whole have benefited economically and materially as a result of European government."⁴⁵

4. Nigerian Reactions Interpreted

a. Primary Reaction

Missionaries knew that in spite of the alleged benefits of the colonial order, Nigerians did not always welcome the regime. Hepburn, *e.g.*, explained that the Mada people initially resisted the British because the latter were feared to be a new group of slave raiders, but now "they *probably* already realise some of the advantages of British rule." After all, they were by this time paying a small tax compared to the former tax in slaves and they were able to trade peacefully.⁴⁶ Similarly, Suffill related that the Birom were prejudiced against the white man, for the first ones had "come . . . with their guns to subdue them. That prejudice had to be lived down, and the first influence that tended to break it down was the ministry of healing."⁴⁷

Though the government in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was seeking mission aid in the pacification of certain Nuba people, a report about another group of Nubas recorded their gratitude for protection against the harassment of

43. LB, March/38, p. 23.

44. LB, Jan/23, p. 7.

45. "Forty Years," p. 58.

46. LB, July/23, p. 70.

47. LB, Jan/23, p. 70.

marouuding Arabs and their subsequent "great friendliness towards the Government."⁴⁸ The same testimony was heard from the people served by Muir in Nigeria. The white man has saved them, they said. Muir interpreted this, "They mean that the British Government has saved them from tribal wars, from slavery, from exploitation by their rulers, and many other evils. . . ."⁴⁹ It will be noted that the 2 samples in this paragraph originated from a later period than those of the previous paragraph. It is quite possible that by then the original opposition had been forgotten, but perhaps there had been none.

Ruxton had his theory about African opposition to colonialism. He posited a clear disjunction between Pagan and Muslim reactions.

Between the European and the Moslem there is always an unbridgeable gulf; the former is always the Nazarene dog to be tolerated only so long as he is the stronger. The relationship at bottom is one of physical force, and consequently there is no permanence about it.

On the other hand, there was no "natural hatred" between Animist and European, only "a complete lack of understanding." The barrier was basically one of religion, a barrier that would be removed upon conversion to Christ.⁵⁰

b. Nationalism

Not much has been written during this period on nationalism. Some of the complaints of nationalists recorded in Chapter 5 appear, but the authors were not S.U.M. missionaries. One article, culled from a C.M.S. publication, made reference to lack of promotions of Africans in government service, insufficient pay for highly trained Africans and inadequate educational facilities — and those remarks were taken from *West Africa*.⁵¹ Another document reproduced was the "Colour Bar Manifesto" of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, but that dealt with conditions found in east and South Africa.⁵²

The greatest awareness of nationalist sentiments was displayed by Miller, another C.M.S. missionary. He confided that educated Africans privately told him that "bitterness has entered into their soul" because of the colour bar that sought "to keep the African in his place." He warned that though the British still had "ample time" in Africa, they had none to waste. Fortunately, "nationalism has not become strongly anti-British yet," a remark that intimated sensitivity for the direction of things to come, the only one, we add, found in these pages.⁵³

48. LB, July/31, p. 83.

49. LB, Jan/42, p. 4.

50. LB, March/34, p. 26.

51. LB, Oct/22, p. 156.

52. LB, Oct/45, pp. 75-76.

53. LB, Jan/23, pp. 8, 10.

5. Paternalism and Trusteeship

It is of interest to note at the beginning that the articles to be referred to in this section again have their origin, with a couple of exceptions, in non-S.U.M. circles, though they are reproduced in *The Lightbearer*. In an article entitled "The Child Races of Africa," Reed, a missionary to Liberia, provided 3 answers to the question, "Why have Africans remained a child race?" The first culprit was the sun that reduced the race's vitality and thus retarded "upward progress." The second, it was hesitantly suggested, could be the mosquito. The third was "the bounty of nature." In contrast to the European, the African "has never been forced by climatic conditions or increasing numbers into a progressive civilisation." In spite of all these obstacles, Africa had nevertheless produced "some great men," and it was affirmed that "the African has great possibilities." The discussion was brought to a climax with a quotation from Albert Schweitzer, "With regard to the Negros I have coined the formula, I am your brother, but your elder brother!"⁵⁴ Absolutely no hint that perhaps the western slave trade may have contributed to the confusion that caused missionaries to have low regard for African civilization!

Reed's article was more in keeping with the earlier period than with the predominant mood of the interim years. Miller reserved some strong words for such attitudes: "We need to banish from our minds this thought of inherent inferiority," he warned, "but it is very hard to do." And just to show how difficult it was, he himself spoke of having found in Africans "*latent* character of the highest type,"⁵⁵ that included "incomparable virility, capability for suffering and endurance perhaps equalled by no others." Emphasizing the role of the Spirit in the development of Africa, he had come to demur the argument so popular in earlier days and that he himself had advanced:

I have used myself, and been bored to death hearing other people use, that ridiculous expression of a half truth, "It has taken us Anglo-Saxon races many centuries to arrive at our present state of civilisation and culture, it will be very dangerous to think or hope that the African can make a short cut into our heritage." This whole idea is packed full of wrong premises; all these centuries have not been taken in making our present estate; there have been periods of serious retrogression and others of stagnation. Give me a strong Church with spiritual life . . . and I have no fear of too rapid evolution. In our grandmotherly desire to stop too rapid progress . . . Our work is not to hinder but to guide social revolution, and to make sure that the spiritual atmosphere is so strong that other things will go right.⁵⁶

This radical shift from extreme paternalism of the first period to a strong condemnation of it was also expressed by Ruxton, who actually prayed for deliverance from this malady: "From contempt for what we are pleased to call the inferior races — which is a sin against God and treason to ourselves — may we

54. LB, Nov/29, p. 106.

55. Italics mine.

56. LB, March/34, p. 26.

be delivered before it is too late . . . ”⁵⁷ Both missionary and politician clearly recognized the danger of paternalism in its effect on church and empire.

Cooper was one S.U.M. missionary who addressed himself to these questions in the context of his crusade to have the mission adopt the “three selves” approach. He pleaded for faith “in our native brethren” on basis of their ability and of the fact that “the operations of the Spirit of God are not confined to white men.” His plea had clear political implications as well.

When dealing with a primitive people, it does sound like a far-off cry, a very distant goal, to talk of self-government. But have not even these primitive people some idea of government amongst themselves? Even before the days of British administration they had the *sarkin kasa*⁵⁸ and the *manya manya*.⁵⁹ There were then, and are still the elders in the tribe who are consulted, and who decide cases. Hence it should not be difficult to introduce something of the same idea into the church organization.⁶⁰

Cooper’s remarks not only militated against paternalism, but they also demonstrated the direction in which the mission from the very first wished to see Nigeria move: on to a mature independent nation that would take its place among the family of nations as a full equal. One missionary put it rather weakly: “That the African will be more and more cast upon his own resources as the years go by, is plainly seen by the self-assertion of various races in S.P.”⁶¹ Nor is this altogether wrong, for it is well that a people should learn to govern themselves.”⁶² Eventually Africans “will take their place in the human family and develop side by side with us,” a French general was quoted as saying.⁶³ The basic attitude towards Africa was thus one of hopeful expectation and faith in her future, but a future for the time being properly in British hands, who must act on the “principle of trusteeship.”

The S.U.M. from its beginning insisted on this principle and this no doubt led it to include articles in *The Lightbearer* that had reference to problems not directly experienced in Northern Nigeria, but that violated the principle. The reference here is to the “gin war,” to the issue of forced labour and to the “Colour Bar Manifesto.” The Oldham-inspired memorandum on the labour question was described as having its “main insistence . . . upon the . . . question of applying the principle of trusteeship to the actual conditions of African life.” Upon being requested by Oldham to join in the protest, the executive committee expressed its sympathy with efforts to protect the natives and “their pleasure at the effect already produced by these protests.”⁶⁴ There was talk of the “sacred trust of civilisation” that was revived by the League of Nations mainly at the

57. LB, March/34, p. 26.

58. chiefs.

59. elders of the tribe.

60. LB, Sept/24, pp. 89-91.

61. Southern Provinces.

62. J10, Suffill (?), “Annual Report for Forum and Jarwa Districts, 1939.”

63. LB, Oct/22, p. 156.

64. SUM 4, Oct/20.

initiative of British statesmen. It was regarded "a point of imperial honour that these declarations should not in any part of the Empire be permitted to remain a form of words," but they were to be translated "as effectively as possible into administrative practice."⁶⁵ Similarly the "Colour Bar Manifesto," referring to southern Africa, condemned in strong terms the various racist restrictions placed upon local Africans such as restrictions to low-paid and unskilled jobs, exclusion from large areas of their own land and the Pass Laws.⁶⁶

This section has demonstrated decreasing fascination with the paternalist viewpoint, in theory at least, and retention of the trustee principle. Unfortunately, lack of historical awareness blinded the mission to the history of the trustee principle. In 1919, Kumm expressed his joy that in Nigeria Britain had initiated

a "new form of government, putting an end to the long dominating theory that colonies are owned by the colonizing power, being hers by right of conquest; land, wealth, and people to be disposed of and used for the good of the colonizing nation. Britain holds today that she is *in loco parentis* to the backward people . . . , a trustee of their land and wealth which may not be alienated."⁶⁷

Thus, in spite of the S.U.M.'s grand assertions regarding the colonial enterprise during the first period, suddenly Kumm asserted the principle to be new, *i.e.* not adhered to previously. Bristow's memorandum of 1941 again asserted a new approach on the part of the government that would be more in line with the trustee principle, as if it had not been operative before. What about all those grandiose claims? Lack of responsible and systematic analysis of developments was the culprit.

C. Mission-Government Relations: Uneasy Cooperation

So far in this chapter we have been discussing the S.U.M.'s reaction, unofficial for the most part, to colonialism in general. Our next focus will be their specific relationships to the colonial government, which we describe as uneasy cooperation, in much the same fashion we did in Chapter 4. As in that chapter, when we move away from generalities on colonialism to specific relationships, we also largely move from sources written for public consumption, such as *The Light-bearer*, to materials not designed for general reading, such as minutes, memoranda and letters. Some of the documents consulted are not official S.U.M. documents, but they came from C.M.N.P. We are nevertheless treating them as S.U.M. documents for 2 reasons. (1) Farrant, the S.U.M. secretary, was also secretary of C.M.N.P. and as such had great influence in its direction. (2) Many issues relating to the government no longer were dealt with between the government and individual missions, but between government and the C.M.N.P.

The formation of the C.M.N.P. became necessary precisely because relations

65. LB, Jan/21, p. 12.

66. LB, Oct/45, p. 76.

67. LB, Oct/19, p. 156.

with the government were not always that easy, even though publicly the mission sought to uphold the government and its colonial policies as much as possible.⁶⁸ *Within* missionary circles, however, matters such as obedience to the government and legitimate political activities on the part of missionaries needed discussion. A controversy, the nature of which we do not know, arose between the C.M.S. and the government, centering on Miller. In this context, Hooper, C.M.S. secretary, wrote a letter expressing his mission's policy with respect to government regulations:

The C.M.S. expressly warns its missionaries against engaging in political intrigue, and would expect Government to require the removal of any of its agents, when adequate proof of such activities could be adduced: and the society would be prompt in exerting its own authority in such an event.

If any missionary transgresses the limits of political liberty, it is the duty of the Society to obey the instructions of Government and to remove their agent without delay; in the belief that Government will not withhold the substantial charges on which their instructions were based.⁶⁹

As to the S.U.M.'s own documents, we are not left in doubt. The principal stance was well expressed by Samuel Zwemer, who thought of politics as an uncertain activity at best, that was too fickle to be trustworthy.⁷⁰ A circular to all S.U.M. staff dealt with the question of government relations and forbade missionaries "absolutely . . . to interfere with matters concerning"

- (a) the administration of justice by native courts.
- (b) the collection and payment of tribute and other taxes.
- (c) the interrelations of Native chiefs as adjusted by the Government.

Should a missionary deem interference regarding such matters necessary, he was to report his case to the superintendent, who would act upon it according to his discretion.⁷¹ In fact, *all* official dealing with the government was to be carried on only by that official.⁷² That this regulation was taken seriously was indicated by the fact that Sanderson's reporting of a chief to the D.O. was put on the agenda of the executive committee as "a breach of Field regulations."⁷³ Thus political activity was not altogether ruled out, but it was all to be channeled through the central office.

During the 20s it became clear that even this was not a sufficient safeguard and most Protestant missions in the northern provinces banded together in the Council of Missions for Northern Provinces, Nigeria, for the express purpose of "discussing with the Government or any other body, matters which are of com-

68. A. Smith, Notes of interview between Palmer, other government officials, and Smith, 22 Dec/26 (J). LB, July/28, p. 77.

69. Hooper, 8 Dec/31 (J).

70. LB, Jan/22, p. 8.

71. J11, Circular no. 16, n.n. and n.d.

72. *Ibid.*, no. 10.

73. SUM 8, Notes on agenda for May/35.

mon interest to the Missions"⁷⁴ Having read Chapter 4, the reader should already be able to sense the urgency of such an arrangement.

Deep mutual suspicion and frequency of tension saw to it that relations with the government were not unusual items on the agenda of missionary gatherings. It was on the agenda for an S.U.M. Field Council in Nigeria.⁷⁵ Meetings of C.M.N.P. put the subject on their agenda several times. For the 1929 conference, the matter was summarized thus: "The question of relations with Government also proved material for discussion. Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the attitude shown by Government on various occasions, and action was taken to secure a remedy."⁷⁶

There was the added confusion of the difference between official and unofficial relationships with officials. Some might be personally friendly, while officially they would follow a policy of hostility⁷⁷ Furthermore, on occasion there were disagreements between officials of different levels.⁷⁸ Sometimes a difference of attitude was detected between government departments. Whereas the education department invited cooperation, the medical department refused cooperation except in leprosy work.⁷⁹

Though the government always claimed neutrality in religious matters, the reality of conflict and hostility becomes clear not only from mission sources, but occasionally officials would admit to a state of hostility. L.G. of the north, Palmer, was forced into admission of a "pro-Islamic-government" by Bishop Smith.⁸⁰

However, the relationship was not solely one of conflict, but of a tense partnership. The task at hand is now to describe miscellaneous forms of cooperation. We shall move on to the specifics of conflict in due time.

1. Miscellaneous Relationships and Cooperative Efforts

In keeping with the tradition set in Chapter 4, we begin with an overview of the social relationships between officials of the mission and government, a matter so wrought with tension with Maxwell. Rather random samplings, determined by the availability of sources, of the number of visits by government officials paid to the mission from May 30, 1921, till November 30, show that officials paid 11 visits to Wukari station.⁸¹ During 1936, such visits to the Ibi station numbered

74. CMNP/26, p. 4.

75. LB, Feb/20, p. 9.

76. LB, March/30, p. 22.

77. A. Smith, "Government and Missions in Northern Nigeria," notes of an interview between the bishop and Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 March/26 (J).

78. n.n., "Annual Report for Zinna, 1943" (J).

79. Farrant, Field Report, 1945 (J).

80. Smith, 11 Jan/27 (J).

81. Log of Wukari Station, 1906-1928 (J).

some 20.⁸² Unfortunately, we cannot determine which of these visits were purely social or official. Probably, even the social ones had frequently some unacknowledged official purposes. Secondly, we have no records of reciprocation on the part of the S.U.M. The total picture of such intercourse as it registered with Henry Bello was one of constant two-way interaction, social as well as official, especially between Farrant and officials.

In addition to such social intercourse, there was a considerable variety of contacts and cooperative ventures during these years. The Freed Slaves' Home continued to operate till the mid-20s and we have learned earlier how extensive government cooperation was with respect to this effort. A voluminous correspondence was carried on between the home and the government, more so than between the home and the rest of the mission. Most prominent concerns were financial grants the home was receiving. Other issues related to individual inmates concerning permission for their marriage or their release.⁸³ In later contexts we shall read more about it. The tradition established in the early years to welcome newly-appointed governors was continued, except that it was removed to the overarching organization first known as the Lokoja Conference. Upon Clifford's accession to the governor's throne, the continuation committee of Lokoja sent him a letter of welcome.⁸⁴ The mission received support from the government in her opposition to several traditional practices. One was that of "child murder and ritual murder." C.M.N.P. heard of several such cases: one investigation had brought evidence of the murder of some 75 pairs of twins; another search brought to light "333 pots . . . each containing two skeletons of twins." The government welcomed such evidence and arrested those responsible.⁸⁵ Mrs. Forbes at Ibi reported that the mission and government together had "gained a victory . . . in stopping the practice of barbers operating on women's breasts . . ." Breast abscesses were on the increase and mostly traced to barbers.⁸⁶ C.M.N.P. appreciated government efforts to oppose forced marriages, but sought additional protection for Christian girls about to be forced into Muslim or Pagan marriages "against their will, almost as if they were inheritable property. . . ."⁸⁷

We have record of 2 cases where the mission community interceded with the government on behalf of the people. One was to obtain tax exemption for all leprosy patients in recognized leprosy camps.⁸⁸ The second concerned farmers in Plateau tin mining district, who, as we learned in Chapter 5, were forced to work the mines during World War II. In contrast to information in the above

82. Monthly reports for Ibi, n.n., 1936 (J).

83. J12.

84. Minutes of Continuation Committee of Lokoja Conference, 1919 (J).

85. CMNP/26, p. 23 (J).

86. Monthly Report, Ibi, Aug/36 (J).

87. CMNP/35, p. 17; 1932, p. 14.

88. CMNP/32, p. 17.

chapter, the S.U.M. acknowledged high remuneration, but since the work interfered with the farming season, the mission appealed to authorities for relief during the season and obtained it.⁸⁹

The 3 parties to the colonial team would use each other's facilities and services, sometimes free of charge or at reduced rates. Traveling along the Wukari-Ibi road, missionary Potter came upon a government lorry that had gone off the road. He took it to Ibi with one hurt passenger and drove it for the government a whole week to haul materials needed for bridges under construction.⁹⁰ The mission provided a missionary supervisor for the construction of a government building at a monthly rate of £50.⁹¹ The mission used a house belonging to a mining company on the sole condition that it would be vacated whenever the company so requested.⁹² The Lokoja Continuation Committee felt justified to apply to the government for a "reduction in Railway fares for European missionaries, and mentioning the practice of the Nigerian Marine, Niger Company and John Holt, in allowing missionaries a reduction of 33 1/3% of regular fares when traveling by river."⁹³ The Lokoja conferences continued under what we refer to as C.M.N.P. At the 1926 conference it was reported that some special concessions had been granted on occasion, official as well as unofficial, but not sufficient to satisfy the delegates. In view of the rather interesting arguments raised in the conference and the history of the matter, the entire discussion here is reproduced as Appendix VIII. The missions felt free to request such concessions, but the government felt equally free to refuse them, and it did.⁹⁴

World War II created problems of manpower and finances for the S.U.M. and the mission approached the government about these difficulties. War regulations impeded the sailing of missionaries to Nigeria,⁹⁵ but the government responded by allowing missionaries on furlough to return as well as new candidates who had been recruited before the war to sail.⁹⁶ The London government gave financial aid by encouraging continued giving on the part of the constituency and by being as sympathetic as possible for remittances overseas for missionary purposes.⁹⁷

One government enactment that provided the missions with great pleasure was the recognition of Sunday as the official day of rest in certain parts of the

89. n..n., Annual Report Plateau District, 1943 (J).

90. Ibi Monthly Reports, 13 Jan/29 (J).

91. J9, Nov/42.

92. J8, Apr/32.

93. Minutes, 1919. The term "European" in these documents normally refers to any white man.

94. CMNP/29, p. 5. J8, July/28.

95. J8, Oct/39.

96. LB, July/40, pp. 58-59.

97. LB, March/41, pp. 26-27.

north. C.M.N.P. expressed its appreciation, but hoped the measure would be extended throughout the north, including, in other words, the Muslim areas.⁹⁸ One may legitimately question the wisdom of missions' pressing this issue, for later the missions objected to the strong Muslim bias of a government newspaper.⁹⁹ It appears that missions "wanted to have the cake and eat it too."

2. In Education

Cooperation between the S.U.M., other missions and the government has been most extensive in education. In the early years up till 1925, the focal point of cooperation was the Freed Slaves' Home, as we have already mentioned. In 1920, the home's primary school became a government-assisted institution and thus received grants.¹⁰⁰ Bristow, the S.U.M.'s educational strategist, sought the cooperation of the government in having chiefs and other prominents send their sons to mission schools.¹⁰¹ From the government side, the government of Plateau Province at one point proposed that missions undertake all elementary schooling in the province,¹⁰² a suggestion never put in practice.

Of course, the greatest issue at stake in educational cooperation was that of government grants to mission schools. On the whole they were accepted as necessary to the enterprise, though often with a degree of trepidation. The Australian-New Zealand branch indicated happiness with an education grant of £50,103. At the 1926 C.M.N.P. meeting, the general attitude towards such grants was favourable, even though the grant system was still in its infancy.¹⁰⁴ Oldham advised the S.U.M. to prepare for the near future when the government was likely to seek closer cooperation with missions in education and that larger grants could be expected.¹⁰⁵ A conference in which the S.U.M. participated expressed appreciation for the interest and financial aid given by the government.¹⁰⁶

In 1942, the government adopted a new education scheme in relation to the new Development and Welfare Fund that would provide for almost wholesale government support of education, including that of missions. Bristow wrote a memorandum discussing the scheme and all its implications for the S.U.M., both those of accepting and those of rejecting it. His recommendation was that the mission to participate, to which the executive committee agreed.¹⁰⁷

98. CMNP/32, p. 15. LB, June/32, Newsletter, n.p.

99. LB, Oct/45, p. 60.

100. LB, July/20, p. 60.

101. LB, Sept/21, p. 132.

102. J8, March/37; Mort, 6 March/37.

103. LB, July/23, p. 67.

104. CMNP/26, pp. 16-17.

105. 21 Oct/27 (J).

106. *Report of the United Conference of Protestant Missionary Societies Held at Port Harcourt*, 10-15 Feb/28, p. 18.

107. Bristow, "New Education Scheme. J9, Nov/42. J8, Oct/39.

Though grants were accepted for educational purpose, there was always a strong undercurrent of suspicion and sometimes outright opposition to such ties with the government. Some felt the government sought to use the mission for its own aims.¹⁰⁸ Grants would be accepted only "when given unconditionally," to make sure no limits would result on "the mission's spiritual work."¹⁰⁹ Grants were offered for the Gindiri Training school, but prior to accepting the offer, the mission instructed Bristow to enquire as to the implications of it. Farrant received a letter from the government attempting to allay the mission's suspicions: "I hope that you are not under the impression that by taking a grant you are terribly bound? There is a more broadminded view now. It is the spirit and not the letter that we go by."¹¹⁰ In 1943, the question cropped up again with respect to Gindiri, this time focussing on capital expenditures. Grants were accepted on condition that no strings be attached "prejudicial to freedom of religious teaching . . ."¹¹¹ In 1941, Farrant sent a circular to S.U.M. missionaries to solicit their opinion on government grants in education. The responses ranged from wholehearted acceptance to outright rejection. The main reasons for rejection were basically two-fold. (1) It would create a class distinction among the servants of the church, since teachers would get a much higher salary than the church could ever pay pastors and evangelists¹¹² (2) These grants would give more power to the government in mission schools,¹¹³ with the result of increasing secularization.¹¹⁴ Some presented arguments for as well as against subsidies. Spencer felt that one advantage would be improved school equipment, while Suffill was optimistic that with teachers off the church's payroll, the church should be able to raise sufficient salaries for those remaining the church's responsibility. Wood of the C.C.N. favoured mission acceptance of the government's proposals.¹¹⁵

At times grants were accepted simply because the alternatives were considered worse. The threat of Muslim influence in government schools meant the mission would have to press on with insufficient means.¹¹⁶ Bristow favoured the government scheme of the 40s for such reasons. "Roman Catholics and others" would take full advantage of the scheme and leave the S.U.M. behind. "There are," he asserted, "only two alternatives, either we must learn to understand and drive the '1942 model' . . . , or else sit on the roadside watching the cloud of dust disappearing over the horizon." In addition, African Christians

108. CMNP/29, p. 24.

109. Dawson, 1 Oct/34.

110. Bieneman, 1 Feb/36, inserted after J8/37.

111. J9/43.

112. Suffill, 4 Oct/41; Barnden, 4 Oct/41; Sanderson, 12 Oct/41; Spencer, 13 Oct/41; Burrough, n.d.

113. *Ibid.*, except Suffill.

114. Barnden and Sanderson.

115. J12, 7 Oct/41.

116. Conference of S.U.M. branches, Dec/23.

would insist on accepting the scheme.¹¹⁷ No one suggested that cooperation with the government might place the mission in bad company from the nationalist point of view.

In spite of the fact that the government actively sought mission cooperation in education, there were many instances where government discriminated against Christianity in favour of Islam, some of them the result not so much of specific education policies as much as individual preference on the part of officials or of the general policy of indirect rule. Bishop Smith mentioned cases of Pagan boys forcibly enrolled in government schools where they were taught by Muslim teachers from Muslim textbooks and "morally bound to become Moslems." He further reported that Christian boys attending industrial schools were compelled to work on Sunday.¹¹⁸ He was not alone in making such allegations. Considerably later in this period, missionary Doris Spencer submitted a paper as requirement for a Hausa language examination that had as theme the proposition "That the series of Government Readers, *Magana Jari Ce*, is unsuitable for use in schools."¹¹⁹ She listed bad qualities "more or less praised in the book" and supplied examples that included the vice of "saying bad things of Europeans!"¹²⁰ She concluded that these books were clearly Muslim inspired and commented, "Were children in schools for Moslems only given reading books upholding Christian doctrine . . . , there would quickly be strong objections made." She claimed Muslims were exerting strong pressure against having Christian teaching of Muslim children in government schools and felt that Christians should display similar zeal to prevent their children from exposure to Muslim influence. "Instead of this, we get approved school books made almost into handbooks on Mohammedanism."¹²¹ Complaints continued throughout these interim decades. We are told of a student in a government school who tried to take a Christian stand, "but the Moslem teacher told the visiting 'White man,' and this official told the boy he must conform to the Moslem religion." "How difficult it is," the author lamented, "when the Government man in charge definitely takes the side of the False Prophet."¹²²

Some cases were reported of Muslim rulers seeking to prevent children from attending mission schools. Tett related that "Moslem overlords use threats to prevent the Pagan peoples from allowing their children to attend our C.R.I.'s."¹²³ In the same area, a local chief was instructed by his Muslim district

117. New Education Scheme.

118. Notes of interview.

119. 1942 (J).

120. The list included cruelty, invective, lying, perversion of justice, nepotism, loose living and immorality, gambling, drinking, smoking, harlots and concubines. (p. 8.)

121. p. 12.

122. Annual Report of Zinna, 1944, n.n. (J).

123. W.H. Tett, Annual Report for Lafiya, 1942 (J).

head not to send boys to such C.R.I.'s. When a father wished to send his boy, he told the local missionary that he could not do so unless he received permission either from the emir or the D.O. In this case, the latter supported the father.¹²⁴

C.M.N.P. asserted their rights by applying "for a right of entry into Government pagan schools for the purpose of giving religious instruction of a non-denominational character to such pupils as desire it."¹²⁵ The same conference also demanded that missions be given representation on the Board of Education for Northern Provinces as well as on provincial boards.¹²⁶ At the next conference, the secretary reported affirmative action on the part of the government with respect to both demands.¹²⁷ Both were important steps for the missions in that they thus had a voice in the decision-making process and thus represented victories in their crusade for rights and religious freedom. From the point of view of this study, these demands demonstrate no hesitation for affiliation that might bring infamy.

Throughout these years there was uncertainty and friction with respect to the education of Muslim children. The sources at our disposal do not reveal all the details, but it appears that for a while it was prohibited to receive Muslim children in Christian schools. A breakthrough occurred that allowed Muslim children to attend such schools, provided the manager of the school was certain the parents realized the Christian nature of the school.¹²⁸ However, during the early 40s, the government denied Muslim parents the right to make such decisions for children under 18. The author commented that "when so much is made of the object of the present war being a struggle for personal liberty, this is a strange denial of it."¹²⁹ Farrant informs us that the excuse of the government for this action was based on Islamic law which does not acknowledge such a right of parents, a judgment obtained from "the two most influential emirs."¹³⁰ Though it was known which rulers had thus interpreted Muslim law, they were not revealed in *The Lightbearer*. A letter from Walwyn, secretary for the Northern Provinces, identified them as the "Sultan of Sokoto and Emir of Kano." These prominents even disclaimed for themselves the authority for such decision.¹³¹ A clause to this effect was to be inserted as a condition for all subsequent stations and medical work as well as schools. We shall hear more about it in the following section.

124. N.n., Annual Report for Lafiya, 1943 (J).

125. CMNP/29, p. 26.

126. *Ibid.*

127. CMNP/32, p.4.

128. CMNP/35, p. 5.

129. LB, July/41, p. 63.

130. LB, July/42, p. 44.

131. SUM 12, 8 March/40.

3. In Public Health Care

The story of mission-government cooperation in medical work is basically similar to that in education, except that it was less extensive. Except for references to aid given to the Australian-New Zealand branch in the east,¹³² most entries concerning government aid include hesitation on the part of the mission. One exception was the report on drug supplies during World War II. Since private sources had exhausted their supplies, the government allowed the mission to purchase drugs from their medical store in Lagos, an arrangement that was such relief to Chandler, a medical missionary, that he felt moved to express his thanks to God for His provision.¹³³ As in education, so should the mission get prepared for new forms of medical aid from the government, according to Oldham's advice.¹³⁴

Beyond these 2 references, one of which did not originate with the S.U.M., all other references uncovered betray this undercurrent of suspicion. In 1931, local authorities granted £100 for a dispensary at Panyam, but it had been mission policy not to accept such grants for building projects and so it was going to be used for the purchase of drugs. Though our research has produced no statement as to the reason for this particular policy, there can be little doubt that the basic reason was fear of government restrictions on the mission's use of the building.¹³⁵ The conference of missions at Port Harcourt recorded its pleasure at the cooperative spirit of the government and pledged in turn also to cooperate in the raising of health standards. Nevertheless, the conference stressed that "the value of the offer is contingent upon any conditions attached to it." The conference stipulated that

the scheme should be fully co-operative, involving trust on both sides. On the one hand, we recognise that Government will require safeguards to see that that grants are used for the purposes for which they are made. On the other hand, it is necessary to ensure in our hospitals and dispensaries freedom of action as Christian Missions, and that co-operation shall not degenerate into undue interference. To this end we consider a Board of Medical Services . . . should be appointed on which the Mission should have an adequate representation¹³⁶

In 1930, the government invited the mission to have its dispensaries join the government system to upgrade the services, but the S.U.M. refused for 4 reasons, 2 of which were technical and 2 based on suspicion. The latter were (1) desire to continue Christian introduction to patients and (2) refusal to accept any aid unless given unconditionally. The matter was settled by the government's promising aid for mission dispensaries under these conditions in places where

132. LB, July/23, p. 67.

133. LB, July/44, p. 45. J.H. Chandler, Annual Report on Vom Hospital, 1943 (J).

134. 21 Oct/27 (J).

135. J8/31.

136. *Report of the United Conference*, p. 28.

there was no government dispensary to serve the people.¹³⁷

Another medical missionary, Barnden, lamented in 1940 that much more could be done for lepers if only the government would give more assistance.¹³⁸ He does not appear to have been consistent on the matter of government grants, for in his reply to Farrant's circular regarding grants for education, Barnden expressed himself largely in negative terms. In that letter he recalled an earlier government plan to aid the mission in its medical work, but the plan "fizzled out and today we cannot get a penny out of them for even our leper work at Vom." He cited the example of a voluntary medical agency without a Christian bias that was getting various forms of government assistance, such as free rail travel and clothing for leprosy patients imported duty free. No such aid applied to missions "because of Christianity. The attitude of the Government toward Christian leprosy institutions in Moslem areas is a warning that no help will be given to any Christian work unless it be secularized."¹³⁹ In 1944, Barnden reported that the mission's hospital at Vom was receiving no government assistance.¹⁴⁰

In addition to the financial question, there was the perennial problem of the prohibition to work among Muslims, also in medical work. Finally, in 1929 Dawson reported the good news of an advance in government policy. The new position was that when the government trusted the mission to act wisely and with discretion and where the native authority of a given locality had expressed themselves affirmatively, the mission might "try through Christian service to win the confidence and friendship of the Moslem communities."¹⁴¹ Though it appeared that the green light had been given, in fact the light remained stuck at amber for some years. It was not until 1936 that the policy was translated into reality the government's invitation to missions to begin mainly leprosy work in Muslim areas.

The S.U.M. responded by applying for permission to begin leprosy work in Bornu. The government's reply came burdened with a number of conditions for a site near Maiduguri. In addition to a careful outline of the responsibilities of the parties involved, the following clauses were inserted in the government document. (1) the site was to be used only for medical work, not for proselytizing Muslims. By "proselytizing" was meant the "unwelcome visitation from house to house and pressure brought to bear on a person to accept another faith." (2) Muslim inmates must be accorded freedom of worship.¹⁴² The residential area for missionaries was to be located one mile from the medical

137. LB, July/31, pp. 62-63.

138. Annual Report on Vom Hospital, 1940.

139. J12, 4 Oct/41.

140. "Information for the Medical Advisory Council of the Eastern Regional Committee of the C.C.N., 1944" (J).

141. LB, July/29, p. 78.

142. J8, "Government Conditions: Note on Proposed S.U.M. Leper Settlement in Bornu Province," attached to minutes of 1936.

site.¹⁴³ Needless to say, the mission did not find these acceptable conditions, especially because they were likely to be inserted in conditions for other sites as well. The mission entered her protest.¹⁴⁴

Though the conditions were unacceptable, the S.U.M. agreed to work under them at Maiduguri because it was felt the scheme nevertheless gave "promise of a wider field of effort." Dawson suggested that it would "mean a much wider scope for Christian witness, judiciously exercised. . . ."¹⁴⁵ The aim of the mission of the proposed colony was described as 2-fold (1) to rid Bornu of leprosy and (2) "to secure the privilege of witnessing for Christ to the one million Mohammedans in the Province." The program would provide a reason for touring the province and opportunities for witness would not be lacking. Such work would demonstrate both the love and power of God.¹⁴⁶ The welcome accorded by emirs and chiefs augured well in spite of the odorous clause.¹⁴⁷ In other words, the mission felt that somehow personnel would be able to circumvent the restrictions so that this ministry would not be neutralized. In fact, one report indicated that the dispensary in the colony was used for "religious and other classes."¹⁴⁸

Another enlightening case was that of Nguru hospital. When the Bornu Resident was approached in 1939 about the possibility of a mission station at Nguru, he advised that application for a "limited mission," i.e., a mission aiming only at Pagans and Christians, would stand a better chance of approval, especially if medical work were included.¹⁴⁹ It was while this application was being processed that the government suddenly sprung the "18-year" restriction on the mission. This condition was not acceptable to the mission either, but there was hope it would "be modified or dropped." When the government gave its general consent, the S.U.M. did not officially accept or reject it, but the Resident was verbally informed that the mission was holding the matter in abeyance till further developments were more clear.¹⁵⁰ In the meantime, the processing of the exact details for the proposed layout gained government approval, but the matter was still at a standstill in 1942 because of the restriction.¹⁵¹ The issue was finally settled in 1944, at least with respect to the Nguru application. The "18-year" restriction was dropped and conditions similar to those at Maiduguri were accepted by both parties. Government consent came after the Shehu of Bornu, the traditional ruler of the province, indicated his agreement.¹⁵² The

143. J8, March/37, "Bornu Leper Farm Colony Scheme."

144. LB, July/40, p. 59.

145. LB, July/37, pp. 56, 74.

146. J14, n.n., "Bornu Leper Colony," 1936.

147. LB, July/37, p. 56.

148. N.n., "Bornu Leper Farm Colony Annual Report, 1939" (J).

149. J8, March/38.

150. J8, Feb/40. LB, July/41, p. 63.

151. J9, Feb/42.

152. J9, March/44, Secretary of Northern Provinces, 18 March/44.

S.U.M. accepted the arrangement "if the other bodies interested in the principle that was affected . . . offered no objection."¹⁵³ The matter had been concluded basically behind the scenes by means of correspondence, most of which unfortunately is lost, and interviews with government officials.

4. Freedom conflicts

The question of missionary and religious freedom loomed large in Chapter 4 and so it did during these interim decades. Instead of subsiding, the storm occasionally threatened to become a gale, though the issues remained basically the same. At the beginning of this second period the Continuation Committee of Lokoja Conference listed 6 prime conflict areas, all of which the reader of Chapter 4 will readily recognize.

- (1) The 440-yard rule.
- (2) Properties already within towns.
- (3) Christian propaganda among Moslems.
- (4) Christian propaganda among pagans in Moslem Emirates.
- (5) Christian propaganda among pagans in pagan Districts.
- (6) Christian propaganda in schools.¹⁵⁴

The C.M.N.P. requested its members to present specifics on various types of discrimination on the part of the government against Christians in order to provide Oldham with the necessary ammunition in London. Some of these problems we have already treated in this chapter; others await discussion. We reproduce Resolution 2:

It was resolved that this Conference ask delegates to furnish instances of:—

- a. Pagan tribes having been put under Moslem rulers since the British occupation of Nigeria.
- b. Permission having been refused to a Mission to work in a pagan area which is not an "unsettled area."
 1. In an independent pagan area.
 2. In an Emirate.
- c. Pagan chiefs having been required by Government to send boys to Government Schools where the teachers are Moslem malams, the Koran is taught as part of the curriculum and the school chapel is a Mosque. Instances where pupils have been coerced into conforming to Moslem practice should be given under this head.
- d. Government schools staffed by Moslem malams having been opened in pagan areas.
- e. Teachers having been dismissed from a Government School on the ground that they were Christians.
- f. Moslems having been allowed freely to open mosques or schools in pagan villages where Missions had been refused permission to open schools or churches, or where such permission had only been granted after taking out a Certificate of Occupancy.¹⁵⁵

153. J9, March/44.

154. Minutes, 1919.

155. CMNP/26, pp. 11-12. At the next meeting the secretary explained that so little had been reported that no action had been taken. (CMNP/29, p. 4).

Missions thought Lugard's promise to be the basic factor or excuse in the government's continued opposition to missions among Muslims, but they charged inconsistency of application. Bishop Smith claimed the pledge as expressed covered Pagan areas as well, but while the government "stretched" the promise "to its utmost limit" by refusing missions sites among Muslims, the government actively encouraged missions among Pagans.¹⁵⁶ Dawson likewise spoke of the promise being stretched to include preventing a presentation of the gospel to Muslims eager to listen.¹⁵⁷

Government officials were inconsistent in their explanation of the role of this promise. Clifford, Governor of Nigeria, in an interview granted to Farrant was reported to have said that allowing missions among Muslims would constitute a breach of promise.¹⁵⁸ Palmer, L.G. of the north, on the other hand, denied that this pledge was basic to government policy, but merely secondary. He foresaw the time that missions would be encouraged in Muslim areas, but for the time being, he affirmed, "the Government wished to maintain the three northernmost provinces¹⁵⁹ as Moslem Emirates. This was their definite policy." A discussion concerning Miller's work in Zaria was to have included Palmer's saying,

Suppose . . . that the Waziri of Zaria were to become a Christian. He could not retain his office under the Moslem regime. If half the people in Zaria Province were to become Christians, it would lead to a change of Government, and the Policy of Government was to rule through the existing Moslem rulers.¹⁶⁰

Palmer repeated this thought at a conference he and Governor Thompson had with a number of missionary executives, but "the Governor turned this down completely."¹⁶¹ The latter's explanation was that "the time was not propitious because of some isolated incidents which had aroused Moslem fear and opposition . . ."

The prohibition received much attention in *The Lightbearer* as an undue restriction and un-British obstacle to freedom. Samuel Zwemer accused politicians of timidity and "super-dread" in their relationship to Muslims under their rule.¹⁶² Dawson again drew attention to the strong resolution of Lokoja, 1910, denying the government the right to prevent missions from entering any area. He asserted that the policy in Northern Nigeria was "a blot on the splendid record of British rule in Nigeria, and it is hoped that a more enlightened policy will soon be adopted. Even the British Government cannot afford to stand in the way of the Lord Jesus Christ." He adduced the argument also familiar from earlier days that a quiet and orderly presentation to a willing audience was "one

156. "Government and Missions."

157. LB, July/26, p. 76.

158. "Interview with His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford," 20 Sept/19 (J).

159. Sokoto, Kano, and Bornu.

160. Bishop Smith, "Notes of an Interview," 22 Dec/26 (J).

161. Dawson (?), July/27. Part of this letter constitutes Appendix IX.

162. LB, Jan/22, p. 8.

of the essentials of the religious liberty which is supposed to prevail throughout the British Empire." The promise of freedom to worship and the prevention of any choices are opposites.¹⁶³ A mysterious "A.W.O." quoted Governor Clifford as saying that the greatest government service to commerce is to leave it as untrammelled as possible, whereupon the former expressed the wish that missions be accorded the same liberty. He lamented,

It is to be deeply deplored if spiritual things have to take second place, as though material prosperity alone could bring happiness. Freedom is the declared policy of the Government, and yet Christ, the Liberator, may not be preached! I am thinking of the so-called Moslem states of Northern Nigeria that are still "forbidden territory." I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that millions . . . are being kept in darkness.¹⁶⁴

Colonialism was meant to bring light; not keep people in darkness: it was meant to bring total development, *shalom*, not a one-sided material development only. Miller accused the government of being unable to meet the social, medical and educational needs of what "many great African travelers" considered "to be the finest races in Africa" and simultaneously refusing the contribution of missions to these needs. He quoted a deeply religious Muslim, "Our religion is dead, it has been killed by the English." The missionary continued,

And this is the religion to protect which our Administration has steadily refused to allow missionary work, the one influence that might have saved the land from this sad process, to have any scope in Northern Nigeria.

With a full sense of some possible risks, and in no fanatical spirit of ignoring the dangers which come from the yeast of new spiritual thought, we yet ask, "What right has any Government, calling itself Christian, to deny to any people . . . the right to be told of the Gospel of Christ?"¹⁶⁵

At C.M.N.P. 1929, Bingham presented a "historic memorandum" that presented the details concerning the history of the restrictions from the missionary point of view so forcefully that he received the only applause given throughout the conference and that, in Farrant's estimation, would cause a psychological change of attitude on the part of missions concerning the question and would move them to a more militant position.¹⁶⁶

In spite of all efforts that included many interviews with government officials both in Nigeria and Britain, towards the end of these interim years the editor of *The Lightbearer* inserted a negative note as to the success of the missions in their decades-long crusade and, though the missions were not about to relax their efforts, suggested a course of mighty action:

It is becoming more than ever evident that the Government is developing a greater pro-Moslem policy, and the lot of Christian missions is not likely to become easier.

163. LB, July/26, p. 76.

164. LB, Oct/20, p. 161.

165. LB, Jan/23, pp. 8, 10.

166. 16 Dec/29 (J). Cf. Appendix X.

Please pray that the Lord will overrule and break down all opposition to the preaching of the Gospel in Mohammedan emirates.¹⁶⁷

Throughout all of this, no evidence has been uncovered that someone traced the great restriction to the real nature of colonialism that was basically inimical to the sort of *shalom* missions thought it was aiming at. The view that it was a betrayal of the British colonial purposes and task stubbornly persisted.

a. Effects of Indirect Rule

The attitude of missions was basically positive towards the policy of indirect rule through traditional channels. Beahm was representative of his colleagues when he described it as "an advanced and enlightened policy."¹⁶⁸ However, they were painfully aware that the policy militated against the spread of the gospel and it is that aspect of it that we now wish to examine.

We begin by pointing out that the policy did not invariably work against missions, for whenever a chief or emir insisted on the establishment of a mission, the government would usually consent. This was the reason for the C.M.S.' presence in Zaria and for the S.U.M. station at Lafiya.¹⁶⁹ The role of the Shehu of Bornu in the question of medical work in his emirate has already been mentioned. There are cases on record where government officials restrained discrimination practiced by natural rulers against Christians. The D.O.'s aid to a father against the attempts of a Muslim chief in Lafiya area has been previously recorded. Ten years after the Emir of Lafiya had agreed to a mission station, he ordered Christians in Agwatashi district to desist from attending Christian worship and to return to the fetish. He allowed only a few small boys of his choosing to continue. The local government official affirmed that "there is religious freedom in this country and the Emir cannot do this kind of thing."¹⁷⁰ The sources do not reveal whether the officer took action. The chiefs of Forum and Kuru told the evangelist to leave and had the enquirers flogged. The D.O. investigated the case, "but he did not punish the chiefs for the illegal floggings."¹⁷⁰ Thus, though the government occasionally opposed illegal discrimination, it frequently acted only half-heartedly in specific cases.

The main impact of indirect rule was definitely against the mission enterprise. An early illustration was an emir's refusal to approve the S.U.M.'s application, but the emir rejected it on the ground that missionaries might be molested by unsettled tribes and he would be held responsible by the government. The government accepted the objection simply because it "is keen to support the authority of the native chiefs."¹⁷²

167. LB, Oct/42, p. 66.

168. LB, March/38, p. 23.

169. J8, Apr/30.

170. J10, Annual Report for Lafiya Station and District, 1940.

171. Bristow, Annual Report, Forum, 1930 (J).

172. LB, July/20, p. 72.

The case of Fobir, a Pagan village, is illustrative. In 1930, the Chief invited the S.U.M. to his town,¹⁷³ but before the required chain of authorities, including the Emir, had given their final approval, almost a decade elapsed, during the course of which the local chief had changed his mind. Government officials and Emir all sought to have him revert to his earlier position, but to no avail. Bristow was sent to persuade the Chief, who then blamed the village elders for opposing a station, though Bristow inclined to "believe a secret opposition" on the part of the Chief.¹⁷⁴ The system being what it was, the local Chief had his way in spite of pressures from his superiors. When the president was asked for permission to have local Christians worship in a building erected for that purpose but for which the certificate of occupancy had been refused, he consented. The distinction between foreign mission and Nigerian Christians was responsible for this permit.¹⁷⁵

The above was a unique instance of government and emir unsuccessfully pressuring a Pagan chief to accept a mission. The opposite was more often the case, namely of Muslim rulers seeking to prevent Pagan chiefs from agreeing to such establishments. Not infrequently these were previously independent Pagan tribes that the colonial regime had placed under Muslim rulers,¹⁷⁶ such as the Mumuye and Wurkum,¹⁷⁷ though the government sought to deny such arrangements.¹⁷⁸ The normal process was for local Christians to approach the village chief, who would then accompany them to the Muslim district head and, with the latter's permission, would move on to the emir, another Muslim.¹⁷⁹ This line of authority was cumbersome and often proved an effective barrier. Personal enmities would often play a role as well. An example was that of the Chief of Igbetti. He agreed to the request of local Christians to build a church, but the Resident insisted he pass on the request to his superior, the Alafin of Oyo, of whom he was "scared terribly and refused to pass the paper on." Thus the way had been effectively blocked.¹⁸⁰

Temple, a former L.G. of the north retired for health reasons, prophesied that if the policy of preserving the native institutions gains ground, the missionary bodies will find that the Government will be forced, reluctantly enough but in the best interests of the natives, to restrict the sphere of their activities to an increasing extent, at all events for a time.¹⁸¹

173. J8, Apr/30.

174. J8, March/39.

175. J8, Feb/40.

176. LB, March/38.

177. SUM 4, Nov/18 and Oct/19.

178. Farrant, "Interview with H.E., Sir Hugh Clifford," 20 Sept/19(J).

179. LB, Sept /37, p. 92.

180. I.W. Sherk, "Destruction of a Church at Igbetti," a document attached to a letter of Farrant to Oldham, 16 Dec/29. Igbetti was just north of the border in Oyo, but it was served by the United Missionary Society with its headquarters in the north.

181. C.L. Temple, *Native Races and Their Rulers: Sketches and Studies of Official Life*

C.M.N.P. 1926 drew Oldham's attention to this opinion of a recent official as added ammunition.¹⁸² Farrant also brought the statement to the attention of Clifford, but the latter dismissed it as merely private opinion.¹⁸³

Even though legally the traditional highest ruler in the chain of authority had the right to decide such issues, missions asserted that "in almost every case the native authority will follow what he knows or believes to be the wish of the white official." It was well known that in Muslim areas or adjacent ones "it is not the wish of officials that Christians shall find facilities for worship and the senior officials generally refuse their sanction." However, the assertion was difficult to prove, for it would involve securing evidence of Nigerians against their chiefs and officials, an attempt that would be unwise in most circumstances, but it was discussed during an interview between C.M.S. and Goldsmith, the Lieutenant-Governor of the north.¹⁸⁴

Stronger still, missionaries suspected that government officials would at times make "unofficial" suggestions to such rulers so as to leave them in no doubt as to the action preferred from them. Governor Thompson was aware of this suspicion, but "he was sure that no Government official would thus oppose a known policy of the Government."¹⁸⁵ In another interview Thompson gave

assurances that the Government, while it will refrain from bringing any pressure to bear on the Emirs to permit Missionary work in their territories, will not exert its influence in any way to induce them to refuse such permission or to lead them to believe that it is the desire of Government that permission should be refused. . . .¹⁸⁶

To the contrary, official policy was to slowly "educate" Muslim rulers in the matter of religious freedom. After this interview with the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor of the north, Oldham reported to Dawson that it was "the desire and intention of Government gradually to educate the Emirs to an understanding and recognition of the principles of religious toleration which are characteristic of western civilisation. . . ."¹⁸⁷ The intention was in this way "to secure progressive relaxation of barriers to the advance of Christian Missions."¹⁸⁸ At C.M.N.P. 1929 it was asked whether there were any traces of a "determined effort by Government officers to educate Emirs in the idea of religious liberty?"¹⁸⁹ No answer was given, but by 1931 missionaries were indicating impatience on this score. In an interview, the government insisted

and Administrative Problems in Nigeria (2nd ed.; London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1968), p. 217. First ed. in 1918.

182. CMNP/26, p. 12.

183. Interview, 20 Sept/19 (J).

184. Continuation Committee.

185. Appendix IX.

186. Secretary's Office, Northern Provinces, 22 Sept/31 (J).

187. 21 Oct/27 (J).

188. CMNP/29, p. 10.

189. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

"the matter was not one that could be hurried." It was pointed out that "it was impossible to seal all the Emirs in a row, put a pistol at their heads and 'educate' them in that manner." After all, the promise was given only four years earlier, "a short time in which to inculcate in Mohammedan rulers . . . ideas which were foreign to their own training and that of their ancestors." In fact, the Governor pointed out that the emirs were already taking a more liberal view. He warned that "to force the pace would do mischief; what was required was caution in conjunction with political sense."¹⁹⁰ That the government was at least occasionally pushing in that direction is clear from the fact that at the installation of a new Sultan of Sokoto in 1931, the Governor's address included an exhortation to religious tolerance.¹⁹¹ Just how faithfully the government was carrying out its pledge is difficult to determine, but the atmosphere between government and missions being what it was, the latter were more than a little suspicious.

b. The "440-yard" rule

It will be recalled that the problem referred to in the superscription was one of those listed as prominent by Lokoja 1919. At this meeting a letter dealing exclusively with this "outstanding" difficulty was sent to Governor Clifford. The letter acknowledged the propriety of the law for most circumstances, but stated that it was not suitable for missionaries who need to live close to the people, exactly the same argument advanced by Temple.¹⁹² In polite terms the truthfulness of the government was questioned:

We were given to believe that the motive behind the measure was a question of sanitation, but in two cases at least, Patigi and Mokwa, orders have been given for the abandonment of buildings used purely for school and worship, and we have been informed that as other leases for plots used for school and worship expire we shall be forced to abandon these also, e.g. Egbe. We fail to see that sanitation affords a reason for such action as these buildings are not used for the purpose of European residence.¹⁹³

Less than three weeks later, Clifford visited Ibi, the S.U.M. headquarters, and Farrant sought an interview to discuss 2 topics, one of which was the "440-yard" rule. The Ibi and Donga stations were in danger. The Resident was present and he asserted that for reasons of sanitation the Ibi station should be removed to some 20 yards outside the town wall. Three colonial firms also had their facilities inside the town, but they had not received instructions to move, but when the Resident showed the Governor a map of the community, these firms were shown outside the city walls. Upon the Governor's question whether leaving the S.U.M. at its present site would "adversely affect the sanitation of the proposed European reservation," the Resident replied negatively! The

190. *Precis*, 6 Aug/31.

191. *CMNP/32*, p. 18.

192. *Native Races*, pp. 213-214.

193. Continuation Committee, 2 Sept/19.

discussion ended in favour of the mission, for the Governor expressed the opinion that he did not think it necessary to force the mission to move their Donga and Ibi stations, for "when duty and sanitation clashed, duty must come first."¹⁹⁴

Of course, the above interview did not solve the basic problem, for the law was not repealed. In 1921 Bristow referred to the law as "a severe handicap."¹⁹⁵ In his report on an interview with government officials, Bishop Smith in 1926 still complained of the difficulties. Merchants, miners and others were allowed to advance; why could not missionaries similarly live close to their work?¹⁹⁶ No stations were ever removed because of the measure, however. Slowly the heat went out of this controversy, partly because of renewed growth of towns.¹⁹⁷

c. Public Preaching

The issue of public preaching was, the reader will remember, another aspect of the freedom question. A certain missionary was informed by his D.O. that open-air services were not permitted in Zuru, Sokoto Province, but the missionary denied the contention. A series of correspondence ensued, including a letter from the Sokoto Resident stating, "While no definite instructions were issued it was pointed out by His Honour¹⁹⁸ that Missions had agreed to stop public preaching and that he thought these services should cease, though actually they were nugatory."¹⁹⁹ When the mission applied for a station in Lafiya, a town with a Muslim Emir ruling over a largely Pagan district, the Emir agreed to preaching in the district, but not within Lafiya town itself, for that was predominantly Muslim. The following clause was going to be inserted in the final agreement: "Not to preach in public places and not to carry out house to house visitation upon Mohammedan residents for the purpose of Missionary propaganda, except upon the invitation of the said residents, within Lafia town."²⁰⁰ The sources do not reveal to what extent this clause was "so modified as to be acceptable" to the mission,²⁰¹ but the S.U.M. did found a station about a mile south of the town. A third example was that of a Nigerian evangelist whom the D.O. prevented from preaching in certain places in Makurdi, even though the local Chief had agreed to his work. The D.O. withdrew most of his ban upon being presented with a précis of a mission interview with the Governor on such matters, but he still prohibited preaching near the mosque or market.²⁰²

194. Interview, 20 Sept/19 (J).

195. LB, Sept/21, p. 131.

196. "Government and Missions."

197. Farrant, Feb/74.

198. L.-G. Palmer.

199. 11 June/28. Attached to Farrant-Oldham, 16 Dec/28.

200. CMNP/32, p. 17.

201. J8, Apr/31.

202. CMNP/32, p. 18.

d. Unsettled Areas

From the earlier years as well as from the 2 appendices related to this chapter, the reader will not have forgotten the type of frictions arising from classifying certain areas as "unsettled." Already in 1920 the mission was clamouring to enter the Mumuye and Wurunkum areas as well as the Bornu emirate, but the application was rejected on the ground of the areas not being settled.²⁰³ When in 1927 the Governor still declared certain Pagan areas in Bornu unsettled, Dawson reminded him that 13 years earlier the government had invited missions to those districts. The pitiable attempts of the government to explain their behaviour rather clearly demonstrated the government's abuse of this distinction.²⁰⁴ We shall meet the same dubious jerrymandrying in our section on Farrant.

e. Extent of a Mission

The extent of the area a mission claimed for itself was also cause for occasional dispute, though it appears that the government used it as an excuse to prevent missions from advancing in Muslim areas. Generally, missions in the north were working amicably with each other and had prevented unwholesome competition in any area by means of comity agreements. Where missions failed to establish comity amongst each other, as for example in large units of homogeneous populations or in large urban areas, the government would sometimes impose comity by allowing only one mission in the area, while missions would welcome sister organizations simply because a single mission could not meet the full challenge of the large population.²⁰⁵ Both S.I.M. and C.M.S. applied for entry into the Kano Emirate, but the governor ruled that only the latter was to be allowed in, for it was the first to apply.²⁰⁶ This particular case was resolved by both missions eventually receiving permission to move into the area.²⁰⁷ Though the missions were basically opposed to this rule of one mission for any given area, the S.U.M. was not above using the measure to oppose the entry of the R.C.M. in Lafiya area.²⁰⁸

At other times, the missions were faced with the opposite charge that they had carved out areas too large for themselves which would not be adequately served! This was a gimmick on the part of the government to force missions to deploy more of their resources in the Pagan areas and to deflate their push for expansion. Countering Bishop Smith's insistence on gaining entry into certain prohibited areas, L.G. Palmer suggested they ought to give increased attention to

203. LB, July/20, p. 58.

204. Appendix IX.

205. CMNP/26, p. 20.

206. Playfair, 30 Apr/31 (J).

207. J8, March/33.

208. *Ibid.*

the many tribes along the Benue River. The various societies, he charged, "were inclined to make out large areas for themselves exclusively and ask the Government to support them in this and they could not agree."²⁰⁹ The same argument was used by Palmer in an interview with Farrant.²¹⁰ Though missions, including the S.U.M., never accepted this argument, a C.M.S. representative at C.M.N.P. 1929 warned that "it was no use to urge the Government to make a full withdrawal of restrictions unless the Christian Church was ready with the means and personnel to take advantage of the opportunity." The advance into Muslim territory, he insisted, "must be proportioned to the vitality of a Mission. . . ."²¹¹ In Dawson's letter this warning is uttered as well.²¹²

f. Question of Strategy

The missions in the north were in frequent contact with Oldham of the I.M.C. on the freedom question, especially via the C.M.N.P., but the 2 parties evaluated the situation differently. His advice to missions regarding their contacts with the government was based on more confidence in the goodwill of the government than the missions entertained. He expected that if only the missions would pursue their goals discreetly and with a united front, they "may witness the beginning of happier relations than have existed up to the present. . . ." The following was his recipe for a more relaxed situation: (1) missions should work "in a wise and discreet manner;" (2) missions should seek to cooperate with the government in every possible way; (3) missions should not give too much publicity to the conflict; (4) missions must observe all agreements with the government scrupulously. The letter containing this recipe left no doubt that he held a somewhat dubious view with respect to the missions' conduct in these conflicts and negotiations with the government.²¹³

That this confidence of his was no momentary matter is clear from a letter to Farrant some four years later. When Donald Cameron had been appointed Governor, Oldham was convinced of his sincerity and admonished that

we shall get much further in the end if the missions act in such a way as to win his confidence than if we put forward what he regards . . . as unreasonable or unjustifiable demands. There is to my mind a fundamental distinction between restrictions imposed by an administration which we believe to be unfriendly to missionary work, and those imposed by a sympathetic Governor, even though we may not ourselves agree with their necessity.

There were, he lectured, 2 mutually exclusive methods of approach to the government. If the first were followed, the atmosphere would be too poisoned

209. Interview, Dec/26.

210. 17 Aug/28.

211. CMNP/29, pp. 10-11.

212. Appendix IX.

213. 21 Oct/27 (J).

for the latter to be successful. The first was to apply all the pressure the missions could muster in order to gain a victory against the government's will; the second was to proceed by "reasonable persuasion in a friendly atmosphere." He preferred the latter approach now that Cameron had been appointed Governor, especially because "the arrangement reached with . . . Thompson represents a real turning point in this long history."²¹⁴

C.M.N.P. 1929 rather strongly disagreed with Oldham's confident optimism. They did not agree with his contention that an advance has been made. After all, the occupants of Edinburgh House could hardly fully appreciate developments from a distance, especially since Oldham's attention had mainly been engaged in the forced-labour issue in East Africa. Dawson remarked that the "conference . . . had no wish to attack Mr. Oldham, but he believed . . . Oldham did not realize the strength of feeling on the Mission field and was inclined to credit Government much more than the missionaries were."²¹⁵

II. *Henry George Farrant: An Inset*

A. Introduction

From April 12, 1886 till October 11, 1974 there lived a man who probably more than anyone else, including Kumm, placed his stamp on the S.U.M. His name was Henry George Farrant, often affectionately known as "H.G.F." Born in the Scottish village of Skelmorlie, he lived in Glasgow from 1893 till 1913, when he went to Nigeria. During those years he completed secondary school, worked in an insurance office for six months and completed a five-year apprenticeship in engineering with a shipbuilding company.

Farrant belonged to the Church of Scotland. He described Glasgow and, in fact, Scotland as a whole, as deeply under Moody's influence, especially members of the industrial and commercial sectors. Many of such men were "active in evangelical work and there were many Mission Halls in the city." Persuaded to attend the Drygate Mission by his future wife, Farrant was impressed with the sincerity and plain gospel presentations on the part of the laymen running this mission and was converted. He joined this mission and soon was appointed its secretary, an early recognition of his administrative ability. Subsequent to his conversion, Farrant became interested in missionary service. Through Mary McNaught he came in contact with the S.U.M. and eventually sailed for Nigeria. In the meantime he had married and in view of the dispute raging between the mission and the government on the place of women, the mission posted the new couple to the safest station, Ibi, the mission's Nigerian headquarter.

Farrant had served a mere three years when Dawson, the secretary in Nigeria,

214. 14 Sept/31 (J).

215. CMNP/29, pp. 12-13.

was transferred to the London office. Rather than post an experienced "district man" to administration, Farrant was appointed to succeed Dawson.²¹⁶ Re-elected every three years, he continued in this post till he left Nigeria in 1948. This post automatically made him corresponding secretary for all S.U.M. branches. When the C.M.N.P. was founded, Farrant was appointed its secretary, another post he retained till leaving the country. Other bodies to which he was appointed in Nigeria included the government's Board of Education,²¹⁷ Board of Control of the Gaskiya Corporation,²¹⁸ a blue chip organization including the Sultan of Sokoto,²¹⁹ that was, among other things, responsible for the publication of the Hausa weekly, *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*. He was requested by the prestigious Elliott Commission on Higher Education in West Africa to submit a memorandum giving his views on education among the Pagans of Northern Nigeria.²²⁰ On his return to Britain, he served for 4 years as the mission's representative in Scotland, and from 1953 to 1964 he was general secretary in London. In 1967, he became the S.U.M.'s president.²²¹

We do not wish to engage in a full scale study of Farrant's character, but only to describe a few outstanding characteristics that will help us place him and understand the subsequent discussion. "H.G.F.", we might add, is the last of the missionaries we have singled out for special attention in this study. He was, first of all, a calm missionary strategist who preferred a disciplined approach to his affairs. Over against the alleged vigorous nature of the S.I.M., he favoured the S.U.M.'s traditionally "disciplined conduct with regard to Government," for this would reveal "strength when required."²²² However, this preference would not prevent him from confronting the government with strong opposition as we shall have occasion to observe. Neither did it mean he would be calm under any circumstances, for when we visited him in his home in 1973, we observed that it took little provocation to animate him when the colonial enterprise was questioned. As a strategist he would look ahead to make sure he would not be caught short at the critical moment. When a "Committee for Education in Africa," including acquaintances of the S.U.M. such as Oldham and Lugard, was appointed, Farrant expected that the committee would ask the mission for her proposals. Before the mission was contacted, however, Farrant began to elicit ideas from the staff.²²³ His ecumenical bent was a *conditio sine qua non* for his position and, judging from the fact that he was secretary of the C.M.N.P. for so many

216. J6, 2 Oct/16.

217. Farrant, 16 Oct/41 (J).

218. Agt. Chief Secretary of the Government, 30 May/45 (J).

219. S.U.M. Field News and Announcements, 23 June/45, no. 67 (J).

220. SUM 12. CMNP/44.

221. Except where indicated otherwise, this summary of Farrant's life is based on his autobiographical notes to the author and W.H. Tett, LB, Jan/75, p. 10.

222. SUM 13, 12 Aug/44.

223. Farrant to Maxwell, n.d., but probably about 1920 (J).

years, obviously appreciated by the missionary community throughout the north, even though it had definite limitations.²²⁴ Finally we mention his native optimism, a trait that will emerge time and again during the ensuing study. This, buttressed with a strong faith, gave Farrant a more positive and hopeful view of the future of Nigeria than that entertained by some of his staff. It had come to Farrant's attention that the mission had not properly trained sufficient Nigerians to take over responsibilities and he suspected that the reason for this failure was fear of the new ideas, but, he warned, "Nothing that is actuated by fear can have the blessing of God upon it."²²⁵ At the end of the interim years, writing about the tremendous changes taking place in Nigeria and of the difficulties attending such changes, he commented,

the power of God and the need of man will be the same and to those who are filled with the Spirit a life of adventure is opening up that will satisfy every need in the heart of those who love God. It is because of these things that I wrote at the head of this report "Lift up your head, O ye gates." I feel sure that the gates are lifting their heads. There are many and great difficulties, but if the gates are lifting their heads there must be a reason.²²⁶

In his farewell speech upon leaving Nigeria, he said "he found the times most challenging and hopeful for the Church of Christ in this land."²²⁷ It was in this spirit that he tackled his wide responsibilities, regardless of uncertainties.

B. Endorsement of Colonialism

Basically, Farrant's views on colonialism were traditional. He did not harp on the matter a great deal, for by this time colonialism was taken for granted. Nevertheless, the basic justification stood on the traditional grounds. Though he detected different degrees of civilization in Africa, ranging from the Birom "who wear no clothes at all and are only two generations removed from the use of stone weapons" to the highest, consisting of the Hausa and Fulani who had a "civilization akin to that of the Arab,"²²⁸ Farrant could nevertheless classify them all as dark and desolate. He would speak of the "Sudan and its spiritual desolation" and of "them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death."²²⁹ Reporting on the mission's medical efforts, he referred to a "crowd of sufferers, and the naked pagan, which sick, shows in his bare, unwashed, and uncared-for body all the horridness of disease."²³⁰ As late as 1936, Farrant reminded his readers that prior to British occupation sections of Bornu were ravaged by the

224. *Supra*, p. 40.

225. SUM 13, 18 Mar/44.

226. Field Report, 1945, p. 4 (J).

227. LB, May/57, p. 46.

228. Field Report for Nigeria, 1923 (J).

229. Field Report, 1944 (J).

230. Field Report, 1934 (J).

infamous Rabeh, under whose "cruel hands the population greatly decreased."²³¹

Nor do we miss the traditional corollary – high evaluation of the West. In the context of criticizing the government for putting Pagans under Muslim control and, thus, in the orbit of eastern thought and civilization, the secretary expressed praise for the West sufficiently remarkable to reproduce:

To the great ideas which surge round the world today . . . , the East has contributed little. The West certainly was responsible for the great war, but even that was waged in blood for a principle and there has followed from it a crop of the boldest and finest ideas the world has ever known which are finding fruit in achievement. None of them come from the East. Turkey, Egypt, China and India are too busy copying our ideas of yesterday. The West has just come through a period of self-abasement, when it admired everything but itself (even that was creditable) and is emerging on to heights in which it again finds faith in these things which are its strength. It will not acquit a Government which has turned the thought of the better part of the nine million people towards Egypt, Turkey and Arabia when it might have allowed it to be turned towards the soaring West.²³²

A civilization so conceived was well equipped to be the guardian for African peoples. Farrant realized that Britain's initial arrival in Nigeria had commercial inspiration, but he contended that "she remains there in the face of the new European (or even world) opinion made concrete in the League of Nations only if she proves to be a guardian of primitive races."²³³

It is difficult to know just how seriously to take such arguments and in analyzing them one must remember their context. The secretary would employ such arguments for specific purposes; for example, for promotional goals or in attempts to convince the government to change her ways. Probably they were expressions of his heart, but in a different context one also discovers opposite sentiments. When arguing in favour of the "3-selves" policy, he could fault the Protestant missionary in Africa with his failure to distinguish between what was essentially Christian and what was his national custom. "He over-estimated the value of his own habits and under-estimated the worth of native customs."²³⁴ This line of thought was probably more prominent in Farrant's framework, but it was advanced for a different purpose.

If guardianship was the colonial mandate, mature independence was the goal, in the ecclesiastical as well as in every other aspect of civilization. ". . . It is certain that the leaders of the African Church will have to move and feel at home on a world stage," and history has demonstrated this quite possible for a primitive people, for "the early and savage Britons took their place like equals among the civilised nations. . . ."²³⁵ In contrast to the situation in South Africa,

231. Field Report, 1936 (J).

232. Memorandum to J.H. Oldham, 16 Dec/24 (J).

233. *Ibid.*

234. Farrant, 11 Sept/28 (J).

235. Field Report, 1933 (J).

the colonial policy in the Sudan was such that eventually the area should lead Africa. Whereas in South Africa races competed and real estate was taken from the black man, such was not the case in the Sudan, for Europeans did not settle here; here there was cooperation between the races, not competition; the white man could only lease land, not buy it. "Let us remember you can have no more Christian thing than when you safeguard the land for the people. . . ." The credit for such sound arrangements must go to the government, especially to Lugard, for thus the people were encouraged to "grow up naturally, following their own callings, and not being hustled out by a cruel competition." It was the Nigerian who was reaping "by far the greatest profit" of Nigeria's production, while of the revenue of the entire country one half went "for the maintenance of European administration and one half to native administration." Furthermore, the share of native administration was the responsibility of Nigerian chiefs and their councils to spend, not British. Farrant concluded, "Do you think that this is a condition in which men can grow up to the full stature of their manhood? There you have a people who will grow up as a people." In southern Nigeria this was already taking place: there were black medical officers treating white men, while Lagos was governed by a black man with whites subordinate to him.²³⁶

True, Nigerians did not always appreciate the colonial venture in the same terms. There were the Wurkum people who opposed British law, committed murder for frivolous reasons and frequently punished accused witches by slowly burning them. To them, a D.O. appeared an enemy, for his notions of justice differed from theirs. However, he was making slow headway among them "partly because he has power behind him, but chiefly because his purpose is honest and in time the pagan comes to appreciate the fact that he desires his welfare."²³⁷

In keeping with the missionary tradition, Farrant attributed the colonial movement to God. Why, he asked, was Nigeria opening up so rapidly? His answer was:

Surely it is of God. Britain, France and Germany . . . , have all been used of God as tools. He has thrust them into this great shut region, and it has been rent open that all the influences from outside may rush in. They are rushing, the good . . . and the bad.²³⁸

But, again, one cannot escape wondering just how seriously Farrant had thought these matters through. High though his estimation was of British colonial policy, 2 decades later we receive a hint that perhaps it had not been so commendable after all. Commenting on the new Development and Welfare Fund, he explained that it arose "out of the more sensitive conscience that Britain now has about colonies and is proof of a desire to help backward people."²³⁹

236. LB, May/21, pp. 71-72.

237. LB, July/20, p. 72.

238. LB, July/24, p. 74.

239. SUM17, Memorandum, 7 Oct/42, appended to minutes of 10 Nov/42.

Research has produced no evidence that Farrant had in the meantime changed his opinion about the earlier effort; all evidence is to the contrary. One can only regard such inconsistencies as indications that the matters at hand were discussed in *ad hoc* fashion without anyone doing some basic study or determining an official mission position.

C. Reaction to Nationalism

Having learned the basic views of Farrant concerning colonialism in Nigeria, one could reasonably expect him to approve of pressures towards independence. In the ecclesiastical realm one is not disappointed. He was a firm upholder of the indigenous church principle of the "three selves," a policy that was officially adopted by the entire S.U.M. in 1923.²⁴⁰ To him "the amount of responsibility shouldered increasingly by the Native" was a main "measure of the success of a mission."²⁴¹ "Nothing is more important than the need to give responsibility to the African . . ."²⁴² A year later, he announced the beginning of chapter 2 in S.U.M. history, "a chapter in which the European . . . will have his burden lifted more and more effectively by the African."²⁴³ The process went too slow for him, and so in 1944 he castigated the mission for failure to train Africans, a failure based on fear, he alleged. He agreed that a certain danger was to be admitted and that some might be lost to the church in the process of training, but the necessity remained.²⁴⁴ The S.U.M. was looking forward to the day of dissolution, he asserted, when the church of Nigeria would have fully grown.²⁴⁵

In the last field report of this period, Farrant affirmed that Northern Nigeria had awakened from a primitive state "to take its part in world affairs," a stage for which the entire missionary movement had been waiting. Nigeria was disturbed because "a new set of conditions have come into being" that bring with them "unusual opportunities" for the Gospel. The report ended with the remarks on Psalm 24 we quoted earlier.²⁴⁶ Given the circumstances, there can hardly be doubt that he was referring, among other things, to nationalist stirrings, yet he did not take kindly to its expressions in the newspapers. The government, he explained, was interested in G.T.F.K., the Hausa weekly on the board of which he served, because of "the near-seditious tone of a considerable part of the Nigerian newspapers. . . ." He described these as having "a terrific black

240. LB, May/57, p. 46.

241. Field Report, 1932 (J).

242. Field Report, 1933 (J).

243. Field Report, 1934 (J).

244. SUM13, 18 Mar/44.

245. CMNP/26, p. 18. He did not live to see it, but at the 1976 meeting of the International Committee of the S.U.M., the first after his death, dissolution of the mission in Nigeria was recommended to all branches.

246. *Supra*, p. 298.

versus white complex." The "worst of them (and the cleverest)" was the *W.A.P.* In the same document Farrant expressed his opinion with respect to a nationalist meeting in Lagos, where a resolution was passed by acclamation for self-government in 15 years. "In this movement are a lot of highly paid men whose pay is entirely dependent on the white man being here. If the white man went, the black man would not give them a quarter."²⁴⁷

How is one to account for such vehemence on Farrant's part? Theoretically, he should have lauded such moves as an indication of increasing manhood, but in fact his first and only mention of nationalism during this period was strictly negative and non-comprehending. Though he referred to paternalism as the "principle fault" of missions,²⁴⁸ he could not understand the parallel political accusation hurled at his compatriots by nationalists, but considered it little more than demagoguery. The answer, we submit, is to be found in their mutually exclusive conceptions of colonialism.

D. Relations with Government

1. Complementary Roles

Farrant's basic attitude towards government and politics was positive, although he limited its role. In a speech delivered at Keswick 1933, he summarized his view. The government may have the chair, but the church should not "sit upon his knee. The Church is not to be courted by, or nursed by a Government. She has her own sphere. The respective tasks of Government and of Church are complementary . . ."²⁴⁹ Not only did he have a positive attitude towards government, he was also interested in a Christian influence. He stated that "it is one of our objects to make the . . . Church to be heard in the State advocating the things that are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report." Thus it was only natural for him to appreciate any evidence of Christians having a role in the government. Upon his own appointment to the Board of Control of Gaskiya Corporation, he remarked that "this is a gratifying recognition of the potential importance of the non-Moslem people and lays a responsibility on them as well as giving them an opportunity of expression."²⁵⁰ When Nigerian Christians received greater recognition in tribal councils, Farrant again rejoiced, especially also because this development was welcomed by colonial officials as well. It was "a matter of praise to God when the Church by Christian living wins its way to acceptance."²⁵¹ On basis of his positive attitude towards government in general and towards the colonial organization in particular, this strategist negotiated with the government concerning many cooperative

247. SUM13, 18 Mar/44.

248. 11 Sept/28 (J).

249. LB, Sept/33, p. 101.

250. Field Report, 1944 (J).

251. Field Report, 1938, (J). LB, July/39, p.63.

projects, each member of the team having his own contribution to make. The frictions that existed can thus not be attributed to a basically negative attitude on the part of this mission leader.

2. Education

We have observed that there existed a high degree of cooperation between the S.U.M. and the government's education department. In contrast to the medical department, the education arm "cordially invites the co-operation of Missions and Churches."²⁵² Earlier during these interim decades Farrant referred to a "principle more or less accepted that Mohammedan education is in the hands of the Government, but the education of the pagans is to be left to the Missions." He pointed to the failure of missions to live up to their responsibility by not meeting government standards of efficiency. But missions must rise to the occasion, for it had become "fairly obvious that Government education will either be Mohammedan or else without religious value . . . , and that Government schools offer no hope at all . . . for the satisfactory education of Christian children."²⁵³ The secretary accused the government of sending Pagans to government schools in Muslim areas and in which Islam was taught. ". . . it is doubtful if any of the lads from pagan villages would be able to resist taking part in the exercises in view of the pressure that would be brought to bear on them by the 'mallam'²⁵⁴ and other pupils." Lugard had determined that education was to have a religious bias for the pragmatic reason of obtaining a higher level of morality, but when the government actually founded schools in Pagan areas they prohibited the teaching of religion. The final result was that "educationally the Government . . . has been a proselytising force" for Islam.²⁵⁵

3. Government Restrictions

In this section we refrain from once again discussing fully the various forms of government-mission cooperation during these interim decades, for this we did in the previous section. Our aim here is merely to study Farrant's reactions to situations where, in Farrant's own words, government and mission were at times "complementary," but not "complimentary."²⁵⁶ As we proceed, it must be realized that of all Protestant missionaries in Northern Nigeria at this time, probably none found themselves in confrontation with ranking government officers as frequently as did Farrant. He was secretary for his own branch, but also the focal point as far as the government was concerned for the entire S.U.M. and for the C.M.N.P.; he was "Mr. Mission" with the government. Thus we have

252. Field Report, 1945 (J).

253. Circular, 22 Feb/24 (J).

254. teacher.

255. Memo, 16 Dec/29 (J).

256. LB, Oct/33, p. 101.

come upon innumerable letters to and from the government as well as many reports of interviews he had with governors and others from which we draw for the following paragraphs.

a. Indirect Rule

Although Farrant politically approved of the policy of indirect rule as one that made the march towards independence more smooth,²⁵⁷ he disapproved of certain aspects of it. Carried out as it was by officials frequently not favourably inclined to missions, it became a limiting factor he could not appreciate as a missionary. In an interview with Governor Clifford, he indicated his fears to this effect by stating that the policy "would further restrict the activities of Mission . . . in the Northern Provinces." In support of his contention, he quoted from the book by Temple, who had only recently been ruler of the North and who had prophesied increasing government restrictions on mission activities. The Governor retorted that Temple's publication represented merely the author's private opinion. Farrant did not continue the argument, but he added a bracketed remark in his report insisting that in view of the fact that Temple had left his office only recently and that he was speaking of the government as he knew it, the remarks did represent good reasons for fearing further restrictions.²⁵⁸

In a memorandum to Oldham, Farrant described the problem: "Not content with finding pagan tribes already ruled, or mis-ruled, by Moslem chiefs, the Government placed independent tribes under Moslem chiefs and, in some instances, claimed that that was a bar to Christian Missions." To press his point home he adduced one of the classic arguments from the initial period:

Not only are Christian Missions robbed of the opportunity of bringing Moslems into the region of Western thought, but many thousands of pagans who had no leaning to the East have been forced by isolation into the Islamic system and have become part of the world force which by instinct is antagonistic to the domination of the West.²⁵⁹

In addition to showing his opinion about the implementation of indirect rule, the statement also demonstrates that Farrant subscribed to the notion that missionary work supported colonialism by bringing converts into the sphere of the West rather than that of the hostile East.

b. The 18-year Rule

The rule prohibiting the teaching of Christianity to Muslim minors originated in the medical department, but subsequently the government sought to include the rule into all C. of O's granted the S.U.M., whether an evangelistic station, hospital or school. During World War II, it will be remembered, the rule was a point of friction and it was recognized as a principal

257. Feb/74, p. 3.

258. Interview, 20 Sept/19 (J).

259. "Memorandum by Mr. H.G. Farrant," 16 Dec/29 (J).

matter that was sufficiently important for Farrant to see to its conclusion before the mission should venture into any new projects in Muslim areas. Farrant declared the rule "unacceptable to a Mission." "When so much is made of the object of the present war being a struggle for personal liberty, this is a strange denial of it. The proposal is . . . out of spirit with religious and personal liberty."²⁶⁰ Farrant discussed the matter at length with the government by correspondence and interviews and even participated in protests against it.²⁶¹

By 1942, Farrant was able to report a compromise reached on the issue. The prohibition was replaced by a "clause allowing either party to terminate the agreement as regards a Leper Settlement on six months notice, without reason assigned." He described the new agreement as "ominous because of its origin in suspicion," but he felt free to accept it "because it does not bind us to deny a Christian liberty as the minor clause did." He concluded that the controversy was instigated by high government officials who "generated feelings on this among Muslims" and who were using this against the mission.²⁶²

c. Public Preaching

Another point of contention with the government was the matter of public preaching. Farrant recounted to Oldham the story of Miss Miller, another C.M.S. missionary, who had preached in a town near Zaria. The local D.O. saw her and told her he was forced to report her to the Resident, even though this grieved him, for he was a Christian. The Resident reprimanded her and said she had no right to engage in such public preaching, but Miss Miller refused to accept his judgment. The Resident then told her he must forward the case to Kaduna for further action. "Nothing further has transpired, there has not been time, but Miss Miller expects that it will be the usual prohibition, which she will ignore."²⁶³ Farrant also reported that the S.U.M.'s plan to open a station at Lafiya had been delayed because the government proposed to insert a clause in the C. of O. restricting open-air preaching and house-to-house visitation not only in the Muslim town of Lafiya itself, but also "in villages or quarters of villages which are Mohammedan or predominantly Mohammedan," a restriction the C.M.S. was also facing in its bid for a station at Kano. Together the 2 missions opposed the measure and had placed it before the I.M.C. Oldham was said to be in contact with the Nigerian government on the subject.²⁶⁴ In his Field Report for 1931, Farrant recorded an agreement reached reluctantly after much correspondence with the government "throughout the year," which stated that public preaching would be allowed throughout the emirate, except within the walls of Lafiya town.

260. Field Report, 1940 (J).

261. Field Report, 1939 (J).

262. SUM13, 18 July/42.

263. 31 Dec/29 (J).

264. Field Report, 1930 (J). SUM5, 23 June/31.

In his 1929 Memorandum to Oldham, Farrant included correspondence in which the Resident of Sokoto wrote that Palmer had stated that "Missions had agreed to stop public preaching and that he thought these services should cease, though actually they were nugatory." Our secretary commented that this

is an interesting example of the methods of His Highness. I do not know of any Mission having agreed to stop public preaching. If it was done, it certainly would only be an agreement for a special location. H.H., however, makes it comprehensive. If, on the other hand, in his opinion open air preaching is nugatory, why the fuss that is made about it continually by Government?

During an interview with the Government, the Governor said public preaching was offensive to Muslims, but it was arranged that each individual case should be referred to the emir via the resident. Should the emir entertain no objections, permission would be granted, but the retention of such permit would depend on local reaction.²⁶⁵

d. False Excuses.

Farrant frequently accused officials of using the category of "unsettled areas" as a flimsy excuse to prevent missions from entering certain areas for no reason other than to oppose Christian progress. He thought to have evidence that certain Bornu districts "were declared or kept unsettled without adequate reasons."²⁶⁶ The secretary accused the government of the same felony with respect to Adamawa province. The S.U.M. was prevented from developing its work there, for "nearly the whole . . . had been scheduled under the 'Unsettled Areas Ordinance' . . . It had only been declared open when the Government wished to give scope to the Church of the Brethren,"²⁶⁷ a neighbouring American mission that was pressing the government for expansion in a direction to which the government had even greater objection.

A favourite excuse used especially by Palmer in his attempts to have missions restricted to the mainly Pagan Middle Belt was that missions had carved out areas for themselves larger than they could reasonably serve adequately. Furthermore, Palmer complained, missions appealed to the government to arbitrate between them regarding their respective boundaries. Farrant rejected such allegations by claiming familiarity with the total situation and that he knew of not a single incident of this nature.²⁶⁸ He described Palmer's accusation as "an attempt to divert Missions from the Moslem Provinces. . . ."²⁶⁹ In a letter to the government, he agreed that the mission "deliberately leaves stretches of country between its main stations so that a field for evangelism will be available when there are converts." "The unoccupied spaces of today are fields of food for the

265. Precis of an interview, 6 Aug/31 (J).

266. Interview, 20 Sept/19 (J).

267. "Precis of an Interview," 17 Aug/28 (J).

268. 25 Jan/27 (J). Cf. CMNP/26, pp. 8-9.

269. Circular, 13 Sept/28 (J).

Church of tomorrow." Furthermore, few were the villages that had not actually been touched by the mission.²⁷⁰

e. Identity of Culprits

Throughout his years of struggling against these various restrictions, Farrant was plagued with uncertainty as to the identity of the real culprits within the government. Certain prohibitions were clearly official government policy, but sometimes it appeared as if the personal whims of certain local officials played an equally significant part. His reports on various interviews with high officials made it obvious that there was no solid front on these matters. Concerning the 18-year rule, he wondered whether this policy was generated by the Colonial Office or by lower echelons.²⁷¹ In a letter to Dawson, Farrant appeared to have definite proof certain restrictions were due to local officials, not to seniors or to official colonial policy. In the same document, however, one resident was said to have denied approval for a site because he knew his immediate superior to oppose it. One thing was certain, namely, that the success of a missionary in an outlying district depended largely on his relation to the local officer: "if he thinks lightly of us, it will be a misfortune."²⁷²

f. Reasons for Restrictions

How, it is time to ask, did Farrant account for so many obstacles to missionary progress? He found a cause in "the purpose of God." In 1933, he wrote that while "it is easy to blame Governments," he was "prepared to find time to show that it was the purpose of God to turn the messengers of the Cross first to the pagan and not to the Moslem."²⁷³ In a subsequent field report, he wrote a section entitled "God's Provision for Mohammedan Work." Originally, he asserted, missions in the Sudan aimed at the Muslim community, but they were prevented and, instead, ended up building a virile Christian community amongst the Animist peoples, peoples "kin in race to the Mohammedan tribes." Thus the Muslim witnessed a new phenomenon of the "Christian church . . . wise in the knowledge of God, taught of the Spirit, honest in character, growing apace in the wholesome and good things of Christian civilization." Such a community was prepared by God "in order that the Mohammedan people should become dissatisfied with what they have and reach out for reconciliation with Him through Christ Jesus . . ."²⁷⁴ That this argument, obviously borrowed from Romans 11, cannot be dismissed as a merely momentary inspiration is clear from the fact that these 2 statements span a period of 4 years.

270. 11 Sept/28 (J).

271. SUM15, 18 Jan/42.

272. *Ibid.*, 17 Jan/44.

273. LB, Sept/33, p. 101.

274. Field Report, 1937 (J).

As far as the human motives guiding government policies were concerned, Farrant recognized a clearly anti-Christian sentiment as the main cause and he reserved rather strong language for the phenomenon. Though the government had repeatedly promised to teach religious toleration to the emirs, Farrant strongly denounced their failure on this score and even affirmed that they were "guilty of a crime."²⁷⁵ The restriction on teaching Muslim minors was compared to the "spirit which in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia has destroyed personal liberty and made the State the dictator of ideas," and declared "a principle that is repugnant to ideas of British rule."²⁷⁶ At one point he employed military language to describe the relationship with the government: referring to greater unanimity among missions on the problem, he asserted that "we fight as armies henceforth." A letter from the government he interpreted "as meaning war."²⁷⁷

One is tempted to reproduce Farrant's entire memorandum to Oldham, for it is a most fascinating and militant document accusing the government of being anti-Christian and guilty of three basic evils: (1) they have increased the menace of Islam; (2) they have perpetuated the separation of Nigeria into two cultural regions; (3) they have antagonized the Christian church. We will have to be satisfied, however, with a brief summary of the bulk of it. About the first point he affirmed, "The net result of twenty-nine years of rule by a Government which professes to see a menace in Islam is that by their encouragement and policy there are more Moslems and Islam is better organized and more of a force than when Britain occupied the country in 1900." "Under whose hands did these changes take place?" he asked. "Missions assert that it is the Nigerian Government and not the natives who oppose their entrance." The second point has reference to Farrant's accusation that while the south had her attention turned to the West, the north was purposely directed to the Arab world and thus the government had supported the Muslim bid for spiritual hegemony. The third item is particularly significant and we therefore succumb by including it as Appendix XI. This portion of the memorandum is uncompromisingly clear as to Farrant's estimation of the government's attitude towards Christianity.

Nigerian understanding of the government as being anti-Christian is a recurring theme in the documents. Farrant related the treatment accorded to the C.M.S. in Zaria. They had been invited by the Emir to settle in his city and Lugard had given permission in 1905, but in 1928 the government forced the mission to retreat from the city.²⁷⁸ Palmer apparently had entered into a gentleman's agreement with the C.M.S. concerning additional stations in the Zaria emirate, but, charged Farrant, he did not keep his promise, even though he did go through the motions — but let Farrant again tell his own story:

275. Memo to Oldham, 1929.

276. 27 Mar/40 (J).

277. "Precis of an Interview," 17 Aug/28 (J).

278. Memorandum, 16 Dec/29.

Palmer went the length of instructing the Resident to ask the Emir whether he were willing that the C.M.S. should have the extra two sites. The Resident told Miller that he was about to do this and Miller replied that that was tantamount to a refusal on the part of the Government, since they had been instructing the Emirs for twenty years past that they were against extension of missionary work in their Emirates, and the Zaria Emir, though a friend of his, would have no other course but to say he did not want the C.M.S. The Resident demurred to this, but Miller told him the thing was a farce. Later, the Resident solemnly told Miller that the Emir had refused. What a game it is. Meanwhile, the Emir had told Miller that not only did he wish him to remain in Zaria, but that he was willing for him to work anywhere, but that he had to say what the Government told him.

The secretary bitterly concluded the story with the comment that the Emir had learned his lessons so well that he refused further openings to the C.M.S. even when the government had already promised them.²⁷⁹

One could go one step further by asking whether Farrant had any explanation for the government's hostility to missions. More specifically, did he ever relate this hostility to the basic purposes of colonialism? The documents are silent here. Farrant heavily criticized the colonial government, but never colonialism itself.

g. Attempts to Overcome Restrictions

Recognition of "the purpose of God" in these restrictions did not prevent Farrant from opposing them. Among the methods he recommended to overcome them was prayer.²⁸⁰ It should be obvious from the foregoing that prayer to him did not mean a passive "waiting upon the Lord," for throughout the discussion we have witnessed his almost activist approach to the government through correspondence and interviews. Farrant's policy broadly speaking was to maintain

from all directions an unceasing pressure, intelligent and co-ordinated, which will be felt by District Officers, Residents, . . . and Colonial Office, and that to strengthen this pressure, we must educate our own constituencies in the home countries and seek to make the base of our support as wide as possible.²⁸¹

Besides drawing the attention of the constituency by means of *The Lightbearer*, we have not uncovered any attempts on his part to incite the community to action, except those in which he engaged as secretary to the C.M.N.P. In the latter capacity he sought coordinated action on the part of the various missionary bodies in Northern Nigeria and was grateful for the unity created by the annual conferences. In a letter to Bishop Smith he commented that this new unity was proving useful in his contacts with high officials: "The truth of the matter is that Palmer of late has been finding there is loyalty between the

279. 31 Dec/29 (J).

280. SUM15, 20 July/42.

281. 22 Apr/30 (J).

missions."²⁸² In the same capacity, he appealed for aid from the I.M.C., the Memorandum to Oldham being a major document composed for this purpose. The document pleaded for "further assistance by vigorous and urgent action" on the part of the I.M.C. and in case contact with the government should prove unfruitful, the memorandum was "to be made the basis of an appeal to the Christian public." Oldham was assured of a "corporate spirit on the Field which will be a help and a safeguard to you."

Farrant concurred with his colleagues in their rejection of Oldham's optimism in this area and his suggestion that missions had encouraged the unhappy situation in Northern Nigeria by "unwisdom and impatience." If anything, Farrant faulted the missions for having practised "too great patience" and for having been too soft. He predicted to Oldham that "whereas in the past the attitude of Missions . . . has been conciliatory and yielding, they will now . . . insist on plain rights." He thought to detect signs of weakening on Palmer's part and that the latter, recognizing imminent defeat, was merely "fighting a delaying action" which he intended to prolong as much as possible. Hence, Oldham's advice to tread softly was ill timed, for "when the enemy is in retreat, it is no time to go softly, but . . . to bring out the cavalry." The government had erected a barrier "and we must sweep it away."²⁸³ Oldham replied that he was not averse to the confrontation approach if proved necessary: "If we have no other recourse except to take such action, we shall certainly take it and will in that case mobilize all the public opinion that we can."²⁸⁴ Apparently the difference in strategy between him and the missions had its base in the analysis of the situation.

III. *J. Lowry Maxwell*

In contrast to the previous era, Maxwell had no administrative posts during this period. The reader will remember his dislike for such positions and Maxwell had his way: administratively he became "just another" missionary. This implies that he wrote fewer letters to the government for us to examine. During this period, he did, however, co-author a book from which we have drawn. The main sources for this section, then, are his 2 books and his diaries, while occasional articles in *The Lightbearer* were also located. The Jos archives contain negligible material.

A. Persisting Approval

1. Pacification

A study of Maxwell's utterances during the interim decades soon makes it

282. 25 Jan/27 (J).

283. 16, 31 Dec/29 (J).

284. 17 Feb/30 (J).

obvious that whatever shift of thought may have taken place in Europe after World War I, his thought patterns had remained fairly constant. His basic approval of colonialism did not change and neither did his reasons. The fact of his addressing himself less frequently to the topic can partly be accounted for by his not occupying administrative posts, but also by a general tendency of the S.U.M. as a whole to pay decreasing interest to political and economic concerns during this period. While the I.M.C. insisted with mounting vigour the missionary importance of such concerns, the S.U.M. seemed to be losing this interest in direct proportion. Evidence of this process is the fact that this chapter is only about half the length of Chapter 4, even though it covers more than double the number of years.

Maxwell continued to base his approval of colonialism on liberation from pre-colonial chaos. "The governors under the Sokoto empire," he asserted, "had an unholy taste for plunder, and the subject peoples were 'reduced to a state of complete economic and moral paralysis.'"²⁸⁵ Once Maxwell expressed himself in a style more reminiscent of Kumm than of himself:

For ages poor Africa had been groaning in her agony, and her sorrows cried out to a loving heart that was bound to hear and help. The very earth was soaked with innocent blood. Up and down the land blackened broken ruins marked the trail of raiding and oppression.

Those early days were marked by "continual inter-tribal wars, slave-hunting raids, and autocratic tyranny."²⁸⁶ Conditions were such that it would be most difficult for Europeans not enjoying first-hand experience of Africa to appreciate the arbitrary powers of petty chieftains, Maxwell explained; they could not possibly conceive

how impossible was development or anything else worth having, when everything possessed, even life itself, and the things that were dearer than life, were held at the caprice of a petty chieftain whose pride and covetousness were, from a human point of view, unrestrained save by the sense of what might seem to him advantageous.²⁸⁷

The British put a stop to these practices and Maxwell could report during the 20s that so much progress had been made that it was "almost as though they had never been." Not being inclined to a secular reading of history, he recognized the hand of God in such affairs: "One has often thought . . . that surely the finger of God was in this."²⁸⁸ The effect of British interference was profound and touched all classes. Most had come to realize "at least to some extent" that "they are free to produce and to trade and acquire property, that slavery is dead,

285. J.L. Maxwell, *Nigeria: the Land, the People and Christian Progress* (London: World Dominion Press, n.d.), p. 26. There is evidence that the book was written during his residence at Donga. For this reason we ascribe a date of about 1928.

286. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

287. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

288. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

and unbribable justice is obtainable." Progress, peace and security were rapidly becoming the order of the day. If conditions were still short of the ideal, it could at least be said that "a very great deal of progress has been made."²⁸⁹

Maxwell, it will be recalled, was deeply impressed with a general tendency for people to forsake the protection of the towns in favour of settling on their farms in the countryside. This process continued for several decades and he again remarked that "in the northern part of the country the *Pax Britannica* has now removed the fear of raids which acted so powerfully to keep the people in the cities, and there is a general tendency to abandon the towns."²⁹⁰ This tendency was taken as evidence of the high degree of security and freedom under the British regime.

Unless one keeps in mind Maxwell's idea of Providential involvement and the "peace" theory, one could easily succumb to the temptation of accusing him of "doublethink" for the following statement: "The Moslem empires of the north refused to accept . . . Lugard's peaceful overtures, and the murder of a British resident at Keffi precipitated a brief . . . military expedition." Maxwell, of course, was fully aware of the brute force backing the so-called "peaceful overtures."²⁹¹ The point was that Lugard had come to impose peace, even if forcibly. Though a representative of a foreign invader, the killing of a British resident could be considered murder if God had a hand in the invasion, for then opposition to the invasion could be reckoned as opposition to God Himself.

2. Trade and Development

Maxwell was aware of the existence of considerable native industry; he alleged that more than half of the population of the Central Sudan was clothed in materials manufactured in Hausaland and he knew that cloth of Northern Nigerian origin was available in the markets on the Mediterranean shore.²⁹² These facts did not prevent him from deep appreciation for the new colonial trade and development. Several times he referred to the increase in trade taking place under the British. Whereas in 1900 the total trade of Nigeria was estimated at £4,000,000, in 1924 Maxwell put it at "just under £28,000,000."²⁹³ Again, he wrote of the "enormous increase in the value of the various desirable products of Europe and America which year by year have been imported into Nigeria, and made available for the native to buy with money, or, if he prefers, with produce."²⁹⁴ It was of importance to Maxwell that the Nigerian peasant profited from all this. While explaining the "huge increase in commercial pro-

289. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

290. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

291. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

292. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

293. *Ibid.*, p. 53. Cf. Appendix VI.

294. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

sperity," he cited an example of a single village where "£2000 worth of oil seeds were brought by two trading firms in one month. All that money or barter goods was earned on the local farms, and went to the local farmers." And that, he concluded, "was only one place. Before British occupation such a volume of trade was practically impossible."²⁹⁵ As to the colony's double function as supplier of raw materials and as market for manufactured products, Maxwell saw no problem: "Nigeria wants manufactured articles, and can afford to buy them with her enormous wealth of raw materials."²⁹⁶ The undercutting of the market for local salt by its imported equivalent received mere mention without any indication that the missionary understood its sinister implications.²⁹⁷ Referring to the shift from slave trade to the palm oil venture, he remarked, "Thus, as so often happens, the path of righteousness proved in the end more profitable than the path of self-interest and wrong."²⁹⁸

In addition to the Plateau tin mines and the southern coal mines developed by private enterprise, Maxwell highly appreciated government efforts to develop the necessary infrastructures for all these trading activities. The telegraph system, the Lagos-Kano railway, the coinage system and the Port Harcourt harbour all came in for praise.²⁹⁹ From the mission point of view, Maxwell noted that 2 executives from the home office traveled from the scene of the Australian-New Zealand branch in the eastern Sudan to Northern Nigeria in just a fraction of the time it took Kumm, the difference being due mainly to developments in travel facilities.³⁰⁰

Consequently, Maxwell considered it "right and just that one should pause a moment to pay tribute to the men who have made Nigeria what it is today." He prophesied that for those who had sacrificed themselves for "the lands of the Niger," — and they included "soldier and sailor, trader and official, missionary and scientist, white and black" — "their glory shall not pass while there lives to their honoured memory a freed and enlightened Nigeria."³⁰¹

B. Re-enforcing Colonialism

The role of the mission continued to be seen as supportive of the colonial enterprise in much the same way as in Chapter 4. Writing about an extension of the S.U.M.'s Australian-New Zealand branch in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Maxwell explained that "this extension was made at the request of the Sudan Government. The British occupation had now lasted for over twenty years, but many of the tribes of the Nuba Mountains had not yet been brought under

295. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

296. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

297. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

298. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

299. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

300. *Half a Century*, p. 85.

301. *Nigeria, the Land*, p. 56.

control. . . ."³⁰² The point is clear: the government expected the mission to inculcate a greater receptivity with respect to the British. Maxwell reproduced "a very pleasant testimony to the value of the Mission's work," the letter of praise to the home office, previously referred to, extolling the active role the mission had played in subduing certain wild tribes in that area.³⁰³ The government similarly invited that same S.U.M. branch to participate in the pacification of the Koalib people in the Nile Valley.³⁰⁴ Closer to home, the pacification of the Bachama tribe was attributed by the government largely to the work of the Mission.³⁰⁵ Another tribe had been particularly resistant to British rule and had killed some 50 members of a contingent of soldiers. Later they killed an administrative officer. At a considerably later date, the government invited the mission to begin work in that area and Maxwell commented, "what was begun by the Administration is being peacefully and successfully carried on by the messengers of the Gospel."³⁰⁶ It is not clear just what task the mission had taken over from the government in this case — Maxwell rejected the civilizing task of missions³⁰⁷ — but clearly it was an extension of government efforts. The point here is not only that the mission fulfilled such a role, but also that, rather than being hushed up, it was proudly displayed — and this time not in the beginning stages of colonialism in Northern Nigeria.

The re-enforcing function of the mission came also to expression in Maxwell's rather regular reading of the governor's message to his students or others on Empire Day. In Chapter 4 one such incident is recorded. Concerning Empire Day, 1920, Maxwell recalled that he gave his students "a talk on the benefits brought to the country by the Government, and gave a rough and ready translation of the Governor's message to them."³⁰⁸ About 1921, he "spoke in the school this afternoon, — an address suitable to the occasion, this being Empire Day."³⁰⁹ The 1923 celebrations took on more complicated form. The Resident visited the school, whereupon Maxwell gave a speech. The children marched with flags, formed a cross and, upon completion of the ceremonies, sang and played games.³¹⁰

C. Specific Interactions with the Government

As in Chapter 4, so do we find Maxwell commenting on a variety of relationships between the S.U.M. and the government and its officials. The colonial

302. *Half a Century*, p. 133.

303. *Ibid.*, p. 145. *Supra*, p. 266.

304. *Ibid.*

305. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

307. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

308. *Diary* (15), p. 8.

309. *Ibid.*, (16), p. 13.

310. *Ibid.* (17), p. 32.

companies seem to have disappeared from his horizon, for we have not located any reference to them in the literature of these decades.

1. Social and Other Miscellaneous Occasions

The diaries of this period do not reveal the extensive social activities involving both mission and Government personnel as they do of the earlier years, though they are not lacking altogether. We note that on Armistice Day, 1931, after Maxwell had conducted a church service in Jos, he paid a visit to the D.O.³¹¹ On Armistice Day, 1933, -- Maxwell was then living in Lafiya -- he invited "all other white folk over for dinner." The occasion was duly celebrated with the appropriate 2-minute silence in the morning and "we even had poppies sent around for us to buy! Fancy that, in Lafiya."³¹²

This last celebration paid for itself, for 3 days later the D.O. sent a gang of labourers in order to cut down the tall grasses around the S.U.M. compound.³¹³ At about the same time, we read of Maxwell's resorting to such officers for purposes of cashing a check.³¹⁴ One day, the Assistant Resident came to Maxwell to ask him about local matters,³¹⁵ a practice that was not uncommon for administrators, according to Henry Bello. On another occasion, Maxwell defended the case of a widow whose child, according to local custom, was in custody of her deceased husband's family. The Resident ruled in favour of the widow.³¹⁶ The cases we have listed are not as numerous as those of the first period, but the give-and-take type of relationship was evident.

2. Marriage Laws

One example of cooperation with the government that subsequently went sour concerned the process of establishing a Christian form of marriage. Traditional marriage was found wanting for new Christians, since it included neither a vow of permanence nor of exclusive faithfulness. Furthermore, questions such as age, consent on the part of the woman, the lot of wife and children upon the death of the husband were becoming acute and went begging for solution. The problems had been discussed at various inter-mission conferences, but no real agreement had been reached that would lead to uniform practice throughout the north. Eventually, the government passed certain marriage laws accepted by most missions as binding on their converts. Maxwell considered it quite proper to utilize the power and prestige of the colonial government in settling this Christian issue. He commented, "It seemed to us that in thus acting we had the

311. *Ibid.* (25), p. 92.

312. *Ibid.*, (27), p. 75.

313. *Ibid.*

314. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

315. *Ibid.* (17), p. 40.

316. *Ibid.* (18), p. 17.

civil authority helping forward the Church in its task of training its members in proper Christian conduct with regard to marriage."³¹⁷

Missions basically approved of the government marriage laws, but sought 2 modifications, namely a reduction of the marriage fee and authorizing the residents to grant divorce when necessary, for as it stood the law required an applicant to travel to Kaduna, an expense beyond the reach of the average person. The idea was not to encourage easy divorce, but to make biblical divorce possible. Maxwell ran headlong into this problem in Donga and experienced deep heartache because this aspect of the law in effect prevented the church from providing the pastoral solutions necessary in a number of cases and it was causing division between local Christians and himself. The S.U.M. policy was to work towards change of law, but in the meantime to obey it, a policy that almost forced Maxwell to "take sides either with the S.U.M. or with the S.U.M.'s Master."³¹⁸ Farrant had an interview with the Governor in which the latter indicated little hope for change. Maxwell was jubilant about this change he detected in Farrant: "So H.G.F. comes bang down on the anti-Government marriage law side and promises to do all he can to bring the S.U.M. to reject the Ordinance. *Laus Deo!*"³¹⁹ We have here a case, then, of Maxwellian opposition to a government measure, opposition arising out of pastoral problems that forced him "to hoodwink them into an indissoluble union and then say 'now you must make the best of it'." "There is little use talking about God's grace in the native heart. Nobody denies that, what binds us is Government's red tapery, incompetent divorce regulation." ". . . we are all strangled with that wretched red tape of regulation, 'no divorce save at the High Court', and we can all talk, and talk, and write, and consider and . . . do nothing in the end." In the meantime, Christian congregations were deeply troubled by the mission's voluntary adherence to the ordinance.³²⁰

3. Restrictions on the Christian Movement

The problem of restrictions on missionary activities imposed by the government remained, though certain aspects of the problem had either dissipated or Maxwell did not address himself to them. The question regarding the presence of women had been solved. After the 440-yard rule no longer caused real problems, Maxwell could point to the centrality of the mission's position in Donga as *the* outstanding factor for relative success in that community.³²¹ Maxwell reported that certain British administrations that were at one time "adamant against . . .

317. LB, Nov/29, p. 115.

318. Maxwell, 23 Sept/27 (J).

319. Diary (25), p. 68. Cf., for more information on this issue: *Half a Century*, pp. 160-161; Maxwell, LB, Nov/29, pp. 114-116; CMNP/26, pp. 5-6, 12-13. CMNP/29, pp. 12-13.

320. Maxwell, 23 Sept/27 (J). Diary (22), p.26.

321. Diary (22), p. 27.

missions to Mohammedan emirates" by the mid-30s allowed missions in Muslim areas under certain conditions.³²² He recorded the single case of a C.M.S. hospital in Khartum that was almost forced to close due to financial difficulties, but then rescued by a sizable gift from influential Muslims and government grants. This incident, commented Maxwell, was an example of how missionary medical work justified the dictum of a government officer who in a conference with S.U.M. officials said, "These people are worthy of the best that can be given them in religion and education, and the best that can be given is the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ as set forth in the lives and teaching of white men."³²³

Unfortunately, such mellowing had not occurred in the Nigerian government. To the contrary, there the government sought to increase the restrictions at the end of the 30s. Maxwell proclaimed the "18-year" clause a "strange denial of personal liberty" that was "utterly unacceptable to the Mission." The 2-plot arrangement he rejected as too artificial.³²⁴ In a chapter covering the World War II years, Maxwell expressed his regret that the British government so protected Islam

that it had found an entry into hundreds of communities where it never had a footing before the Union Jack lent it its protection. Why should the propagation of Islam be free everywhere, but the proclamation of Christianity be blocked and forbidden, and that too by the representatives of a nominally Christian nation? This was not religious liberty, though it was perpetrated under the pretext of religious liberty.

"Why," he asked, "could the Gospel not be preached in Kano and Sokoto, when it could be preached in scores of places in Algeria and Morocco and Egypt and Persia and India?"³²⁵

In his private utterances Maxwell would on occasion be much more vehement than his published sentiments would lead one to expect. He could employ heavy sarcasm to vent his frustrations. One day he met a group of Kabawa fishermen and found them attentive. He groaned,

I wish someone could go to them in their own country, but I fear it would be difficult to secure government permission to do so, as their home is in Sokoto country, which the Government protects from Christianity. ("Dangerous people these missionaries! Sure to make trouble. Besides, we must keep our promise! We said we shouldn't let anyone be *compelled* to follow our religion!" Any old excuse is good enough to serve, if only Satan's kingdom may be protected — "the god of this world.")³²⁶

Spending a Sunday in Gassol, a Fulani community on the banks of the Taraba River, he found the people "interested and friendly." The local judge requested him to show pictures and to explain the gospel message. One man asked him how he expected them to understand the message if Maxwell did not stay.

322. *Half a Century*, p. 206.

323. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

324. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

325. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

326. *Diary* (20), pp. 34-35.

Maxwell pondered, "It does make one think of what an open door there would be for the Gospel all over this land, if it were not for Government restrictions. . . ." ³²⁷ Though he did not specifically state in his diary that he had ignored the restriction that Sunday, it would appear that in fact he had.

At other times, Maxwell could take a humorous view of the restrictions and dismiss them as ineffective. During the course of one good day in 1933, so many folk came to his compound near Lafiya, a Muslim community, that he quipped, "There is certainly no need to worry about Government limitation . . . when this kind of day happens, is there?" ³²⁸

The attitude of C.M.S. missionaries like Miss Miller appealed to him, ³²⁹ for they "itinerate, preach, and visit freely among them" ³³⁰ . . . leaving it to the Government to stop them, *if they care to!* Maxwell went on to explain the reason for government failure to arrest these warriors for Christ: fear of public reaction at home. No one "could . . . be relied on to take responsibility for the trouble, so nobody wants to be cat's paw. Amusing, isn't it?" ³³¹ This thought seemed to give him courage, for less than 2 weeks later one finds him preaching in Loko, another Muslim community: "My compliments to H.M. Government!" ³³²

An educational palaver with the government that was the result of these restrictions occurred. A minor Chief in Keana area had built a school without the consent of his Muslim paramount Chief. The D.O. informed Maxwell that the building could not be used as school or guesthouse. ³³³ Though Maxwell did not explicitly state his conclusion, his mentioning the opposition of the paramount Chief is an indication that he felt the ruling to be in response to that Chief's wishes.

The mission faced restrictions imposed on her directly by the government and that would be lifted only in case a paramount chief or emir would agree to it. The government imposed no such official restrictions on Nigerian Christians, even though officials would at times make it difficult for them. Nigerian Christians did experience restrictions, however, arising from indirect rule. Muslim chiefs would prevent these Christians from putting up church buildings or they would persecute them in other ways. The Chief of Wana persecuted his Christian subjects to such an extent that violence was prevented only by the intervention of the D.O. ³³⁴ This was the only specific case of this nature Maxwell recorded during this period, but it was plainly an example of a general trend, for he wrote:

327. *Ibid.* (19), pp. 15-16.

328. *Ibid.* (27), p. 28.

329. *Supra*, p. 305.

330. Muslims.

331. *Diary* (14), pp. 7-8.

332. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

333. *Ibid.* (27), p. 41.

334. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Reading the stories of these days, one is led to ask the question, "How long will it be before real liberty of religion is granted to the African Christian?" One would think that in practice as in theory any of our converts would be conceded the right to practice his new religion without let or hindrance.³³⁵

Another specific case demonstrated how ponderous and difficult indirect rule made it for Christians. Through the witness of a certain man, his neighbours had become Christian and they sought permission to build a church. The legal procedure for them was to pursue it along a hierarchy of chiefs culminating in a Muslim emir. Maxwell complained that this was "a virtual denial of the right of Christians to carry on their religion . . . freely . . . Does anyone imagine for a moment that if it had been a group of Mohammedan converts . . . they would have had to go through such cumbersome process?" He concluded that "if religion is free, well, let it *be* free. One does sympathize with the officials of the Administration . . . , but surely something better than this could be done."³³⁶

It is in the context of these restrictions that one must view Maxwell's use of the "imperial argument," for Maxwell was not basically inclined to political statements. The government was seen as assisting Muslim expansion and this spelled not only trouble for missionaries, but was also tantamount to political suicide. He referred to the German Colonial Conference we heard about in Chapter 4, which had decided that "the propagation of Islam is an imminent danger to the development of our colonies. All those who share in the opening up of our colonies should conscientiously avoid in any way fostering the extension of Islam." Wistfully he sighed, "Would that our own Colonial Administration might share this opinion, and follow this advice. The Moslem has a tendency to be not merely non-Christian, or even anti-Christian, but anti-European as well."³³⁷

The realization that indirect rule meant *de facto* restraints on the Christian movement made him hesitate with respect to that form of colonial administration. Principally, he favoured indirect rule: "It is their country, and why not entrust them with power to rule over it? It is just." On the other hand, he feared the system for the advantage it would give to Islam. "The pressure brought to bear upon pagan tribes will thus become greater than ever, and they will only deal indirectly with the white administration through the under chiefs, who will be Mohammedan to a man."³³⁸ He has not satisfied our curiosity whether or not he ever solved this tension between political and missionary interests, but one wonders whether it could be solved as long as Maxwell accepted the colonial scheme.

335. *Half a Century*, p. 203.

336. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

337. LB, Sept/29, p. 101.

338. LB, July/22, p. 120.

4. Educational Matters

Being basically involved in evangelism and having relinquished his administrative post, Maxwell was not as deeply involved in educational palavers as he was during the earlier days. The result is that he scarcely touched upon such concerns. He only once referred to this area in connection with a disagreement between the S.U.M. and the government on the standing of village classes organized by the mission for purposes of teaching literacy to enquirers. The teachers had no formal qualifications and often donated their services free of charge. The mission vehemently opposed the government's attempt to treat these classes on an equal par with recognized primary schools. The conflict was amicably solved by legal recognition of an institutional category called "Classes for Religious Instruction," more popularly referred to as "C.R.I.," till this day. This approach, Maxwell confided, "gave us pleasure."³³⁹

D. Dissociation from the Government

The reader will remember the tense ambivalence on the part of Maxwell with respect to his relations with the government and her personnel. He could not do without them and basically approved of the colonial venture. On the other hand, he realized the missionary disadvantage of the association in Nigerian minds. During this period he continued to experience this tension. Many Europeans in Nigeria were hardly Christian in profession or walk, but Nigerians considered all of them and their actions as Christian.³⁴⁰ Maxwell suggested that perhaps World War I would serve to teach Africans to distinguish, a potential service of considerable value to the cause of Christ.³⁴¹ He was gratified to hear that members of a tribe in the eastern Sudan during a 3-months war with government forces would sneak through enemy lines for medical treatment at the mission compound. That was making a proper distinction.³⁴² Enroute in 1923 to Arufu, a small community west of Wukari, Maxwell was met by the Chief together with his people, drummers and other musicians, for he was under the impression that the missionary was a government official. Maxwell did his best to convince the Chief otherwise, but the latter continued to treat him as such.³⁴³ However, as in period 1, so also here we have not detected any *serious* attempts on the part of Maxwell to create a clear distinction in the minds of Nigerians, his missionary interest notwithstanding.

E. Paternalism and Independence

Under this heading we wish to examine Maxwell's paternalism, his estimation

339. *Half a Century*, pp. 182-183.

340. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

342. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

343. *Diary* (16), pp. 32-33.

of African potential and his analysis of African stirrings. We divide the discussion in 2 sections, ecclesiastical and political, with full recognition that certain aspects overlap and that the one is not infrequently the extension of the other.

1. Ecclesiastical

Through the years Maxwell had gained valuable insights that helped to demythologize Europeans, including himself. Whereas in the early days he could not understand lack of gratitude on the part of Africans, he now realized the reason. Gratitude is only evoked by unselfish love,

but alas, who among us dare say of his own dealing with Africans that in them he has been possessed and dominated by that unselfish love, I cannot, for one. Dr. Blyden's said words come back to one's mind, that we "Europeans, under a sense of the wrongs of the African will suffer and sacrifice and die for him, but *cannot get rid of a secret contempt for him.*" It is too fearfully true that we often do not *serve*, we patronize. Our service, at any rate, is not love, but charity . . . God forgive us . . . Why *should* an African . . . be grateful for service that is done to him not as a man, but as a "case?"³⁴⁴

He continued his monologue until he concluded that "one has no use for that spirit that regards an African as being lower than a dog in the moral scale."³⁴⁵ In line with this higher evaluation of Africans, he could with appreciation report that a former inmate of the Freed Slaves' Home who had been taken to America by a former missionary had returned and built up a congregation in the south near Asaba, with a membership between 300 to 400!³⁴⁶ That showed ability and responsibility!

It does not appear, however, that these positive affirmations concerning Africans were expressions of Maxwell's basic feelings on the subject. The first was an *ad hoc* response to a discussion he had had with colleagues; the latter situation *forced* a positive response. In a different context he could revert to his earlier mentality and refer to Africans as "lovable, kind-hearted, sunny-nature children of Africa,"³⁴⁷ whose "sexual morality is grievously low," the result of which is that the hardest task of a Christian missionary is to secure "among his converts a high standard of morality."³⁴⁸ Though he was advocate of the "indigenous church" ideal, he was convinced that it would not be realized during his generation:

One may quite heartily believe in the "Indigenous Church" ideal, and yet just as heartily desire to prevent too sudden development along the line of removing European control. For as yet the Church is not ready for it, not nearly so. We shall never see a native Church able to control itself. Not in our day will that arise.³⁴⁹

344. *Ibid.* (19), p. 5.

345. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

346. *Ibid.* (27), p. 3.

347. *Nigeria, the Land*, p. 32.

348. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

349. *Diary* (27), p. 78.

It was in this spirit that Maxwell listened to a C.M.S. missionary's story about his struggle with the elders of the Isoko Christians and their 100 congregations for control. "The local elders wanted to control it to suit themselves, and spend their money as they liked. He had to fight it through, but won at last."³⁵⁰ Maxwell left little doubt as to where his sympathies lay. Clearly, the earlier positive affirmations did not serve as a basis for subsequent reflections or policy.

An important indication as to a missionary's appreciation for African stirrings is his opinion with respect to the so-called independent churches. Referring to the founding of the United Native African Church in 1891, Maxwell did not hide his opinion: "a number of malcontents at Lagos seceded from the Anglican Church and formed a nucleus of a grievous schism." He noted that they allowed polygamy. Their clergy included some who had been dismissed by other churches for immorality. "As might be expected, one of their main activities seems to be the seduction of Christians from the orthodox congregations, while their attack on heathenism is secondary. Their members are a thorn in the flesh of every missionary. . . ." Converts refused elsewhere were accepted by them upon payment.³⁵¹ Though some of these charges may have been (partly) correct, Maxwell demonstrated little awareness of the reasons for such secessions, reasons that were closely related to racism and to attitudes he theoretically had rejected.³⁵² This lack of sympathy can be traced to the blindness Maxwell shared with missionaries in general to the actual impact of the European effort in Nigeria, despite his apparent awareness of nationalist literature.

We have already met self-styled prophet Garrick Braid, alias Elijah. Maxwell again referred to him in equally unsympathetic terms we need not repeat. Braid finally got carried away with himself and collided with the authorities who imprisoned him. Compared to his earlier discussion of this prophet, the present remarks were less politically coloured and more narrowly religious, a characteristic common to the S.U.M. during these years. He mildly criticised the government for not always taking "as bold a line of action as many missionaries could have wished" with respect to such movements.³⁵³

At the close of these interim decades, Maxwell realized that missions were facing new demands from the people. They still regarded the missionaries as their parents, he contented, but this attitude was in jeopardy because of the sudden great demand for education. They affirmed that they would prefer the S.U.M. to train their teachers and help them organize their schools, but if the mission should fail to meet their demands, the people would look elsewhere and cut the apron strings.³⁵⁴ A new era was dawning with its own demands.

350. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

351. *Nigeria, the Land*, pp. 83-84.

352. Ayandele, p. 202.

353. *Nigeria, the Land*, p. 84.

354. *Half a Century*, p. 271.

2. Political

The new era made its presence known especially in political developments. These were affecting people's mode of living profoundly. The main factors were, according to Maxwell, nationalism, Communism, the labour movement and the urge for education.³⁵⁵ Though the mere mention of nationalism, Communism and labour in close proximity to each other could be an innocent matter, it loses its innocence when it is noted that this combination became more common during the next period.

Regarding Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Maxwell offered the opinion that "the growing sense of 'nationalism' had not been helpful, and the political situation was strained." However, one cannot be certain as to the reason for this negative view. It may well have been that Maxwell was apprehensive because of alleged Muslim control of the movement in both the eastern Sudan as well as in Nigeria rather than of the phenomenon of nationalism itself.³⁵⁶

IV. Summary

That some changes took place during these interim years is clear from the current chapter. Paternalism had not died, but, partly under the influence of Roland Allen, it was occasionally dealt unfriendly blows. A more collected and sober attitude replaced the earlier exhilaration with exotic peoples and overly-excited preoccupation with African immorality. The optimism of Kumm's days had abated, but the expressed desire for its recovery indicates that the philosophical roots for this optimism were not understood. As the S.U.M. unreflectingly shared in the optimism of the 19th century, so did it share its loss. In their Evangelical reaction against the social gospel, the mission officially adopted Roland Allen's principles, more details of which are reserved for our final chapter.

However, none of the above meant a basic change in the S.U.M.'s evaluation of colonialism, except that references to it were less frequent. Colonial firms moved from competition to increasing monopolistic practices, while African entrepreneurs were progressively eliminated from the modern economic sector. Nationalists repeatedly voiced their grievances publicly. The I.M.C., though not demanding a cessation of colonialism, displayed increasing disillusion with the politics and economics of colonialism. In spite of all these developments, the S.U.M. was not disturbed and continued to cling to her original view of colonialism. Africans were thought to receive their appropriate share. The country was slowly being equipped to take her place among the nations. The mission also continued in her failure to reflect systematically on the issues, a failure that has resulted in occasional inconsistencies.

355. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

356. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

We have described at length various controversies between the government and the S.U.M. One reason was to discover whether the government's hesitance with respect to missions was ever related to the basic impulse of colonialism by the S.U.M., but our findings are negative. The other reason was to demonstrate that fear of expulsion was no serious factor in the mission's thought. The S.U.M. was careful to avoid unnecessary confrontations with the government, but when necessary she did not hesitate to face the government squarely in her opposition to specific measures. One cannot but admire Farrant for his forthrightness in dealing with the highest in the land. There are no indications that the fear of expulsion played an important part in determining the mission's policies vis a vis colonialism.

Chapter Seven

The March to "Independence," 1945-1960

I. Introduction

We have arrived at the closing period of formal British political control over Nigeria. This chapter and the next will treat the years after World War II up to October 1, 1960, the official date of Nigerian independence. Though only a brief period is thus reviewed, it was marked by intense political activity on the part of Nigerians that ended very differently from what colonial officials had expected at the beginning. The period includes the event that signalled what Panikkar called the end of the "Vasco da Gama era," namely the independence of India in 1947.¹ For Africa, the period of rapid decolonization began in 1948 with the disturbances in the Gold Coast that clearly indicated the inevitability of the handing over of political reins in short order, even though only 3 years earlier the new Labour government in Britain still expected to have considerable time left to work out their ideals.² The fact that some authors point to slightly different events as heralding the process — Nielsen marks 1945 as the real end of colonialism and calls the remaining years a mere "facade,"³ while Wrigley puts the end of actual as distinguished from formal colonialism in the early 1950s⁴ — is quite immaterial for our purposes. Libya led the way in 1951, with Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan following in 1956. For West Africa, Ghana was the pioneer in 1957, followed by Guinea the next year. In 1960, no fewer than 17 states swept away the chains of political colonialism, including Nigeria. By 1969, four-fifths

1. K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History 1498-1945*, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959). Cf. Van 't Hof, p. 157. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 11. De Vries, p. 1.

2. Coleman, pp. 3, 320-321. J.M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization 1939-1964*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 128, 190. Abrecht, p. 97. Neill, *History*, p. 249. W.E.F. Ward, "The Colonial Phase in British West Africa," in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie, p. 419. K.W.J. Post, "Nationalist Movements in West Africa," in Ajayi and Espie, p. 454. T. Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 41. C. Young, "Decolonization in Africa," Gann & Duignan, II, p. 452. A. Adu Boaken, "The Colonial Era: Conquest to Independence," Gann & Duignan, II, p. 512.

3. W.A. Nielsen, *The Great Powers and Africa* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p.

6.

4. C.C. Wrigley, "Economic and Social Developments," in Ajayi and Espie, p. 436.

of the African continent and three-fifths of its population were said to be free.⁵ A furtive glance at an "independence map" of Africa tells the story most effectively.⁶ Truly it was a brief but tumultuous period.

Wrigley notes 3 main characteristics of this period, all 3 of which will become clear as the chapter unfolds: (1) a rapid rise in the price of West African exports, (2) awareness of the need to equip the colonies with economic prerequisites for independence, (3) increased government intervention in the economy.⁷ Though these may be accepted as characteristics, they must not be understood as an indication that the British had now developed a consistent policy to guide them during these final days, for they continued to react in piecemeal fashion to specific situations.⁸

We intend to discuss these developments in the fashion of parallel chapters. The economic facts of the period will first be uncovered, after which we shall examine the reaction of various groups to dying colonialism, including those of nationalists and ecumenicals. Once that is accomplished, we will be ready for the next chapter that constitutes an examination along earlier patterns of the S.U.M.'s attitude.

II. *Post-War Development Plans*

Already the Berlin and Brussels colonial conferences in the 19th century insisted on the trustee principle in colonial administration, the League of Nations reinforced it and Britain consistently paid lip service to it. The earlier chapters, however, are clear witnesses to the extent to which Britain failed to uphold the principle. Especially after the establishment of the United Nations, international opinion began to focus with increasing criticism on the practices of colonial regimes. In view of Alan Burns' extensive discussion of this matter,⁹ it is hardly necessary to enlarge on the details of this critical attitude. It is sufficient to note that world opinion, including that of the United States and Russia, was too strong for Britain to ignore, regardless of the hypocrisy underlying much of this international opinion.¹⁰ In addition to international opinion, there was a new domestic insistence in Britain among both Labour and Conservatives as well.¹¹ The appointment of labourite Creech Jones as Colonial Secretary introduced a new and "understanding sympathy with African and other colonial

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cf. Gann and Duignan, IV, p. 694.

7. Wrigley, p. 436.

8. Hodgkin, p. 40.

9. A. Burns, *In Defence of Colonies: British Colonial Territories in International Affairs* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957), pp. 13-183. Cf. also C. Young, pp. 455-457. Lord Hailey, *An African Survey Revised 1956: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 239-247.

10. Cf. also Nielsen, p. 28. Lee, p. 69.

11. Lee, pp. 66-67, 70, 151-152, 195-196. Nielsen, p. 29.

aspirations" right into the Colonial Office itself.¹² Thus, though the earlier champions for colonial causes, the I.M.C. and the Aborigines Society, had lost much of their political clout by this time,¹³ other champions, both more numerous and more powerful, had taken their places. In Chapter 5 we already noted that the earlier opposition to spending British taxes on colonial development had broken down.¹⁴ From now on, government entailed more than simply enforcing law and order; positive intervention was expected for the sake of Africans themselves, a direction encouraged especially by the very influential Lord Hailey, who succeeded Lugard as head of the International Anthropological Institute.¹⁵ New, positive steps were taken and techniques adduced that led to such major development programs,¹⁶ that Lee compares these efforts with the anti-slavery campaigns of the 19th century on the part of Evangelicals.¹⁷

Colonial Welfare and Development (C.W.D.) has already been alluded to in Chapter 5. New pledges were made for such funds in 1945, 1949 and 1950.¹⁸ It is difficult to get a clear impression as to the total amount actually spent or as to its origin. Different authors produce different amounts. Hodgkin sets British development investment in Africa from 1945-1953 at about £160 million,¹⁹ while Oliver and Fage estimate it at £210 million²⁰ and Lee and Nielsen at £120 million.²¹ Regardless of the different figures advanced, it is clear that considerable sums were released for development purposes at a time when a million pounds evoked respect. For Nigeria, Crowder affirms a C.W.D. budget in 1947 of £23 million pounds.²²

C.W.D. funds, however, considerable though they were, constituted not even a major share of development funds available. In 1953, Hailey estimated them at 18% of the total money spent on development.²³ In the previous chapter we discussed the surpluses of the marketing boards that were used partly for development purposes.²⁴ Another source of development funds were the loans colonial government were allowed to negotiate on their own strength on the London money market.²⁵ Most funds, in fact, Bauer explains, were derived

12. Lee, p. 67. Quoted from the Creech Jones Papers.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

14. *Cf.* also *Ibid.*, pp. 41-45.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 45. Crowder, *Story*, p. 45.

16. Duignan and Gann, IV, p. 693.

17. p. 32.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

19. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

21. *Colonial*, p. 113. *Great Powers*, p. 47. *Cf.* also Hailey, pp. 1336-1337. One must give high credence to his figures, but an attempt to find his total is confounded by lack of clarity. Duignan and Gann, IV, pp. 677-679.

22. *Story*, p. 276.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 1337.

24. *Cf.* also Hailey, p. 1303. Wrigley, p. 438. Oliver and Fage, p. 221.

25. Nielsen, p. 48.

from local sources, some from loans under foreign-aid schemes, and only "some contributions" from C.W.D. funds.²⁶

If other conditions are uncongenial, money is no cure-all. On the one hand, much of the money budgeted for development was never spent because the experts required to guide the various programs were lacking. On the other hand, a large proportion of the money that was spent was used for an increasing number of expatriate experts.²⁷ In 1950, the Colonial Office enjoyed the services of no fewer than 23 advisory bodies, an expensive attempt to involve many citizens in colonial problems.²⁸

A. Social Developments

Though, as will shortly be seen, the Nigerian economy made great forward leaps during this period, the greatest share of development funds was directed to the social sector. Development plans of 23 colonies submitted to the Colonial Office assigned 26% to economic developments, while the rest was divided amongst various other sectors, all of which had, of course, a more or less direct bearing on the economy as well — 21% was assigned to communications and 43% to "social services."²⁹ Among the social services, education and health received priority.

As to developments in health care, Crowder reports a doubling of "hospital places" during the period and the establishment of an advanced teaching hospital at Ibadan.³⁰ Hailey provides extensive statistics regarding research, administration, staff, facilities and patients that clearly indicate marked increase in this sphere. However, of the 76 hospitals in Nigeria in 1952, 8 belonged to local authorities, 33 to missions and 35 to private parties. The involvement of the government was rather slim.³¹

For decades Nigerians had been complaining of being excluded from the higher posts in all sectors of society. One reason was that low priority had been accorded to education, a fact that resulted in frustration of both ambitious Nigerians and development. Insistence on more rapid Nigerianization of higher posts meant a new emphasis on education.³² From 1946 till 1954, £8,750,000 were spent in Africa for various levels of education. In Nigeria alone, £4,488,710 was spent in 1953, of which £3,795,180 came from C.W.D. funds.³³ In 1948 the University of Ibadan was established. By 1950 there was a College of Technology at Zaria and others were in formation as well as lower technical institu-

26. "Colonial Africa," p. 651. Cf. Gann and Duignan, IV, p. 678 for statistics.

27. Lee, pp. 85-86, 111. Oliver and Fage, p. 224.

28. Lee, p. 102.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 113. Oliver and Fage, p. 223.

30. *Story*, p. 308.

31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1083-1084. These pages contain more related statistics.

32. Nielsen, p. 66. Coleman, p. 312. C. Young, pp. 494-495.

33. Hailey, pp. 1167, 1175.

tions.³⁴ By 1954, Ibadan had enrolled 527 students, while about 310 Nigerians were studying in North America and a total of 1036 from West Africa as a whole in Britain and Ireland.³⁵ Yet, in 1955, Nigeria was educating a mere 800 undergraduates and 12,000 secondary school students a year, and most of these, needless to say perhaps, were southerners.³⁶ In view of the large Nigerian population and in view of several decades of colonial rule — which means decades of instilling a restless yearning for such developments — the crying need for such intensive efforts were obvious. We pass over other educational efforts, such as development of teachers' colleges, by mere reference to Hailey.³⁷

Other development efforts aimed at improving trade unions, water supplies, sanitation, housing, electricity and other urban amenities.³⁸ During the period 1951-1960, tarred roads increased in Nigeria from 1,114 to 5,267 miles, according to Meier.³⁹ Crowder reports a total of 25,000 miles of road in 1946, of which a mere 700 were bitumenized, but by 1958, 16,000 miles had been added with "well over 3000" bitumenized. Moreover, many of these new roads led to areas previously only marginally affected by British occupation.⁴⁰ The comparatively conservative northern newspaper expressed gratitude to the British government for providing £1,300,000 of C.W.D. funds for roads so necessary to move cash crops.⁴¹ An internal airline was developed and "great improvements of the posts and telecommunications system" could be reported.⁴² During the period covered by him, Meier records an increase of electricity production from 116,703 units in millions to 430,559.⁴³ That some development projects in retrospect turned out to be foolish mistakes, was unavoidable.⁴⁴

B. Economic Developments

1. Import-Export Sector

It has been reported earlier that Nigerian exports consisted mainly of raw materials, especially agricultural products, that were purchased by predominantly expatriate companies, which, in return, imported manufactured goods. World

34. *Ibid.*, p. 1177. Further financial aid statistics towards higher education in Nigeria are found on p. 1182.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 1183.

36. Crowder, *Story*, p. 305.

37. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1184-1188.

38. Oliver and Fage, p. 223. Wrigley, p. 437.

39. G.M. Meier, "External Trade and Internal Development," Duignan and Gann, IV, p. 457.

40. *Story*, p. 305.

41. NC, Sept. 12/56.

42. Crowder, *Story*, p. 305.

43. *Op. cit.*, p. 457.

44. Cf. Wrigley, p. 437, for examples.

War II triggered expansion in this sector that accelerated even more during the post-war years. Statistics to this effect abound in our literature, and even though the details provided by the various authors may not always be identical, they do present a clear picture of the direction of the economy.⁴⁵ A glance at these statistics readily indicates that, as the result of a rise in world prices for Nigerian commodities, the value of the exports increased more rapidly than their volume.⁴⁶

That Nigerians shared in the benefits of this development is indisputable, but the proportion of those who did was rather minute. The low prices paid by marketing boards to producers have already been recorded; their profits were either deposited in London banks or used for developments that benefited mostly classes other than that of producers, even though the latter constituted the bulk of the population by far. It must also be recalled that, though regulated by the marketing boards, the collection and export of these products was mainly in foreign hands. In 1947, Nigerians were responsible for only 5% of the total imports, a figure that rose to 20% by 1963. That increase was due primarily not to government policy or increase in economic wealth on the part of Nigerians, but to changes in economic behaviour on the part of the foreign firms caused by new circumstances not related to any sense of trusteeship. U.A.C. and John Holt, for example, facilitated this change simply because they no longer found their heavy reliance on importing activities as profitable as previously.⁴⁷

2. Industrial Sector

Kilby describes the appearance of modern manufacturing industries in West Africa as "largely a post-Korean War occurrence." In Nigeria, the sector's share in national output was estimated at 0.6% in 1950 and less than 2% in 1957.⁴⁸ Kilby's list of private industrial efforts in Nigeria prior to 1940 contains a mere 15 names. In addition, the government operated 4 of its own. The general picture for Nigeria was "one of very limited industrial development until the late 1950s . . ." By about 1958 "a rapid spurt of industrialization" occurred that raised the 2% of 1957 to 6-8% in just a few years. There was a "sudden transformation of somnolence into frantic investment activity."⁴⁹

The period began with the inherited situation of a few European trading monopolies described in Chapter 5, monopolies that continued to be carefully and consciously buttressed by a variety of techniques such as "pre-empting the market by handling all ranges of merchandise, by establishing formal cartel arrangements and by undertaking specific actions (below-cost pricing, credit

45. Gann and Duignan, IV, pp. 457, 682-683. Coleman, p. 316. Crowder, *Story*, p. 301.

46. Crowder, *Story*, p. 302.

47. Kilby, p. 494.

48. *Op. cit.*, pp. 475, 490. Cf. Coleman, pp. 68-70 for more statistics.

49. *Op. cit.*, pp. 489-490.

squeeze) to drive smaller competitors out of business." The lack of industrial incentives discussed earlier was also caused by the trading companies' connections abroad with industrial firms, sometimes including shipping companies that would suffer inordinately from the establishment of local industries. The lack of industrial experience on the part of the major companies was an additional contributing factor. Furthermore, the colonial government continued to hold the classic opinion that Africans were served better by keeping them as suppliers of raw materials.⁵⁰

Kilby describes all this under the title "The Influence of Market Structure." The change of market structure created new stimulus for manufacturing. An "explosive growth of demand" took place during the 1950s. The value of imports rose steadily from £62 million in 1946 to 114 in 1954 to 166 in 1958. This upsurge in the market made it possible to concentrate on a few items and a few locations. As a result a whole range of newcomers arrived on the scene. Indian organizations appeared; by the late 1950s Chelleram had become the 5th largest importer. Greek and Levantine companies arrived and Leventis soon ranked 3rd after U.A.C. and John Holt. The situation also encouraged western manufacturers to bypass traditional distributors, and to create their own distribution channels -- Philips, National Cash Register, Nestles, British Paints. Nigerian importers became a 3rd new force, this time, for reasons of their own, encouraged by the traditional distributors.

The established colonial firms could not cope with this competition, partly because their inherited structures were not suitable to meet the challenge of the more modern methods employed by the new arrivals. The participation of the 3 leading importers declined from 49% in 1949 to 16% by 1963.

The response of the older companies was to re-organize and to turn to manufacturing. Their experience of the Nigerian market and the protection afforded by the government to new industries was a great boon to these new endeavours. Kilby goes on to trace the efforts of U.A.C., John Holt and other companies in the manufacturing sector, the details of which are nicely summarized in tables.⁵¹ He rejects the common theory that these industrial developments were responses merely to the arrival of the "technological threshold," for some projects were embarked upon before the threshold had been reached.

The government did not stand by idly as the process unfolded. It resorted to a variety of tactics to encourage it, such as technical education, research, and loans. In addition, it legislated fiscal incentives that now applied generally instead of being granted only after individual negotiations: "accelerated depreciation (1943), pioneer income-tax holiday (1952), import-duty relief (1956)." The government also joined various foreign enterprises by providing capital and

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-492. Cf. Coleman, pp. 80-81. Hailey, p. 1522.

51. *Op. cit.*, pp. 496, 498, 500.

by accepting larger proportions of the risks. Here the textile and cement industries benefited especially.⁵²

Kilby does not neglect to relate the experiences of Nigerian ventures in the modern economy of the period. The government provided financial aid to various indigenous entrepreneurs, but a considerable proportion of them ultimately failed, while most of the others failed to exploit the full potential of the situation. Kilby's explanation for this phenomenon is two-fold: (1) cultural factors of social-psychological nature were not sufficiently oriented to the type of efficiency required in such sizable concerns;⁵³ (2) there was definitely limited access to technology.⁵⁴

Thus one finds Nigeria facing her independence with its economy firmly in the grips of foreigners. The last issue of W.A.P. published prior to independence contains a report of Nigerian businessmen complaining that foreigners control the entire economy and that locals lack the means of effective competition.⁵⁵ The independence edition affirms that foreigners control the Nigerian economy in its minute details: banking, the insurance industry, the building and repairing of roads, the supply and service of vehicles were all in expatriate hands; the latter were continuing the colonial tradition of exporting raw products and returning them as manufactured goods.⁵⁶

3. Effects

Anyone who cares to check on the ideological stand of the authors so far consulted for this chapter, will find that none of them can be accused of sloganeering or of having anti-colonial axes to grind. They are on a whole calm and balanced students who, if anything, might well be regarded by many nationalists as reactionaries bent on defending the European cause. Nevertheless, they form a general consensus that regardless of the change in window dressing, the basic structure behind the counter did not follow suit.⁵⁷ Changes in administration did not imply corresponding changes in financial relationships.⁵⁸ The doctrine of trusteeship appeared like a smokescreen of good intentions designed to delay transfer of economic power.⁵⁹ Hodgkin affirms that self-government did not mean surrender of British economic power.⁶⁰ Similarly, Nielsen asserts that independence had little effect on economic relations between the 2 countries:

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 492-503.

53. Cf. also Coleman, p. 64. Hailey, pp. 1302, 1345-1347.

54. *Op. cit.*, pp. 506-517.

55. 30 Sept/60.

56. WAP, 1 Oct/60. Cf. also the issue of 14 July/60.

57. Lee, p. 54.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

60. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

Britain remained the dominant partner.⁶¹ In spite of the official adherence to the trustee doctrine, there was no genuine concern for the welfare of Africans, according to Bauer, for then steps would have been taken and officials would have reflected more on the problems involved.⁶² Contrary to general opinion, Bauer suggests that the closing decades of colonial rule were worse than earlier stages, for now even the government exploited the peasantry by means of the marketing boards and thus retarded the rural economy.⁶³ Though most of our authors agree that colonialism did not hinder economic development as a whole, Kilby does assert that "the trustees . . . must stand condemned of grievous wrong" in not having corrected the "pattern of inequality of access."⁶⁴

Lee suggests that ignorance on the part of the colonial governments may be responsible for their ambivalence. In 1949, an economic advisor declared that they had "not yet begun even to recognize the nature of their most important economic problems, let alone to make provision for dealing with them."⁶⁵ No official economic study was ever embarked upon till 1947, while academic studies of colonial economics were disdained by economists.⁶⁶ Somehow, arrangements always ended up in favour of Britain, consciously or otherwise.⁶⁷

Rodney does not beat around the bush in his discussion of the closing phase of colonialism. He ascribes the worst of motives to the policy makers, while all claims to trusteeship are discarded as mere hypocrisy. Among his "tell-tale signs" is the fact that the council organized to distribute C.W.D. funds was "dominated by really powerful members of the British bourgeoisie, including directors of Barclays Bank." This bank, he asserts, was among the first to volunteer loans to colonial regimes for development purposes. One British spokesman is quoted as saying, "If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments and to get a world equilibrium, it is essential that (African) resources should be developed, and made available."⁶⁸ Though Duignan and Gann disagree with Rodney that Europe underdeveloped Africa,⁶⁹ and though we no more than Coleman⁷⁰ subscribe to a theory of purely evil motives, the phenomena of the post-war period are sufficient to give a non-economist more than passing sympathy for Rodney's arguments. However, this is not the place for a final analysis of colonialism.

61. *Op cit.*, pp. 36-38.

62. *Op cit.*, p. 652.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 653.

64. *Op cit.*, p. 518.

65. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

68. *Op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

69. "Achievements," p. 673.

70. *Op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

III. *Nationalism*

A. General Nature

Though he prefers to call it "Africanism," Hailey describes nationalism as "one of the most distinctive features . . . of post-war Africa."⁷¹ To be sure, readers of earlier chapters will realize that it was no newcomer, but it did have new aspects about it. For one thing, it could appeal to a wider international audience. We have made earlier references to the rise of anti-colonialism throughout the world that found its focus in the United Nations which provided a powerful forum for nationalist groups.⁷² During the war, the western allies had framed the Atlantic Charter with the promise included to "respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Britain was among the signees, but Churchill made it clear that he did not intend this promise to apply to African colonies, though his American allies did insist on universal application. This difference not only caused friction between the 2 nations, but also stimulated African nationalists, possibly more so than if Churchill had not excluded them.⁷³

These economic factors served to encourage post-war nationalism to become more radical in its actions. There was an increase in restlessness and violence, especially among Zikists. Riots were employed to press demands.⁷⁴ Occasionally the government resorted to imprisonment, as in the case of 3 labour union men⁷⁵ and that of Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, who was subsequently called out of prison for the specific purpose of forming the "first responsible government in colonial Africa."⁷⁶

Burns reminds his readers that Africans who experienced pre-colonial Africa welcomed the British.⁷⁷ The statement is only partially true, but regardless of its truth, in these latter days the argument was turned around. Earlier generations of Africans accepted the British, we are told, because they did not realize the effect the occupation would have.⁷⁸ Awolowo stated the case thus:

Our grandfathers, with unbounded gratitude, adored the British who emancipated them from slavery and saved them from the "horrors" of tribal wars. Our immediate fathers

71. *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

72. C. Young, pp. 455-458. Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 498-499. Langley, pp. 348-349, 380-382. Oliver and Fage, pp. 243-245. Burns, Part I.

73. A.E. Afigbo, "West Africa," pp. 131-195 in E.A. Ayandele *et al.*, *The Growth of African Civilization: The Making of Modern Africa*, Vol. II: *The Late Nineteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 174-175. Langley, p. 347. Coleman, pp. 231-233. Crowder, *Story*, p. 271.

74. Crowder, *Story*, pp. 279-280. Ward, p. 419. Lee, p. 206.

75. WAP, 12 July/60.

76. Young, p. 459. Coleman, p. 298.

77. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

78. WAP, 9 July/60.

simply toed the line. We of to-day are critical, unappreciative, and do not feel we owe any debt of gratitude to the British.⁷⁹

Whereas the earlier generations of nationalists had been reformist in nature, *i.e.*, they were seeking a place for the African elite *within* the colonial system, the present generation sought the cessation of the colonial status, a change already observable before the war.⁸⁰ In 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester produced a "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World," written by Nkrumah, in which freedom was demanded for all colonies. The declaration called on all classes to organize against colonialism: "The long, long night is over . . . Today there is only one road to effective action — the organization of the masses. COLONIAL AND SUBJECT PEOPLES OF THE WORLD — UNITE!"⁸¹ During the same year Nkrumah founded the West African National Secretariat (W.A.N.S.), a revised version of "N.C.B.W.A.-ism." It too echoed the Marxian-like call: "PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA UNITE!" and it declared, "The time of politics of words is gone; this is an age of politics of action. Act now!"⁸²

Though the relationship between earlier nationalists and the rural folk had always been rather tenuous, there was now a definite movement to take nationalist concerns to the masses. The Fifth Pan-African Congress called on "workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front lines of the battle against imperialism."⁸³ Nkrumah and his W.A.N.S. realized that "the only road to power lay in the organization of the masses" and they thus aimed at making "contact with, co-ordinate, educate and supply general information on current matters to the various political bodies, trade unions, co-operative societies, farmers organizations. . . ."⁸⁴

Hodgkin has recorded the change-over from congresses to political parties.⁸⁵ The development of these parties in Nigeria, their history and their relations with each other are so complicated that we will not attempt to trace or summarize them.⁸⁶ Though Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) had pan-Nigerian ambitions, basically each region was dominated by one party that enjoyed the adherence of the main tribe within it. N.C.N.C. was dominated by Ibos; Awolowo's Action Group (A.G.) was a consciously Yoruba party; in the North, the Northern Peoples' Congress (N.P.C.), a basically Muslim-dominated organization, set the dominant tone. There was a constant process of secessions, alignments and re-alignments between and

79. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

80. Post, p. 454.

81. Langley, p. 355.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 357-360. Coleman, pp: 298, 301, 306, 308.

83. Langley, p. 355.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 358.

85. *Op. cit.*, pp. 142-144.

86. Cf. Coleman, Part IV, for a detailed history.

within these parties, not to speak of bickering and tribalism, so that they were not always suited to gain the confidence of colonial rulers or of missionaries.

Under the leadership of Aminu Kano, the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) was formed in 1950 in protest against the rather conservative stance of the N.P.C. Aminu, a faithful *alhaji*, combined ideas generally considered strange bedfellows by re-interpreting the Qur'an through ideas he had gleaned from Gandhi, Rousseau, Voltaire, Jefferson, Tom Paine, Laski, and G.B. Shaw that caused him to champion democratic precepts, women's rights, equality and freedom – a non-fundamentalist approach to the Qur'an, as Feinstein dubs it. He even toyed with ideas of Hitler and Mussolini, but then found them unsuitable for Northern Nigeria.⁸⁷ Because the S.U.M.'s main work was in the Middle Belt, the southern part of the Northern Region, we mention the establishment of the Middle Zone League (M.Z.L.) in 1950 and that of the Middle Belt People's Party (M.B.P.P.) in Jos in 1953. The former was led by David Lot, a pastor trained by the S.U.M. It allied itself to the N.P.C., whereas the latter had leanings towards N.C.N.C. and N.E.P.U.⁸⁸

Despite their differences, the emphasis of all these parties was less on economic exploitation than on the question of political independence. Especially the organizations related to Azikiwe placed tremendous stress here and occasionally sought to make their point by hook or by crook. There was a difference between North and South with respect to timing. The North, lacking sufficient educated staff, favoured a slower approach, for it preferred European staff to southerners during the interim. However, after a series of new constitutions that increased the number of Nigerians in both legislature and administration, and after a few years of regional self-government, independence was achieved on October 1, 1960.

Emphasis on political demands did not mean economic grievances and demands were forgotten; it was merely a matter of tactic. The general consensus was that "political independence was the basis of economic independence."⁸⁹ It was the "Credo" of W.A.N.S. that "without political independence the talk of economic independence is a mere waste of time."⁹⁰ "The ultimate aim of political freedom is economic freedom," a writer affirmed in W.A.P.⁹¹ This was the basic significance of Nkrumah's admonition to seek first the political kingdom;⁹² he trusted that the economic would then soon be added. Thus, though the strategy called for a temporary shift away from the emphasis on economic

87. Feinstein, pp. 28-30, 55, 99.

88. Coleman, pp. 366-367.

89. Langley, p. 353.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 360.

91. 27 Sept/60.

92. Bauer, p. 653.

problems, authors generally agree that they continued to be felt and aggravate Nigerians.⁹³

Though the emphasis shifted to political questions, economic grievances and solutions continued to be aired. The Gold Coast representative to the Pan-African Congress of 1945 was instructed, among other things, to

insist on removal of all trade restrictions and restoration of former trade conditions where under Africans did establish considerable trading houses. Wherefore better banking facilities are required to neutralize the sinister influence of local banks on African commercial and industrial enterprise.⁹⁴

The congress declared that "the object of the imperialist powers is to exploit"⁹⁶ and rejected colonialism in all forms. In fact, it "equated economic with political imperialism."⁹⁷ Aminu was said to oppose colonialism because it was milking Nigeria for British benefit.⁹⁸ Awolowo likewise recognized economic interest among the primary colonial motives, while he alleged that the interests of the people "were obviously secondary." Referring to the good Britain was to have done for Nigeria, he asked, "Cui bono?" Much of the profits went to British investors.⁹⁹ The N.E.P.U. manifesto called for indigenous banking in the North and promised to "discourage the present foreign banking policy." It asked also for a diversification of the economy and though it would encourage foreign investment, Nigerians should always hold the major share.¹⁰⁰ The A.G. aimed at processing some primary products in Nigeria and to manufacture products that could more cheaply be done in the country.¹⁰¹ Azikiwe's W.A.P. continued to feature articles denouncing colonial economics right up till independence. One writer held the West responsible for Nigeria's long period of stagnation and economic backwardness. Though he recognized that many Europeans were of high morality, he did not expect much from them, for the real power was in capitalist hands.¹⁰² Two days before independence a writer asserted that imperialists were not letting their reins go out of kindness, but by force of changing winds. They still guarded their economic interests: they would continue to depend on Nigeria's primary products and her markets. That, the writer continued, was also the reason Europeans have not and will not establish industries in their colonies.¹⁰³ The day before independence one is again confronted with the complaint that Nigerian purchasing agents of the marketing boards were

93. Coleman, p. 410. Hodgkin, pp. 115, 142-143.

94. Langley, p. 352.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

97. Duignan and Gann, "Introduction," II, p. 24.

98. Feinstein, p. 115.

99. *Op. cit.*, pp. 58, 19.

100. NC, 12 Sept/56.

101. *Ibid.*

102. WAP, 19 July/60.

103. WAP, 29 Sept/60.

under financial disadvantage because of the £6000 needed to set up shop.¹⁰⁴

Newspapers are like churches: they harbour every shade of opinion. Right alongside these basically negative remarks concerning colonialism, supporters of the regime could also draw comfort from many appreciative statements about the British effort. Political enemies had agreed to a truce during the royal visit in 1956¹⁰⁵ and that visit itself, as well as that of princess Alexandria, who represented the Queen at independence ceremonies, received generous and kind coverage.¹⁰⁶ The Sardauna of Sokoto, a key man in the conservative N.P.C., frequently expressed praise for Britain.¹⁰⁷ Even the more radical N.E.P.U. acknowledged that the 2 countries must remain friends.¹⁰⁸ British grants through C.W.D. also came in for grateful praise: "Here is another example of the 'colonialism' which many would decry bringing lasting benefit to our people. Will anyone begrudge a sincere 'thank you' to Her Majesty's Government for this huge gift. . . ?"¹⁰⁹ Just before independence was realized, the editor summarized the history of the colonial connection:

Our connection with Britain has been a long and well-guided association. Sometimes it is cordial, sometimes tempestuous, but on no occasion had we cause to regret the association. In our struggles for freedom our colonial masters have often misunderstood our zeal and they did not hesitate to react in a way sometimes discouraging. But we have eventually come to the end of the journey, not as masters and ingrates, but as equals and friends. We shall ever cherish our British connection. They leave a legacy that will forever speak eloquently in their favour.¹¹⁰

Awolowo similarly had positive words for the empire as late as 1945. "We must not allow present grievances to blind us to the virtues of the Empire," he suggested. He did not object to tutelage doctrine as such; the problems were about how it was carried out. The trend was towards larger units in the world and towards interdependence. In such a context "it would be madness to desire the break-up of the British Empire."¹¹¹ However, everyone of these statements was then succeeded by demands for improvements needed to make the relationship viable, more of a reformist stance than is generally characteristic of the period. It is striking that in effect he pleaded political immaturity for Nigeria. Self-government would lead to 1 of 4 results, none of which was acceptable: forcible imposition of rule by the elite, return to conservative chiefs, civil war in which the winning party would rule the other, or return to pre-colonial condi-

104. WAP, 30 Sept/60.

105. WAP, 12 Jan/56.

106. WAP, 3 Jan/56 and most issues during Sept/60 and Oct/60.

107. WAP, 13 July/60.

108. WAP, 3 Jan/56.

109. NC, 12 Sept/56. Cf. also 5 Sept/56.

110. WAP, 27 Sept/60.

111. *Op. cit.*, pp. 29, 34, 36-37.

tions.¹¹² Awolowo did not view independence through a coloured glass.

Burns, for one, capitalized on such positive sentiments on the part of African leaders. He took heart from Nkrumah's statement "We still associate ourselves with what Britain has done. We are not ungrateful." He reproduced similar sentiments expressed by Abubakar Balewa from the North and by Akintola, a Yoruba leader, on the occasion of the 1956 royal visit. In the light of such mature statements, one did not need to take seriously nationalist "extravagances" and colonial administrators "blessed with a sense of humour," generally discounted them.¹¹³

In the above paragraph, allusion is made to one aspect of nationalism that served to discredit it in the eyes of westerners, including missionaries. Perhaps even more than their disunity, nationalists were berated for their apparent unreasonableness and their emotionalism. Burns regarded the movement as racist, emotional, vague, irrational, blind and irresponsible.¹¹⁴ In her Foreword to Awolowo's *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, Perham takes the author to task because his "feeling has sometimes discoloured the thought and even led to some misinterpretation of the facts." She referred to "somewhat noisy and tiresome" habits of nationalists. Having become aware of their "inferior situation," she charged, Africans find relief in "an explosion of angry blame." It was "intellectually enervating for them to find relief in blaming 'imperialism' for the great facts of history and geography." Hence the "intemperate, unworthy, and childish generalizations that sometimes appear in editorials."¹¹⁵

Nationalists themselves were aware of this trait. Sometimes, they regarded it positively, sometimes negatively. Nkrumah is quoted as admitting that advocating racism in earlier days "was merely a technique for coalescing. . . nationalism."¹¹⁶ Aminu quite consciously adopted extreme positions over against the moderate stand of Balewa.¹¹⁷ Awolowo criticised the "criminal reticence among educated Nigerians about their own shortcomings." "Any criticism, be it from inside or outside, which truthfully portrays Nigeria's shortcomings is bitterly resented." "We deceive nobody but ourselves by glossing over our glaring shortcomings." The "pernicious habit of opposing Government measures, just for the sake of opposing" must be stopped.¹¹⁸ An anonymous writer warned against the danger of nationalist sentimentality applied to economics. "Nationalism is flowing in the blood of every African, but when it comes to

112. *Ibid.*, p. 32. Another writer expressed fear of return to pre-colonial feudalism in the north after independence (NC, 13 Oct/56).

113. *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 14, 20, 56, 301.

115. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 9-12, 15.

116. Burns, p. 296.

117. Feinstein, p. 89.

118. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

economic measures, only common sense should prevail," he cautioned.¹¹⁹ One editor warned that foreign investment is necessary for Nigeria and "some of our more irresponsible nationalists would do well to remember that." Since 1945, British firms have lost much "where emotionally inspired nationalism has pirated British investments overnight."¹²⁰

B. Nationalist Attitudes towards Christianity and Missions

— Neither Christianity nor its missionaries escaped the notice of African nationalists during this period, as especially Mobley shows. Nationalism was an African-wide, indeed world-wide phenomenon; events and ideas in one area had an effect in others. Mobley's study can be taken as representative also of the Nigerian situation in its broad details. Kwame Nkrumah, one of the deans of West African post-war nationalists and long-time friend to Azikiwe, was brought up a Roman Catholic. Like his friend, he spent many years in the United States and Britain as a student. After having studied political theory and economics under Laski, he returned home in 1947 to rise quickly in nationalist ranks and to take over his country's reins from the British, the first in West Africa. Several times he was tempted to join the clergy. While in the United States, he obtained the Bachelor of Divinity degree and spent most Sundays preaching in black churches. In 1954, he "appeared, uninvited and unannounced," at the dedication of a Baptist church and ended up speaking to the congregation on the need for a "spiritual foundation" for the nation. Nkrumah *c.s.* had a fear of "organized and obligatory religion" and a general outlook "where concern for institutional Christianity was peripheral." However, he professed to base his government on the Sermon on the Mount. For him and his "soul brothers" the entire world was a mission field that needed Christianizing. Government and politics were among their tools to implement this "Christian theory and philosophy of life."

A fellow nationalist, Ako Adjei, described the "ideal citizen" as one "who is a politician, an economist, and a fervent religionist all in one." He charged that the churches suffered from "an irreconcilable dichotomy of secular and sacred spheres" and were largely indifferent to "the stark realities of life." The most effective preaching of the gospel was now seen to consist of healing the sick and caring for the poor, "not by charity, but by helping them to earn a decent living and improve their general economic condition." He demanded that "Christian missionaries. . . be actively interested in the political, economic and social affairs of territories. . . to the same extent that they are interested in preaching." The need of the hour was a new type of missionary Ako Adjei called "missionaries of civilization," *i.e.*, medical personnel and teachers: "the old type of missionary,

119. WAP, 14 July/60.

120. NC, 19 Sept/56.

whose usefulness lies chiefly in his ability to read and interpret the Bible, has no place in the new Africa. . . ."¹²¹

Ghanians continued to warn missionaries against their dubious colonial connections. Armattoe mentioned the "inherent inconsistency" that was not always apparent to the missionary, namely their identification with the commercial and political aims of their countrymen. He suggested it superficial to blame missionaries, but they were advised to pay more attention to their own people: "In the solution of the problem lies the success of the Christian mission overseas," according to him.¹²² As to the content of missionary education, Armattoe objected to the demoralizing practice of African students being called upon to "eulogise men like Cecil Rhodes, who consecrated his life to subduing African peoples." He decried the image missionaries had as colonial allies because the education they offered appeared designed to facilitate British rule. He was kind enough to believe missionaries did not intentionally assist colonialism, but did fault them for not being "able to imagine themselves directly creating conditions" that would help topple colonialism. One preacher referred to missionaries as tools of economic interests. The latter had come for trade and had called in missionaries "to educate, Christianize, and to tame the natives." In 1952, Agyeman gave a bitter critique involving missionaries:

Britain extended her dominion by the power of the "Unholy Trinity" of Western imperialism: the trader, as the Father; the missionary, as the Son; and the alien government, as the Holy Ghost. For God, for the glory of the European nations, and finally, for the exploitation of Ghana's gold, the Europeans established permanent settlements. . . .

The writer realized that nationalism would not have arisen without missionary schools, but it was also true that missionaries did not consciously aim at training their students towards "demanding their independence."¹²³

The Zikist press expressed itself in similar vein, sometimes more radically. Missionary societies have not helped Nigerians in their struggle for independence. "They are the enemies of our Freedom; . . . in the guise of Christianity they use our churches and schools to suppress and ridicule our political consciousness."¹²⁴ Missionaries were warned that Christianity "will wax or wane according as it identifies with, or keeps aloof from, the interests of the African body politic."¹²⁵

The criticism directed at churches and missions was thus not that they were among other things political entities, but that they supported *wrong* politics. One Cudjoe expressed his indignation at "European nations who profess to be

121. *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-62.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

124. WAP, 24 Oct/49. Quoted in Coleman, p. 303.

125. WAP, 7 July/50. Quoted in Coleman, p. 303.

Christian irrespective of the fact that their national and international activities continue to be devoid of the teachings of Christ."¹²⁶ Referring to colonial "domination, oppression and exploitation," a writer posited that "we have practiced Christian brotherhood, but those who have brought Christianity have not."¹²⁷ Have political influence, by all means, but let it conform to Christian tenets. In his speech to the I.M.C. assembly in Ghana, Nkrumah requested the delegates to warn the rich nations against squandering their resources for destructive purposes rather than using them for the reconstruction of Africa and Asia.¹²⁸

Though many nationalists tended to keep institutional Christianity at a distance, they were not averse to drawing from its traditions for their own use. Hodgkin finds the reason for this practice in Africa's traditional holism. Nkrumah's party used religious symbols to increase its membership, such as "the singing of 'Lead, Kindly Light', the reciting of nationalist prayers, and a Creed in which... Nkrumah took the place of Christ and Sir Charles Arden-Clarke was substituted for Pontius Pilate."¹²⁹ The Zikist Movement organized the National Church of Nigeria, the superintendent of which stated:

God sends His prophets to various nations from age to age to lead, teach, succour, defend and reform His human creations in travail, despair and decay. Thus the Arabs had Mohammed... (The) Russians had Lenin... (The) Indians had Ghandi... And Africa has Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

A typical service would include readings from the N.C.N.C. manifesto, the American Declaration of Independence, *Renascent Africa*, and the Bible. Its primary objectives were "the glorification and awakening of racial and national consciousness." Coleman concluded that it was less of a religious enterprise than a strand in the nationalist movement."¹³⁰ It represented Zikist revolt against the mission churches.

Those who scanned the Nigerian press for reassurance concerning missions and colonialism did not lack support. Though the irrelevance of the Christian church was a frequently posited thesis, even the most radical of Nigerian newspapers continued throughout the era to give extensive coverage to ecclesiastical activities. While the missionary massacre in the Congo could have been exploited for an anti-mission tirade, the matter was reported soberly and objectively.¹³¹ Missions came in for faint praise in Awolowo's book for their educational efforts¹³² while his A.G. included in its manifesto the need to encourage missions

126. Mobley, p. 66.

127. WAP, 9 July/60.

128. R.K. Orchard, ed., *The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1958), p. 150.

129. *Op. cit.*, p. 95. Hoekendijk, p. 282.

130. *Op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.

131. WAP, 12 July/60 and subsequent issues.

132. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

in their educational efforts in the North, for the region could boast only 3 approved missionary secondary schools over against the Western Region's 65.¹³³ Aminu likewise supported missionary education in Muslim areas, opposed the anti-Christian tendencies in Islam and was friend to C.M.S. missionary Miss Miller.¹³⁴ As late as 1956 a writer expressed his gratitude to "the British and the missionaries" for having transformed in 50 years the "naked, stubborn and unco-operative" Plateau peoples "into responsible citizens."¹³⁵

The conclusion we draw from the above selection of materials is that nationalist opinions and warnings were fully public property, also in the North. Only concerted efforts to that effect could leave missionaries ignorant of trends. It must be remembered that the nationalist discussions of the problems reproduced in these pages constitutes a mere smattering of the extant literature.

IV. *An Assortment of Missionary Opinion*

Our purpose in this section is to review missionary opinion of the period on the subject of colonialism, nationalism and missions. The material to be surveyed consists of the reports of the main I.M.C. conferences; the missionary magazines, *World Dominion* and *International Review of Missions*; and a selection of missiological books dealing with the subject. We make no apology for what one could regard as an arbitrary selection: the relevant literature is simply too vast.¹³⁶ The sources consulted, however, are representative of the main streams of thought, Evangelicals and Ecumenicals.

Whereas at Madras the shadows of an imminent world war dominated the spirit of men, the predominant feature now became the unexpected and universal phenomenal rise of anti-western nationalists with as its earliest trophies the independence of India in 1947 and the Communist take-over of China. The period ended with a rush towards African independence in 1960. Parallel to these political developments were changes on the missionary-ecclesiastical scene where the newly-established churches began to take over control from the missionary, a change that indicated no small 'success' of the mission effort, even though it took place faster than many missionaries thought good and was accompanied with some missionary trauma.¹³⁷

A. The China Lesson

Though China was never completely colonized, nevertheless missionaries worked in the country by the grace of western powers who long held political and economic sway over the country. For missions, the country had long con-

133. NC, 12 Sept/56.

134. Feinstein, pp. 107, 144, 190.

135. NC, 1 Sept/56.

136. Cf., e.g., Taylor, pp. 123-127.

137. IRM/57, pp. 165-166. IRM/58, p. 163ff.

stituted the major field¹³⁸ and their subsequent eviction by Mao's regime represented a tremendous upheaval in the missionary endeavour. It is of interest to our topic to summarize missionary reaction to their expulsion, for the situation had close parallels elsewhere in the missionary world.¹³⁹

Though missions had been under suspicion by Chinese nationalist for many decades,¹⁴⁰ China continued to absorb a major share of mission resources.¹⁴¹ As late as 1947, Bechtel reported more missionaries going to China than ever before: one American vessel carried "well over 1000 missionaries and their families," most of whom were headed for the Chinese interior. True, there were the spectres of Communism and of war, but nevertheless the author expressed surprising optimism regarding "a new page" in the history of China missions¹⁴² — and a new page it was, indeed! The handwriting on the wall had not yet been deciphered and missionaries were still suggesting proposals for improved strategy.¹⁴³ Latourette recognized the Communist presence, but he thought it "improbable that China will become Communist in the Marxist. . . sense."¹⁴⁴ The imminent Communist takeover was obviously unexpected by the missionary community as a whole.

After Communists did take over and missionaries were being expelled, a great variety of explanations were offered that ranged from an uncomplicated anti-Christian Communism to a wrongly-conceived Christian mission. Some blamed the Communists; others, the missionaries.¹⁴⁵ A Chinese writer quoted the leftist American journalist Edgar Snow, who said of the China missionaries that "very few are not better men than their critics."¹⁴⁶ Another emphasized the "enormous contribution to the welfare and progress of the country" made by medical missions.¹⁴⁷ Some thought that Communists simply did not understand Christianity and that patient dialogue would erase the former's hostility.¹⁴⁸ Dixon asserted the uselessness of blaming missions, for no one could have stayed the inevitable revolution.¹⁴⁹ A German felt the question

138. A.F. Glasser, "Success and Failure in the China Mission," IRB/75, 2nd quarter, p. 2.

139. D.M. Paton, *Christian Missions and the Judgment of God* (London: SCM Press, 1953), pp. 9, 35, 51, 55, 66. Van den Berg, "Open," p. 63.

140. Mott, pp. 26-27. Hocking, p. 154.

141. Glasser, p. 2.

142. J. Bechtel, "The Year of the Pig," WD/47, p. 180.

143. G.A. Young, "China's Dunkirk," WD/46, p. 70. E.R. and N. Lapwood, "China's Industrialization," WD/46, pp. 282-284.

144. K. Latourette, "Far Eastern Future," IRM/46, pp. 80-81.

145. A summary of the discussion is presented in J. Verkuyl, *Evangelie en Communisme in Azië en Afrika* (Kampen: Kok, 1966), pp. 138-143.

146. W.Y. Chen, "The State of the Church in China," IRM/47, p. 146.

147. B.E. Read, "Medical Missions in China," WD/47, pp. 377-379.

148. D.M. Paton, p. 56.

149. S.B. Dixon, "The Experience of Christian Missions in China," IRM/53, p. 286.

a necessary one, but the discussion would have to take place "at a level above the passions which the conflict has let loose, and must strive after the truth. . . ." ¹⁵⁰ Terms such as "failure" on the part of missionaries and "judgment" frequently cropped up in the discussions. The position of Hayward, a leader in the I.M.C., was as follows:

Christian Missions in China have certainly not failed. The Gospel has been preached in power, and its first-fruits there have been won. Foreign Missions should never be regarded as permanent in any land. . . ; their task is to plant the church, and gradually eliminate themselves. Yet in the historical crisis which has banished Missions from China before they were ready or able to eliminate themselves, Christians find themselves rightly condemned for many failures. The missionary cause and the Church in China have stood beneath God's judgement, as well as the Nationalist Government. . . . Only through honest and penitent acceptance of this judgment can God's promise of forgiving mercy be received. In the clear light of inexorable criticism, we realized that some of the charges brought against our "imperialism" are justified. Our entanglement with protective clauses in the Unequal Treaties has far more harmed our cause than helped it. . . .

After adding to the faults of missions, he concluded that though missions in China "have admittedly made many failures," "thank God, they have not failed of their essential objectives." ¹⁵¹

In attempts to demonstrate how wide the missions had been from the politico-economic mark, some chose to emphasize their failure and consequent divine judgment. Bhatti regarded Communism as "a judgment upon the Church" for its failures to preach a full gospel and to attack social evils. ¹⁵² Without actually employing the words "failure" and "judgment," Drewett's article left little to the imagination; he sought clearly to show how the West, including the missions, had failed to meet China's basic economic and political needs, but, instead, had supported a regime artificially, and thus prepared the way for Communism. ¹⁵³ Though not speaking specifically of the Chinese situation, Stephen Neill suggested that had the church been awake and willing "to accept a judgment of condemnation where it was well deserved," the solution to the problem on which Communism fed could have been led into Christian channels. He expressed his disappointment: "But where the Church was apathetic or too closely wedded to the *status quo*, again the demonic forces took control. Where Communism has prevailed, God has used it as an instrument of judgment on the Church." ¹⁵⁴ At the Willingen Conference 2 speakers expressed themselves similarly. Said Chandran, "We should also recognize that Communism is a judgment on the Church's failure to preach liberation to the

150. W. Seufert, "The End of Missionary Work in China?" IRM/54, p. 274.

151. E.J. Bingle, "The World To-day," WD/52, p. 190.

152. E.C. Bhatti, "Christ, the Hope of Asia," IRM/55, p. 97.

153. J. Drewett, "World Revolution - the Impact on Africa," WD/51, p. 137.

154. C.W. Ranson, ed., *Renewal and Advance: Christian Witness in a Revolutionary World* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1948), p. 73.

socially and economically dispossessed peoples."¹⁵⁵

David Paton's *Christian Missions and the Judgment of God* constitutes a lengthy discussion of the Chinese "debacle." We are tempted to reproduce his arguments at length, because, in our estimation, he hit the mark exactly at least with respect to the politico-economic aspects of the problem. Paton rejected a balanced approach to the question of failure, such as advocated by some.¹⁵⁶ It is natural, he suggested, for Christians to defend themselves by admitting "of course, that we have our failings, but to insist that much of our work stands and has been blessed by God." Such an attitude constitutes "the prime obstacle to the Gospel." Confession is not the time to make excuses. The need of the hour was "no temporising and face-saving, or even balanced and fair-minded, appreciations of our strengths and weaknesses, but thorough-going repentance." The former attitude would "cut the nerve of reforming action." Scholarly objectivity would not do; Amos-like prophecy was now required, for parallel situations were latent throughout Asia and Africa.¹⁵⁷

Paton judged that missions suffered from a prevailing blindness to their political role. While they thought of themselves as basically non-political, the Chinese regarded them as the very embodiment of western politics, which, in fact, they partially were. The most blatant example of this was missionary use of treaty privileges imposed upon an unwilling China.¹⁵⁸ Missionaries failed to understand nationalist and Communist grievances as well as local politics.¹⁵⁹ They did not even understand the politics of their own countries and thus readily became easy tools of imperialism and capitalism.¹⁶⁰ In short, "Anglo-Saxon mission policy, unlike that of German Protestants or Continental Roman Catholics, has been far too little directed by fundamental theological thinking: we have little 'missiology'."¹⁶¹ As to Paton's remedies, we reserve them for a later discussion.¹⁶²

B. Colonialism

1. Ecumenical Affirmations

Opinions concerning colonialism ranged from high to low, though in our

155. N. Goodall, ed., *Missions under the Cross* (London: Edinburgh House, 1953), p. 98. Cf. also Newbiggin, p. 114.

156. E.g., J. Van Den Berg, "Corpus Christianum en zending," *De Heerbaan*/60, p. 175.

157. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

158. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24, 36, 52.

159. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24, 41.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 72. There may have been more missiological thinking in these quarters, but there is no indication that it resulted in clearer apprehension of the politico-economic aspect of missions.

162. *Infra*, pp. 374 ff.

literature we found none as high as that characteristic of earlier days. Though the colonial air was full with the clouds of nationalism, occasionally coloured by Communism, various writers still expressed themselves in neutral terms regarding various colonial regimes, and not a few with great sympathy and appreciation. One author suggested that "missions need to regard sympathetically Portuguese ideals for assimilating or nationalizing Africans."¹⁶³ The Belgians were accorded praise for their Congo efforts.¹⁶⁴ The British were lauded for their endeavours in India.¹⁶⁵ We located at least 2 references to a groundnut scheme in British East Africa expressed in the classic terms of mutual benefit.¹⁶⁶ Quite a number of articles discussed colonialism by authors who were seemingly totally oblivious of nationalist stirrings or of the universal questioning to which the system was subjected.¹⁶⁷ Certain authors demonstrated awareness of colonial economic injustice, but they entertained the hope that post-war policies would correct this.¹⁶⁸

With such hopeful attitudes still prominent in the missionary community, one should not be surprised at the generally favourable attitude towards continued cooperation between missions and governments, especially with respect to education.¹⁶⁹ This was the case not only with obscure authors, but also with prominent leaders in ecumenical circles such as Bingle, a one-time professor of history and politics at Madras College.¹⁷⁰ Having done minor research in the matter, one writer reported that missions generally accepted government grants for social services, but where they had been refused, it had been for reasons not directly related to an evaluation of colonialism or nationalist politics.¹⁷¹ At the conclusion to his report, Nelson recommended continued cooperation. Contrary to nationalist charges, Bingle suggested that, at least in the case of the Gold Coast, such cooperation "rendered the advent of self-government possible."¹⁷²

2. Ecumenical Criticism

In addition to the above traditional stance, there emerged a body of missionary literature in which colonial enterprise was subjected to more profound scrutiny, though outright rejections were rare. Despite our expectation to the contrary, the pre-World War II meetings paid much more attention to colonial economics

163. IRM/46, p. 402.

164. IRM/52, p. 301. WD/46, pp. 35-37. WD/50, pp. 349-352.

165. IRM/47, p. 22.

166. WD/47, pp. 265-267. IRM/49, p. 45.

167. *E.g.*, IRM/46, p. 406. IRM/51, pp. 358-360. IRM/60, pp. 332-338.

168. Bingle in Ranson, p. 46. Warren, IRM/50, pp. 396-397.

169. IRM/47, pp. 41, 224. IRM/49, p. 46. WD/46, pp. 172, 175. WD/55, p. 191.

170. Ranson, p. 47. Goodall, pp. 170, 183. WD/53, p. 187.

171. C.D. Nelson, "Church-State Relations and Government Grants," IRM/60, pp. 332-338.

172. WD/51, p. 181.

than those of our period, even though the problems received wider publicity through nationalist agitation.¹⁷³ The main publications emerging from the 3 I.M.C. conferences held during this final period are surprisingly scant in their direct comments, though they contain many implications relating to our topic. Without mentioning colonialism, the Willingen conference pointed to "great inequality of standards of living in different parts of the world" as a problem.¹⁷⁴ The Ghana assembly included Nkrumah's speech in its report in which he explained that "Africans... have had the crumbs of civilization falling from the rich tables of the western world."¹⁷⁵ Neill reminded his audience at Whitby that "even systems which have started out as beneficent gradually change their character and become the instruments of self-seeking and arrogance."¹⁷⁶

Much more material is found in the 2 main magazines we have consulted, especially with respect to situations in East and South Africa, where the colonial problems were further complicated by the presence of European settlers. Laissez-faire economics, the root of colonialism, was criticized as having "allowed the individual before God to degenerate into the self-assertive, self-seeking individual who claims to be a law to himself." Fortunately, "we are disabused of that now, but with what difficulty!"¹⁷⁷ One writer referred to the problems created by modern industry, another pillar of colonialism, that was hardly driven by Christian tenets.¹⁷⁸ Basic questions were asked as to the purpose of industry and its organization along non-Christian lines was asserted.¹⁷⁹

Karefa-Smart reported on the "continuing and ruthless economic exploitation in all African colonies." African poverty was said to be "sustained by the enormous profits of foreign companies... and by the continuation of an economic pattern that operates to the disadvantage of the colonies and the advantage of the metropolitan territories." Western governments were accused of continuing "terms of trade that have deteriorated for the colonies" and thus further the "financial interest of the foreign investors... rather than, through really changed legislation, and related economic programmes, attempting to develop the colonies to the economic benefit of the African people." The traditional belief that Britain spends more on Africa than she receives in return was shown to be false by economist Arthur Lewis.¹⁸⁰ In Kenya, the farmer was losing out; even though he was getting higher prices for his maize, these were "more than counterbalanced by the higher prices" he had to pay for his needs.¹⁸¹ The

173. Abrecht, p. 137.

174. Goodall, p. 216.

175. Orchard, p. 150.

176. Ranson, pp. 70-71.

177. WD/47, p. 362.

178. WD/55, p. 145, a review of Wickham's study.

179. WD/56, pp. 88-89.

180. WD/55, pp. 269-270.

181. WD/53, pp. 133-134.

warning was sounded with respect to Africa that "revolution finds a ready soil wherever there is palpable evidence of economic injustice. . . ." ¹⁸² Another hurled the rhetorical challenge, "Why should the African be exploited to work for export to other countries until his own needs are being satisfied by the products of his own labour?" ¹⁸³ The W.C.C.'s virgin conference was criticized for paying insufficient attention to the problems of "social and economic injustice," a "crucial point." ¹⁸⁴ In their annual survey the I.R.M. editors reported "an increasingly warning note" from Africa "in regard to the economic exploitation to which the continent as a whole becomes more and more clearly exposed." ¹⁸⁵ The following year these editors referred to the dangers of the "precarious over-dependence on a single agricultural economy" that colonials had imposed on Africa. ¹⁸⁶ One Hebert affirmed that Europe had become a "menace to be dreaded" by Asia and Africa because it had "produced. . . capitalism and the exploitation of other races by superior economic power to drain them of their wealth, and imperialism and materialism. . ." ¹⁸⁷ Though we somewhat arbitrarily end this section at this point, let it be remembered that this paragraph contains no more than representative materials; it is by no means exhaustive.

3. John V. Taylor

John V. Taylor of C.M.S. fame wished to give full credence to earlier generations for their sincerity and he insisted that Africa did profit from colonial development. He further agreed that many arguments employed against granting independence had an aura of truth about them, overworked though they may be. The Bible "certainly appears to support" the notion that privileged nations "have a God-given responsibility towards the undeveloped peoples." However, history has given new insights: members of the colonial team were not all saints: in addition to genuine servants, there were "exploitation, aggression, trickery, and scorn." Development plans did raise living standards, but only incidentally. Even "paternal trusteeship is a splendid ideal" as long as it is exercised with the consent of the people. ¹⁸⁸ Thus, though Taylor gave credence to the positive elements in colonialism, he was fully aware of the basic economic motive.

182. IRM/48, p. 94.

183. IRM/49, p. 256.

184. IRM/50, p. 218.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

186. IRM/51, p. 38.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

188. *Op. cit.*, pp. 91-93.

4. Max Warren

Another C.M.S. missiologist, Warren, wrote his well-known *Caesar the Beloved Enemy*, which deals with the so-called "theology of imperialism" and the "demonology of imperialism," unfortunate terms indicating the ambiguity of colonialism. He engages in an interesting survey of literature dealing with the essence of colonialism, including such greats as Augustine, Reinhold Niebuhr and Tillich, but one we will have to pass over. One conclusion is the classic theory that imperialism has been a "*preparatio* for God's good will for the world. At least, up till today, no other method has been devised for so successfully keeping the peace and making progress possible." Like others seeking to find support for positive accomplishments of colonialism, he adduces the testimony of Panikkar who lists the following: legal equality of all, a democratic legacy, urban development, large nation states, breakdown of former isolation from the world.¹⁸⁹ He appeals to other Indian witnesses as well.¹⁹⁰ In other words, British imperialism was "a means to a greater end," which may or may not be realized.¹⁹¹ Warren devotes much more effort to describe the "theology" than the "demonology" of imperialism. The latter almost appears as a deduction from human depravity which renders all human activity ambiguous, including colonialism.¹⁹² Warren realizes that under liberalism freedom often meant "freedom to be hungry and to sleep 'under the bridges'."¹⁹³ He refers to the replacement of the Arab slavetrade by "legitimate commerce."¹⁹⁴ His quotation marks around "legitimate" are titillating: do they indicate his doubt as to the legitimacy of this commerce in Christian terms? Unfortunately, Warren leaves us in suspense. The economic motive was originally primary, he agrees, while other motives trailed behind, but eventually it became a total invasion of a whole culture, including the religious element.¹⁹⁵ Warren has an open eye to the economic exploitation that was so basic to colonialism, but since he discusses it in the context of nationalism, it is in that context that we shall return to it.

5. Hendrik Kraemer

In Chapter 2 we adopted Kraemer's definition of colonialism as basic for this study.¹⁹⁶ Colonialism, he asserted, was inevitable. It was a movement in which the West played the role of a blind man. He called its occurrence "fortunate," even though he was deeply aware of satanic aspects. Western imperialism was a

189. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 32-34.

190. *Ibid.* pp. 35-36.

191. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

192. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

193. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

194. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

195. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

196. *Supra*, p. 53.

“painful welding of a number of provincial worlds into a universe,” in the establishment of which the West was “very much open to criticism on account of the unscrupulous and vehement fierceness which often marked its way.”¹⁹⁷ Through colonialism the conquered came in contact with one of the “most ambiguous and demonic” aspects of the West, *i.e.*, “its acquisitive urge.” They were turned into a “world-proletariat, who just like the labour-proletariat in Europe tasted the bitter dregs of the liberalist wine of *laissez-faire*.” Kraemer continues:

Europe, bursting with vitality and energy, hurried on along the road of exploitation, dominance and increasing prosperity. The surpluses of this prosperity impelled towards new attempts at forcing Asia and Africa to yield manpower, productive power and markets, and like a vicious circle this resulted in a feverish scramble for political power and economic exploitation and penetration.¹⁹⁸

Though Kraemer’s definition posits the centrality of economic exploitation, this did not preclude a recognition of important redeeming features in colonialism. It did not mean “mere exploitation.” The redeeming touches refer to the various types of economic and social developments on which administrations embarked.¹⁹⁹ Europe suffered from a “split conscience”: the “strong but unregenerate impulses of imperialism” found their counterparts in Europe’s “moral conscience” that could not justify colonialism, for it was bound to traditions that included mercy, liberty and justice.

The slogans which many Westerners . . . used to elevate the whole “colonial” dream to a higher level than naked power and self-interest – such as “the white man’s burden” . . . are a perfect expression of the inner ambiguity in the West’s “split conscience”. They are hybrid expressions, combining real sincerity and not less real hypocrisy.²⁰⁰

Western philanthropy was ambiguous, for governments never act out of purely altruistic motives, since they represent the interests of a nation that demands consideration of self-interest. The official primary motive of the West’s “sacred mission” was in practice replaced by a secondary one; the former was the bid to impart western ideals; the latter, to train a corps of “efficient instruments for the administration and rule of the colonial country,” and it was this that received priority.²⁰¹

6. J.A. Verdoorn

A compatriot in more than one sense to Kraemer, Verdoorn was medical missionary to Indonesia. During World War II, he spent much time with Indonesian nationalists in his home country, out of which contact he developed the

197. *World Cultures*, pp. 65, 60.

198. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

199. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

200. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

201. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

notions he recorded in his *De zending en het Indonesisch nationalisme*. This work is provided with a foreword by Kraemer. The latter, in a different context, refers to it as a very considerable contribution to a solving of the issues at stake.²⁰² The 2 writers have much affinity with each other, especially in their placing the colonial enterprise in the context of the grand sweep of world history, that is, in the meeting of east and west.²⁰³ Like Kraemer, he posits the historical necessity of this meeting that constituted a transcendent event over against which all accusation and talk of guilt can have no place in the normal sense of these terms.²⁰⁴ However, the last statement was not to deny personal responsibility of the participants in the meeting for their own actions.²⁰⁵ Few saw the Western effort in terms other than those of the small-town, provincial bourgeoisie that tended to regard the matter from an exclusively egocentric point of view.²⁰⁶ The main characteristic of colonies is their economic subservience to the ruling power.²⁰⁷

C. Nationalism

1. I.M.C. Conferences

The delegates to the I.M.C. conferences were very much aware of nationalist stirrings throughout the colonial world. The new Asian states were declared the product of violent nationalist eruptions and "very definitely anti-western" in their attitudes. In fact, their political and economic stability were subject to doubt.²⁰⁸ At Willingen, nationalism was seen sweeping through Asia and "beginning to effect Africa seriously,"²⁰⁹ an understatement, at least in the case of West Africa. One report adopted at the conference begins thus:

We live in a world of radical change. We hear the cry of the masses of mankind for a better life expressed in demands for land reform, higher standards of living, national independence and racial equality. We see the achievement of political independence and the end of colonialism over wide areas. There is a stirring of national and cultural loyalties, reacting against further encroachments upon them.²¹⁰

By the time the I.M.C. held its conference in Ghana — 1958 — most of Asia had been freed and black Africa had made a start. Freytag described the context as one of "rising nations creating a new political and cultural situation. Many countries have acquired a new political status and many others are striving for it.

202. *Nationalismus*, p. 7.

203. *Verdoorn*, p. 1.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

205. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

206. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

207. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

208. *Ranson*, p. 37.

209. *Goodall*, p. 143.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

There is a deep national self-consciousness in many parts of the world."²¹¹ M.M. Thomas from India asserted that "the emergence of national selfhood and the urge for social development may be considered the characteristic features of many countries of Asia at this hour."²¹² The entire subject of nationalism, the emergence of new nations and its implications were the dominant topics of Asian discussions, according to U.Kyaw Than.²¹³ Clearly, all 3 conferences were deeply aware of the all-pervasive nationalism in the missionary world.

There was also an awareness that nationalists did not always have respect for the church and even less for foreign missions which were then regarded as colonial tools.²¹⁴ As a result, restrictions were expected to be imposed on missions operating in areas where nationalists had come to power²¹⁵ or were already imposed.²¹⁶ In the case of India, however, independence proved to aid missions, for it freed them from their former association, according to Bingle,²¹⁷ even though the opposite had been expected.²¹⁸

2. Miscellaneous Writers in I.R.M. and W.D.

If, compared to the documents from pre-World War II conferences, the yield in the above paragraph is rather meager, the same can hardly be said of the 2 magazines mentioned in the heading of this section. We shall have to be satisfied with a few representative references and without extensive quotations. J. Merle Davis described the entire colonial world as "seething with unrest, discontent, the thirst for self-determination and complete freedom, and this will never cease until these objectives are achieved."²¹⁹ Among Africans a "growing impatience" was detected, "a growth of economic, social and political aspirations and unrest" was reflected throughout the continent in the local press.²²⁰ Throughout the world, British and American policies were under attack and it was "widely held" that the British empire was about to collapse.²²¹ By 1957 it was recognized that "every African almost without exception, is interested in politics to-day. Indeed this is an understatement. Many of them are passionately interested and even absorbed. Every African is in some sense a nationalist."²²² At the beginning of the period, attention was riveted on Asia, but Africa gradually received more of

211. Orchard, p. 139.

212. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

213. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

214. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 51.

215. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Ranson, pp. 33-34.

216. Goodall, p. 205. Orchard, p. 132.

217. Goodall, p. 159.

218. Ranson, pp. 33-34.

219. IRM/47, p. 303.

220. IRM/47, p. 207.

221. WD/53, pp. 181-182.

222. WD/57, p. 118.

it until the continent was recognized as reflecting the revolutionary situation "more clearly" and "with more startling violence" than any other. British West Africa was regarded as the area in which "the rising tide of political self-consciousness" could be seen in its "most advanced and organized form."²²³ The new element in this paragraph is not the prevalence of nationalism, for that we have uncovered earlier, but we have sought to demonstrate the keen awareness of it in missionary circles.

Missionary opinion of nationalism was not always positive; indeed, the full range of negative qualities was attributed to it. With respect to the situation in Madagascar, it was described as "patriotism which tends to overleap itself and in so doing to become something fiercely impassioned and blindly uncritical."²²⁴ Kenneth Cragg expressed deep annoyance at an Arabic book written by Muslims against colonialism and missions: it displayed a "bitterness of spirit," the writers "had abandoned all traditions of goodwill" and were guided by a "measure of rancour." The work was "shortsighted," a "travesty," a "carricature, a perversion, a prostitution," and it engaged in "malicious interpretation." Cragg's invectives were no expression of complete insensitivity to the imperialist charge, however: "No thinking Christian in the West would wish to evade that truth."²²⁵ Other strongly negative descriptions include the usual charges of irrationalism and emotionalism. One referred to "a fever of unreasoning nationalism" that repeated slogans with "intoxicating rapidity" without understanding their demands. It was felt that Africans were forced to express such strong sentiments to avoid "being condemned and despised by... fellow-countrymen."²²⁶ Bingle characterized "the present phase of anti-imperialistic nationalism" as "almost completely irrational, an upsurge from unconscious depths of demonic forces" that did not recognize the "notable services" imperialism has rendered and that offered "very little constructive organization to replace what is destroyed." The movement was, furthermore, exploited by the rich "who cling to power and who seek to divert attention from the social injustices on which they thrive by stirring up hatred of foreigners." In addition, Communists were infiltrating nationalism and seeking to profit from it.²²⁷ Bingle sunk to a low level when he implied insanity to the movement.²²⁸

Nationalists were regarded as basically opposed to missions, which the former regarded as in collusion with colonialism and of which they were therefore deeply suspicious. With this fact, too, we are already familiar, but we wish to indicate that by this time the missionary community at large appeared profoundly aware of this situation. This is clear from the myriad of references to it

223. WD/54, pp. 131-132.

224. IRM/48, p. 194.

225. IRM/54, pp. 90-93.

226. WD/52, pp. 81-82.

227. WD/52, p. 121.

228. WD/53, p. 56.

in the literature; hardly an issue of the 2 magazines lacked reference to it. There was also appreciation of the fact that this nationalist attitude constituted a grave barrier to the spread of the Gospel. It was proposed that "to-day perhaps the greatest obstacle in the path of an advancing Church is the dominant nationalism,"²²⁹ for it meant that missions were not welcome. After India's independence, a government enquiry produced "startling conclusions on missionary activity" and made "far-reaching recommendations for its control and limitation." A bill before the parliament sought the registration and control of conversions. True, the report "occasioned not a little defence of missions... from both non-Christian and Christian Indians" and the bill was withdrawn. True also that the pressure came from minority groups that were "constant and unremitting" in their efforts, but these groups had sufficient influence to have such matters discussed at the highest political levels in the country.²³⁰ The alleged silence of the church on colonial grievances was considered by nationalists as further evidence of her status as colonial tool.²³¹ Communist charges to this effect were no different from that of other nationalists, except perhaps in their greater intensity. In the French Congo, the Roman Catholic Church was regarded as an enemy of the proletariat.²³² A Russian comment on a W.C.C. conference in Bangkok said it all and we attach it as Appendix XIII as an accurate representation of the general trend.

Nationalism, missionaries realized, had infiltrated the church as well. Indonesians suspected their Christian compatriots for their connection with Dutch missions.²³³ These Christians reacted by claiming that they too were nationalists and revolutionaries.²³⁴ In Bingle's opinion, some Christians in the Middle East had identified themselves "a shade too enthusiastically perhaps" with nationalism, but those who maintained a reserve were suspect by the movement.²³⁵ In some cases, nationalist Christians would as Christians advance judgments that were not derived from their faith but that found their inspiration in ideologies, thus implicating the church in ways that did her no Christian credit,²³⁶ though the opposite could also be true where non-Christian nationalists argued along lines definitely related to the Gospel.²³⁷ Nationalism within the church also came to expression in the insistence that mission finances were to be used on local terms²³⁸ or it might even be refused altogether.²³⁹

229. IRM/46, p. 436.

230. IRM/57, pp. 39, 44.

231. WD/53, p. 134.

232. WD/50, p. 252.

233. IRM/48, pp. 323, 327.

234. IRM/58, p. 146.

235. WD/52, pp. 121-123.

236. IRM/48, p. 196.

237. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

238. WD/47, p. 187.

239. IRM/58, p. 145.

Though he warned against a simple identification of ecclesiastical and political independence movements in Africa, Parrinder agreed that one main cause of so-called sectarian churches was related to the desire for liberation.²⁴⁰ Earlier in this chapter we learned of Azikiwe's National Church. Similar movements were described in our literature, especially in East Africa. At times Africans attributed the power of colonial forces to their neglect of tribal religion, an explanation that would be coupled to a call for a new religion that frequently became a syncretistic hodgepodge, including traditional African elements as well as Christian and Muslim traits and usually incorporating the promise of freedom from European control. Beecher indicated that there were several such movements, the most extreme of which were the Mau Mau of Kenya.²⁴¹ The Mau Mau received almost consistently harsh treatment at the hands of our authors. Like Azikiwe's National Church and the movement related to Nkrumah, so did the Mau Mau adopt Christian forms only to pervert them to their nationalist aims. Observe how Calderwood described the Mau Mau in their opposition to the Christian revival in Kenya:

But according to Mau Mau propaganda, Jesus was a deceitful European (or Indian) whose purpose was to draw away the allegiance or attention of the Africans while the Europeans stole the land. Incredible blasphemies were uttered against "the Name that is above every name." Special hymnbooks were prepared. . . for use in the . . . schools, in which familiar. . . hymns were altered or parodied, the name of Jesus being deleted and the names of leading agitators inserted. . . . A blasphemous parody of the Apostles' Creed was also circulated, in which again every reference to Jesus Christ was removed. The personal devotion, therefore, to Jesus as Lord, on the part of those who experienced and preached revival, made them special target of hatred and abuse, and violence.²⁴²

No wonder this cult was frequently described as satanic or barbaric.

3. J.V. Taylor

Like Kraemer, Taylor regarded nationalism as the inevitable but "illegitimate child of colonialism" that had both "ideal and demonic elements."²⁴³ One weakness was nationalist obsession with self-government at the exclusion of all other concerns — independence *über alles* — even though "honest African leaders" would admit that they were not ready for independence.²⁴⁴ He suggested that society was "carried away on the waves of nationalist emotion"²⁴⁵ and these waves supported "newspapers of an irresponsible kind" that were springing up "like mushrooms" and made "use of the weapons of sensationalism, scurrility, and misrepresentation" to enable them to survive.²⁴⁶

240. WD/52, p. 345.

241. WD/53, pp. 10-11.

242. WD/54, p. 176.

243. *Op. cit.*, pp. 94, 97.

244. *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 95.

245. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

246. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

The Bible, he asserted, does not support the notion of a "national home" for every people to which it would have "exclusive rights of possession." Israel was, *e.g.*, commissioned by God Himself to replace tribes who had lived in Palestine for centuries. Secondly, Christ did not join the nationalist movement of his day. Thirdly, the apostles advised Christians to obey the Roman, *i.e.*, colonial government.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, Taylor realized that the principle of trusteeship was unworkable in a nationalist environment and that even the best development programs would be suspect in nationalist eyes, for colonialism created frustration among Africans.²⁴⁸ Though it may appear from this summary that Taylor was basically traditional in his approach, we shall see him in a different light when we discuss his recipe for mission action in this situation.

4. M. Warren

In our review of Warren's evaluation of nationalism we include references to 2 articles he composed during this period in addition to his book.²⁴⁹ Warren described nationalism as "an immensely complex phenomenon" consisting of "an achievement of group consciousness, an awareness by a people that they are a people standing over against other peoples of the world, not in hostility but as different."²⁵⁰ It is "the self-conscious assertion by a people of its own individuality in relation to other peoples."²⁵¹ Colonial nationalism is a particular form of the general phenomenon that protests against a forced regimentation into an undifferentiated world culture. Thus it constitutes a revolt against imperialism in all its facets, cultural, economic, political and spiritual. The revolt was no mere abstraction describing an important shift in cultural relationships, but "a psychic reality determining the relationship between individual men and women." The European in Asia and Africa was facing a people "in whose eyes he can distinguish wariness and suspicion and sometimes hate, in whose hospitality and friendship there is often a reserve which seems to rebut his good intentions." The local people will not and cannot separate the missionary from his nation's policies.²⁵² Warren's thesis is that a universal cultural uniformity is "a detestable exhalation from that place which burneth with fire."²⁵³ Thus he must basically approve of the nationalist impulse, but dislike its negative aspect which was predominant: it was a protest against. . . , a revolt against. . . ; its backward look was clear, but in its forward look it was confused. Nevertheless, it con-

247. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

248. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 96-97.

249. M.A.C. Warren, "The Missionary Obligation of the Church in the Present Historical Situation," IRM/50, pp. 393-408. "Nationalism as an International Asset," IRM/55, pp. 385-393.

250. IRM/50, p. 396.

251. IRM/55, p. 387.

252. *Caesar*, pp. 74-75.

253. IRM/50, p. 397.

fronted the church with "one of its greatest crises in its history." The church's close association with western colonialism now became a source of embarrassment and the cause of nationalist resentment. In China the nationalist had already cast his die by turning his back on Christianity; in Africa the decision had not yet been made, even though there the collusion was more fierce.²⁵⁴ Because of the nationalist threat, Warren judged the association with colonialism as an ambiguous affair, both good and bad. Nevertheless, the association was no novelty in Christian history, in fact, it was the rule, unavoidably so. It had been both a "scandal but also a testimony and an adventure of faith."²⁵⁵

5. H. Kraemer

Kraemer traced the origin of nationalism to the colonial effort itself. Though the Orient uncritically accepted western superiority for a surprisingly long time, western philosophy eventually penetrated the eastern mind and the notions of liberty, justice and personality began their undermining activities of eastern tenets. New thoughts and hopes began to stir that concretized themselves in nationalism. Colonialism provided the Asian with the intellectual tools with which he could attack the West on the latter's own terms, while it also made him sensitive to the degrading status in which he found himself.²⁵⁶ Education was imparted, partially to fill the need of local administrators. It was hardly foreseen that those administrative "tools" should soon become the shovels that dug the grave of colonialism. The administrator became the nationalist who challenged western hegemony.²⁵⁷

In seeking to characterize colonial nationalism, Kraemer adduced the example of Austrian rule over Italy. Such rule would evoke a nationalist response on the part of Italians, but it would be a response to foreign rulers who shared the same basic culture and who were thus not strangers in the sense that colonial rulers are who come from different continents, bringing a totally different culture and even belonging to a different race.²⁵⁸ This rule by total strangers caused even greater resentment once nationalism got a foothold.

Kraemer recognized both a negative and positive response; a "*Nein-Sagen*" with respect to the alien colonial regime and a "*Ja-Sagen*" with respect to the positive task of nation building.²⁵⁹ These negative and positive responses coincided in one people and thus created a tension that could be depicted as a disease, a characteristic to which both Martin Buber and Nehru drew attention²⁶⁰ and which received more extensive treatment at Verdoorn's hand. The

254. *Caesar*, pp. 11-13.

255. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 70-71.

256. *Mission*, pp. 8-9. *World Cultures*, p. 75.

257. *World Cultures*, pp. 73, 79-80.

258. *Mission*, pp. 7-8.

259. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

"*Nein-Sagen*" was directed, of course, to the entire colonial team, including missions, a familiar theme to which Kraemer added no new insights. In the Orient, at least, nationalism was sympathetic to Communism, not because it understood the latter, but because Russia was considered champion for the oppressed. In line with contentions found earlier in this chapter, Kraemer drew a parallel between colonial nationalism and the rise of labour unions in the West. The Communist assertion that the proletariat has nothing to lose but his chains while it has a world to gain struck a responsive chord in the nationalist heart.²⁶¹

In his *Mission und Nationalismus*, written in 1948, Kraemer offered a prognosis and a hope. In Asia the period of colonial nationalism was now past and a new type of nationalism was appearing. However, colonial nationalism would continue to play an important role for the time being, for it had made deep inroads of suspicion in the human heart that would not erase easily. He also predicted that in the future Africa would become the new theatre of nationalist agitation and he expressed the hope that African developments would be so handled as not to create a reaction against the European.²⁶²

6. J.A. Verdoorn

Verdoorn also viewed nationalism as the paradoxical result of colonial education. The government was sincere in its attempt to educate in order to further the development of the Indonesian people and it was this effort that instilled an increasing awareness of the injustice of colonialism, for it could not be squared with the notions of the West that were imbibed. The stage for conflict was thus created by the West itself.²⁶³ The nationalism thus created had as one of its primary characteristics that of "supra-personal restlessness." It was opposition to the colonial status, which was experienced as meaningless and hopeless, and it thus insisted collectively on political liberty as a *sine qua non* for the development of the social order. It was opposition to every limitation imposed on the liberty to have the direction of the new social order determined by the people themselves. Nationalism was consciously one-sided insistence on political and social liberty that had priority to everything else. Even the rather pertinent question as to the direction the new order was to follow was experienced as of secondary urgency. Freedom first of all!²⁶⁴

Nationalism was by nature antithetical. Invitations from the government to cooperate were doomed; they were rejected with what appeared almost an irrational fierceness. First freedom and then. . . — that remained to be seen.²⁶⁵ This was a tragic moment in the colonial relationship, for the creative agencies of

261. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Cf. Ranson, pp. 76-77.

262. p.11.

263. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

264. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

265. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

both government and nationalism, instead of together constructing the new order and both contributing, diverged increasingly.²⁶⁶ It was not lack of goodwill that bedeviled government attempts, but the inherent antithetical nature of the case. Even the best colonial policies were rejected.²⁶⁷ In fact, the most principial resistance was directed against the trustee notion itself. The adherents of the "*Ideologie des guten Willens*" must understand and apply the cry concerning socialists attributed by Verdoorn to Blumhardt, "*Sie müssen!*"²⁶⁸ Verdoorn associated himself with the tradition that links colonial nationalism to western socialism, another antithetical response. As the latter experienced subservience to other classes as intolerable, so did nationalism experience economic subservience to other nations as intolerable.²⁶⁹

"Disease" and "symptom" were 2 more terms used to depict the nature of nationalism. Verdoorn adduced Martin Buber, who attributed moral legitimacy to nationalism as a temporary "*Krankheitsanzeiger*," a symptom pointing to the presence of a disease. Nationalism is a people's experience of a defect or sickness in the life of the nation.²⁷⁰ Few were more aware of the negative burden of this disease than India's Nehru from whom Verdoorn quotes:

We suffer from *the disease of nationalism* and that absorbs our attention and it will continue to do so till we get political freedom. As Bernard Shaw said: A conquered nation is like a man with cancer; he can think of nothing else. . . . *There is indeed no greater curse to a nation than a nationalist movement, which is only the agonizing symptom of a suppressed natural function.* Conquered nations lose their place in the world's march because they can do nothing but strive to get rid of their nationalist movements by recovering their nationalist liberty. . . . I have often yearned. . . for a chance to do some solid, positive, constructive work. . . . Destruction and agitation and non-cooperation are hardly normal activities for human beings. And yet, such is our fate, that we can only reach the land where we can build after passing through the deserts of conflict and destruction. And it may be, that most of us will spend our energies and our lives in struggling and panting through those shifting sands. . . .²⁷¹

In this description the negative character of nationalism comes to the foreground, but with a deeper sense of appreciation, pathos and tragedy than one meets in most other writers.

Verdoorn must not be understood to subscribe to an idealistic picture of nationalism. He was fully aware of mixed motives that the movement, being human, did not escape. Both colonialism and nationalism not infrequently were marked by political egocentrism and propaganda slogans that did neither justice.²⁷² Bribery, egocentrism and superiority complex were the negatives

266. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

267. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 18.

268. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

269. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

270. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

271. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Quoted from J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp. 383, 102.

272. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

upon which critics were quick to capitalize. However, such critics have never experienced the new life that had welled up in the nationalist bosom.²⁷³

D. Missionary Evaluation of Christian Performance in the Politico-Economic Sphere

1. I.M.C. Conferences

It ought to be remembered that the writers and speakers at the 3 main I.M.C. conferences were respectable missionary theologians, not some unknown rebellious upstarts that came with the intention to shock. They were all experienced members of the missionary community, not merely theoreticians without existential knowledge of the movement. It was such people who, in spite of Warren's warning that they were too close to the events to judge accurately, sought to pinpoint and evaluate missionary participation in the colonial effort. It was no mere "orgy of self-criticism,"²⁷⁴ but in order to chart the course of the future, they needed to know where they had gone off the track: "a vigilant self-criticism is one of the greatest requirements in our whole missionary conduct," according to one statement.²⁷⁵ The language found in these reports was relatively mild, but it was mildness with a punch.

The Whitby report has as sub-title "Christian Witness in a Revolutionary World." Van 't Hof correctly interpreted Whitby as preferring the revolutionary spirit as more biblical than that of conservatism, for God aims at a renewal of the world.²⁷⁶ Neill gave a speech entitled "A Revolutionary Church," in which he posited revolution as a constituent mark of Christianity without which "it ceases to be." After having traced this revolutionary spirit of the church in history,²⁷⁷ Neill noted that in modern history the church had failed to live up to its revolutionary character, namely in the case of the developments leading up to the French Revolution and during the Industrial Revolution. The church, he asserted, "was apparently blind to the extreme and helpless suffering of the peasant and the working class, and to all the festering misery that lay just below the surface..." The revolution was due, but "the Church was wholly unequipped to give the needed leadership and to demand change..." The "demonic elements" thus took over the French Revolution.²⁷⁸ Similarly, in the laissez-faire economy of the 19th century "the great failure of the Church... was the disregard... of the immense new areas of human misery which had been created by economic change. Where most Christians had been blind or apathetic, Marx and Engels stepped in..."²⁷⁹ British Non-conformists did very well

273. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

274. Goodall, p. 27.

275. Ranson, p. 220.

276. *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

277. Ranson, pp. 64-67.

278. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

279. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

under laissez-faire and were among its revolutionary advocates, but "with wealth goes a tendency to conservatism, and it is by no means true to-day that all Free Churchmen are on the side of the revolution."²⁸⁰

At Willingen much the same criticism was heard. Warren found that missionaries were "largely ignorant" of development problematics and churches had not defined their attitudes.²⁸¹ The church lost contact with the labouring class, von Thadden explained, not because the Gospel is irrelevant, but because at a time workers were oppressed, "the Church could not decide to give up its one-sided alliance with the bourgeois class."²⁸² A "scandalous factor" in Christian witness has been the failure to "demonstrate the relevance of Christ" to economics; the message "was unrelated to the acutest problems of society," mourned Chandran.²⁸³ Mackay bemoaned Christian blindness that did not discern the spirit of the times.²⁸⁴

2. I.R.M. and W.D.

One complaint frequently found in the pages of these magazines was that missionaries lacked a serious understanding of politics and economics, a lack that caused them to join in wrong alliances. Missionaries, M. Wrong affirmed, suffered from "missing a needed understanding of the social, economic and political background against which the work of the Church must be carried on."²⁸⁵ Hebert likewise posited a blindness on the part of missionaries where Communists had clear vision.²⁸⁶ A number of writers suggested as one reason for this lack of missionary awareness a pietistic, dualist reduction of the Gospel. Walter Freytag, after giving due credit to the faith of pietists, repeated the classic charge that such missionaries had "a conception of the Kingdom of God which was narrowed down to a purely spiritual and individualistic outlook. . . ."²⁸⁷ It was Pilhofer's opinion that missions have often aided the process of secularism without realizing it and thus must share in the guilt for the problems it has produced. The Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms has often been misapplied in missions and has encouraged a narrow approach to the Kingdom of God.²⁸⁸ Kenneth Grub rejected all forms of dualism and objected to both pietism and the social gospel as partial and thus inadequate to meet men's needs. He adduced the traditional missionary triad of evangelism, education and medical work as proof that missions were "by and large" aware of the short-

280. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

281. Goodall, p. 31.

282. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

283. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

284. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

285. IRM/47, p. 222.

286. IRM/51, p. 386.

287. IRM/50, p. 155.

288. IRM/52, pp. 141-142.

comings of these two schools, but he proposed that the time had come to bring politics and industry under the sway of the Gospel, for they were "now exercising men's minds and absorbing their interest."²⁸⁹

3. J.V. Taylor

The church in Africa was not exercising political influence as it should, according to Taylor. There were several reasons for this, some of them unavoidable, but one was a "natural conservatism" in the older African clergy as well as in "a number of missionaries" who "prefer things to stay as they are." Such folk had a hard time in relating to nationalists who sought drastic change. They still adhered to 19th-century mission ideology of the "three C's." There was also the tendency to departmentalize life so that religion and other spheres of life were separated.²⁹⁰ Taylor found the African church slow to abandon that ideology "in spite of so many factors which prove it untrue to-day." Missionaries also "have too often been guilty, not of deliberately perpetuating the old conception, but of failing to give the matter any serious thought at all until it is too late."²⁹¹

4. M. Warren

Throughout his writings, Warren tends to hesitate to criticize mission involvement in colonialism, for he feels that insufficient time has elapsed for us to take an objective viewpoint. In the light of such hesitation any expressed criticism takes on added force. He gently suggested that missionary alliance with the colonial government constituted "a major embarrassment" at the time of writing. Government subsidy provided further "inducement to be amenable to Caesar."²⁹² The church in Africa, and by that must be understood primarily the foreign missions, has done little to "prepare Africans for an understanding of politics and the Christian's responsibility in politics. At a time when Africans are becoming more and more politically conscious, this represents a major failure. . . ." This failure will negate "much of the value of (missionary) achievement in the realm of *agape*, and may well reduce its witness to the sovereignty of God to the level of a *cliché* which bears no marks of relevance" for the life of the young African.²⁹³

5. H. Kraemer

Kraemer emphasized that though after World War I there had always been

289. WD/56, p. 4.

290. *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-17.

291. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

292. *Caesar*, p. 66.

293. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

some sympathy among missionaries for nationalism, it had not been common and it was frequently without deep understanding.²⁹⁴ One notable exception was C.F. Andrews, an intimate friend to Gandhi, who wrote *The Renaissance in India* in 1912 to interpret nationalism to his countrymen. He even withdrew from his mission and identified himself, in the name of Christ, with the movement. However, most missionaries, like their political and commercial counterparts, failed to comprehend the significance of nationalism and ignored the depth of its cry. There was a theological reason for this failure. Missionaries came from churches that had forgotten their responsibility for the various sectors of culture, including the politico-economic. We have earlier had occasion to refer to Kraemer's thesis that this failure was common to all churches, not merely to pietists. Probably he was thinking, among others, of missions from his own country, some of which, under the influence of Abraham Kuyper, could not be classified as pietist, but which for other reasons suffered from similar malignancies.²⁹⁵ Under the spell of the modern *Zeitgeist*, churches had in practice forsaken their prophetic tasks over against contemporary culture, even though some continued to pay theological lip service to this function. Anglo-Saxon missions retained a deeper social concern than most others, but theirs was not biblically based; it was rather an expression of individualistic idealism.²⁹⁶ Given the Oriental holistic mentality and the colonial context, the association of missions with imperialism in the nationalist mind was inescapable. However, missions thus landed in an ambiguity of which they were largely unaware. Kraemer commented:

The only blame one can and must lay on Missions, looking back on the whole story, is that only rarely were they adequately aware of the obscuring of their character, and often met a world, steeped in an Eastern atmosphere and invaded by the West, with Western arguments. Arguments which might ease one's own conscience, but were not a real answer to the situation. . . .

The most glaring example of obscuring and obtuseness to it has been the way in which . . . Missions . . . penetrated into China in the wake of Western mercantile penetration, surrounded by the glamour of such shameful wars as the Opium and other Wars, in which a proud people . . . was humbled to the dust. The fact in itself of penetrating into China, when it "opened", is plausible, but the lack of scruples and the blindness to the ambiguity and its dangers into which one blundered is the sore spot, which cannot be effaced by the equally undeniable fact that it was done impetuously, from ardent apostolic zeal. Ardent as this zeal was, it was not coupled with wisdom and understanding. . . .

The proof of this is that the extra-territorial rights and privileges wrung from a reluctant and humiliated Chinese Government . . . were kept and required as a right due to a Westerner by the missionary body as well, instead of repudiating these rights for themselves.

294. *Mission*, pp. 5, 10.

295. Verdoorn, p. 44.

296. *Mission*, pp. 4-6.

Missionary Boards . . . and missionaries themselves were not awake to the ambiguity and the obscuring of the true character of Missions in which they became involved by this identification . . . with Western political power. No amount of apostolic zeal can excuse or justify this lack of depth in truly Christian spiritual strategy. What could the Chinese at large do in answer to it other than identify Missions with political dominance by the West? It is not only due to China's semi-political dependence that missionaries and Chinese Christians were singled out by the Boxer fury against the "foreign devils" and that in China the term "running dogs of capitalism" was invented for the missionaries in the 1920s.²⁹⁷

We reproduce Kraemer's opinion here because the Chinese situation was only the most glaring example; *mutatis mutandis* the same held true for the more formally colonized nations.

Kraemer wished to be fair to his colleagues. Speaking of the cultural pride missionaries shared with their compatriots, he called it "arrogance to condemn it out of hand because we happen to live at a time when the West . . . is passing through a vociferous period of self-depreciation." However "one cannot be content to judge them exclusively on the basis of a historical situation." Missionaries "are called to bring all things . . . into the light of a higher authority . . . before which relative historical judgments do not lose all value but find their appropriate, i.e. subordinate, place."²⁹⁸ All of this is found in an attitude of appreciation of the positive effects of missions that also received considerable treatment under the heading "Missions — the Third Redeeming Factor."²⁹⁹

6. J.A. Verdoorn

Verdoorn wrote his monograph especially in response to the Indonesian situation, but his criticisms and conclusions are valid beyond that situation as well. He devotes Chapter 3 to a description of a tradition of Dutch missionaries that was positive towards nationalism, but the tradition was a minor one. The main tradition, described in Chapter 4, was more negative and conformed to the official mission's policies. Hence only this negative tradition received public attention in the Dutch churches. The official mission stand was largely identical with that of the colonial government.³⁰⁰ Pietism and Methodism with their ascetic strains were singled out as main causes for a limited vision regarding the world and they were presented as encouraging a false neutrality. They prevented a clear understanding of the missionary problems inherent in the colonialist-nationalist struggle. Such pietism, Verdoorn charged, is nothing short of a denial of the witness of Christ, for this witness must very much concern itself with the world's problems.³⁰¹ Added to this pietistic strain was a combination of

297. *World Cultures*, pp. 91-92.

298. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

299. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98.

300. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33, 38.

301. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 42, 55.

individualism and middle-class bourgeois ideology.³⁰² The situation was further complicated by the theological tradition that makes the ecclesiological distinction between organism and institute, the latter having primarily an ecclesiastical task, while the former was to make its mark in other cultural areas. Missions were regarded as a function of the institute and were thus precluded from the concerns of this study. The struggle was to be taken up by the organism that found its expression in Christian political parties.³⁰³ Unfortunately, these parties had succumbed to a bourgeois mentality that favoured the *status quo*.

Nationalists detected little understanding in the Christian community for their ideals. The Christian parties and missions were equally unresponsive and unsympathetic. No prophetic voices came forth.³⁰⁴ Class interests appeared stronger than Christian obedience.³⁰⁵ Missionary silence was interpreted as support for colonialism.³⁰⁶ The result was similar to that in many other colonial countries: a great distance between the church and nationalists. The latter sought refuge in secular endeavours.³⁰⁷ Having noticed a striking similarity to the reaction of the 19th century church to labour, Verdoorn asked the fearful question whether that process was to repeat itself in Indonesia and whether the church there would also become the bearer of a "terrible guilt."³⁰⁸

E. Prescriptions for Christian Action

1. I.M.C. Conferences

Having heard all about the mistakes of the past, we must now listen to the prescriptions offered to rectify these mistakes, for the legitimate framework in which one may harp upon past mistakes is that of seeking alternatives for the future. None of the three I.M.C. conferences dealt extensively with colonialism *an sich*, but much of what transpired is directly applicable to our concerns. In keeping with I.M.C. tradition, missions were seen in close relation to the Kingdom, the Kingdom being a renewed version of the present order, inaugurated not by man, but by God himself. Since missions were seen as preparation for and participation in this Kingdom, they were to participate in the renewal of all life, including the socio-economic.³⁰⁹ Though the church does not exist "to care for the . . . poor and oppressed," she will have no credibility unless she leads in caring for them, according to Neill.³¹⁰ She must revive her concern and

302. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

303. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. Koetsier, ch. 2.

304. *Op. cit.*, pp. 40, 47, 48, 50.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

307. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 47-49.

308. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

309. Ranson, pp. 46, 71, 73, 116, 212, 213, 219-221. Goodall, pp. 100, 186, 189, 190, 191, 226, 227, 240. Orchard, pp. 107, 184.

310. Ranson, p. 75.

regain leadership in the social revolution.³¹¹ The church ought to identify with man's questions and needs, but not with his answers or desires.³¹² A relationship with nationalists is necessary, but not one of complete identification that would ignore the negative aspects of the movement.³¹³

Willingen found that the battle remained at the home front, where the constituency still thought in 19th-century categories.³¹⁴ Missionary training should include study of "social and economic relationships and revolutionary movements."³¹⁵ Faithfulness requires coming to "grips with the social, political, economic and cultural life of the people."³¹⁶ Warren suggested an examination of missionary assumptions regarding the nature of politics, especially the question of political neutrality.³¹⁷ Churches must cooperate with government and other agencies to correct the wrongs they have helped establish.³¹⁸ Governments must be urged to take appropriate action against the "great inequality of standards of living in different parts of the world."³¹⁹ Newbiggin proposed that Christian obedience involved "throwing ourselves into the long and perhaps bitter struggle that will be needed if the wealthy nations of the West are to bear and share the burden of the hungry nations of Asia."³²⁰ The conference presented various proposals to governments how to erase the "extreme inequalities of wealth" between different parts of the world.³²¹ Christian responsibility to promote peace and international justice was seen based on the two poles of obedience to God and the need to break down current obstacles to the Gospel.³²²

At the Ghana conference the call was made for new theological definitions to determine "Christ's relation to Creation which can do justice to the creative aspects of the social humanism and nationalism and give the creation of structures of social and political existence a status in relation to Christ." A second area needing exploration was the relation of *kerygma* to *diakonia*, also in order to give social action "an independent stand and status in the essential mission of the Church and not merely as an instrument or appendage of evangelism."³²³ Ghana begged for theological reflection, an activity for which the missionary movement has not been famous. The same plea was made with respect to

311. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

312. *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 146.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

314. Goodall, p. 19.

315. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

316. *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 242.

317. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

318. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

319. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

320. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

321. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-226.

322. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

323. Orchard, p. 24.

nationalism: it was no longer to be ignored, but "deep sympathy with and a right understanding of these urges . . . is a 'must' in the Church's future planning. Christianity cannot hope to dissociate itself from the life of the nation and yet win the nation's heart."³²⁴

2. I.R.M. and W.D.

The two main magazines contain an abundance of materials fitting under our present heading. The plea for understanding was re-iterated repeatedly. In addition to their traditional training, missionaries must receive "adequate training in politics, economics, . . . and the like."³²⁵ Lefever devoted an article to the history of missionary preparation from 1910 to 1960 and he found that various conferences had paid close attention to the matter. A conference in 1958 at Selly Oak acknowledged this as "most urgent, . . . particularly in view of the growth of political and religious self-consciousness . . . in almost every field."³²⁶ In 1959, a conference at Bangalore emphasized the need for including "political and industrial developments."³²⁷ An American mission agency saw it imperative that new missionaries be "given some understanding of the social, political and economic issues, plus some understanding of the major religions of one's area (the order of priorities is significant)."³²⁸ Not only an understanding of such affairs for one's own area was required, but of "current affairs . . . in the world at large, for all problems are world problems to-day." It was felt that "the alternative, already too depressingly obvious in many mission stations, is for missionaries to become estranged from the main stream of the life of the country . . . , unconscious of the 'winds of change' . . ."³²⁹ Drawing upon the China experience, Dixon asserted that missionaries ought to be "in a position to appreciate the bearing of political, economic and social life upon the development of the Church." They are to "be alive to the trend of national events." However, while he thought it "absurd to expect all missionaries to have specialist training in politics, economics and sociology, it is always valuable to have a few representative missionaries in each region with a special interest in these subjects."³³⁰ Again reminding us of events in the Orient, Procter pleaded for missionaries to take the trouble to understand the nationalist mind. It is a "staggering thing," he wrote,

that the Church and its missionary representatives are in many cases failing before this immense test and opportunity. Shame on us that we have not hitherto faced up with

324. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

325. IRM/51, p. 420.

326. IRM/60, p. 283.

327. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

328. *Ibid.*

329. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

330. IRM/53, p. 295.

sufficient energy to the task of studying the mentality of those we seek to evangelize, by the only logical way of learning to read their newspapers and their books.³³¹

Various Christian councils were advised to investigate "the real facts of such economic, political and social changes now taking place and which might tend to threaten the welfare, peace and security" of Africa.³³²

As to the relationship between missions and politics, there was a strong tendency to positive thinking. Crusading against a negative approach, Procter asserted that "it is the height of folly . . . to think that a missionary is not closely linked to political developments. Events in India and China ought to have awakened us all, if nothing else could."³³³ Politics was not simply a background for missions, but their context; it was "the atmosphere missions breathed," which meant unavoidable involvement.³³⁴ One writer predicted a conflict in India between "middle-class capitalists and communists" and warned that Christians would have to choose sides and not remain neutral.³³⁵ The Ghana Christian Council issued a statement entitled "Christianity and Political Development," which was signed by 8 Africans and 7 Europeans, presumably missionaries.³³⁶ These and similar statements generally suffered from the defect of not making clear just to what degree it was meant that *missions*, in distinction from Christians or churches in general, should be politically involved, but there was a wide consensus that somehow politics must not be left untouched by missions.³³⁷

Christians were to involve themselves on their own terms as the "third way," *i.e.*, not in terms of the traditional polarities the world tends to force upon them. The church was not to side with either capitalism or Communism, but "must find itself in freedom and justice."³³⁸ Over against these two polarities, the church must "combine economic justice with personal freedom, to seek for 'creative solutions'."³³⁹ "Christianity," Bennet affirmed, "has no stake in the survival of capitalism. The ideological fog created by big business is evil equally with that of Communist manufacture." Without obscuring his opposition to the latter, Bennet predicted that the tendency of capitalism to drift from crisis to crisis would end in "sheer despair" and cause its victims to "follow any movement that promises them security even at the expense of freedom."³⁴⁰ The church must "strive to maintain . . . separation . . . from all conservative or liberal ideals," and "must be servant not of human ideals but of Christ."³⁴¹

331. WD/52 pp. 83, 58

332. WD/53, pp. 53, 58.

333. WD/52, p. 31.

334. IRM/53, p. 209.

335. IRM/47, p. 177.

336. IRM/51, p. 41.

337. Cf. IRM/51, p. 418, for a dissenting opinion.

338. IRM/49, p. 79.

339. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

340. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

341. IRM/48, p. 327.

Nevertheless, judging from the number of articles devoted to it, Communism was regarded by many writers as a greater threat to Christian advance than capitalism. Christian advance required the confession that Communism had vision where Christians are blind.³⁴² An article appeared that fairly represents the most common sentiments and proposals in these magazines concerning "how to face Communism."³⁴³ To check Communist advance required a proper standard of judgment, that is, not from the point of view of "democratic individualism" or middle-class morality with which one so easily equated the Gospel.³⁴⁴ Christianity must be shown to have the answers to all the problems with which Communism deals.³⁴⁵ The prophetic teachings of Scripture are as revolutionary as those of Communism and as opposed to social injustice.³⁴⁶ A mere Christian exposition of the doctrinal errors of Communism is an intellectual exercise that will not shed us of its dangers. The basic cause of Communism is injustice and Christians must oppose *that*, must be in the vanguard of progress, while they must cut their ties with the reactionary *status quo*.³⁴⁷ Christians must be as prepared to criticize capitalism with its emphasis on profits as they were to denounce Communism. They should recognize that the "era of liberal bourgeoisie, with its indifference, neutrality and . . . indulgence, is over." A compromise must be found between free enterprise and socialism; the "secular superstructure" must be put "back on to religious foundations." The church must cease presenting workers with moralistic lessons, but should investigate and remove the cause of industrial dissatisfaction.³⁴⁸ The Communist revolution brings a "gospel of liberation" to a people eager to break their chains, but eventually it replaces these with stronger ones.³⁴⁹

Bingle rejected both pietism and the social gospel as Christian alternatives to Communism, though he did not present anything more concrete as an adequate Christian response than a vague "deeper faith."³⁵⁰ Drewett correctly assessed nationalism and Communism as two expressions of the same phenomenon. Whether Africa would follow the Asian trend to Communism would depend on the response of the church, he asserted. The African demand for self-government and higher standard of living was to be met "with sympathy and understanding." In order to meet the challenge of both Communist and capitalist forms of materialism, the physical needs of men must be among the church's concerns, the "well-being of the whole man." In Africa the church must not repeat the

342. IRM/51, p. 386.

343. L. Constantine, "The Gospel to Communists," IRM/52, pp. 202-215.

344. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

345. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

346. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

347. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

348. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

349. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

350. WD/49, p. 265.

failure it experienced in losing the workers of the West because of apparently siding with the employers.³⁵¹ Communist advance could only be checked by the church's seeking to change "injustice to justice, . . . inequality into fairness, . . . corruption into honest administration, . . . desperate poverty into a measure of security, . . . becoming the conscience of society." If this tall order is beyond the church, then she cannot prevent Communism, according to Kendall. He suggested that missions should move beyond mere amelioration of social conditions and beyond making "Christians of individuals." "Something more than the simple Gospel" was required,

a way of living which will go out into every section of life and transform it, and pass judgement on it. In a complicated society Christianity has to grapple with the complications, and point to truth and right, after wading through the complications, not leaving the complications to the secular mind. Simple, yes, but full and comprehensive too."³⁵²

An Indonesian church, noting that its members were attracted to Communism, warned against its false teachings, but realized that a rejection of such teachings did not touch the basic issues. Hence it proclaimed that the Gospel is

a message of salvation and freedom for all men, also especially for the weak ones, for the have-nots, for the oppressed and those who are treated with no regard for their rights . . . It is the Lord's will that man shall have life, freedom, truth, justice and peace. Therefore it is the duty of every churchmember . . . to work to erect those tokens of the Kingdom of God in the midst of society.

"These are bracing words," commented Bingle, "which should be pondered deeply in many other churches. . . ."³⁵³

The two periodicals contained various specific suggestions concerning a better world order, sometimes including references to the responsibility of the missionary community, sometimes constituting proposals aimed directly at governments. The very fact of their inclusion in a missionary magazine indicates a positive attitude towards missionary responsibility. Latourette summarized the "Six Pillars of Peace" formulated by the American Federal Council of Churches of Christ, that included a voluntary reduction of national sovereignty in international affairs, redirection of commerce and industry in the interest of all peoples, and "autonomy for subject peoples."³⁵⁴ Merle Davis asked, "Can the Church and . . . missions dissociate themselves from government in a way to convince the people that Christianity is not a part and parcel of the exploiting and dominating power systems under which they are living?" This was the "acid test that will be applied to missions . . . by the colonial . . . peoples. . . ."³⁵⁵ In a review of a biography of C.F. Andrews, the close association of missions to

351. WD/51, pp. 135-139.

352. WD/52, pp. 261-265.

353. WD/55, p. 253.

354. IRM/46, p. 84.

355. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-304.

western colonialism was described as "the bane of all missionary work . . . and its greatest handicap." "The first indispensable condition of truly successful and acceptable missionary work is dissociation from foreign imperial powers, and the second, as complete identification of heart and soul with the people of the country as is humanly possible."³⁵⁶ Attention was drawn to the declaration of the Netherlands Reformed Synod concerning "the obligation to abandon a colonial relationship 'after an awakening nation has interpreted its desire for freedom' . . .,"³⁵⁷ reflecting similar demands by Kraemer and Verdoorn. Over against "the patent moralistic, pietistic and humanitarian remedies," the church must become prophetic in the current world situation, that is, she "must insist that a maximum of justice be achieved," for "the Church cannot live with equanimity in . . . systems which lord it over people."³⁵⁸ An unnamed correspondent posited that a missionary must be interested in economics, for he "cannot disinterest himself completely from any . . . factor which impinges on the development of human personality." He should have such concerns because of the inclusion of the petition for daily bread in the Lord's Prayer, but also because he realizes that not all economic systems are equally conducive to human development. He ought not to be concerned with capitalism, socialism, Communism as such, but he must choose, where that option exists, for "that form which produces the character which is nearest to God." "The greatest care and judgment" are required to determine one's attitude, but to shun the issue is equivalent to "fall short of his vocation in a most important respect."³⁵⁹ A memorandum of African Christians called upon churches everywhere to "mitigate or eliminate the evil effects" of political systems, imposed on Africa. The danger of African interests being subordinated to that of the West was emphasized and the need to attend to the "welfare, wishes and aspirations" of Africa.³⁶⁰

As to relations with nationalism, in an article on the Willingen conference of the I.M.C., Beattie reported the general attitude that the church should resist the temptation to be used by nationalism by "maintaining a detachment from political power" in order to serve as conscience while simultaneously "showing its solidarity with the world by witness and word and deed in matters of social justice and human rights." The C.C.I.A. was commended as an embodiment of that stance.³⁶¹ Webster urged that churches help African nationalists by teaching them the totality of the lordship of Christ, including politics and other political implications of the Gospel and Christian responsibility for that

356. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465.

357. IRM/47, p. 20.

358. IRM/56, p. 153.

359. WD/47, p. 280.

360. WD/53, p. 58.

361. IRM/52, p. 440.

sector.³⁶² For missionaries it may be difficult to establish such relationships, for even their African "friends and fellow-workers" were hesitant to reveal their thoughts in this area to a member of the ruling group, according to Beetham,³⁶³ a fact corroborated by David Lot, who said that such matters were not generally discussed with missionaries.³⁶⁴

3. J.V. Taylor

It was not possible during this period to "live in Africa and to be indifferent to political questions," for they were pervasive, Taylor wrote.³⁶⁵ Hence the church must get involved, for if it should give the impression God is unconcerned with social and political affairs, then men would lose interest in God.³⁶⁶ This classic missionary motive was not the only reason for Taylor's insistence on involvement: the Scripture explicitly teaches intense divine interest in such affairs. God calls men to responsibility in society, to strive to make the pattern of their society conform with the laws of His Kingdom.³⁶⁷ Taylor devoted several pages to explaining how throughout the Old Testament this political task was integral to the religious life of Israel.³⁶⁸ Though Jesus' Kingdom is not of this world, its citizens must be a leaven in this world.³⁶⁹ He adduced further arguments from the New Testament to substantiate his position that the church by its very nature has to be involved in society, but in a different way on basis of its own standards.³⁷⁰ Taylor's insistence was not based on the social gospel that leaves the human heart basically unchanged.³⁷¹ Though we agree with his conclusion, his arguments suffer from an ill-defined concept of political in distinction from other forms of involvement.

The stance of the church was to be independent from both government and nationalism. Though he agreed to cooperation between mission and government in Africa in education and other social endeavours, the former was to heed the danger of becoming financially dependent on the government, which would in turn encourage the church to acquiescence.³⁷² In any given situation the church was to determine her stand not on basis of expediency, but on basis of Scripture. Taylor disliked situations where the church is reluctant to criticize colonial administration "for fear that hesitates to approve a worthy colonial government

362. WD/57, pp. 118-119.

363. IRM/57, p. 18.

364. Interview, 18 March/75

365. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

366. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

367. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

368. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

369. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

370. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

371. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

372. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

or to criticize its opponents in order to avoid the label of "imperialist." The church is to be free from "the consideration of men's good or bad opinion," for only then can she truly serve the state.³⁷³

Christian participation in the nationalist movement, Taylor felt, ought to be based on Christian grounds. It cannot be based on the concepts of "Africa for the Africans," or on a simple denunciation of colonialism.³⁷⁴ Seeking to avoid an appearance of criticizing earlier missionaries, he asserted that colonialism now looked different "not because we are more Christian than an earlier generation but because history . . . has switched on a new set of lights." The negative aspects of colonialism had revealed themselves and the subject peoples themselves no longer acquiesced in their status, regardless of the trustee principle.³⁷⁵ Both the "ideal" and the "demonic" aspects of nationalism must be recognized; the church cannot identify itself with negatives such as bitterness. Neither must it espouse the nationalist cause simply to curry favour, for here, too, loyalty to Christ must be decisive. In some cases the church may need to prohibit participation in a nationalist movement. However, whites — and that would include missionaries — would be in no position to criticize nationalism unless they were equally prepared to criticize "the corruption at the heart of colonial power."³⁷⁶

In the present situation, the church ought to favour the demise of colonialism. Where they had liberty, white Christians ought "openly do everything in their power to bring to a rapid end the dependent status of the African people." In so doing, they ought not to fear conflict.³⁷⁷ This obligation is not based on "any fixed principle of inalienable rights," but because the alternative would be the frustration of the potential stature and dignity of Africans.³⁷⁸ The argument of not being ready for self-government had become "almost irrelevant" in the nationalist atmosphere. Independence was not to be construed as the cessation of financial and technological aid, for Christians can provide service without domination.³⁷⁹

4. D.M. Paton

Paton's book deals primarily with China, but it was also meant to provide guidance for the future by drawing lessons from the China mission. Paton charged widespread lack of understanding of our issues on the part of missions. From now on missions must have a "clear-sighted understanding of the real nature of the missionary enterprise as it exists today — not as we like to think it

373. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

374. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

375. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

376. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

377. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-99.

378. *Ibid.*; p. 97.

379. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

exists." It was central for missions to comprehend the Communist attack on imperialism, for this attack had left many missionaries bewildered, who had never "supposed that they should bother their heads about politics and economics." "An adequate understanding" was also needed "of the relations of Church and State, both in themselves and as they affect missions." The traditional attitude of missionaries "has been a simple-minded assumption that 'we have nothing to do with politics' which echoed an equally simple-minded regulation of the missionary societies that the missionary will refrain from any form of political activity." This attitude may have been sincere, but it had "little relation to the facts of the matter." In a revolutionary world, a western missionary, "be he as harmless as a dove, as unpolitical as Jane Austen, is in himself by his very existence a political fact." Missionaries, even if quiet, were inevitably political symbols.³⁸⁰

Such missionary understanding was to go beyond the traditional concern that was confined "to the repercussions of government policy upon mission institutions or activity." Missionaries must evaluate the politics of their host country as well as those of their country of origin as they affected the host country. Paton realized that it was impossible for every missionary to work out such problems, but the missionary organizations should develop these matters in cooperation with "universities and divinity schools."³⁸¹

Paton buttressed his thesis with the concrete example of a missionary teacher in a Nigerian school, whose salary came from the government which was controlled from London:

What is my effective reply to the African nationalist who says I am simply an agent of the imperialist government? Alternatively, what other means are there at present for pressing on with African education? What attitude do I adopt, and on what grounds, to the various Nigerian parties? None of these questions can be adequately answered without a theological and also a scientific evaluation both of British colonial policy and of African nationalism, and a critical appreciation of the relation to them both, not only of the mission . . . , but of the African Church which will be there after we have all gone and which may be gravely embarrassed . . . by an uncritical assumption that British views of the government will be shared by Africans.³⁸²

Paton's plea thus was for missions to understand themselves, their task and their context.

He did not demand an end to colonialism as Taylor did. He asked "whether capitalism and imperialism — in another word, the Western Christian nations — still have as nations a positive rule in Africa. . . ." and responded with a positive hope, but then on basis of new attitudes. For missions that meant a "more critically independent attitude than has been common."³⁸³

380. *Op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

381. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

382. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

383. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Having noted Paton's strong criticism of the immediate past and his demands for the future, one is somewhat taken a back by what appears an inconsistency, motivated by a desire not to seem unduly harsh on the missionary community of the past. It was "not that our forefathers were wholly wrong . . . , but that often we have continued things which were once right and are now wrong." He quoted a hymn that was "worth continual pondering:

New occasions teach new duties:
Time makes ancient good uncouth

ancient good, not ancient evil."³⁸⁴ This sentiment clashes with the general atmosphere in his book as summarized by his assertion that the missionary endeavour as he knew it was "now not only out of date but was in important respects wrongly conceived."³⁸⁵ One possible explanation for this inconsistency is that Paton succumbed to the pressure from the missionary community that missionary authors often experience when they adopt a critical attitude.

5. H. Kraemer

In his foreword to Verdoorn's monograph, Kraemer indicated basically continued adherence to his opinions as summarized in Chapter 5. In fact, a large proportion of this foreword constitutes a reiteration of his *Zes jaar padvinder*. He repeated his conviction that the desired ideal was that all the world become a community of free, strong nations. He also reiterated his long-standing conviction that European standards of readiness for independence did not apply, but, rather, the necessity that a people could truly develop their potentials if they carried the responsibility themselves. The position the missions were to take publicly was clear, stated Kraemer. It was the position advanced by Verdoorn.³⁸⁶

In view of the fact that the relations between Indonesia and The Netherlands were about to undergo decisive changes, it was incumbent on missions to participate publicly in the decisions about to be made, according to their own nature and task. Should missions not be invited to participate in the official discussions, they should not hesitate to invite themselves.³⁸⁷ This insistence on the part of Kramer was fully in keeping with his view expressed earlier that missions were a member of the colonial team. The need of the hour was a conscious theological-missionary statement of the place and task of missions in the midst of the changes taking place. He predicted in 1948 that Africa was to be the next continent where the colonial problems would become acute and it was thus imperative for mission and church to address themselves to the problems and to act upon them.³⁸⁸

384. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

385. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

386. Verdoorn, pp. vii, ix. Kraemer, *Mission*, p. 17.

387. *Zending*, pp. vii-viii.

388. *Mission*, p. 11.

Nationalism would not die with independence, but merely take on a different form. In the new nations, missions had the "*Gebot der Stunde*" to cooperate in nation building as servants, and by deed rather than preaching. Missions were to rid themselves of all categories of optimism, pessimism and idealism, but to simply act in obedience to their Lord, who practiced identification with man in his deepest needs. Together with the local church, missions were to proclaim the will of God for the nations. Concretely, this meant that missions must aid the local church with all the wisdom they have received from God to arrive at a biblical understanding of nationalism as well as a concrete and principal position vis-a-vis nationalism. So far, missions were guilty of neglect in this area.

Kraemer presented some proposals concerning the task of the church in newly independent countries. Because of its ambiguous nature, nationalism could become either a temptation or an inspiration. The churches would have the opportunity to become "*bekennende Kirche*". They must develop theological traditions that do not simply copy western patterns and they are to confess that Christ is Lord over all powers, thus opposing the deification of nation, race, or state.³⁸⁹

Missions had an intramural task as well, the urgency of which had become clear during the 2 world wars, namely, to shed their own nationalism that was much stronger in their blood than they realized. Now was the time in history for missionaries to understand that they did not represent their nations, but their Lord.³⁹⁰

6. J.A. Verdoorn

Verdoorn provided much ammunition for the thesis that missions must be involved in colonial problematics in a concrete way. This imperative arose from the fact of mission co-responsibility for the problems colonialism has caused.³⁹¹ Indonesians themselves frequently asked the mission as to their collective evaluation of nationalism and colonialism, and they had a right to demand such. The pastoral concern of the mission was appealed to by Indonesian churches who in those critical days needed this information to help them determine their own position.³⁹² The exceptional importance of nationalism made the movement deserving of full attention from both church and mission.³⁹³ The future of the mission itself depended partly on her involvement.³⁹⁴ Here the history of the church among European workers should provide food for thought.³⁹⁵ In short,

389. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

390. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

391. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32, 76.

392. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

393. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 33.

394. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

395. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

the sociological and political context of the period demanded missionary involvement,³⁹⁶ a context that could be described as having reached the "fullness of time"³⁹⁷ and for which Verdoorn frequently used the term "*Gebot der Stunde*" or some variation of it.³⁹⁸

Other arguments had a more directly Biblical sound. The important question was that of the advancement of the Kingdom of God. Did colonial policy represent a recommendation of the Gospel? People must recognize that the major concerns were none other than those of justice.³⁹⁹ The church must demonstrate clearly that no area of life could be withdrawn from Christian responsibility.⁴⁰⁰ Verdoorn basically subscribed to the prophetic and priestly functions of missions Kraemer ascribed to them and these too required missionary interest in colonial questions.⁴⁰¹ On basis of these reasons and in opposition to Kuyperian mission policies which denied both authority and competence to missions in such concerns, Verdoorn insisted that missions *must* be involved, that they *did* have authority and that they had better have the competence in these areas as much as they pretended to have in educational and medical missions.⁴⁰²

One of the specific functions in this context was that of providing the sending Christian community with information about colonial matters, a task to which Verdoorn ascribed exceptional importance. These people must understand the various movements in the colony that would be influential in eventually solving these problems. Traditional missionary information services required radical revision, for they had been geared to the bourgeois mentality of certain Christian groups and were "overly spiritual." Information was to cover all phases of Oriental life. This service was to be carried out from a central location and aim at transcending denominational boundaries.⁴⁰³

Similar revisions were due in missionary training. Programs that excluded colonial questions were obsolete, for these questions were particularly important for the missionary's relationship to the host country and they partially determined mission methods. This aspect of training would continue to be necessary even after the abolishment of the colonial status, for the issues would continue to have significant influence.⁴⁰⁴

Verdoorn followed Kraemer in his views as to how missions ought to relate to nationalism, so that a brief summary will be sufficient. The relationship was to

396. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 56, 74-75.

397. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

398. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 54, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66.

399. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

400. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

401. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, 65.

402. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-50, 73-74. Koetsier, pp. 32-34, 40-45.

403. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, 80.

404. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

be one of open support and encouragement without identification. The support was to be given for a missionary reason, namely the need for self-expression of a nation. Missions must rejoice in all that encourages a people in their moral, political and social development. It was to be open support, because silence would be understood as support for colonialism.⁴⁰⁵ This missionary position was based on an analysis of the current situation which made the missionary atmosphere very precarious, for it no longer allowed free and unencumbered intercourse with the local people, a *sine qua non* for missions.⁴⁰⁶ Missions must not react against their earlier mistake of identification with colonialism by now identifying with nationalism. They were to exercise exclusive obedience to their Lord and that precluded identification with any one-sided movement.⁴⁰⁷ Verdoorn reiterated Kraemer's theories on the prophetic and priestly tasks of mission vis-a-vis nationalism, *i.e.*, the double function of true friend and fearless critic.⁴⁰⁸ The inherent tendency of nationalism to absolutize must be opposed, for this could easily degenerate into a totalitarianism unacceptable to the church. Nevertheless, the local Christians must be encouraged to participate in the movement.⁴⁰⁹

The corollary to such a positive attitude towards nationalism was a more negative one towards colonialism. Echoing Kraemer, Verdoorn declared that colonial interests were contrary to mission interests, for the former thrived on a weak local population.⁴¹⁰ But whereas Kraemer in earlier years had not demanded that missions call for an end to colonial status, Verdoorn at this stage did call for such cessation, not in opposition to his colleague, but in fulfillment of his thesis. It was the *Gebot der Stunde*, a term that implies an earlier hour may not have been suitable for such a demand — that, at any rate, was Kraemer's point. However, now missions must principally reject Indonesia's colonial status;⁴¹¹ they must now "denounce" the colonial system.⁴¹² Such a call would constitute a "spiritual liberation" from missionary ties to colonialism and from false bourgeois-Christian ideology.⁴¹³ This renunciation must be radical. It would involve, *e.g.*, refusal of subsidy from the colonial government. Indonesians were questioning the legitimacy of such subsidy with increasing vigour, though the positive social benefits of such subsidies had so far prevented outright condemnation. Such subsidy inevitably introduced a murky moment in mission-government relations that militated against the mission's ability to determine a

405. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 53-54, 63.

406. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

407. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53, 60.

408. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

409. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

410. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

411. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

412. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

413. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

"clear and unencumbered position, even though its cessation would not likely end all suspicion."⁴¹⁴

Verdoorn realized that his stand was sure to cause opposition from various quarters, but the missions should face such fearlessly, even if it were to result in charges of either being revolutionary or defeatist, whether from Christian or non-Christian bourgeois groups. He quoted Barth, who asserted that a church so concerned with her reputation that it avoids expressing her opinion publicly is the best ally of the opposition.⁴¹⁵

The colonial question had become an exceptionally burning issue for missions and must therefore be treated officially and collectively. Indonesians desired such a collective and official proclamation over against that of individual missionaries. Verdoorn suggested the creation of an organ for that purpose that would study the issues from a strictly missionary viewpoint.⁴¹⁶

7. A Concrete Example: J. Verkuyl

One concrete example of missionary involvement in the crisis of the period was provided by Verkuyl's book *De geest van Communisme en kapitalisme en het Evangelie van Christus*.⁴¹⁷ Verkuyl is a missionary-theologian and as such he sought to contribute to the Indonesian scene, especially to youth, by this publication. It constitutes an exposition of both Communism and capitalism and warned that neither alternative is acceptable to a Christian. The latter must find his inspiration of the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, also in the politico-economic sphere. The book contains also a Christian view of the task of government, of the church and of Christians aside from the ecclesiastical bodies. It includes, furthermore, an exposition of the meaning and purpose of work as well as an assortment of other very pressing problems that went straight to the heart of nationalist issues. Others have published discussions on similar topics, but the uniqueness of this work was that it was not a missionary addressing his sending constituency or his colleagues, but his hosts. It was a truly missionary contribution to the main issues of Indonesian society that could have served widely as an inspiring example had it not been written in a relatively unknown language.

V. Summary

In this chapter we have sought to recapitulate post-World War II colonial developments. It has been shown that commercial agents did not aim at the economic independence of Nigeria as missionaries had expected they would. At

414. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

415. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

416. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 71-73.

417. (Delft: Uitgeverij Van Keulen, 1950.)

independence, the economy basically remained firmly in foreign hands. Nationalist reactions to both colonial affairs and mission involvement were not hidden under a bushel, but received wide publicity through nationalist newspapers. Ecumenical mission organizations and publications, likewise, displayed full awareness of the economic results of colonialism and a deeply sympathetic understanding of nationalist motivations, though negative tones were not lacking. The significance for other continents of the China lesson did not go unnoticed. The ecumenical mission community recognized its failure in politico-economic affairs and singled out pietism as an important culprit, for it had discouraged missions from taking such affairs seriously as mission concerns. Though not many concrete politico-economic proposals emerged from these discussions, few doubted the missionary imperative in this area.

It is for the next chapter to indicate to what extent the S.U.M. understood the situation and how far she responded to opinions current in both nationalist and ecumenical circles. Did she become more critical or did she simply continue along the beaten path?

Chapter Eight

In the Shadow of Independence

I. Introduction

This chapter constitutes an analysis of the S.U.M.'s attitudes towards the issues of this study during the period described in Chapter 7. It was a time of turmoil for missionaries as they were challenged openly by nationalists. Prospective independence and the insistent clamour for it were both welcomed and feared, an ambiguous attitude well grounded, but also inevitably creating tension within the missionary heart.

Despite the very different context, the aims of the S.U.M. remained basically true to those developed during earlier eras. A document defining the mission restates the 2-fold purpose of occupying "the broad stretch of the Sudan for the Lord Jesus Christ" and of "forming an indigenous African Church." The previous emphasis on reaching Animists is missing here, but in a later context it was urged that "the first objective of the Mission, work among pagans, required keeping in view, and Moslem work not to be permitted to take staff away from pagan work."¹ The mission's recommending McGavran's *How Churches Grow* because "it accentuates ideas that the Mission holds"² is another strong indication of continuity of orientation. The mission again affirmed its loyalty to the Evangelical camp by continued subscription to the statement of faith of the World Evangelical Alliance.³ The S.U.M.'s consciously Evangelical stance was confirmed also by her joining the Evangelical Missionary Alliance, which was formed in response to the integration of the W.C.C. and the I.M.C.⁴ Membership in the C.C.N. created tension. One reason for this uneasiness was a circular published by the latter concerning its purpose and work. Two branches of the S.U.M. pulled out, but, after reflection, the British branch retained membership on condition that it required no doctrinal compromise.⁵ The second cause for hesitation was the fact that while the mission felt more akin to the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, the C.C.N. had close relations with the S.C.M.⁶

1. Conference with Senior Missionaries," 21 June/51 (J).
2. LB, May/60, p. 33.
3. Field Secretary Circular, no. 7, 18 June/48 (J).
4. British Branch News no. 30, July/58 (J). LB, Sept/61, p. 86.
5. J9, 25-26 Apr/51 and 28-30 Nov/51. "Conference with Senior Missionaries."
6. J9, 15-17 Feb/51 and 24-30 May/52.

As in Chapter 6, we will single out Maxwell and Farrant for separate treatment, even though neither of the 2 were as prolific during this period, simply because they were no longer on the scene. The attitudes about to be revealed must constantly be read in the context of Chapter 7.

II. *The Mission in General*

A. Continued Affirmation of Colonialism

1. African Culture

Negative references to African culture during this period are few. The gradual diminishing of emphasis on this continued. The few comments we did locate have little of the ideological flavour of the first period. There is reference to "the miserable condition of this great part of Africa at the beginning of the century."⁷ Describing the death of a local Christian from smallpox, Bachelor related how the widow became the mockery of the village's traditionalists because of her devoted ministry to her dying husband. They, "at the first sign of the dreaded disease. . ., would leave the patient entirely alone, perhaps just pushing food at him with a stick, for him to reach it as best he could." "It is incidents such as this," Bachelor concluded, "that remind us that we are missionaries away from Christian civilization." There was, however, the mitigating factor that "in the midst of it all there is much happening that could be taking place in any Christian community in England."⁸ Impressed by what he recognized as an incongruous mixture of the traditional and modern in Nigeria, Thomson, a new missionary, remarked that "the ways of thinking that have become our heritage as the result of centuries of Christian civilization, do not become those of the African in a few days."⁹

There was still a tendency to castigate Islam as the real opponent of progress. In a discussion of northern politics, Smith described Islam and Christianity as "direct opposites" that "cannot be reconciled."¹⁰ Some time later, he reported on the "unhappy phantom which lurks over the North — the Moslem menace,"¹¹ an expression reminiscent of earlier days. Islam, claimed Harris, had nothing to offer to progress. The main direction of progress, he asserted, was "away from the East and Islam. For the time being at least Islam in East Africa has lost its position as the directive for African hopes and aspirations."¹²

2. British Culture

The notion of a Christian Britain was not dead. The Queen was to have said

7. LB, Mar/59, p. 17.

8. LB, Sept/52, p. 86.

9. LB, July/50, p. 69.

10. LB, Nov/52, p. 97.

11. LB, July/54, p. 91.

12. LB, Sept/55, p. 116.

that the "cherished inheritance which we call the British way of life has its source and inspiration in the great ideal of Christianity."¹³ The life of her country, she affirmed, "has long been influenced by our faith, and moulded by the Bible."¹³

However, there was also a vivid awareness that Europe was not true to her inspiration. The Queen expressed her desire to "see the Bible back where it ought to be, as a guide and comfort in the . . . lives of our people." Attending a Christian exhibition, she hoped that it would "help our nation to be Christian in fact as well as in name, and so to play its full part in leading the world toward righteousness and peace."¹⁴ Thomson declared the neo-paganism of the West incompatible with the latter's Christian tradition.¹⁵ Templeman displayed his strong disgust for the evils imported into Africa by Europeans. He "saw with sick shame the sins of the white man."

There can be few sadder sights than these men with cunning aces, clutching hands, and greedy eyes, putting into practice some of the lessons they have learned from the white man; or the semi-sophisticated Africans wearing European clothes, smoking cigarettes, and aping the less lovable things in European civilization. One was in some measure prepared for signs of evil in the "Dark Continent," but not so well prepared for these superimposed evils. . . . Was this all that could be shown for years of missionary enterprise?¹⁶

Instead of one-way cultural traffic, the editor of *The Lightbearer*, under a title that a few years before could only have been taken as humorous or sarcastic — "Wise Men still come from the East" — supported a call for an interchange of ideas, for "there is much that Asia and Africa can contribute to Europe and America."¹⁷

3. Colonialism

Regardless of the sceptical strain regarding the West's Christian character, a positive view regarding it and its role in Africa continued to function as a justification for colonialism. The editor eagerly reproduced a number of speeches by the Sardauna, Premier of Northern Nigeria at the time, that betrayed deep appreciation for the British effort:

For fifty-six years the British have been our instructors and our good friends, too. Together we have built roads, schools, hospitals, and industries, and we have spread peace and the rule of law throughout the land. The people have been administered with honesty, justice, and understanding. A great deal has been achieved and it has been

13. LB, Oct/51, p. 57.

14. *Ibid.*

15. LB, July/50, p. 69.

16. LB, Jan/54, p. 24.

17. LB, July/60, p. 57.

done, I am proud to say, mainly through the co-operation and friendship that have existed between us Northerners and the British.¹⁸

A few months later, the Sardauna delivered a speech to the Northern Missions' Council in which he repeated the already published intention to "remain within the . . . Commonwealth; we believe that the Commonwealth is the greatest force for peace and stability in the world today." Part of the credit for recent achievements was to go to missionaries, who, he realized, worked

under difficult conditions and with little worldly reward and I know that your lives are devoted to the welfare of the people amongst whom you work. I am pleased, too, that relations between the Government and the Missions have generally been cordial, co-operative and friendly. We cannot deny that there have been differences from time to time, but I believe that such differences. . . can generally be settled by tolerance and good will.

The Sardauna went on to assure his audience that the Northern Region "cannot get on without overseas interests and that all who genuinely wish to serve our people will always be welcome." He concluded that his main wish was to "continue to work together as we have in the past."¹⁹ On Independence Day, October 1, 1960, the Sardauna said:

It has now become patently clear that British Colonial policy is a policy of wisdom and foresight. The framers of this policy have for over a century aimed at fostering the growth of vigorous indigenous local government institutions in dependent territories and the training of subject peoples for partnership in a free association of equals. Whatever may have been the fault of this policy, it has produced a proud group of sister nations with a system of government which is envied and emulated in the rest of the world. We can never forget the debt we owe to the framers of this policy We are also grateful to those who carried out the policy.²⁰

With such flowing praise coming from one at the forefront of the efforts for independence and from such high quarters, the mission appeared to have every reason to affirm the colonial endeavour. A newly-appointed Chief of Jos' thankful comments capped a theme so dear to Kumm and his successors, "In thinking of the promotion I can see that the real reason is that the Mission has helped us Birom to become a people."²¹ Thus one can understand the loyalist comments on the death of King George VI. God, we read, was to be praised for the "Royal Family, which unites in one common bond of affection and esteem millions of people in the British Commonwealth and Empire."²² In this spirit,

18. LB, Sept/58, p. 67. Quoted from *Times*, 30 July/58.

19. LB, Jan/59, pp. 7-8.

20. LB, Nov/60, p. 106.

21. British Branch Field News No. 6, July/54 (J).

22. LB, Mar/52, p. 21. We realize that this statement preceded those of the Sardauna and the Chief, but if such praise was still forthcoming after a long independence struggle, one can certainly muster sympathy for earlier loyalty on the part of the S.U.M.

one missionary recorded gratitude to God for the success He had given to the British attempts in Nigeria. "To any who knew the miserable condition of this great part of Africa . . . , its progress is astounding and in it the Church . . . has grown to self-governing stature."²³ Concerning developments in East Africa, Harris reported that "the direction is towards the West and the Christian religion;" "at the present time both politics and economics favour the development of Christianity." Christianity, and not Islam was "partly responsible for the progress Africans welcome."²⁴

B. Hesitant Affirmation of Independence

1. The Affirmation

Principally, the S.U.M. favoured the move towards independence. It was stated that independence is implicit in the Gospel: "Though political independence is not usually wholly identified with Christian effort, it comes from putting trust in a people and that is harmonious with Christian doctrine." The anonymous author continued, "an essential implication of the Gospel is that God trusts man." In the case of Ghana, "the move to independence has been strongly influenced by Christian thought and relation with Christian countries."²⁵ The desire to manage their own affairs is accepted as a "very healthy sign, for it is the sign of growth."²⁶ Discussing pending self-government, Smith exuded, "Undoubtedly these are exciting days in which to live, and it is a real privilege to be in Nigeria now."²⁷ Thus Tett's welcome speech to the Sardauna on behalf of the Northern Missions' Council in which he expressed joy and confidence in the independence of Nigeria²⁸ as well as the mission's letter to the Prime Minister expressing her pleasure at independence²⁹ were no mere political gestures, but represented the actual feeling of the S.U.M. One should not be surprised, therefore, at finding the mission represented officially at the independence celebrations in Kaduna.³⁰

In this context a theme one meets occasionally also in nationalist literature reappeared: the contribution of the mosquito. In the independence issue of *The Lightbearer*, under the heading "The Villain becomes the Hero," one reads:

When the bouquets have been given to the men, African and European,
who have built modern Nigeria, a laurel crown must be given to the
Anopheles mosquito. It was it that made the West Coast the "White

23. LB, Mar/59, p. 17.

24. LB, Sept/55, p. 116.

25. LB, May/57, p. 34.

26. LB, Sept/59, p. 85.

27. LB, July/54, p. 91.

28. "Address of Welcome to the Honourable Alhaji Ahmadu, Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of the Northern Region." 20 Nov/58 (J). Cf. also SUM 25, Tett, 21 Nov/58.

29. SUM25, SUM to Prime Minister, 27 Sept/60.

30. LB, Sept/60, p. 87.

Man's Grave" and ensured that Europeans would be contributors and not competitors, that Africans would possess their land in peace. Because of it Nigeria moves into the van of progress.

It even rated a photograph! ³¹

The mission's principally positive attitude towards independence should not be construed as a contradiction to their traditional support of colonialism. One has only to recall that ever since its inception, the S.U.M. favoured colonialism as a liberation effort that ought to have its climax in independent African nations that would have their own place equal to that of others in the council of nations. That goal was about to be realized. Rather than regard the end of colonialism as defeat, the mission could freely regard the event as the crowning achievement of British enterprise, a genuine victory. This attitude was inherent in the beginning and it should not be berated as merely a pragmatic adjustment to political realities designed to curry favor.

2. The Hesitation

Nevertheless, there was a degree of hesitancy as well that was generated by a fear of lack of religious toleration for the non-Muslim minorities of the North. Missions already experienced fear for the semi-independent form of self-government granted in 1952. It was pointed out that the missionary movement was having increasing difficulties in various countries, as in Camerouns³² and in French Equatorial Africa where Communism was said to be increasing in power.³³ Richmond wondered "how much longer we may be allowed to work in Nigeria when the new constitution is brought into force."³⁴ Northern Nigeria's population is two-thirds Muslim and thus the latter would be in power. This situation might not be so dangerous, Smith thought, if only "the followers of the Prophet could divorce their religion from their politics..."³⁵ The memory of Muslim slaving activities revived: "The Moslem people generally are very anti-Christian and slave owner in their attitude towards the pagan people. Will this mean trouble?" it was asked.³⁶ This question of hesitancy, uncertainty with respect to the future and even the possibility of eviction was voiced time and again, sometimes publicly, sometimes privately.³⁷ One mission was said to be suffering from "Congoitis": all staff had packed their bags, ready for the

31. LB, Sept/60, p. 89.

32. Richmond, 20 Nov/51.

33. *Ibid.*, 6 Aug/51.

34. *Ibid.*, 20 Nov/51.

35. LB, July/50, pp. 45-46.

36. LB, Oct/50, p. 86.

37. *E.g.*, "Address of Welcome . . ." LB, July/50, pp. 45-46, 71; July/51, pp. 41, 47; Nov/52, p. 97; Nov/55, p. 133. SUM 24, Bristow, 10 June/57. SUM21, Richmond 23 Jan/53. SUM25, Tett, 5 Jan/59 and 5 Oct/60.

worst.³⁸ These fears were hardly mitigated by assurances on the part of Nigerian officials to the contrary, not even by those of the Sardauna.³⁹

Even though these worries were widespread throughout the mission, they were not shared by everyone. Others, without being blind to potential problems, faced the future of the mission in independent Nigeria with confidence. One unnamed author⁴⁰ suggested that the new situation spelled new opportunity and a new challenge to faith in God. Though religious oppression could not be ruled out, in similar cases it had not always materialized, but if it should happen, "the Christian faith has frequently prospered under oppression. The more important thing is not what a majority will do, but that the church and the Mission are in fidelity to God."⁴¹ Wilmshurst considered the mission that was suffering from "Congoitis" as entertaining fears without foundation. Nigerians themselves were not expecting anti-European moves. Furthermore, power had already been transferred for some time, so that the government had had considerable experience.⁴² Tett expected "a happy transition."⁴³ Smith felt there were no good grounds for excessive fear. "By and large I feel that while the Federation is a working proposition, there will be a large measure of tolerance here."⁴⁴

C. Nationalism

The attitude towards nationalism was less favourable than that towards independence. It is clear that missionaries had become much more aware of the movement by this time. "The young African is highly sensitive in many ways in these days. . .," wrote Muir.⁴⁵ Bristow observed that "the spirit of nationalism has taken hold of the country. . ."⁴⁶ Provided it remained moderate in its demands, nationalism was regarded positively. "A great national spirit is abroad," according to Templeman, "which would be a fine thing if rightly fostered."⁴⁷ Nigerian nationalism was considered a natural phenomenon that ought not to be condemned, provided it would work towards "a peaceful revolution and not with a lot of un-Christian harsh feelings against mission benefactors," wrote Smith.⁴⁸ Bristow divided nationalists into 2 classes: the

38. SUM25, Wilmshurst, 9 Sept/60. For the sake of the reputation of this mission, we decline to reveal its name, except to say that it was not the S.U.M.

39. LB, Jan/59, pp. 7-8.

40. The style and spirit point to Farrant as author, but as we have no proof we include the statement in this section.

41. LB, Nov/58, p. 97.

42. SUM25, Wilmshurst, 16 Sept/60.

43. SUM25, Tett, 29 Sept/60.

44. SUM25, Smith, 30 Aug/60.

45. 18 Jan/56.

46. LB, Nov/52, p. 99. Cf. also SUM17.

47. LB, Sept/55, p. 109.

48. LB, July/50, p. 45.

“more stable” and an “extremely vocal minority.” The difference between them was that the former did not desire to go it alone at this juncture, while the latter was “clamouring for full self-government immediately.”⁴⁹ In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, anti-British emotions were fanned by extremists, but “the more responsible men” reacted strongly against this movement.⁵⁰ Similarly, Veary of the Canadian branch in Chad commented that while the mission must make it clear to nationalists “that we have not let them down in their struggle for freedom and justice,” it “cannot sanction their alliance with un-Christian malcontents and agitators.”⁵¹

In addition to the threat posed by a Muslim majority in the North, nationalism was another factor bringing uncertainty to missions. Muir reported that the nationalist spirit made “the missionary’s life more exacting.”⁵² The home constituency was warned that with the rising tide of nationalism there was a great need for speedy consolidation and for great haste to enter new doors that may soon shut.⁵³ “Nationalism has many uncertain qualities in it,” Smith cautioned, “and we of the North are as uncertain of our missionary tenure as any can be.”⁵⁴ Richmond summarized the mood well:

We don’t say that we shall be turfed out of the country in five or six years, but we do face that possibility and we are only anxious to get the job done in the shortest possible time in case that should happen. It is only a few days ago that a writer in one of the Lagos papers said that while he appreciated the work which missionaries had done, yet they were but the tools of British Imperialism and that when self-government came to Nigeria as is expected in 1956, then we would have to go like the rest of the white folks. It may be wild talk, but it is an indication of feeling on the part of many.⁵⁵

Nationalism was found also in the church. “The adolescent Church. . . finds the pull of the world especially strong, and is sometimes restive under parental guidance and discipline,” Thomson wrote.⁵⁶ In the independence issue, “a growing feeling of independence in all walks of life” was reported. “Feelings run high between rival parties even in a local Church. In many cases missionaries and nationals have been accused of subversive political activities of which they were wholly innocent.”⁵⁷

Nationalism was frequently viewed in relation to the main evils faced by the

49. LB, July/50, p. 71.

50. LB, Nov/53, p. 138.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

52. LB, July/47, p. 42.

53. LB, July/48, p. 38.

54. LB, May/57, p. 47.

55. SUM21, 18 Apr/53.

56. LB, July/ 50, p. 69.

57. LB, Sept/60, p. 87.

church. Bristow included it in a series of anti-Christian entities: the church must "meet the challenges of paganism, Islam, nationalism, materialism, and various forces of evil."⁵⁸ It was often seen as at least partially inspired by Communism. An annual report put the 2 in the same category: "The Church needs. . . a strengthening and building up to enable it to stand firm against the increasing opposition of the forces of materialism, nationalism, Communism and Roman Catholicism."⁵⁹ In an article entitled, 'Literature – Christian or Communist?', nationalism is shown as clearly opposed to the former and inspired by the latter.⁶⁰ The Nigerian riots of 1949 were reckoned a "by-product of Cominform agitation through adjacent French Equatorial Africa."⁶¹ A number of lengthy articles featured the Communist movement and its relationship to nationalism and independence in French Equatorial Africa, as well as its destructive influence upon the church.⁶² In these articles the emphasis is on the danger of Communist nationalism to the church, while little attention was paid to the underlying cause of such movements. Veary showed some awareness of the cause when he wrote, "The seed is falling on fertile soil, for there is no denying the fact that the plight of the peasants is pitiable, and reforms are urgently needed."⁶³ Neither was there much discussion as to how to combat the movement. The Field Council of all the S.U.M. branches working in Nigeria commissioned someone to write a booklet on "Communism and Christianity." It would be translated into Hausa and distributed widely and freely.⁶⁴ Grateful recognition was accorded to the efforts of certain British publishers for producing literature to counteract it, but, the author cautioned, "there is also the great need of definite spiritual literature suitable for our African Christians." The real need of the hour to meet the various challenges, including nationalism, was "Holy Ghost power working in and through missionaries and Africans alike."⁶⁵

D. Attitude towards Politics

The following statement of Bristow fairly represents the prevailing views in the mission concerning politics:

Missionary societies in the Sudan have very wisely avoided politics, and have no intention of entering into them. At the same time it behooves us all to give adequate thought and prayer to such an important matter.

58. LB, Nov/52, p. 102.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

60. LB, May/55, p. 53.

61. LB, Apr/50, p. 25.

62. *Ibid.* LB, July/50, p. 62. LB, Nov/52, pp. 113-114. LB, Mar/56, pp. 36-37.

63. LB, July/50, p. 62.

64. SUM18, Regional Field Council of the Nigerian Branches, 12-14 Feb/51.

65. LB, Nov/52, pp. 101-102.

There are a few, pitifully few, African Christians, who are able to take a lead, and who could use their influence to ensure that there will be religious liberty under the new Constitution. It is of great importance that these men should be characterized by wisdom, honesty, and truthfulness, so that their power for good may be much greater than their number would indicate.⁶⁶

Thus, though missions ought to be interested, vitally so, in political issues, they should not directly participate. In such turbulent times, total abstinence was impossible, as Veary clearly stated with respect to the situation in French Equatorial Africa: "Of course it was impossible for a Mission of our size and importance to remain outside these political developments. . . ."⁶⁷ The intention, however, was clear.

That there was indeed genuine political interest on the part of the S.U.M. is demonstrated by the numerous articles either fully or partially devoted to political issues. Characteristic titles are "Christian Influence in Government," "New Constitution for Nigeria," "Nigerian Riots," "The church and Politics in French Chad," "Another Step in Nigeria's Independence," "Self-government in Nigeria," "Nigeria: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them." In addition to such articles, the annual reports literally bristle with political information.

Bristow's statement is also representative in expressing a desire for more Christians to become active in government. Smith expressed praise for the few Christians in government service.⁶⁸ Bristow declared his gratitude for the same phenomenon.⁶⁹ When one of the S.U.M.'s most respected converts, Pastor David Lot, was elected into the government, they did not hide their appreciation. The report for 1951 made reference to Lot: "We thank God for men of such calibre in the Government of the country in these early, important and formative years of self-government."⁷⁰ Returning to the magazine, we read, "It is indeed a cause for praise that this fine man . . . should have this opportunity of exerting his Christian influence in the affairs of his country."⁷¹ When Lot and another Christian from S.I.M. vintage came to London for constitutional discussions, the S.U.M. arranged a reception for their constituency to meet the 2.⁷² Later when Lot became Minister Without Portfolio, the editor again expressed his delight and congratulated him "most heartily on this further mark of distinction."⁷³ Similarly, the editor lauded the appointment of another

66. LB, July/50, p. 72.

67. LB, Nov/52, p. 114.

68. LB, Nov/52, p. 97.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

70. SUM16.

71. LB, Mar/52, p. 30.

72. LB, Sept/53, p. 86.

73. LB, Mar/55, p. 26.

Christian, Malam Rwang Pam, to the chieftaincy of Jos.⁷⁴ In view of all this, Lot's testimony that various missionaries sought privately to dissuade him from these appointments comes as a genuine surprise and serves to indicate that there was no unanimity on this score.⁷⁵

A recognized problem was that the majority of the folk amongst whom the S.U.M. was working were largely oblivious of the political developments about them. They could end up with little or no representation in an independent government. This situation, it was suggested, gave 'added importance and urgency to our . . . educational work.'⁷⁶ In other words, the political importance of the mission's educational program did not go unnoticed. Bristow lamented that "the people would have been in a better position if the missions had not been so reluctant in the past to venture upon an educational programme. All the Christians are still too backward educationally to take an active part in political leadership." True, missions were "at long last beginning to take up educational work in a small way, but it is probably too late to have any effect on the present situation."⁷⁷ Nevertheless, though few, Christians were already leading in the movement to safeguard non-Muslim interests and their leadership so far had been "wise and a credit to the quality of their Christianity."⁷⁸

The threat of a Muslim majority required African Christians to devise "a united front and speak with one voice to Government." Missionary Potter thought this need called for a Union Church that would comprise all the churches in which the various S.U.M. branches had a hand in establishing — in other words, an ecclesiastical organization with a political thrust.⁷⁹ Nigerian Christians, however, cognizant of the same problem, responded by establishing a Christian political party, the M.Z.L., in which David Lot was a leading figure. It was a type of solution to which Evangelicals are not generally inclined. Thus Smith very guardedly commented, "The way it will work out is not yet known."⁸⁰

On one issue the mission *consciously* forsook its policy not to act politically, namely on the insertion of religious freedom in the constitution. *The Light-bearer* contains numerous articles on this matter. It was agreed to raise a "strong voice" regarding minority rights under the proposed constitution. All avenues were to be explored, including C.C.N., Edinburgh House and African church leaders. When someone asked whether this was not interfering in politics, the answer was simple and pragmatic: if we do nothing now, the churches will feel

74. LB, Sept/55, p. 94.

75. Interviews.

76. LB, July/50, p. 46.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

78. LB, Oct/51, p. 68.

79. LB, July/51, p. 47.

80. LB, Oct/51, p. 66.

grieved at our silence.⁸¹ It was subsequently decided to bring the concern to the Northern Missions Council "in an attempt to get assurance that Northern Nigerian non-Moslem minorities will have adequate representation in the various Houses. Use may be made of any competent avenues, including those at home."⁸²

E. Relations to the Government

The S.U.M., we have seen, was well aware of the direction of events. It was very conscious of the nationalist movement, even though it was hardly ready to appraise sympathetically the charge that missions were colonial tools. Colonialism itself continued to be regarded positively, while independence was also welcomed. Thus the mission had little reason to change its relationship with the government or to disassociate itself from the latter. As late as 1950, the mission was proudly described as assisting the colonial government by pacifying some tribes in the Gwoza district. In the midst of tribal irregularities, the missionaries' "neutrality, their benevolent intentions, and skillful service of human need are a great help to Government in the conditions that prevail in Gwoza." The report continued, "The tribes are splendid, and we long to bring to them the benefits that other hill tribes have received."⁸³ The "benefits" referred to are those relating to both mission and government work.

Neither did the mission hesitate to express its loyalty to the Queen publicly or to the Empire itself. Some 730 members of the Boys' Brigade and a large number of the Girls' Light Brigade lined the routes the Queen was to follow in Jos. A large banner at the entrance to mission headquarters welcomed the Queen.⁸⁴ A few members of the mission attended the Queen's garden party in Kaduna.⁸⁵ The Boys' Brigade in Langtang District paraded on Empire Day 1958 and were inspected by the D.O.⁸⁶ Quite a number of S.U.M. staff were awarded various honours through the years and the mission often published this honour.⁸⁷ However, similar coverage was given to identical matters in Nigerian newspapers and frequently in the same tone.⁸⁸

81. SUM18, Regional Field Council of the Nigerian Branches, 2-4 Mar/50.

82. *Ibid.*, 12-14 Feb/51.

83. LB, July/50, p. 75.

84. British Branch Field News, no. 16, Mar/56 (J).

85. Muir, 26 Jan/56 (J).

86. British Branch Field News, no. 30, July/58 (J).

87. Miss Webster was presented her medal by Lord Hailey (*Ibid.*, no. 10, Mar/55 (J)); Bristow received a Bronze Medal of the Royal African Society (LB, July/56, p. 62.) and the O.B.E. from the Queen during her visit (LB, Sept/56, p. 77.); Lot received an M.B.E. and Veary a French distinction (LB, Mar/61, p. 18.)

88. WAP, 3 Jan/56, 5 Jan/56, 13 Jan/56, 27 Sept/60, 28 Sept/60. NC, 26 Sept/56.

c. In Medical Efforts

The government was less prepared to cooperate with missions in medical work than it was in education, a fact that was deeply regretted by the S.U.M. and other missions. At the beginning of the period, an inter-mission conference expressed unhappiness at "the almost complete withholding of Government assistance. . . ."¹¹¹ Another missionary medical conference pushed for very close association with government efforts. It suggested that the government should consult missions whenever the former contemplated new moves. It also urged that mission hospitals be recognized as the official medical facilities in their particular areas and that mission teaching hospitals be eligible for grants. Training of dispensary attendants should include government and mission trainees both. In view of the large number of leprosy patients treated by missions, the latter should receive "a fair share of the Welfare and Development Fund." These suggestions were made because the very survival of medical missions were said to depend on their finding a "recognized place in relation to the Government Medical Services."¹¹²

The situation as described above is not to give the impression of total lack of cooperation between the 2 parties. The S.U.M. was to be paid £ 4500 for leprosy work in Plateau province.¹¹³ Dikwa Native Authority offered £100 annually for medical work within its precincts.¹¹⁴ The mission received £1675 for medical services in Plateau.¹¹⁵ A grant was forthcoming towards expatriate staff allowances.¹¹⁶ Discounts were promised for supplying leper settlements.¹¹⁷ Supplies for Nguru hospital could be imported duty free.¹¹⁸ At the home front, Dr. Chesterman was chairman of the Edinburgh House Medical Committee and also on the Colonial Office Medical Advisory Committee.¹¹⁹

The frictions stemming from divergent purposes continued into the present period. There was evidence, in fact, of increasing severity. Muir aired the complaint that even though the government was "very willing" to cooperate in education, it was "to be regretted that more regulations, particularly in medical matters, have been imposed and that it takes longer to get permission to open new work."¹²⁰ There was the tendency on the part of the government to impose restrictions concerning evangelistic work in leprosy colonies also on

111. SUM19, "Annual meeting of representatives of missions in Northern Nigeria," 7 Mar/46.

112. Minutes of a Conference of Northern Medical Missions, 22 Aug/46 (J).

113. Ministry of Health, Jos, 5 Mar/57 (J).

114. Hamilton, 27 Mar/57 (J). Cf. also J9, 28-30 Nov/51.

115. Ministry of Health, 30 Sept/57 (J).

116. J9, 24-30 May/52.

117. *Ibid.*

118. SUM21, Richmond, 18 Apr/53.

119. Angus, 27 June/46 (J).

120. LB, July/47, p. 39.

those colonies located amongst traditional communities.¹²¹ Smith presented a concrete example of the Tamiya colony at Takum, a community where the Muslim population comprised no more than 5%.¹²²

A proposed agreement between missions and the government leprosy colonies was threatened by this divergence of purposes. The government wanted to include clauses that would eliminate preaching in the public section of the colonies, inviting patients to religious services and giving religious instruction. No C.R.I. was to be established on such premises without the consent of various governmental authorities, while a Christian school required approval of no one less than the L.G. In all fairness, the information must be included that similar protection was to be granted by the local authorities to non-Muslim groups.¹²³ The N.M.C. stubbornly fought the inclusion of such restrictions. It declared that missions were "willing to participate in all possible ways in the humanitarian services of leprosy relief," but only on condition that they would not be prevented from carrying on their evangelistic services as well, at least in the settlements outside Muslim areas.¹²⁴ Due to such pressure, the clauses were deleted and the government agreed to provide grants for leprosy work without the restrictions as well as for other medical services performed, such as those by Nguru hospital and rural dispensaries.¹²⁵

Though missionary opinion was generally in favour of grants for medical work, Barnden was opposed to Vom Hospital's accepting such on basis of the classic argument of being independent and thus was not bothered by such restrictions. Of course, in the case of Vom Hospital the need was not as acute since, apart from missionary salaries, the hospital had always been solvent, including capital expenditures. A discussion indicated that in the case of this hospital, opinions were far from unanimous.¹²⁶ Again, the reason for hesistance with respect to such grants was not the desire for dissociation from the colonial regime, but for the sake of evangelistic freedom.

F. The Pro-Muslim Stance of the Government

The ghost of Lugard continued to thwart S.U.M. efforts. Smith surmised that Lugard would be surprised were he to know how his promise to the Muslim community had been used throughout these decades to buttress continued pro-Muslim policies of the government — "which is a strange thing indeed, seeing

121. J9, 28-30 Nov/51.

122. LB, July/52, p. 64.

123. J9, Apr/51.

124. J9, Nov/51.

125. J9, May/52.

126. J9, Apr/51. This must not be understood to mean that the hospital was a profitable enterprise, for if missionary salaries had been charged to it, the accounts would have shown a loss.

how our beloved Queen is the defender of (the) faith."¹²⁷ In addition to the problems in education and health care, most of the other classic problems remained. Muslim rulers over Pagans continued to abuse their power by seeking to prevent the S.U.M. from opening new work.¹²⁸ A missionary found it necessary to warn a converted chief "of the almost impossible situation of a chief wishing to be a Christian in a Moslem governed province," a warning to which the chief replied that he had taken this step only after much prayer and prolonged reflection.¹²⁹

A new form of restriction was an insertion in missionaries' visas. Though the sources do not specify them, five restrictive clauses were to be placed in the visa, more severe than earlier restrictions.¹³⁰ Smith assured the home constituency that "every effort" was being made to combat these restrictions. The mission joined in the efforts of larger ecumenical bodies such as the C.C.N. and the C.C.I.A. to counteract them. These organizations negotiated with the government and decided "to inform the Government that the clauses could not be accepted pending the result of further action." They definitely told the government that missions would not agree to having missionaries sign the clauses in question.¹³¹ Alternative proposals were submitted to the government that took the burden of these clauses off the individual missionaries and made them the business of the mission organizations as such.¹³²

Despite the vigorous manner in which these matters were pursued, the hesitancy to make the matter public remained in force for good reason. Having read a misleading account of the negotiations in an American magazine, the secretary of C.C.N. warned the S.U.M. of the need to be circumspect with such information, for "those who have to negotiate with Government (and the negotiations are by no means over) will only be embarrassed by unwise rushing into print, particularly if, as in this case, the information . . . is inaccurate."¹³³

During these closing years the restrictions suffered by missionaries were increasingly extended to Nigerian Christians. Without providing details, Smith reported that "many are the instances of intolerance towards the Christians of Nigeria who happen to reside in certain areas of the North."¹³⁴ Legal complications arose with respect to the evangelistic activities of Nigerian Christians. When Ishaya Jukutu entered a district in the Bama-Gwoza area that was closed to missionaries, the mission received a complaint from the D.O. about having breached the agreement inserted in the local C. of O. As the government pursued

127. LB, July/54, p. 91.

128. J9, Nov/50.

129. British Branch Field News no. 12, July/55 (J).

130. SUM 19, 20 Jan/55, 17 Mar/55.

131. SUM 19, 3 Mar/55.

132. Tett, "Missionary Agreement," 1 June/55 (J).

133. British Branch News, no. 13, Sept/55 (J).

134. LB, July/54, p. 91.

the case, it became clear that Jukutu was an agent of the Nigerian church, not of the mission. The Resident confessed to know nothing about the church in question.¹³⁵ Because of the legal problems thus encountered by Nigerian Christians, the Northern Missions Council prepared a circular in both Hausa and English that contained the applicable legal enactments concerning their rights.¹³⁶

III. *J. Lowry Maxwell*

Our sources for this section are rather scanty compared with those of earlier years. We have a couple of magazine articles, a few pages of diary covering Maxwell's visit to Nigeria in 1948-1949 and, of course, his jubilee publication, *Half a Century of Grace*. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness and structure we accord him this separate section as before. The book is of special importance for our period, for even though we analyzed comments referring to earlier periods in the appropriate chapters, it must not be forgotten that they were written during this final era. Maxwell had many years to reflect on the events recorded and, had he changed his mind on the central concerns of this study, he had the opportunity to indicate this either implicitly or explicitly in this book. He did occasionally indicate that here and there another policy might have been better. The fact that he did not do so with respect to our present concerns is a clear indication that he had not changed his mind significantly. This is borne out also by the other sources for this chapter.

A. Traditional Approval

The classic justification for colonialism, namely the chaos in Nigeria, continued to function in Maxwell's thought. Not only is this obvious from his description in his main book, but it is re-iterated in a jubilee article.¹³⁷ We quote:

It is true that there is agitation against the white man at times now, but in 1900 the white man was killed and eaten! It was the sheer mercy of God that brought the British Raj to end the perpetual inter-tribal warring, slave-raiding, highway robbery, and local tyranny of independent chieftains. There was no security for life or property till Britain brought it. On one occasion, while chatting with one of our people, I was told frankly: "Before the white man came we could only travel in armed bands. But now, a single girl can roll up her sleeping-mat and go off by herself." To many of the more thoughtful people it must have been a relief to realize that now there was a power in the land which could, and would, protect them against injustice and cruelty. We did, as a nation, endeavour to carry into our government Kipling's noble thought:

135. British Branch Field News, no. 13. Sept/55 (J).

136. Tett *et al.*, "Information about Rights Concerning Religion and Place of Worship," n.d. but probably 1959 (J).

137. J.L. Maxwell, "Fifty Years in Nigeria," WD/55, pp. 153-158.

Keep ye the Law, be swift in all obedience,
 Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford;
 Make ye sure to each his own, that he reap where he hath sown;
 By the peace among our peoples let me know we serve the Lord.

No doubt we made mistakes, but the general pattern of the result was, and is clear.

Maxwell then cited the example of the Freed Slaves' Home that lasted a mere 15 years for by then the slave-trade had been suppressed. Not only the prevalence of oppression but poverty of communication and transport also were part of the chaos. In the area of the S.U.M. there were no railways or "proper roads." Footpaths were the main arteries, mere winding tracks mostly that left a traveler to ford streams as he was able, while luggage was carried on heads.¹³⁸

Maxwell found ample proof that the British had done justice to their task. He was delighted to find he could actually buy a bottle of ink at the Donga market:

... a perfectly proper and usual bottle of "Swan" ink for fountain pens, in its nice red box! Now, I ask you! Fancy that in the old days! Haba, Malam! And not merely bought it but only had to pay 9d for it!

This item was a symbol of the progress made during Maxwell's absence. The post office at Wukari had been unthinkable in earlier years and thus he remarked, "Fancy that now!"¹³⁹ Communications had improved "immensely." "Great main roads," a railway system, telegraph, telephone, wireless and air transport all combined to make a better Nigeria. What in the beginning days would have "seemed like some story by Jules Verne" had now become commonplace.¹⁴⁰

B. Independence and Nationalism

Maxwell, we have pointed out earlier, did not think politically. Thus he did not clearly indicate whether or not he favoured an eventual politically independent Nigeria. Though he did not expect to see an independent church in his generation, he rejoiced when he attended a communion service at which 3 African pastors officiated while Maxwell merely took part as a member of the congregation. "Isn't it grand to think of it?" he wrote. "They must increase, and we must decrease, as the Ekklesiya cikin Sudan grows."¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, he did not seem to favour ecclesiastical independence immediately.¹⁴²

Since he never rejected the consensus of the S.U.M. that colonialism must lead to an independent Africa, we assume he too looked forward to that day. However, as during the earlier period he did not expect to see an independent church in his lifetime, so did he consider Nigeria ill prepared for political independence during the present period. "One lot of the people are talking about 'self-government', and they think, I suppose, that they are talking wisely," he

138. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

139. Diaries (30), pp. 73, 63.

140. WD/55, p. 154.

141. Diaries (30), p. 84.

142. *Half a Century*, p. 324.

wrote. This comment was followed by references that were to indicate that Nigeria was in fact not ready. There was a certain Emir who forced his subjects to sell all their guinea corn to him for a small price, while they were to live on an inferior diet. He recounted various pressures used by another Emir to force his Pagan subjects into the Muslim fold. Also there were details about corruption and bribery in the country's medical services. "Lord, save poor Nigeria," he prayed. Obviously, Nigeria in his opinion was better left in British hands.¹⁴³

Maxwell had consequently nothing positive to say about nationalism. The movement in French Equatorial Africa was unequivocally described as "anti-white, anti-Christian, and anti-Christ." The same movement had entered Nigeria "like a great tidal wave" that was to a large extent harnessed for the nation's benefit by a "prudent government."¹⁴⁴ There was nationalism, but also "Communism masquerading as nationalism."¹⁴⁵ Like his colleagues, Maxwell counted the movement as one of a series of evils plaguing the nations: "the darkness of paganism, the deeper darkness of Mohammedanism, the bitterness and blackness of racial hatred, the poisonous slime of communistic propaganda, the meanness of mammon-worship miscalling itself a 'higher standard of living'." These all united to prevent men from coming to Christ.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, after relating nationalism to Communism, Maxwell bemoaned the fact that missionaries of the Canadian branch had to face not only "the darkness of paganism and the deeper darkness of Islam, but now also the devilish darkness of Communism."¹⁴⁷

As in French Equatorial Africa, so was there a threat in Nigeria that nationalists would use the church and its channels for political ends. The church's desire for its own general council "even now" was viewed as under nationalist influence. The church was already largely accustomed to African control and it would take only "one or two politically ambitious leaders to harness its entire structure for the nationalist cause."¹⁴⁸

Maxwell suggested the possibility that "unfriendly developments may in Nigeria, as in China, expel all foreign workers," a relationship not frequently encountered in missionary literature pertaining to Africa.¹⁴⁹ That the situation had come to this was partly due to wrong mission policies in the past. Echoing Bristow, he posited that "it would have been much better if we had not been so unwilling . . . to venture on a more thorough educational programme." Both Pagans and Christians were educationally too backward to take up political leadership and they were in danger of "being swamped and exploited by the Moslems." Furthermore, it was "no longer merely the question of winning a

143. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

144. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

group of individuals for Christ . . . ; it is now the question of settling the destiny of a nation, which demands for its carrying out the formation of a powerful Christian community, intelligent, progressive, and far-seeing." Training Christians and pastors must now go beyond the traditional emphasis on Bible knowledge; they must now be equipped to "perceive and expose the falsehood . . . which leads men to look for their heaven upon earth." The ministry must be "theologically competent to contend for the faith . . ." ¹⁵⁰ Now that Nigeria had awakened, she was "calling for light by which to live." The mission's challenge, by implication, was to provide that light. ¹⁵¹

C. Cooperation with Government

References by Maxwell to cooperative ventures and other forms of association with the government were few during this era. A new area was entered in Northern Cameroons "at the invitation of the French Government." ¹⁵² The French administration also invited missions to erect orphan homes and promised grants towards capital expenditures. ¹⁵³ Nguru hospital was to be built with government assistance. Government grants for teachers brought problems, but they were not related to the concerns of this study. ¹⁵⁴ Though these references are few, they do demonstrate that Maxwell had no qualms about the association such grants created between the S.U.M. and the colonial regime.

IV. *H.G. Farrant*

A. Introduction

During this final period, Farrant remained in close touch with the S.U.M. and in official capacities, but most of these years were spent in Britain. In 1947 he left Nigeria. It did not take long before he became member of the S.U.M.'s Executive Committee. In 1951, he was given a very central function. It was agreed that "all Field matters of a general nature should be sent to Mr. Farrant and copies only sent to the London Office." That was to say, all "the many sheets of cyclostyling which come from Field Headquarters or Field Secretary concerning Government regulation, or correspondence with Government . . ." He was to clear these documents and "prepare them in so far as may be necessary for the Executive." He was also to provide comments on mission documents from Nigeria. ¹⁵⁵ Subsequently, he became the mission's secretary in London, the position he held at independence. Because of his new location, we

150. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

151. LB, Oct/49, p. 75.

152. *Half a Century*, p. 280.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

154. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

155. Dawson and Richmond (Confidential) "Conference with Senior Missionaries," n.d., but soon after May/51 (J).

do not have the abundance of relevant materials from his pen that we did during the middle decades. Nevertheless, we have sufficient to determine his basic attitudes to the problems at hand. He retained his native optimism. Smith reported that in his farewell speech upon leaving Nigeria, Farrant said "how he wished that he were younger and that his colour were black, for he found the times most challenging and hopeful for the Church . . . in this land."¹⁵⁶

B. Evaluation of Cultures and Colonialism

1. African

Farrant never did take obvious delight in exposing the negative aspects of Nigerian culture, even though the traditional descriptions are not totally lacking. Prior to the British regime, "much of the northern part of Nigeria was ravaged by the slave trade for internal demand and for overland export to North Africa and the east." He gratefully acknowledged that "it is now healed of that terrible thing and north rivals south in importance."¹⁵⁷ Farrant held slave-raiding partly responsible for the devastating circumstances in which Europeans found the Pagan tribes. They had been ravaged.

Some fertile plains had been abandoned, and hill regions had become the homes of the people because they could be defended. Everyone who had ever come from outside had brought evil, and the bonds of tribe were drawn tight in self-defence. Inside help was compulsory. Outside all were enemies.¹⁵⁸

However, the cruelty portrayed by slave-raiding is not really characteristic of the people, he asserted; basically the people are "gentle by nature."¹⁵⁹ Similarly, with reference to riots at the Enugu coal mines of 1949, Farrant rejected the impression that violence is a basic characteristic of African society.¹⁶⁰ He re-iterated his optimistic conviction that the people of the Middle Belt "have latent qualities which can be developed to make them into the most notable element in all Nigeria."¹⁶¹ However, such developments would not take place on basis of Animism, for its foundation is "rubbish"; it cannot harmonize mind and spirit.¹⁶²

2. European

Ever since World War I, self-castigation had become a common feature of

156. LB, May/57, p. 46.

157. H.G. Farrant, "Nigeria, the Church and the Future," WD/50, p. 95.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

159. H.G. Farrant, "Reflections on the Sudan and Nigeria," WD/55, p. 368.

160. WD/50, p. 94.

161. SUM 15, "A Northern Nigeria Project," note for Ex. Com.meeting of 27 Feb/47, p. 2.

162. H.G. Farrant, *Crescendo of the Cross* (London: Sudan United Mission, n.d.), p. 55. This material first appeared as articles in LB/53-55.

Western culture. Farrant was aware of this tendency, but he was not about to join the bandwagon. "For two generations," he wrote, "it has been the practice in the West to decry its civilisation, its culture and its Christianity." In so far as this would lead to humility and repentance, it was constructive, "but it has gone too far. If there is nothing good in Christian countries, then Christ died in vain, and if a missionary cannot point to any fruit in his home country, his hearers may justifiably ask why he offers the Gospel to them."¹⁶³ Certainly, western culture contained many negative features, but not only negative ones. To do it justice, one must "describe the fruits of the Gospel in national life as well as in individuals." There are many such fruits, colonialism being one of them. Thus Farrant placed himself on record as opposed to the current "fashion . . . to run down colonial rule":

Colonial policies may have had faults at one time, but now and for years past they and colonial officers have been of a high moral order and the people of the Sudan have benefitted tremendously. They are not always aware of it, and agitators deny it, but it is true and subsequent dispassionate history-writing will honour it.¹⁶⁴

The above constitutes a re-iteration of the traditional stand, stripped of all excesses and flamboyance. Colonialism is affirmed as the fruit of the Gospel.

The accomplishments of colonialism were regarded positively by Farrant. Railroads and motor-roads had provided better transportation than was earlier available.¹⁶⁵ The commercial inspiration did not escape him. The British laid hold on Lagos with the object of gaining a trading port. The purpose of subsequent protectorates "seems to have been chiefly to facilitate a wholesome exchange of commodities, and to our fathers it was quite logical to entrust the administration to a trading company under charter. . . ."¹⁶⁶ That the colony was exporting basically raw materials was noted, but not worthy of further comment.¹⁶⁷ The government was said to have promised "an assured and satisfactory price" for crops.¹⁶⁸

On basis of this positive attitude towards colonialism, Farrant was able to speak of a British Broadcasting Corporation's program as having "linked the many parts of empire in affectionate greetings to one another."¹⁶⁹ Thus he could also sincerely write to a resident that he, Farrant, was pleased with the official's "deep interest in the people . . . and I hope your schemes for their

163. This is similar to sentiments expressed by the late Dr. Rookmaker of the Free Reformed University during a private conversation in 1973.

164. *Crescendo*, pp. 74-75.

165. WD/50, p. 95.

166. Historically this is incorrect, since Goldie had to struggle hard to gain the charter, Cf. ch. 2.

167. WD/50, pp. 95-96.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

advance will be successful."¹⁷⁰ On the whole, Farrant judged the colonial venture to have been successful.¹⁷¹

3. Public Association with Colonialism

As late as 1952, Farrant could report that, generally speaking, "the political situation is not seriously complicated by a black-white tension."¹⁷² The S.U.M. itself had not "experienced any major difficulties arising from politics, or public disfavour."¹⁷³ The matter of cooperation with the regime was hardly questioned, but, rather assumed, without any hint of possible disfavour such relationships might bring from nationalist quarters.¹⁷⁴ Hence, Farrant favoured cooperative endeavours such as hospitals financed by the government, but run by missions,¹⁷⁵ or schools supported by Colonial Development Funds.¹⁷⁶ He also endorsed individual missionaries' close connection to various governmental agencies, such as Miss Spencer's aid in determining educational standards and policies and Miss Major's similar aid with respect to the training of nurses.¹⁷⁷ He had no reason to hide his own enthusiasm or that of the mission's overt public demonstration of loyalty during the visit of the Queen to Nigeria. He had found it "delightful to listen to the accounts of the Royal visit given by the B.B.C. and Press"¹⁷⁸ and wrote a detailed article regarding this visit, thus publicly demonstrating the mission's interest in the head of the empire.¹⁷⁹

Nevertheless, Farrant struck a minor chord as well, but one that did not really function in his policies. He referred to Henry Martyn's status as chaplain to the forces of the East India Company and suggested that "one can hardly think of a status more foreign than that . . ." Though he gratefully recognized the advantages of the Pax Britannica for the mission, he did wonder "what the Evangel would have done had it had to advance in its own strength as it has so often done in history."¹⁸⁰ These statements seem to indicate that their author was aware of nationalist and ecumenical warnings against the association.

In connection with the Congo situation, Farrant advocated that Protestants ought to stay clear of Roman Catholics, because the latter had come "under great disfavor because of its close collaboration with the Congo Government. Already the withdrawal of missionaries at the same time as the Belgian Govern-

170. J14, 14 Apr/48.

171. WD/55, p. 365.

172. SUM 20, "A School of the Pastorate in Northern Nigeria," 12 Dec/52.

173. LB, Jan/54, p. 17.

174. WD/50, p. 97.

175. *Crescendo*, pp. 66-67.

176. LB, July/48, p. 43.

177. LB, Sept/59, p. 72.

178. 3 Feb/56 (J). 7 Feb/56 (J).

179. LB, Mar/56, pp. 26-27.

180. *Crescendo*, pp. 46-47.

ment linked Missions with Government."¹⁸¹ Whereas the information contained in the previous paragraph constitutes a *Fremdkörper* in Farrant's general train of thought, that of the present paragraph is not difficult to reconcile. The colonial policies in the Congo had always been more overtly expressive of the primary human colonial motive and more openly displayed its devastating effects. In other words, colonialism of the Congo variety was better understood by Farrant than that practiced by his own countrymen. And when he understood it, he recognized the need for dissociation on the part of missions.

C. Independence Supported

The main achievement of colonialism that really subsumed all others was that of independence. "Africa is now vocal," Farrant asserted, and "it is economically better off than before and politically awake."¹⁸² "Africa is coming into a responsible place on the world stage . . ."¹⁸³ He approved of the press' handling the royal visit to Nigeria for he was "sure that Nigerians will feel that they and their country have grown up and that it now has a place among the Nations."¹⁸⁴ Missions experience "very great pleasure" to see colonial nations "attain to full stature as nations."¹⁸⁵ That was the positive hope the S.U.M. retained ever since the beginning.

Farrant looked "forward very much to . . . Independence in Nigeria." British newspapers mentioned that Azikiwe was to become the first Nigerian Governor, a development that "will be a pleasure to you I feel sure," he wrote to Carpenter.¹⁸⁶ Already at the beginning of the period he wrote, "It is an adventure to be in a country that is waking up."¹⁸⁷ He expected that "the future of Nigeria will be exciting."¹⁸⁸ He also sensed that independence would have a positive effect on the *psyche* of the nation. "There comes from it . . . a national pride and contentment, a feeling of being self-competent, which the foreign administrator, however good, can never arouse."¹⁸⁹

True to himself, Farrant refused to be cowed by the problems he foresaw. He recognized "internal differences" that would "make it difficult for Nigeria to be a single self-governing State, but political change does not wait for perfection," he realized, "and it will come to Nigeria before perplexities are banished."¹⁹⁰ One danger was that of violence. In various countries independence had been

181. SUM 25, 23 Sept/60. Marked "Confidential."

182. *Crescendo*, p. 15.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

184. 3 Feb/56 (J).

185. *Crescendo*, p. 69.

186. 24 Aug/60 (J).

187. LB, July/48.

188. WD/50, p. 98.

189. WD/55, p. 366.

190. WD/50, p. 98.

marked by bloodshed and division *e.g.*, India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia. However, the Gold Coast experience was peaceful, demonstrating that violence was not inevitable.¹⁹¹ After the "dream clouds of political illusion have evaporated and the . . . new nations . . . settled down to the hard, unglamorous infantry slog which is required in the making of modern states," he hoped that the mission's "unassuming, unostentatious and persevering methods" may be imitated.¹⁹² To Tett he wrote, "My expectation is that there will be some exasperation, but that there will be much opportunity and that we should look forward with great hope. It will be certainly an enlivening time and we shall be very much on tip toe."¹⁹³

Farrant was much opposed to fear with respect to the future of missions in independent Africa. Such fear is based on the mistake of "forming opinions on spiritual things from secular evidence." From the fact that China has evicted missionaries and that doors are closing in other theatres as well as the changing "temper of African minds" it was deduced that Africa would also bar missionaries. Farrant did not pretend to know the future, but he refused to make such deductions because the sovereign God "may intervene." Such a mentality, moreover, was fatal, for if missionaries displayed such fears, the home constituency would come to believe it and the supply of personnel and support dry up, thus closing "a door that God may have intended to keep open." The mission must continue to base its policies on a positive future.¹⁹⁴

As to the church's involvement in independence, Farrant suggested that the occasion of northern self-government, for example, be turned into "a period of celebration in the Church." The church should "identify itself with this great step in the progress of the country" and turn her participation into a call to serve. "Much of the background of politics is the seeking of office and personal aggrandisement. In contradiction to this the Church could seize the coming of independence as a call to service . . ."¹⁹⁵

D. Nationalism

With respect to nationalism, Farrant did not share the negative evaluation of it found frequently amongst missionaries. "Its criticism of the European and of Colonial Government are apt to arouse a certain amount of irritation and the retort, 'If they are so keen to look after themselves, let them get on with it and — without my money.'" However this is false missionary thinking.¹⁹⁶ The classifying of nationalism among the opponents of the Gospel he firmly rejected:

191. *Crescendo*, pp. 69-70.

192. LB, Jan/54, p. 17.

193. SUM25, 20 Sept/60.

194. *Crescendo*, pp. 14-15.

195. SUM 25, 13 Nov/58.

196. *Crescendo*, p. 16.

It is the fashion to put nationalism high on the list of the opponents of the Gospel, but I do not include it at all. There is nothing inherent in it which makes it necessarily a foe of Christ. If it is sometimes in opposition it is because of an accident of circumstances; it can as easily be for the Gospel as against it and sometimes changes front very quickly. Its threat is the same as that of riches, its potential power of seducing the heart away from Christ.¹⁹⁷

The "new emotions," he affirmed elsewhere, "can be made to serve the Kingdom."¹⁹⁸ True, sometimes nationalism was associated with Communism, but that was because the latter made use of the former, but there was no intrinsic relationship.¹⁹⁹

E. Political Issues

Farrant was very conscious of the importance of Christian presence in political quarters. The lesson to be drawn from Paul's going to Rome is "that there should be a vital, competent witness in seats of authority and in places where policies are made." Referring to a common criticism that Evangelicals tend to work at the circumference and neglect the centre of society, Farrant rejected any attempt to pit the 2 against each other. But he did insist on the need for a missionary presence at the centre.²⁰⁰

Like his colleagues, Farrant publicly expressed himself positively concerning David Lot's high political offices, but he differed from most of his colleagues in that he encouraged him privately as well.²⁰¹ Lot's experiences as pastor catapulted him into political prominence in a Christian-Pagan community in which no one else had the required competence.²⁰² The presence of other Christians among the delegates to a constitutional delegation to London was likewise lauded and ascribed solely to the influence of the Word of God.²⁰³ He considered it "a great help" for the church "to have voices which can be heard in public issues."²⁰⁴ Likewise, Farrant was appreciative of discussions of N.M.C. and of the C.C.N. "on political affairs in Adamawa."²⁰⁵

As to the issues of interest to Farrant, one was freedom for the weak. This he regarded as one of Lot's major tasks.²⁰⁶ Some of his articles dealt extensively with various political topics, such as methods of election,²⁰⁷ composition of the

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

198. WD/50, p. 98.

199. *Crescendo*, p. 23.

200. LB, May/59, p. 39 and July/59, p. 57.

201. Interviews.

202. LB, May/52, pp. 49-50.

203. *Crescendo*, p. 25.

204. SUM 22, 11 Aug/54.

205. SUM 22, 29 Oct/54.

206. LB, May/52, p. 50.

207. *Ibid.*

Nigerian government,²⁰⁸ and constitutional developments.²⁰⁹ One specific political suggestion he offered was that the Middle Belt become a separate region rather than subsume it in a large Northern Region.²¹⁰ However, his main concern was the question of freedom of religion, even in most of the articles referred to above, but since Farrant did not provide any information not already contained in the treatment of the S.U.M. as a whole, there is no need to repeat. It will be recalled from previous chapters that he was a champion second to none for religious freedom. Though he was interested in constitutional safeguards for such freedom, he was deeply aware that such safeguards constitute no guarantees. "It looks well to have safeguards written into a constitution," he warned, "but they can be ignored or misinterpreted by a government . . ." He suggested that "the most reliable protection for a minority is its own strength of character and stability of purpose." As far as Northern Nigerian Christians were concerned, "their progress will depend much more upon their fidelity to Christ than on safeguards in the Constitution."²¹¹

One political approach Farrant rejected was that of a Christian political party. Though he did not mention it, probably he was referring to Lot's M.Z.L. He wrote that it was "important that Christians should learn not to make the Christian faith into a political party. It requires much wisdom to avoid it." Within the same paragraph, he recounts that persecution of Christians was often based on the accusation of political interference. In tribal situations Christians were often suspected of being a threat to traditional authorities and it was not till it became clear that they were obedient to "living chiefs" – as opposed to ancestral authorities – that the Christian community was accepted by the tribe. He continued, "There is a kind of activity, however, which is mistaken for Christian witness, which attracts one group and permanently alienates another and makes the Christian community into a political party." He suggested that this "trap can only be avoided by a spiritual understanding of our Lord's teaching and having a consequent love for all men. The biggest mistake of this sort that the Church in the Sudan could make would be to wall off Islam so that Moslems become impermeable by the Gospel."²¹² It appears that his objections to this form of Christian political activity was based not on principle so much as on certain practical considerations relating to specific policies and activities of the M.Z.L. that may not have been wise, a suspicion confirmed by Lot himself.²¹³

208. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

209. LB, Sept/57, pp. 87-89.

210. WD/50, p. 99.

211. LB, Sept/57, p. 87.

212. *Crescendo*, p. 75.

213. Interview, 14 Sept/78.

V. *Conclusion*

Regardless of all the changes that had taken place since the pioneer era, both within the mission and without, the view on colonialism remained basically constant. The implicit definition we offered in Chapter 4 was representative for these closing years as well. An isolated reading of chapters 7 and 8 would almost give the impression of two unrelated situations, so differently was colonialism experienced and analyzed by the S.U.M. on the one hand and the nationalist and ecumenical communities on the other.

Part III

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Nine

Evaluation of Colonialism

I. *Introduction*

For this concluding Part III, we have several aims in mind. While Chapter 10 is more theological in nature, here we concentrate on colonialism and its successor, neo-colonialism. What are the effects of colonialism? What, we shall also ask, are the causes of so-called underdevelopment? Must colonialism bear the main brunt of blame? We aim also to present a more balanced picture of colonialism than earlier chapters were designed to do. Underlying it all is the question whether or not the expectations of the S.U.M. were fulfilled. Though our study has concentrated mainly on Northern Nigeria and though every colonial situation has its unique local aspects, from the beginning we have indicated that we regard this local situation as a specific case of a more general phenomenon.

II. *Colonialism Reviewed*

A. A Global Crisis

Lugard's prophecy has been partially fulfilled. The development of tropical resources and the relation of the West to colonized peoples are indeed among the crucial problems of the century.¹ Nobel prize winner Jan Tinbergen lists 3 "main divisive factors" in the political and economic life of the world, namely, "communism, development, and colonialism." These 3 are so inseparable that "only a simultaneous solution will be satisfactory."² More recently, the same author reports the general feeling that the problem of poverty is the primary socio-economic problem of the day.³ Another Nobel prize winner begins his

1. *Supra*, p. 68. H. Rollet, *Kerk en Arbeid*, trans. E. van Nispen tot Sevenaer – van Voorst tot Voorst (Credo-Reeks; Amsterdam: Uitgeversmij. N.V. Standaard Boekhandel, 1962), p. 23.

2. J. Tinbergen, *Shaping the World Economy: Suggestions for an International Economic Policy* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1962), pp. 7, 16.

3. J. Tinbergen, *Werk aan de wereld* (n.p.: N.V. Uitgeversmaatschappij Agon Elsevier, 1971), p. 27.

report to the U.N.O. with the statement that the relations between the "developed and developing countries" are the "central issue of our time."⁴ Another economist, Goudzwaard, also places the difficulties related to the gap in development between the rich and poor nations at the top of his list of problems influencing current politics.⁵ Nielsen affirms that if the complaints of the poor nations could in earlier days be "summarily suppressed if necessary," this is no longer possible. These nations constitute "the ghettos of the world and, like the ghettos within a modern nation, have, if nothing else, the capacity to pollute the atmosphere with bitterness, lawlessness, and unpredictability."⁶ Clearly, the questions of colonialism and its successor, neo-colonialism, are no mere side issues.

No wonder then that missiologists and other Christians are also concerned with the same problems, for an atmosphere poisoned with hostility is hardly conducive to the advance of the Gospel any more than to that of commerce. A report to the World Conference on Church and Society declared the problem of the gap in development as "the biggest issue in the world today, and it will be with us for generations to come."⁷ On various occasions Verkuyl similarly has posited the centrality of the entire complex of problems related to colonialism.⁸ He observes the wide-spread attention the problems are receiving and agrees with Nyerere that in fact the rich and poor nations are in a state of war.⁹ The challenge of poverty deserves the highest priority, he affirms in an interview with Puchinger.¹⁰ Also like Nyerere, Van Leeuwen speaks of international class struggle and predicts that current western approaches will lead to nuclear horror from sheer desperation of the West to retain her opulence.¹¹ The fact that missionaries generally go from rich to poor nations "seriously complicates" relationships, states Warren.¹²

Statistics are useful in presenting a problem in all its starkness, but before we present them, we precede them with the warning that they must be understood as referring to people in misery,¹³ hungry people of whom there are an estimated 460 million in acute stage, besides possibly another billion and a half who may get enough calories, but insufficient proteins or other nutrients and

4. L.B. Pearson, *Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 3.

5. B. Goudzwaard, *A Christian Political Option*, transl. H. Praamsma (New Exodus Series; Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1972), p. 5.

6. Nielsen, p. 5. Cf. also Tinbergen, *Werk*, pp. 23-24.

7. *World Conference on Church and Society* (Geneva: W.C.C., 1967), p. 53.

8. J. Verkuyl, *Evangelie*, pp. 9-10.

9. J. Verkuyl, *Onderweg naar een wereldsamenleving: de samenhang tussen wereld-zending, werelddiaconaat en ontwikkelingssamenwerking* (Cahiers voor de Gemeente 9; Kampen: Kok, 1971), p. 6.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

11. A.Th. van Leeuwen, *Werelddiaconaat tussen economie en oecumene* (Horstcahiers; Driebergen: Kerk en Wereld, 1961), pp. 33, 40.

12. *Missionary Movement*, pp. 166-167.

13. Tinbergen, *Werk*, pp. 28-29.

who therefore cannot function at full capacity.¹⁴ Goudzwaard describes the situation pointedly: in western cities

the garbage trucks are busily picking up the leftovers of our consuming society. They are gathering the remnants of our half-eaten cakes and cream tarts. And at this very moment the refuse carts in Bombay and Ethiopia are collecting the bodies of men, women, and children who died last night in the streets and fields of hunger and misery.¹⁵

Van Leeuwen pictures a family of 12 children that have a mere 10 slices of bread to share. Should consumption be based on present world patterns, 1 child would eat 4 slices, 4 would eat 1 slice each, while the remaining 7 would have to share the last 2 slices.¹⁶ This example is designed to illustrate the proportion of income to population which he puts as follows:

U.S.A.	6% of world population	40% of world income
Europe	25% " " "	40% " " "
Developing nations	65% " " "	17% " " "

Another graphic method of portraying the gap is by a tally of the average percentage of their income people use for food in various countries. Drawing upon 1975 U.N. statistics, Simon produces this chart:

U.S.A.	17%	Indonesia	50%
Great Britain	22%	Peru	52%
Japan	23%	Zaire	62%
U.S.S.R.	38%	India	67%

He reminds us, furthermore, that 17% of \$10,000 is quite different from 60% of \$300!¹⁸ Coppens reproduces telling statistics regarding the proportion of G.N.P. to population:¹⁹

14. A. Simon, *Bread for the World* (New York: Paulist Press and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 3-4.

15. B. Goudzwaard, *Aid for the Overdeveloped West* (Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1975), p. 9.

16. *Werelddiaconaat*, p. 18. Cf. Simon, p. 14.

17. *Werelddiaconaat*, p. 18.

18. *Bread*, p. 40.

19. H. Coppens, "Wat zijn ontwikkelingslanden?" in *Ontwikkelingseconomie* (Unpublished syllabus for course in development economics at the FRU, Amsterdam 1973), p. 9. Taken from *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics 1972*, p. 239. Statistics for socialist countries do not include Albania and Asian socialist nations. Coppens advances these statistics in spite of his many reservations concerning G.N.P. as an adequate standard of measuring such differences. (*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10). Cf. also Coppens, "Opvattingen over het Ontwikkelingsvraagstuk," *Onderontwikkeling*, I, (Unpublished syllabus in development economics at FRU, 1975), p. 124. Cf. Bauer, p. 634 for additional reservations regarding the usefulness and adequacy of such statistics.

Developed market economies	21% of population	72% G.N.P.
Developing countries	47% „ „	12% „
Socialist countries	32% „ „	15% „

At the World Conference on Church and Society of 1966, Bola Ige, a Nigerian lawyer, asserted that "75% of the wealth and 85% of the technology of the world is in the hands of 33% of the population of this world." The famous Roman Catholic economist Barbara Ward presented different figures – 18% has 70-80% of world resources – and commented that though she disagreed with Ige's specifics, "there is enough truth there for us to think about and to think about seriously."²⁰ Verkuyl summarizes the desperate situation by the "simple" statement that 1610 million people in the poor nations have an average income below \$100.²¹

Contrary to popular opinion, experts of different schools and disciplines affirm that the gap is increasing and, with it, its latent consequences of increasing violence. Both Marxists and those considered "bourgeois" by Marxists agree on this point.²² In his popular study that has evoked the "admiration" of Gunnar Myrdal, Simon repeatedly refers to the increase and calls it "distressing." While India's per capita income, e.g. rose from \$64 in 1953 to \$100 in 1973, that of the U.S.A. jumped from \$2100 to \$5051, an increase not only in total amount, but in percentages. Compared to American income that of India deteriorated from some 3% to 2%. In poor countries as a whole the average per capita income increased by 27%, but that of the developed world by 43%. Even if the percentage of increase were similar, the gap would still increase, for a 1% increase would mean \$10 and \$50 for India and U.S.A. respectively.²³

The increase of the gap is no recent phenomenon, but can be traced back to at least 1860, as Zimmerman does.²⁴ It is precisely this widening of the gap, not merely the gap itself, that is said to constitute a primary threat to world peace.²⁵

B. Neo-colonialism – a Continuation

1. The Nigerian Situation

Farrant declared Nigeria's economy healthy and on a sound basis for independ-

20. *World Conference*, pp. 16-19.

21. *Onderweg*, p. 23. For further statistics cf. Rodney, pp. 23-25. Tinbergen, *Werk*, pp. 16-17.

22. A.M. Babu, "Postscript," in Rodney, p. 314.

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

24. Tinbergen, *Werk*, pp. 19-20. These statistics are reworked in Goudzwaard, *Aid*, p. 83 and reproduced as Appendix XIII. These figures are brought up to 1967 by Nielsen, p. 381.

25. Pearson, p. 3. For additional comments on this increase cf. Goudzwaard, *Option*, p. 49. Verkuyl, *Onderweg*, p. 6. Van Leeuwen, pp. 19-20, 26, 46. *Church and Society*, pp. 80, 83. P. Gheddo, *Why is the Third World Poor?* Trans. K. Sullivan (New York: Orbis Books, 1973), p. 29. Coppens, "Opvattingen," p. 124.

ence. Chapter 7, however, reveals that when the British relinquished their political reins in 1960, they left the country with its economic life in the hands of foreigners. Economically, not much changed at independence; earlier trends continued, as we are about to demonstrate. While rejecting the charge that colonialism had added to the miseries of Africa's masses, Duignan and Gann state that in 1960 the subsistence sector still accounted for some 80 to 90% of the local economy.²⁶ African participation in the modern economy was largely restricted to that of producer of cash-crops and as wage earner.²⁷ Kilby's section on manufacturing in Nigeria both before and after independence amounts to a guided tour of main urban business sections and industrial areas. Most of the larger companies sporting their signs there are mentioned and they are all foreign.²⁸ Moreover, many of them are subsidiaries or partly so to a few of the larger ones as Appendix XIV shows.

These capitalist companies were after maximum benefits for themselves. This does not imply that Nigeria derived no benefit from them, but such development was secondary in their interest. Kilby presents a number of case studies demonstrating that frequently industries would be founded in Nigeria in order to protect markets previously served from abroad, but now threatened. Sometimes factories were established which the market could not yet support, in order to prevent a competitor from seizing the entire market. By 1960, 2 companies were responsible for over 95% of the importation of asbestos-cement. When the Belgians went into a partnership with a public corporation to build a new plant close to Lagos for "flat and corrugated sheet," a British company promptly launched a venture of similar size near Enugu, even though the market could not really support both. It represented an attempt on the part of the British company to retain its share of the trade.²⁹ Another unambiguous example was the behaviour of Michelin, a French company, and Dunlop, a British concern, 2 firms that shared four-fifths of the Nigerian tire market, but who imported their products. As soon as Michelin opened discussion with the government in 1960 about a factory in Lagos, Dunlop sent a negotiating team as well. Because of French atomic tests in the Sahara, Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with that country and Michelin was thus excluded. The government then gave approval to Dunlop's plans, but with the threat of competition having subsided, the company failed to carry out its arrangements. However, Michelin then unobtrusively approached a regional government and in 1961 announced plans for a factory in Port Harcourt. In spite of one of her directors' acknowledgement that Nigeria could not support 2 plants, Dunlop then launched its own venture. Initially the

26. "Economic Achievements of the Colonizers," in Duignan and Gann, IV, p. 692. Cf. Meier, p. 465.

27. Meier, p. 465.

28. Kilby, pp. 493-512.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 501.

company operated at a loss, but the imposition of 60-70% customs duty on imported car and lorry tires at the request of the company enabled the latter to get into the black by 1965. Another and more spectacular instance was the founding of no less than 5 paint factories in a single year, "each sponsored by a leading British firm."³⁰ Similar stories are told concerning the smelting industry at Jos.³¹

By 1965, aliens in the manufacturing sector accounted for a mere 2% of the labour force, but, because of their managerial and technical positions, they absorbed a whopping 25% of the total wage bill. Private foreign firms' share amounted to 66% in industry and banking alone.³²

Chapter 2 shows that the British government imposed itself on Nigeria partly because of invitation from southern Nigerians to free them from the harsh monopoly of the Niger Company and partly because that company was not able to meet the challenges of foreign commercial interests in the interior. By the time the regime lowered its flag, the Nigerian market had expanded greatly and the differentiated economy was firmly in foreign hands. A pattern of foreign control had been set up that continues to this very day in Nigeria, though oil revenues now enable the country to assume increasing control.³³ The majority of the larger companies remains in the hands of a people having little personal stake in the country and whose decisions are based upon considerations not always amenable to Nigeria's needs. The largest company is still the U.A.C., a subsidiary of Unilever, that has recently boasted a revenue of \$1 billion.³⁴

One change after independence is an increasing American presence. Whereas Americans had previously approached Nigeria via British channels, now more direct and diversified relations were created.³⁵ Flanigan describes the American interests in present-day Nigeria and lists a considerable array of companies — Bank of America, Philip Morris, I.T.T., Mobil, Gulf, Philips, Ashland, Dresser, Ingersoll-Rand, Haliburton, Chase, First National of Chicago, Morgan, 3M Co., Bechtel, Fisher Scientific, F.M.C., Tiffany Industries. Others are considering moving in. British prestige is fading, according to Flanigan, though British firms are still the largest. Nigerians are reported to be seeking greater American involvement. One development executive, Ahmed Usman, explains this move as a desire for the greater efficiency Americans can contribute to management. This does not mean Nigerians love foreign control. In fact, they resent it, "but they know they cannot do without them if they are to build . . ."³⁶ Hence, while on the one hand seeking greater American involvement, there is on the other hand a

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 501-502.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 510-511.

33. J. Flanigan, "Nigeria: Where the Real Action Is," *Forbes*, 1 Dec/76, pp. 51-61.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

35. Nielsen, p. 339.

36. Flanigan, p. 54.

current attempt to increase "Nigerianization" of enterprises and to insist on Nigerian partnership, a policy that has led at least 3 American concerns, Citybank, Dow Chemical, and IBM, to decide against locating in the country or to leave.³⁷ Nigeria, being an O.P.E.C. country, is in a position to enforce such a policy, but that is a unique position in Black Africa. Others cannot so easily bargain from a position of strength.

2. World-wide Trends

a. The Colonial Heritage

Throughout these pages colonialism has been defined basically as an economic arrangement. We will now review opinions of various experts as to the economic effects of the system. The intention is not a full review of theories of colonialism, but rather to examine the popular charge that colonialism has impoverished colonized peoples. Rodney's thesis is embedded in his title, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. European development, he submits, is merely the other side of the coin of African underdevelopment. Policies were devised which "allowed capitalist parasites to grow fat and impoverish the dependents."³⁸ Contrary to the impression Rodney seeks to convey, this opinion is by no means limited to Marxists. Already in Chapter 2 we indicated widespread agreement on this score on the part of scholars of various schools of thought. As unlikely a bedpartner as the consciously Calvinian economist Goudzwaard posits the rhetorical question "whether the economic underdevelopment on the other side of the globe is the mirror image of economic overdevelopment here," "whether overdevelopment *here* may not be the cause of underdevelopment *there*."³⁹ That this is not merely a peripheral issue for Goudzwaard is plain from the fact that he reiterates it elsewhere.

The great gap between rich and poor countries is in fact a legacy of the colonial past of western countries. Even if they didn't directly exploit their colonies, without exception they all failed to enable the peoples of these countries to start their own economic growth.⁴⁰

A former student of Tinbergen, Goudzwaard describes the latter as being at the border where Christianity and humanism meet, as a disturbed socialist, belonging, in other words, to still another tradition.⁴¹ Yet, Tinbergen also lists colonialism among the factors that inhibited economic development.

Such a political situation may suppress, or at least insufficiently cultivate, the forces making for development. This can happen when economic development is kept in the

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60. Newsweek, 10 July/78. NN, July/78.

38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

39. *Aid*, p. 1.

40. *Option*, pp. 49, 34.

41. Puchinger, pp. 247-248.

hands of foreigners and the fruits of development — or of exploitation — are taken by a ruling nation.⁴²

Simon — and let Myrdal's endorsement give added weight to this opinion — accuses the British of having impoverished Bengal, the territory now consisting of Bangladesh and the West Bengal state of India, which, prior to the industrial revolution, had an economy "as advanced as any" with "highly developed centers of manufacturing and trade."⁴³

How, according to the experts, did colonialism impoverish its victims? We will list the main points on which general consensus exists and most of these can be applied directly to Nigeria. Gheddo, who rejects the theory that colonialism is the main cause for underdevelopment, contends that colonizers imposed an imbalance on local economies by decreasing the mortality rate through peace and improved medical services without improving agricultural production for local consumption. The redirection of agriculture towards export crops while the population increased ruptured the earlier "natural equilibrium" and thus contributed directly to food shortage.⁴⁴ Colonial development was at best uneven, having produced no "substantial change in the traditional sector," according to another.⁴⁵ Since colonizers developed mainly where their own country would benefit, Duignan and Gann echo, development "was extremely uneven."⁴⁶ The structure of production has been thrown off balance, asserts Haan.⁴⁷

The creation of monocultures is another element. Many colonies had their economies geared to an emphasis on one or more cash crops needed by the colonizing nation or on one or two raw materials such as copper or tin. Coppens offers a few concrete examples: Ghana depended for 70% on cocoa, Zambia for 93% on copper, Mauritius for 97% on sugar. Such phenomena, Coppens insists, are colonial products.⁴⁸ Gheddo similarly lists the imposition of monocultures among the serious sins of colonialism.⁴⁹ In addition to creating local food shortages, such arrangements render nations peculiarly vulnerable to fluctuations in world markets and prices which can be close to fatal.⁵⁰

42. *Shaping*, pp. 13-14. H. Coppens, "Opvattingen over het ontwikkelingsvraagstuk," *Onderontwikkeling*, II, 2, p. 124.

43. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

45. Meier, p. 465.

46. "Economic Achievements," p. 690.

47. R.L. Haan, "De ontwikkelingslanden in het wereldbetalingsverkeer," *Ontwikkelings-economie*, p. 48. Cf. further H. Coppens, "Historisch Overzicht," *Ontwikkelingseconomie*, p. 6. Simon, p. 31.

48. H. Coppens, "De internationale kontekst van het ontwikkelingsvraagstuk," *Ontwikkelingseconomie*, p. 17.

49. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

50. Cf. Simon, p. 91, for the effect on Chile of a sudden drop in copper prices in 1974-1975.

A third major factor has been the suppression of existing industries and/or failure to develop latent ones. This wide-spread colonial practice in the past continues to hinder present development efforts. One is reminded of the S.U.M.'s "innocent" but enthusiastic support of such policies with respect to the textile industry and of the discussion covering developments after World War II. Coppens quotes Griffin, who attributes the decline of Indian industries directly to colonial factors.⁵¹ The purpose of the policy was, of course, "to make room for the invasion of English products," or that of other western nations.^{4 5 2}

The balcanization of Africa had the effect of placing barriers between neighbouring African colonies in favour of direct links with the colonizing country. Busia argues that colonialism did not balcanize Africa, but, on the contrary, it amalgamated many small units into larger ones.⁵³ Nigeria could be cited as a perfect example of such amalgamations. However, it cannot be denied that these larger amalgamated units were then isolated from each other and channels of communications constructed to tie them firmly to the metropolises in Europe. Trans-Saharan camel routes to North Africa were largely disrupted by the railway to Lagos, which hooked up with marine transport to Europe. French and British Africa had no economic ties with each other.⁵⁴ Hartog agrees that existing means of communications "are largely confined to linkages with the former mother country."⁵⁵ Strict economic separation between former British and French Africa, communications "almost exclusively directed at the ex-mother countries," and the lack of "transportation facilities and telecommunications between neighbouring countries" all constitute serious barriers to "economic regrouping" and thus to progress.⁵⁶

A number of issues remain that we will treat less extensively. Failure to develop an adequate educational system that could have taught more Africans administrative and technical skills is frequently cited as a major blemish on the colonial record, for it has left Africa in continued dependence for manpower on other nations. Busia, probably the modern African writer who is the most positive with respect to colonialism, also lists this failure among colonial debits and one that has evoked the deepest emotional reaction against the system.⁵⁷ Mboya also draws attention to this facet for the same reason⁵⁸ as does Hartog.⁵⁹ The main economic result of colonialism is the amalgamation of the

51. "Historisch Overzicht," p. 6.

52. Gheddo, p. 74.

53. *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

54. Mboya, p. 59.

55. F. Hartog, "Economic Development and Co-operation in Africa," in Tinbergen, *Shaping*, p. 197.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

57. *Op. cit.*, pp. 40, 42.

58. *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

whole world into one set of relationships in the context of western capitalism, the centre of which lay originally in Europe, but later was transferred to the U.S.A. An interdependence has been created, but of an asymmetrical sort in which foreign capital controls the most dynamic sectors of the economy, such as industry, banking, insurance, transportation and communications.⁶⁰ Finally, Hartog refers to a basic hostility between foreign companies and national governments because of divergence in interests.⁶¹

We end this part of the discussion with Gheddo's summary:

The result of colonization on the economic plane was the creation of lands economically dependent on rich countries, without any real desire for their own autonomous development and with no further ambition but to serve the colonial powers. They became the suppliers of raw materials. They provided open markets for industrial products and profitable opportunities for commercial companies. Sometimes . . . they were able to offer cheap labor for the national industries. In this way the economic submission of the third sector to the developed world was brought about. Today this is a huge stumbling block to the progress of poor countries. We do not say . . . that this is the principal cause of the poverty of the third world, because in our opinion this poverty is intrinsic to the third world and is due to the fact that there has been no cultural and social evolution. But, certainly, this represents a heavy mortgage on the future of the former colonies.⁶²

b. Similarity to Colonialism

It will have been observed that in the foregoing reference was made to Chile as a concrete example of a colonial problem and it may well have been objected that Chile was not subjected to western colonialism. The reader is reminded, however, of the definition of colonialism we have adopted,⁶³ a definition which Kraemer borrowed from André Siegfried's study, *Latin America*.⁶⁴ One feature of that definition was that it could also be applied to situations where foreigners do not enjoy formal political control, but where they nevertheless sway major economic influence. The term "neo-colonialism" describes such situations. It is colonialism without the formal political trappings such as has existed in Latin America for a long time.⁶⁵ Whereas colonialism can be formally recognized as a *de facto* policy, however unpopular, neo-colonialism never enjoys formal recognition and its practitioners generally deny its existence by rejecting accusations concerning it as ideological propaganda. In Nigeria, political independence was regarded by nationalists as an important step towards economic freedom, but not as a final goal. Real freedom, it was recognized, had not yet been achieved as long as the economy was firmly in foreign hands. Economically, colonialism and

60. Coppens, "Historisch Overzicht," p. 6.

61. "Economic Developments," p. 199.

62. *Op. cit.*, p. 75. Cf. Nielsen, pp. 36-37 for a similar summary.

63. *Supra*, p. 49.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Verkuyl, *Break Down*, pp. 74-75.

neo-colonialism do not differ markedly from each other. Only the strongest nations, such as O.P.E.C. members, are in a position to control it to a degree.

Thus Nielsen is right in his assertion that independence "implies more of an abrupt separation from the metropole than in fact tends to be the case." The symbols change — a new constitution, new flag, national anthem, new head of government — but the remaining ties are often more significant than those released, and the economic is usually among the former.⁶⁶ Independence, according to Jaguaribe, "far from expressing a process of decolonization," "characterizes only a change in the ways of exploitation." The cost of the formal trappings is not borne by the victim, but the basic economic relationship remains.⁶⁷ Delavignette describes neo-colonialism as a "more insidious" form of colonialism. It looks non-political and profits from lack of interest on the part of European governments. Neo-colonialism is re-creating conditions showing "curious affinities with the methods of exploitation employed by the old colonial charter companies," a similarity also observed by others.⁶⁸ Thus Gheddo concludes that the poor nations remain under Western domination in a neo-colonialist scheme which is a renewal of the old colonial domination under a new form.⁶⁹ Whereas under the old scheme Europe was dominant, the present situation is dominated by the superpowers, especially the U.S.,⁷⁰ a shift that represents no major change from the point of view of the victims.

c. Multinationals

One of the basic characteristics of multinational corporations (M.N.C.) is that they coordinate their economic activities throughout the world from a single headquarter, though a few have 2 centres.⁷¹ Vernon writes, "They sprawl across national boundaries, linking the assets and activities of different national jurisdictions with an intimacy that seems to threaten the concept of the nation as an integral unity."⁷² We have already observed their predominance in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. We continue to insist also that the Nigerian situation is typical for most underdeveloped nations outside of the Communist block. American M.N.C.'s have taken over leadership.

66. *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

67. H. Jaguaribe, *Political Development: a General Theory and a Latin American Case Study* (London, 1973), p. 382, as reproduced in *Onderontwikkeling*, p. 170. Cf. H. Coppens, "Wat zijn Ontwikkelingslanden?" *Ontwikkelingseconomie*, p. 12.

68. *Op. cit.*, pp. 163-165. R. Vernon, *Sovereignty at Bay: The Multinational Spread of U.S. Enterprises* (The Harvard Multinational Enterprise Series; New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), p. 26. T. Koning and D. de Graaf, "De multinationale," *Onderontwikkeling*, pp. 209-210, originally published by Sjaloom.

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

70. Nielsen, pp. 38, 339.

71. H. Coppens, "De multinationale onderneming," *Ontwikkelingseconomie*, p. 34. Koning and de Graaf, p. 209.

72. *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Trouw, 13 Aug/73.

M.N.C. statistics are staggering, especially those related to American concerns to which we largely intend to limit our discussion. The totality of their economic activities outside of the U.S.A. already constitutes them as the third largest economic power in the world, next to the U.S.A. itself and the U.S.S.R.⁷³ Of the 100 largest economic units in the world, 46 are nations, while 54 are M.N.C.'s, 37 of which are American. The first 14 are nations. General Motors is the first company, followed by Standard Oil (20th), Ford (21st), and Royal Dutch Shell (26th). Another comparison has it that in 1969 there were 29 M.N.C.'s with a revenue exceeding \$3 billion, while that of 84 countries was less.⁷⁴ In 1971, Vernon reported that General Motors' annual sales of \$25 billion was larger than the G.N.P. of some 130 countries!⁷⁵ In 1973, the same company's output "almost tripled the total output of Pakistan and Bangladesh combined," while in 1974, Exxon revenues of \$46 billion exceeded the G.N.P. of all but 3 poor countries.⁷⁶ Statistics about the number of American subsidiaries abroad are equally mind-boggling, but for reasons of space we resist the temptation to reproduce them extensively. In 1967, 187 leading American M.N.C.'s controlled 7,927 subsidiaries abroad, a figure that does not include those of the numerous smaller ones.⁷⁷ Fritsch counts 9 M.N.C.'s that have their tentacles in at least 40 countries, with The Shell Transport and Trading Co. Ltd. topping the list with 85.⁷⁸ In terms of employees, American subsidiaries abroad that engage in manufacturing and extraction employ some 49,000 Americans and about 5.5 million local workers.⁷⁹

Financial statistics relating to M.N.C.'s are dizzying and almost beyond human grasp.⁸⁰ However, in addition to statistics comparing corporations to nations as we have done above, we restrict ourselves to a few showing something of the importance of M.N.C.'s to the American economy. Levinson reports that the sales of American firms abroad were more than 5 times the value of American exports, and this he expected to rise to 9 times by 1975.⁸¹ Whereas in 1950 American foreign assets were valued at \$31.5 billion, by 1971 they surpassed \$170 billion. In 1972, American companies received more than \$10

73. Koning and de Graaf, p. 209.

74. Coppens, "Multinationale," p. 34. Coppens derived these statistics from C. Levinson, *Capital, Inflation, and the Multinationals* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1971), p. 105. In this study we use the American edition (New York: MacMillan, 1971), in which they are found on pp. 148-149.

75. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

76. Simon, p. 45. Cf. B. Fritsch, "De Structuur van het internationale systeem," from *Een nieuw machts-middel? Grenzen aan de groei* (Baarn: Bruna, 1974), as copied in *Onderontwikkeling* p. 175. *Trouw*, 13 Aug/73.

77. Vernon, p. 45.

78. *Onderontwikkeling*, p. 175.

79. Vernon, p. 156.

80. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 14-15, 19, 22-23, 65, 101, 103. Levinson, pp. 87-94.

81. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

billion in payments from affiliates abroad, a sum that "could easily double" by 1980.⁸² The evidence presented in *Fortune* leaves no doubt that M.N.C.'s are the mainstays of the American balance of payment. In fact, they "earn high marks for consistently strengthening the U.S. payments position — at least they did up through 1970," the last year for which statistics were available. While the U.S. trade surplus was almost halved from 1966 till 1970, the M.N.C.'s continued to bring in some \$2 billion more in trade than they sold to the U.S. In the services sector in 1966, the total private surplus was \$4 billion, but that of the M.N.C.'s was \$4.5 billion — another way of saying that the non-M.N.C. share was accumulating a deficit. While this deficit reached \$1.9 billion by 1970, the surplus of the M.N.C.'s increased to \$6.4 billion.⁸³ No wonder that the saying "The world is our oyster" has become a house slogan in M.N.C. circles. Neither should one be surprised at Ludwell Denny's sentiment, "We are not without cunning. We shall not make Britain's mistake. Too wise to govern the world, we shall merely own it."⁸⁴

The multinational and varied composition of M.N.C.'s give them a peculiar independence of action that, in addition to their financial power, provides them with a structural influence that can be overwhelming, especially in poor countries. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by an imaginary M.N.C. described in *Fortune*. Multicorp has 4 subsidiaries. The British one is making good profit, but the government demands high taxes. So the company transfers part of the profit to its Swiss affiliate by cutting its export prices to that branch, for the latter is subjected to a lighter taxload. The story continues:

Switzerland has a very buoyant currency. Its exchange rate usually goes only one way — up. Not so the country where the South American subsidiary is located. When devaluation seems imminent, that affiliate will try to send as much money as possible to Switzerland. It will do so by prepaying any accounts owing to the Swiss. And it will also borrow as much money as it can in the local money market and send it out of the country.

On occasion the Swiss are on the giving as well as on the receiving end. . . . The affiliate . . . (in France) is also making lots of profit, but it is bothered by tight money. The best a French banker can offer is an 8 per cent loan. The French, however, can call on the Swiss for help. The Swiss, who can borrow domestically at 4 per cent, will either make a direct loan to the French or tell them to delay payment of all accounts owed to Switzerland.

Such doing will cause some subsidiaries to gain at the expense of others. But what matters in the annual reckoning is the consolidated profit of the over-all enterprise All multinationals know about these techniques⁸⁵

The above is a concrete example how the various subsidiaries scattered

82. S. Rose, "Multinational Corporations in a Tough New World," *Fortune*, Aug/73, p.

55.

83. N.n., "A Big Boost for the B.O.P.," *Fortune*, Aug/73, p. 64.

84. Levinson, p. 91.

85. "How the Multinationals Play the Money Game," *Fortune*, Aug/73, p. 59.

throughout the world, through internal dealings have a relative freedom from national conditions and laws that is almost impossible for host governments to restrict, especially for poor nations that desperately need their services. It can escape restrictions and taxes in a way no local company can. The example deals with what Kindleberger calls "corporate escape from the national jurisdiction." He describes additional ways in which M.N.C.'s can meet such situations that are interesting and important, but that would make our account too long.⁸⁶ As Vernon put it, M.N.C.'s can "transfer goods and services among affiliates at prices that are often at variance with the results that independent buyers and sellers would reach." Their pricing policies are often geared to the needs of the M.N.C. as a whole and can be at variance with local interest.⁸⁷ In times of currency crises, such corporations, having less local loyalty, can take actions to profit from it at the expense of their host's interest. If production costs are too high in one locality, it is often possible to "quietly shift . . . production to other members" of the family.⁸⁸

Another advantage such subsidiaries have over against local companies is that the former have access to the skills, marketing facilities, contacts, credit, research, *etc.* of the entire M.N.C., for which they would normally have to pay dearly. For example, western corporations control the shipping, insurance, processing, distribution, and sales of coffee, the second largest trading commodity in the world.⁸⁹ Lack of such facilities on the part of local companies may become a prohibiting factor for such to attempt a particular endeavour and may force a poor country to invite an M.N.C. against her deepest desires.⁹⁰

The fact that a foreign affiliate must submit to policies hammered out at foreign headquarters is a basic cause for the uneasy relationships between them and their host governments, for it is a reminder of the colonial humiliation and, indeed, often a continuation of it.⁹¹ This tension is heightened by the fact that the government of the country housing the headquarters of the M.N.C. can also frequently exercise a power that can be experienced as genuine imperialism. Examples of such interference are not far to seek and are not limited to American industries in the poor nations. The U.S. government prevented subsidiaries in Canada to deal with China and Cuba and it tried to stop the British from selling aircraft to the China.⁹² In a meeting with Latin American

86. C.P. Kindleberger, *Power and Money: The Economics of International Politics and the Politics of International Economics* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), pp. 181-182. Trouw, 13 Aug/73.

87. *Op. cit.*, p. 139. Cf. H. Antonidas, *Multinationals and the Peaceable Kingdom* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1978), p. 48.

88. Vernon, p. 168.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 154. "Food and Fibre," PS, Jan/78, p. 17.

90. Vernon, p. 247.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-238, 167. Coppens, "Onderneming," p. 43. Kindleberger, pp. 183-184, 192. For a summary of a discussion on the matter between former Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau and U.S. Vice-President Mondale, cf. *Canada Weekly*, 1 Feb/78. Antonidas, pp. 62-63.

diplomats, former American Secretary of State Kissinger "agreed to allow" subsidiaries of American automotive companies in Argentina to sell to Cuba.⁹³

This combination of power and allegiance to purposes at variances with local aspirations can easily cause injustice, especially in the case of poor nations. Buckle, an executive in the U.A.C., is reported to have said that his company and others are prepared to cooperate with any other entity as long as such cooperation would contribute to the success of his corporation.⁹⁴ Though Vernon suggests that M.N.C.'s frequently opt not to utilize their full powers,⁹⁵ the superiority the north has gained through technology and organization ability harnessed to an already lopsided colonial heritage in the south has brought about an economic order that largely favours the north and is co-responsible for the increasing gap discussed earlier.

Rather than outline the intricate workings of the international economy and run the risk of having this study degenerate into an amateur venture into economics, we shall limit ourselves to a mere listing of some of its results, remembering all the while that its most depressing result is the widening of the gap. One result of the unprecedented conglomeration of economic power is that trade patterns consistently favour the north more than the south, though, again, O.P.E.C. forms the notable exception. Constituting a northern monopoly on trade facilities, marketing devices, shipping and transport, banks, *etc.*, M.N.C.'s are in a position to largely determine prices in terms of their own interest.⁹⁶

Another development is the gradual replacement of raw materials by synthetics, often after westerners have persuaded a nation to concentrate on the production of a particular product. Referring to "the scandal of international trade," Gheddo reveals the specific case of Tanzanian farmers who had been persuaded to cultivate the pyrethrum plant, the main source for an insecticidal powder. In 1962, a ton of it would yield £225, but by 1969 this had dropped to £80, because Europeans replaced the product with cheaper chemicals. For farmers in an exceedingly poor nation such changes are far more fatal than one can justify by an appeal to the "objective" law of demand. Another concrete example is the cost of an American jeep in Brazil in terms of coffee. The price went up from the 1954 level of 14 bags for a jeep through 39 in 1962 to 45 in 1968. Whereas 24 kilos of coffee could buy a ton of cement in 1952, in 1972 it took 39 kilos.⁹⁷

93. "Suddenly It's Manana in Latin America," *Fortune*, Aug/74, p. 139. This power can also be used in the service of policies Nigeria *et al* would favour, as in opposing apartheid (NS, 5 May/78).

94. D. Scherpenzeel, *Manipulaties met ontwikkelingshulp* (Maandelijks Kosmoschrift nr. 4 en 5; Odijk: Sjaloom, 1970), p. 11.

95. *Op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

96. Simon, p. 91. Helder Camera, *Levend tussen de armen* (Breda: Uitgave persdienst Bisdrom Breda, 1975), p. 13. Reproduced in *Onderontwikkeling*, p. 46.

97. *Op. cit.*, pp. 83-84. Simon, p. 91. Cf. further Coppens, "Kontekst," p. 18. Pearson, p. 47. PS.

A combination of factors has led to a reduction in the southern share in world trade. This is not to say there was no increase in their export volume, but this growth was less than that of world trade as a whole. From 1950 to 1967 the southern share in world trade declined from 31% to 19%. Even their share in the trade of primary products, their specialty, fell from 54% to 42%. Among the reasons for this, in addition to that in the previous paragraph, is liberalization of trade that "aimed chiefly at expanding trade among the industrial countries."⁹⁸ More detailed and slightly more recent statistics reproduced by Fritsch demonstrate that in 1970 this share further declined to 18.5%, while in 1971 a small increase occurred to almost 19% again. This increase took place in Asia and Africa and can probably be attributed to oil prices.⁹⁹ Simon's statistics more clearly demonstrate the direction in which trade is moving by excluding O.P.E.C. nations: the southern share in world exports declined from 24% in 1950 to 10.5% in 1974.¹⁰⁰ The same trend has been observed with respect to investments of M.N.C.'s. Whereas in 1950, 48.7% of American corporation foreign investment went to the south and 48.3% to the north, by 1970 these proportions had changed to 27.5% and 68% respectively.¹⁰¹

The increasing debt burden is another feature of the world economy. Reasons for it include "economic crises, scanty returns from newly established industries, compounding of interest," "both from large export credits . . . and development assistance." Pearson reports a total debt of nearly \$450 billion, the service of which has been growing at 17% annually and which thus absorbs much of the increase in export earnings.¹⁰²

To avoid the impression that responsibility for these conditions lies only with M.N.C.'s, we devote one paragraph to the policies of northern governments to see whether their influence is corrective or not. Simon and Coppens both insist that northern governments in fact actively support the *status quo* in various ways. They have imposed tariffs on many imports from poor nations that are much higher than on those from rich nations.¹⁰³ Coppens reveals that on a number of tropical food items most rich nations have imposed a high to very high consumers tax of which the producers gain no benefit at all. His report on import duties agrees with Simon's, but it is more concrete. His statistics demonstrate that the tariff on imported manufactures from the poor nations is close to double the average tariff on manufactures in general and that the American difference is greater than that of the other western nations included in the tally.¹⁰⁴ Poor nations need desperately to develop their industries and

98. Pearson, pp. 45-47. Coppens, "Kontekst," p. 16 and "Opvattingen," p. 130.

99. Fritsch, p. 199. but p. 162 in his book.

100. *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

101. H. Coppens, "Internationale Kapitaalbewegingen," *Ontwikkelingseconomie*, p. 28.

102. Gheddo, p. 88. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

103. Simon, p. 92.

104. Coppens, "Kontekst," p. 19.

obtain markets for finished products rather than for their raw materials. However, the U.S. imposes highest tariffs on manufactures in order to protect its own industries. She has occasionally encouraged development of foreign industries, only to refuse to open her markets to them. Money was lent to a Latin American country for a glove factory. An American firm placed an order for 12 million pair a year, only to be forced by the government to reduce this to 20,000. And so in 1974, the U.S. earned \$5.5 billion from poor nations in sales only, not to speak of M.N.C. profits.¹⁰⁵

It is this total picture that has led men such as Kaunda of Zambia to charge that M.N.C.'s show not the least interest in the development of their host countries. They seek to maximize profits with a minimum of investment. They regard poor countries as fishing ponds with their minimal investment capital as bait.¹⁰⁶ Defending his country's nationalization of certain M.N.C. holdings, the same speaker explained that these M.N.C.'s, regardless of the frequent invitation to integrate themselves in the country, declined because their only concern was to make hay while the sun shone and to run with the first rains. A mining concern was provided with special tax concessions, but all the company did was to raise dividends from 50% to 80% without doing any re-investment throughout the 1960s.¹⁰⁷ Similar cries are heard repeatedly. Helder Camera describes some M.N.C. profits as "scandalous," as "blood money" pressed from the poor. He also points out that President Eisenhower, for one, expressed awareness of the situation and was disturbed.¹⁰⁸

Gollwitzer reserves strong words for the situation. Discussing a German book that describes the wealth of Europe as unprecedented in history, Gollwitzer disputes the writer's statement that this wealth has merely "accumulated," for, he argues, "it was a robbers' haul, the phenomenon of colonialism was one of its important causes, and without this cause the rise of Europe cannot be explained."¹⁰⁹ Exploitation, Gollwitzer continues, has not ceased with political colonialism, but it continues under neo-colonialism. At the 1966 Conference on Church and Society, a delegate rejected the term "neo-colonialism" as "demagogical claptrap," but Gollwitzer discounts such opinion as itself constituting demagoguery, for "the facts are too clear and important for us to be able to question the Third World's right to speak of neo-colonialism."¹¹⁰

Roman Popes are not conspicuous for "radical left" views, but Paul VI fully shared such criticisms regarding neo-colonialism and international trade patterns:

105. Simon, pp. 96-97.

106. Speech to W.C.C. conference at Uppsala, Scherpenzeel, p. 11.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 12. These percentages strike us as inflated. In our research we have not found any statistics that come anywhere near such high figures. However, that does not negate the charge of high profits.

108. "Levend," pp. 46-47.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Of course, highly industrialized nations export for the most part manufactured goods, while countries with less developed economies have only food, fibers, and other raw materials to sell. As a result of technical progress the value of manufactured goods is rapidly increasing and they can always find an adequate market. On the other hand, raw materials produced by underdeveloped countries are subject to wide and sudden fluctuations in price, a state of affairs far removed from the progressively increasing value of industrial products. As a result, nations whose industrialization is limited are faced with serious difficulties when they have to rely on their exports to balance their economy and to carry out their plan for development. The poor nations become poorer while the rich ones become richer.¹¹¹

C. Redeeming Features?

After so many pages of diatribe against colonialism and its offspring, one may legitimately enquire with some impatience whether colonialism is to be described exclusively in negative terms. Were there no redeeming features? Has the discussion not suffered from an insistent one-sided ideology? Let it be remembered that this study does not represent a systematic study of colonialism *an sich*, but that its primary aim is the correction of the Evangelical tradition as it relates to colonialism. This tradition itself has suffered from a one-sided ideology that, in our judgment, stands in hope of correction only by being confronted with a barrage of facts that by their very number and repetition become so weighty as to become inescapable. Thus, the discussion has indeed been one-sided deliberately, like that of Rodney.¹¹²

It is recognized, however, that the question regarding redeeming features cannot be ignored if this deliberate bias is to escape degenerating into an ideology itself. Facts such as those presented in Burns' *In Defence of Colonies* must also be accounted for if this study is to retain credibility. For this reason we intend to treat a number of matters to provide some balance, but, let it be understood clearly, not in order to undermine the force of the facts so far revealed or to have them taken less seriously. This section must not be interpreted as providing any rationale whatsoever for regarding mission participation in colonialism with less severity than we have so far indicated.

1. Non-economic Motives

Our insistence on the centrality of the economic motive does not imply a lack of other motives in colonialism. Though the S.U.M. participated enthusiastically in the effort, our treatment has clearly demonstrated that they were in no way guided by economic motives primarily. Counteracting the Marxist reduction of colonial motives to purely economic ones, Coppens lists, in addition to the economic motive, others of political, military, social, cultural and psychological

111. Gheddo, pp. 82-83.

112. *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

origin.¹¹³ Though he appears to give priority to the politico-economic motives, Verkuyl lists also cultural, nationalistic, pseudo-religious and ideological motives.¹¹⁴ Nielsen predicts that the reason Europe was "led to establish such sweeping hegemony is likely to remain a matter of mystery and debate." Economic, religious, military and other motives all played their part.¹¹⁵ Lord Salisbury, British Prime Minister at the time of African partition, listed "passion for adventure" and the "slave-raiding horror" as some of "a multiplicity of individual motives, mingled with every shade of selfishness and altruism" which "combined in the culminating initiation of the onrush; — the urge for trade, the ardour of evangelization, the love of gain, the pride of empire, the conscious trusteeship of civilization, the jealousies of patriotism." Though he accepts Lord Salisbury's list of motives, Nielsen nevertheless gives great weight to economic factors.¹¹⁶ The leading participating politicians of the day were themselves puzzled "by the nature of the drama in which they found themselves almost involuntary performers. 'I do not know exactly the cause of this sudden revolution,' declared Lord Salisbury to a Glasgow audience in May 1891, 'but there it is'."¹¹⁷

In addition to common exploiters there were humanitarians of every stripe. At least with respect to 19th-century invasion of Africa, Warren feels "we must never be tired of insisting" that it contained "as one of its dominating factors a genuine humanitarianism."¹¹⁸ The moral guilt of the West, Abrecht suggests, is "mitigated in many cases by humanitarian attitudes and a real concern for the social and economic development of the countries and peoples" — mitigated, not erased.¹¹⁹ " 'Evil men' explanations of human affairs are unconvincing," Coleman asserts,¹²⁰ a sentiment shared by Vernon who rejects the "conspiracy theory of history" in which both "good guys" and "bad guys" can be identified.¹²¹ Even Rodney rejects the conspiracy principle, though he detects signs of it in colonial educational planning.¹²² Imperialism, according to Kindleberger, "was not deliberately criminal or immoral, so much as myopic or egocentric."¹²³ Lugard is a perfect example. Consciously and proudly imperialistic, he cannot justly be accused of having pursued immoral goals. Rather, he

113. H. Coppens, "Reaktie Huub Coppens," *Onderontwikkeling*, p. 142.

114. *Break Down*, pp. 65-68.

115. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

116. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

117. Wilson, p. 71. Cf. G.M.M. Gilhuis, *Crowther en de "Young Purifiers": enkele achtergronden van de crisis in de Niger Mission via een analyse van het optreden van de Sudan Party* (unpublished *doctorandus* thesis for the FRU, n.d.), p. 29.

118. *Social History*, pp. 166-167.

119. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

120. *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

121. *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

122. *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

123. *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

was swept away by the predominant imperial ideology of his day and sought to do his noble best within those terms. There were "bad guys" – the S.U.M. documents leave no doubt about that – but they were not generally among the leading public figures. Kaunda entertains the opinion that whites have oppressed not because they are more wicked than others, but because they have power and power corrupts. The West lost its soul through its enslavement to wealth.¹²⁴

Our conclusion is, then, that the economic motive, though dominant, was not exclusive and in many individuals it played a minor part. Secondly, the participants in the colonial venture were no more or less immoral in their policies or personal behaviour than their counterparts at home. Together they adhered to a set of ideas that was bound to create the problems we have described but that was not generally thus recognized even by those with the best of intentions. Evangelicals shared that blindness, a fact for which we will offer some explanation in due time, but no excuse.

2. Internal Causes of Underdevelopment

The second misconception we wish to avoid is that colonialism is here regarded as the sole cause for underdevelopment in the poor nations. While most authorities do not agree with Delavignette's position that colonialism had "little to do with" the widening gap,¹²⁵ it cannot be said to be the only villain. The testimony of numerous authors has it that internal factors were equally responsible, if not more. In fact, the main thesis of Gheddo's study is that such internal factors are the *primary* cause for underdevelopment. Our discussion has emphasized the economic moment of colonialism; Gheddo emphasizes that development or lack of it are not merely economic matters, but that they relate to the whole man, a position we have not so far stressed, but with which we fully concur. Development and underdevelopment both have their social, physical, intellectual and spiritual aspects that may not be ignored in a responsible study.¹²⁶ According to Gheddo, in the distant past all human society was static and underdeveloped, each society in its own peculiar way. Generally speaking, only a few elite could enjoy progress in the arts, philosophy and in living conditions, while society as a whole was denied access to such enjoyment. Why did some people begin to advance and others remain stagnant? The answer is to be sought especially in the realm of ideas. Progressive peoples have undergone 4 revolutions. The West had the advantage of the Christian doctrine of man and his relation to God, nature and his neighbour, a doctrine that, when it ripened, mobilized that civilization. The Christian doctrine of progress emerged

124. K. Kaunda, "Some Personal Reflections," *Africa's Freedom*, pp. 32, 37.

125. *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

126. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

and "created a dynamic tension towards the future." The 2 remaining revolutions concern population growth and developments in science and technology, both of which were products of the first 2. Gheddo is aware that these assertions have not been "completely proved historically," but the fact that prominent authors such as Barbara Ward, Karl Jaspers, Christopher Dawson, Arnold Toynbee and John Henry Newman have expressed themselves similarly lends added credence to the theory.¹²⁷ Without tracing its development in detail, Gheddo realizes that this Christian inheritance of the West has been prostituted by materialism in its "liberal-capitalist or Marxist-communist version" and it is these warped versions of it that have been exported.¹²⁸

Failure of similar developments in the poor nations is partly to be attributed to the lack of these revolutions. He then proceeds to a brief summary of various philosophies found in the underdeveloped nations, philosophies very different from each other but that share certain ideas of man, nature and God that promote attitudes of bondage to nature.¹²⁹ Ideas of progress and advance are lacking in the poor regions. There is an emphasis on tradition and the past that restrains development. Changes in diet or in agriculture are resisted frequently because "the revolution of ideas" has not reached them.¹³⁰

Though we would not necessarily subscribe to Gheddo's entire argument, our own 10-year experience in rural Nigeria substantiates much of it. In addition to providing a number of concrete examples to buttress his thesis,¹³¹ he advances opinions of leaders in the underdeveloped world that further corroborate it such as those of Nyerere, Kenyatta, Parel, Panikkar, P. Thomas, Nehru, Diop and Kouyate.¹³² It is the lack of this revolution of ideas, originating in the West from the Christian religion, then, that is the major reason for the difference in development, according to this theory.

Gheddo and Goudzwaard represent very different Christian traditions, Roman and Calvinian, but they point to basically identical reasons, even though Goudzwaard does so in a description of the western economic system. He writes:

Socioeconomic life is always a kind of confession in the sense of making known or even unconsciously betraying, what a person's life is all about, what he really lives for, and where the meaning of his life lies. Whether we want to or not, everyone – Christian and non-Christian – makes a confession in this way. No one can live without a lord, and no one can refrain from making confession.

Goudzwaard continues:

127. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 37.

128. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-52.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 57-65. Gheddo does not appeal to Mbiti, but the latter's study of traditional concepts of time in Africa is directly relevant to and supportive of the former's thesis (*Eschatology*, pp. 24-32).

People make confessions not only for themselves individually, but also communally. The Bible speaks not only of persons who depart but also of peoples, nations and societies which depart from the living God. And his judgment rests not only upon particular persons but also upon nations¹³³

Goudzwaard is discussing trends in western economics that are heading towards catastrophe because they are based upon inadequate humanistic, autonomous philosophy, but his theory is equally applicable retroactively to the socio-economic systems of traditional societies, systems that were integrally religious.

Art historian Rookmaker affirms that culture can never be conceived separate from faith, for "culture is the result of man's creative activity within God-given structures." The whole of our work is "ultimately directed by our answer to the question of who – or what – our God is, and where for us the ultimate source of all reality and life lies." This fact holds for all man, including "those that do not acknowledge the true God, the Creator" ¹³⁴

A Reformed historian, McIntire, explains the differences in development similarly.

Tradition can petrify cultural formation so that little cultural development occurs over a long period. But given the right religious motivation, propitious times, and perhaps fruitful intercultural contact, normal cultural activity may come to discover new and fuller modes of doing things so that possibilities latent within the creation may be unfolded and developed.

Especially does he give credit to the role of Christianity in such development:

It seems unmistakable that Christian faith has been especially conducive to cultural development. Secular humanism, historically a derivative of Christianity, is similarly inclined. A minimum requirement for cultural development is to be free of bondage to the natural world. Traditional African tribes, the ancient Egyptians, and the earliest Greeks, each in their own way were bound to nature worship. The classical Greeks and Romans, Buddhism, and Islam all came to realize the cultural freedom of human beings within nature, and so experienced remarkable cultural development over long periods. But it was the Christian Commonwealth of the middle ages and the secular culture of post-Christian Europe and North America which uncovered the immense created possibilities of natural science, industrialization, urbanization, the arts, and human intercourse on a world scale.

McIntire makes this claim without blindness to the negative bequest that dynamic culture has left the world. The negative may well equal the positive influence. He claims the support of eminent like Christopher Dawson and Arnold Toynbee for the thesis that "religion is the crucial motive force of all cultures. It is a biblical point that how we live in relation to God determines the character of our whole way of life, and of a whole culture's life." ¹³⁵

133. *Aid*, pp. 23-24.

134. H.R. Rookmaker, *Modern Art and the Death of a Culture* (London: Inter Varsity Fellowship, 1970), p. 36.

135. C.T. McIntire, "Historical Study: A Christian Approach," (Toronto: Institute for Christian Studies, an article released for the public that is to be included in: N.n., *The Whole Body Catalogue: Christian Sourcebook* (New York: Garland Press, forthcoming).

The discussions on the present topic contain myriads of references to the role of ideas in development. Underdeveloped societies were for ages restrained and bound by their traditions, affirms Verkuyl.¹³⁶ The Conference on Church and Society posits similar causes. In many places, "the will to accept change" has been lacking. Attitudes "towards work and the material things of life" are often not conducive. Man does not "live in proper relation to God and to his neighbour," a crucial factor in development. Existing resources were not put to maximum use; they were not mobilized.¹³⁷

In short, asserts philosopher Wolters,

Ideas have legs in the sense that they are not the disembodied abstractions of some ivory-tower academic, but are real spiritual forces that go somewhere . . . and that have a widespread effect on our practical, everyday lives.¹³⁸

These ideas were embodied in a complex set of factors that were all interacting. Tinbergen sees underdevelopment as the result of a "complex of phenomena" he compares to a chain, the links of which represent the various causes, a chain with numerous interconnections between links that are interwoven. These links include technological and economic ones we understand fairly well, but also more intangible ones of psychological, historical and geographic nature. Among the political causes "colonial rule may be mentioned."¹³⁹

Thus we notice a broad consensus that there have been many internal factors prohibiting development, not the least of which is the force of ideas. One cannot place the entire burden on colonialism.

3. Positive Effects

The third misunderstanding we wish to prevent is that colonialism has had *only* negative effects. It is not easy to provide an objective standard for measuring its effects, for it depends, for one thing, on one's temporal point of departure, especially with respect to Africa. Does one begin his evaluation with the beginning of modern colonialism or must one include the pre-colonial western effort that included the slave trade with its devastatingly disintegrative effects? Was colonialism merely a new phase suited to new conditions or should one regard it as having begun a totally new dynamic era that constituted a break with the earlier one? One could argue for either or both. Rodney emphasizes colonialism as a continuation of the slave trade period suited to new developments in the West. His conclusion, probably necessary because of his ideological bent, is that though the European effort has had some positive spin-offs, the total balance has been negative: "It would be an act of the most brazen fraud to weigh the paltry social amenities provided . . . against the exploitation, and to

136. *Onderweg*, p. 10.

137. *World Conference*, pp. 66-67.

138. A. Wolters, "Ideas Have Legs," *The Guide*, July/75, p. 10.

139. *Shaping*, pp. 10-14.

arrive at the conclusion that the good outweighed the bad."¹⁴⁰ We will not venture an attempt to draw up a balance. Bauer correctly rejects "the balancing of the costs and benefits of economic changes so vast as those brought about by colonial rule in Africa" as "an exercise that involves large elements of arbitrary judgments and that is almost always unconvincing."¹⁴¹ In addition to the changes being too vast for easy evaluation, we are too close in time; the final effects remain to be seen.

The matter is further complicated by the question as to what would have developed if colonialism had not taken place. Both Bauer and Vernon pose the question. "Whether colonial rule promoted or retarded progress cannot be shown so conclusively because one cannot say for certain what would have happened without it," suggests Bauer.¹⁴² Vernon writes, "Effects . . . can only be measured by comparing a state of being with some explicit alternative." Though we refrain from reproducing his arguments here, they demonstrate convincingly the importance of the question, for attempts to answer it have relied heavily on assumptions that can never be more than speculative.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, both Bauer and Vernon are of the opinion that the south has profited from colonialism and its offspring, though they couch their opinions in hesitant terms. Writes Bauer, "But I think it may be said confidently that colonial rule promoted rather than obstructed progress, and was even necessary for it."¹⁴⁴ Concerning M.N.C.'s, Vernon suggests that their hosts "probably receive a share of the benefits . . ."¹⁴⁵ and refers to a wide consensus on this score.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, however, Langdon reports a widespread scepticism with respect to their potential contribution, "especially outside North America."¹⁴⁷

Though it may be futile to speculate about "what-if-not-situations" in colonized countries, contrasting colonized and non-colonized countries does seem to provide some indication. Tinbergen writes:

A broad comparison among countries within the same region does not seem to show that those which have been independent are better off than those which have been colonies. Consider, for example, Thailand compared with Malaya, Burma, and Indonesia; Ethiopia and Liberia compared with Kenya or Nigeria.¹⁴⁸

140. *Op. cit.*, pp. 224, 261, 287. Cf. Gollwitzer, p. 8, for similar conclusion.

141. *Op. cit.*, p. 642.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 637.

143. *Op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

144. *Op. cit.*, p. 637.

145. *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

146. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

147. S. Langdon, "Book Review" of C. Widstrand, ed. *Multinational Firms in Africa, in Manpower and Unemployment Research*, Apr/76, pp. 79-80. Cf. *Time*, 8 Dec/75, p. 10 for interview with President of Philips regarding role of M.N.C.'s.

148. *Shaping*, p. 14.

Following similar lines of thought, Bauer affirms that throughout African and other poor regions the economically most advanced regions are those with which Europeans had most contact, while the least advanced are those with which Europeans had least contact.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, that colonial status as such is not opposed to development is clear from a number of former colonies such as the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁵⁰ Gheddo, advancing the same argument, adduces the examples of non-colonized poor regions such as Spain, Portugal, Greece, southern Italy and China as well as Latin America that gained its political independence long ago. Though it can be argued that some of these regions have long been subject to a form of neo-colonialism, this cannot be said of all. Unfortunately, Gheddo does not address himself to the question why some of these regions, though having enjoyed prolonged Christian influence, did not experience the explosion of dynamism like other northern nations, except that he suggests "history is not made according to hypotheses,"¹⁵¹ meaning undoubtedly that even the best hypothesis has limits to its applicability.

Assuming that, in spite of the basic economic motive, the dynamic nature of the progressive north is more desirable than the static character of traditional societies, the great contribution of colonialism has been that it has decisively undermined this immobility and inserted a dynamic spirit into these societies.¹⁵² New ideas were imparted that provided a dynamic that today constitutes the driving motivation for development. One finds support for this view in leaders of poor nations who would have good nationalist reasons for silence or denial on this score. Mboya's awareness of colonial negatives is well documented; he speaks of unbridled and unchecked exploitation, but this does not prevent him from appreciating positive contributions such as modern scientific methods of production and education, both of which were to be harnessed to development.¹⁵³ Neither does a keen consciousness of colonial negatives prevent Busia from acknowledging an imposing array of positive colonial contributions that include administration, commerce, technique, capital, communications, education, law and order and political stability.¹⁵⁴ Indian nationalists like Gandhi and Nehru likewise acknowledged "the positive role of the West in bringing dynamic change to a static society and laying the foundation for social progress," without being blind to demonic aspects of colonialism.¹⁵⁵ Panikkar, no lover of colonialism, admires the code of laws given to his country as "a great improvement on the previous system," and though he hesitates to predict future trends, he

149. *Op. cit.*, p. 639.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 632.

151. *Op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

153. "Tensions," p. 57.

154. *In Search*, pp. 37, 49.

155. Abrecht, p. 101. Verkuyl, *Break Down*, p. 72.

appears grateful that "no country in the East is now governed under a system of 'Oriental Despotism'."¹⁵⁶

Turning to western authors, we find Verkuyl, an ardent anti-colonialist, rejecting attempts to deny all colonial credits in economic development and in culture in general, even though it was development bent to the interest of the colonizing party.¹⁵⁷ It must be admitted, he insists, "that the history of imperialism was *not* from top to bottom a history of sin and unrighteousness."¹⁵⁸ There was "more humanity than was admitted," Delavignette asserts.

In deference to this representative array of authorities, we ungrudgingly agree that there were positive contributions, but we also agree with the judgment of nationalists who, without denying them, regard them "as a fortuitous event of history"¹⁵⁹ that was little more than a colonial spinoff.

156. *Op. cit.*, pp. 324-325. Verkuyl, *Break Down*, p. 72. Warren, *Caesar*, pp. 32-33.

157. *Break Down*, p. 69.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

159. Abrecht, p. 103.

Chapter Ten

Missiological Evaluation and Recommendations

I. *Preliminary Remarks*

A. Reasons for this Enquiry

The reason we are conducting this critical enquiry is neither some sort of sadistic satisfaction nor the hope that it might absolve its practitioner from guilt by association. The deepest reason is that missions still largely are conducted amongst colonized peoples, many of whom are wary of missionaries because of this past association and because of the latter's continued naivité with respect to neo-colonialism. Missionaries are occasionally seen as in league with sinister forces of Zionism, capitalism and apartheid.¹ They are regarded by some as belonging to "foreign intelligence organs" that threaten Nigeria's independence.² In a discussion of the role of the C.I.A. in Nigeria, it is suggested that "the free-flow of foreign spies under the cloak of voluntary technical and missionary agencies would be held in check."³ There is a naivité on the part of missionaries, that could lead one to despair, for example, when he reads statements by missionary executives such as, "Asians may make a simple equation: oil price gougers are mostly Muslim in national religion; humanitarian lands are traditionally Christian."⁴ We hope that the preceding exposition of facts may be sufficiently convincing so as to further aid missionary strategists to dissociate their efforts consciously and *clearly* from neo-colonialism. Dissociation, however, will not be possible without an awareness of missionary involvement and of the causes of this involvement. Neill submits that where "research has been carried out, we find again and again that the facts were very different from the legends that have passed current for several generations."⁵ We concur and can only hope that our research will explode all myths amongst missionaries that missions were less involved in colonialism than their critics have charged and, secondly, that basic colonial motives were up to Christian par.

That this conscious and clear dissociation is necessary can hardly be doubted if the message of Christian liberation is still to be taken seriously in a world that

1. NS, 7 Aug/75.

2. NS, 10 Oct/75.

3. NS, 8 July/75.

4. Christian Reformed Board of World Missions, "C.R.C. Missions in Asia - 1976."

5. *Colonialism*, p. 14.

is so unprecedentedly preoccupied with justice, liberty and development, a preoccupation of which these very same missions are partly the cause. "Missions can hardly claim to be respectable at the present time unless they take pains to disown publicly the patterns of colonialism," writes Newbigin in 1963.⁶ Nothing less than the credibility of the Gospel is at stake, according to Van Leeuwen.⁷ In the context of Namibia, Bishop de Vries rejects any rationalization that would belittle the mistakes of the past; church and mission are to be open about their guilt and then seek a solution.⁸ All of this is necessary not merely to expose the past. "A frank admission of the ambivalence of the missionary contribution . . . will not detract from, but rather enhance the record of its genuine achievement," Warren suggests.⁹ Again we concur, provided that the seriousness of colonial involvement is not downgraded as a rather insignificant feature in mission history. This need is no less acute during the late 70s after attention has been drawn to missionary collusion with the C.I.A.,¹⁰ a collusion that indicates missionaries still are suffering from the lack of awareness that has so frequently been singled out in earlier chapters as a main cause of wrong colonial involvement. However one evaluates W.C.C.'s Programme to Combat Racism, one must begin with the understanding that it represents a concrete attempt to break this association clearly. Missions have generally been concerned with imparting the truth, but men are increasingly looking for truthfulness on the part of its bearers.¹¹

We have used the term "dissociation," but this can also be given a more Biblical flavour by calling it "repentance." Niles warns, "Mistakes always produce consequences, and there is only one way out of them, the way of repentance and amendment of life."¹² We recall David Paton's insistence on "prophetic repentance" as a first requirement in the situation,¹³ not only for the particular way missions were involved in colonialism, but even more for their

6. L. Newbigin, *The Relevance of Trinitarian Doctrine for Today's Mission* (Christian World Mission and Evangelism Study Pamphlet, no. 2; London: Edinburgh House Press, 1963), p. 12.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

9. *Social History*, p. 12.

10. Cf. A. Schipper, "De CIA heeft ook vertrouwen in de kerk verloren," *Trouw*, 19 Aug/75, p. 2 for a summary of a report by the C.I.A. illustrating this body's manipulative attitude towards the Latin American church. Cf. also *Trouw*, 19 Mar/75, 26 July/75, 20 Jan/76, 22 Jan/76, 20 Feb/76. *Church Herald*, 8 Aug/75. *Time*, 11 Aug/75. *Banner*, 12 Sept/75, 30 Jan/76, 21 May/76. *NS*, 15 May/76, 22 May/76, 25 May/76. *Calvinist Contact* 26 Jan/76, 23 Feb/76.

11. Jean-Marc Chappuis, "The World Council of Churches," *The Nature of the Church and the Role of Theology: Papers from a Consultation between the World Council of Churches and the Reformed Ecumenical Synod*, Geneva, 1975 (N.p., W.C.C. and R.E.S., 1976), p. 39.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

13. *Judgment*, p. 22.

lack of understanding. This lack was no mere accident, but its cause is a less than serious appreciation for the fullness of the Gospel as it pertains to politics and economics. Remembering that Paton considered the Chinese situation as a more extreme example of a general phenomenon, let us listen:

Why did we so fail? The Communist answer will be, "Because of your bourgeois capitalist background"; and this is a crude but true way of stating the facts. Our own reply would perhaps be, "Because we were not trained in economics and sociology"; but behind that lack lies the feeling that economics and sociology are not truly important to a gospel minister, and the fear that most of us surely have of revolution itself That is precisely the sort of thing that the Communist means when he talks about our "bourgeois capitalist background".¹⁴

Crane likewise calls for repentance, "radical repentance" that transcends "merely beating our breasts and bemoaning our sins in a single act of confession on Sunday morning," but that constitutes a "turning away . . . and taking a new direction." In this context "radical repentance means challenging the structures and attitudes of our society and especially of our church." This may easily result in one's "being misunderstood, branded as agitators and rebels, and will cause unimagined suffering" but obedience for Christ led to the cross.¹⁵ In similar vein, a report concludes that "Christians must be filled with shame and penitence at our failure to meet this crucial challenge of our time," but then immediately attaches a call to action.¹⁶

B. Standard of Judgment

A critical analysis of mission involvement in colonialism readily leads to the accusation that the critic applies the standards of one age to another, that his is merely an easy hindsight. Though it would be foolish to deny that our research has been influenced by current notions, we are not merely applying anachronous standards gained by hindsight. In fact, we have gone to great pains to demonstrate that much criticism was uttered by contemporaries.

Another difficulty is the fact that colonialism is one of these mysterious movements of history that transcend human comprehension and that can in their totality only be credited to divine providence. Neill asserts that Britain "had been caught unaware in the grip of impersonal forces, such as seem almost impossible for thought and reason to control."¹⁷ We overheard Kraemer saying that the West embarked upon colonialism unavoidably, "*no lens volens*." In this context, colonialism is not reduced to its central economic motive, but is interpreted in its totality as a comprehensive clash and intermingling of previously isolated cultures, which has merely been started by colonialism and which will come to fruition in the post-colonial era. Especially Kraemer never tired of

14. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

15. W.H. Crane, "Mission and Radical Obedience," IRM/65, pp. 331-332.

16. *Church and Society*, p. 209.

17. *Colonialism*, p. 83.

insisting on this broad view of colonial history as a prerequisite for any evaluation of it.¹⁸ A similar broad interpretation leads Warren to refuse to apologize for the total cultural impact.¹⁹

This broad view of colonialism has implications for efforts to evaluate the movement. If history transcends man, if there is this mysterious divine element, then one must realize that he cannot judge the entire situation. This limitation is further enforced upon us by the fact that we are still only in the beginning of this great commingling of cultures and that its final result lies beyond our present horizon. Our normal moral categories are inadequate for the situation.²⁰ As Verdoorn points out, however, the provisional and partial nature of any analysis does not preclude an evaluation of the human motives. Kraemer himself was not prevented by the transcendence of the movement and the incompleteness of its history from a penultimate interpretation of it.²¹

There is a standard, the very adherence to which constitutes the *raison d'être* of missions, namely that of the Bible. Missions cannot be judged exclusively on basis of the historical situation, according to Kraemer, but also in the light of that higher tribunal "before which relative historical judgments do not lose all value but find their appropriate, *i.e.* subordinate, place."²² History, affirms a historian, "has no norm in itself." Motives are to be judged according to the absolute standard accepted by missions and they are generally found to be discontinuous. "History is to be seen in the critical light of revelation," "a task of confrontation," but also one that is "liberating," for it places "the broken work of men in the dimension of the grace of God." This is a liberating standard, for it frees the student from subjective standards and from modern relativity.²³ Nevertheless, one is left with the disconcerting likelihood that a subsequent generation will point to *our* failure to subject *our* theories sufficiently to that same standard. Though this probability will not refrain us from our search, it will constrain us to practice empathy in the hope that later students will so treat us.²⁴

II. *Summary of Movement of Thought*

A. Continuity

From the perspective of this study with its emphasis on colonial economics, continuity was more pronounced than discontinuity. The unofficial but implicit

18. H. Kraemer, "Grootheid."

19. *Cesar*, p. 71.

20. Kraemer, *World Cultures*, p. 99. "Grootheid," pp. 406-407.

21. *Supra*, pp. 350-351.

22. *World Cultures*, pp. 130-131.

23. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, pp. 2, 166-167, 188-189.

24. Cf. J. Taylor's review of G. Moorhouse, *The Missionaries in C.M.S. Newsletter*, Oct/73.

definition of colonialism as a total effort to establish total liberation in Africa continued to function throughout, even though the mission's interest in the total message of the Gospel as a missionary task waned. The legitimacy of the British enterprise was never questioned, its total effect invariably appreciated, and the recognized undesirable aspects of it consistently rejected as aberrations of true colonialism. To be sure, some were apprehensive about the possible effects of independence on the mission's continuing, but it was generally appreciated as the crowning achievement of British efforts, not as its failure, for Nigeria was now judged to be sufficiently equipped, politically and economically, to fulfil a mature role in the community of nations. 1960 was the great vindication of 1900. This interpretation withstood the decades of accusations hurled at colonialism by nationalists and by the I.M.C. Indeed, one cannot escape the impression that the S.U.M. was largely oblivious of them, even though they were repeated decade after decade. Moderate nationalism received an approving nod, but the more radical element was dismissed as belonging to a class of bothersome disturbers that included materialism, Communism, Catholicism and labour unions. The radicals were thought to be victims of political illusion; their charges, similar to those of the I.M.C., were neither appreciated nor understood. The criticism of laissez-faire capitalism on the part of the I.M.C. made no dent in the liberal mentality. The fact that the economy had been bent in the interest of the West and the dangers of it being largely in foreign hands were not realized. Even *World Dominion*, a magazine popular with the S.U.M., in which its missionaries wrote occasional articles, and which contained numerous articles critical of colonialism, did not have any apparent impact on the mission's thinking.

B. Discontinuity: Influence of Roland Allen

The most obvious point of discontinuity between the early and later records is a healthy reduction in ideological rhetoric, a change the S.U.M. shared with the entire missionary movement. Africa was better understood and her culture less berated, though the basic negation of Paganism and Islam continued to stand. Along with the West in general, the S.U.M. lost some of its enthrallment with home culture, though Farrant, for one, continued to insist on its superiority due to Christian influence. Both of the above tendencies served to tone down the almost feverish rhetoric of earlier days to more sober attitudes. This shift in cultural appreciation was partly responsible for increased dissatisfaction with paternalism.

We have previously noted that a shift took place during the 20s, when the mission adopted the "indigenous church" concept. We have also noted a reduction in the range of interests displayed in the pages of *The Lightbearer*. These 2 changes were directly related to each other. At the beginning of her existence, we found the S.U.M. had a surprisingly broad vision. Hoekendijk tells how Zinzendorf, an early leader in German Pietism, instructed his missionaries to "gather individual souls" and "to stay away from all social and cultural work."

However, soon after his death it was realized that a broader approach must be adopted that eventually ended in the attempt to establish "Christian civilization."²⁵ Our resume of Livingstone has shown a similar shift to a wider approach that so excited Kumm.

It must not be thought that the wider vision forced by circumstances upon these missionaries spelled death to the dualism that we have heard about so frequently in this study. This wider vision created an openness to socio-economic concerns, but the inherited dualism continued to discourage adequate reflection of such concerns and thus led to indiscriminate acceptance of *laissez-faire*. Though the influence of the Social Gospel movement was already quite apparent at the Edinburgh conference of 1910, the S.U.M. clearly felt at home. It was only when the theological influence of the Social Gospel became more apparent in the I.M.C., especially in the matter of the relation of Christ to other religions, that the S.U.M., together with other Evangelical missions, began to lose interest in the I.M.C. This reaction is itself an indication of the existence of a dualism: only when more "religious" positions were threatened did the mission react. Liberal ideas in other realms were quite acceptable.

The S.U.M.'s reaction was to reject most of the distinctives of the Social Gospel and to replace the civilizing mission with the so-called "indigenous principle." Though Farrant claims that this principle was adopted by the mission at its inception,²⁶ the evidence is clear that in fact it was not adopted till 1923 during a conference at Wukari at the special urging of Cooper. Smith traces this development specifically to the influence of Roland Allen that was beginning to assert itself in Northern Nigeria at the time.²⁷ It meant a concentration on church growth in terms of the three selves.²⁸

Positively, Allen revived Henry Venn's emphasis on indigenous churches.²⁹ This renewed emphasis coupled with a more conscious and concentrated reliance on the Holy Spirit was a reaction *inter alia* against the popular notion of missions as a civilizing function or of establishing the Kingdom of God. Allen was also an uncompromising foe of the idea almost canonized at Jerusalem in 1928, namely that a man's spirit is rooted in his social environment and that therefore

25. "Call," p. 165.

26. *Crescendo*, p. 72.

27. LB, Sept/24, p. 89. Sept/56, p. 88. May/57, p. 46.

28. LB, July/23, p. 55. Nov/23, pp. 113-115. July/54, p. 123. The S.U.M.'s heeding of Allen again marked it as typical of its breed, for though it is generally acknowledged that Allen's ideas had to await the 1950s for popularity among missions, the newer nondenominational missions were earlier open to him, possibly because his ideas could more easily be implemented in these newer efforts that in those further advanced. (D.M. Paton, ed., *Reform of the Ministry, A Study in the Work of Roland Allen* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1968), pp. 25, 82. D. Paton, "Life and Work of Roland Allen," WD/55, p. 241. H.R. Boer, "Roland Allen, the Holy Spirit, and Missions," WD/55, p. 297.)

29. Paton, *Reform*, pp. 81-82.

the social atmosphere needs to be changed before the individual can bow before Christ. Unintentionally the priority of evangelism has given way to social activities, he asserted. "Putting intellectual, moral and social advance first in time, we inevitably tended to accept the position that reform of conditions was a necessary antecedent to the living of a Christian life."³⁰ He rightly insisted that the Spirit is free and that the Christian life does not depend on external conditions exclusively. "I mean that the life of a slave-girl, the concubine of a savage heathen, amidst the most cruel and barbarous surroundings, herself the instrument of the most vicious and immoral practices, may be a truly Christian life."³¹ Apart from the allegation that social reforms have not led to conversions,³² it was the insistence on the temporal priority of "intellectual, moral and social advance" to conversion and evangelism that led him to reject social concerns as legitimate items on the mission program.³³ Christians may engage in philanthropy, but this is no part of missions, for the church cannot be established on it. He wrote,

My contention is that we put the cart before the horse or the fruit before the tree which should bear the fruit; that instead of establishing the Church and then assisting in its education, we insist that the education and civilization must come before the establishment of the Church.³⁴

Though this quotation could give the impression that missions might still have a civilizing function after the establishment of the church, it is quite clear that Allen rejected such a task completely, for "we do not know what Christian civilization is." One can speak of "the civilization of Christian England," but "that is not Christian civilization," and "very often the heathen see its iniquity more clearly than we do."³⁵

Paton suggests that in his earlier writings Allen displayed a breadth of spirit concerning the matters with which this study is concerned that later disappeared.³⁶ We have found support for this thesis. In 1913, Allen detected a permeation of Christian ideas throughout the non-Christian world that he related to "the manifestation of the glory of Christ; we see the first streaks of light which hail a coming sunrise more glorious than we know." "Every step forward in social, moral, or intellectual progress may be a revelation of Christ," though this should not be considered the purpose of missions to accomplish.³⁷ By

30. R. Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It* (London: World Dominion Press, 1956. First ed. in 1927), p. 107.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 116-117.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-111, 117.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

36. *Reform*, pp. 43-44.

37. R. Allen, *Essential Missionary Principles* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1913), pp. 94-95.

1927, he appears to have denied the influence of the Spirit in the whole realm of science, which he relegates summarily to "the wisdom of this world."³⁸ That is a surprising development in the thought of one pre-eminently known for his emphasis on the Spirit.

One can understand this development only as part of Allen's reaction to the Social Gospel, a reaction that, for all its admirable emphasis on the Holy Spirit, was unbalanced. Branner seeks to defend Allen's disregard for social questions by referring to the context of the latter's church which "was unduly involved in social concerns . . . His was a fresh voice, crying out for a return to the primary task of preaching the Gospel."³⁹ It was this one-sided reaction that also accounts for polemics he waged against the I.M.C., including Mott and Oldham.⁴⁰

We do not wish to enter the discussion whether or not Allen should be regarded as a theologian,⁴¹ but his reaction against the Social Gospel surely led to an unbiblical interpretation of the Kingdom of God. Referring to Matthew 6:33, he charged that in practice missions had sought "all these things" first by their emphasis on social problems. He was right in rejecting the *identification* of social reforms with the Kingdom, but wrong in denying a relationship between them. Branner tells us that Allen was almost exclusively "a New Testament man. In all of his major writings there are only two brief references to the Old Testament."⁴² One can do neither theology nor missions by selective use of Scripture, something he himself also rejected in theory.⁴³ An adequate understanding of the Kingdom cannot be attained without the Old Testament, for the latter relates directly to the Kingdom those issues Allen relegated to "all these things."⁴⁴

Enough has been said about Allen and his influence on the mission to understand the change that took place. A new and deep awareness of the power of the Spirit was embedded in the new policy. However, instead of embarking on renewed theological reflection on the Kingdom, the latter largely receded to the periphery of missionary thinking, and along with that went missionary social concern in its own right. Allen's influence caused the S.U.M. to reject paternalism and to have more faith in Nigerians, but the mission's unofficial theories of colonialism stood firm. The only difference is that less attention was paid to these affairs as the declining length of chapter 4, 6 and 8 partially indicates.

The change the S.U.M. experienced took place throughout the Evangelical

38. *Spontaneous*, p. 115.

39. J.B. Branner, "Roland Allen: Pioneer in a Spirit-Centered Theology of Mission," *Missiology* 77, p. 179.

40. Paton, *Reform*, pp. 43-44.

41. H. Boer, p. 299. Branner, pp. 176-178.

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Spontaneous*, pp. 109-110.

community, also in the U.S.A. The title of Moberg's study refers to it: *The Great Reversal*.⁴⁵ His first chapter discusses the controversy over "evangelism versus social concern" that still has not been resolved. Lindsell wrote a truly amazing article in an anthology that includes mostly authors not known as conservatives.⁴⁶ His task was to explain the "conservative theological viewpoint" of missions. Though the Kingdom looms large in missiological discussions, Lindsell's list of five basic assumptions of conservative missions includes no reference to the Kingdom at all. Social projects in medicine and education are still subsumed under evangelism.⁴⁷ Lindsell shows awareness that this goes counter to Hocking's *Re-Thinking Missions*, but here he is merely flogging a dead horse that was buried already in 1938! Another dead horse he flogs is that of "Christianization." He can only think in terms of evangelism and humanitarianism, while the category of the Kingdom plays no part.⁴⁸ In his conclusion, Lindsell lists Livingstone among those who adhered to the conservative philosophy he described.⁴⁹ True, Livingstone thought of himself as an Evangelical, but he overcame Evangelical dualism to a degree because of the force of facts and became a pioneer of the very "Christianization" policy Lindsell rejects. Lindsell represents that school of Evangelicals that has reacted against a wrong concept of the Kingdom by eliminating the Kingdom altogether. He explains social neglect on the part of Evangelicals as due to a sense of evangelistic urgency,⁵⁰ but the form which that commendable urgency took can only be explained as a reinforcing of a major, though unacknowledged, pillar of Evangelicalism, namely that of dualism. It was a return to a more pristine form of Pietism.⁵¹ Allen asserted, "In the last resort the only thing that matters to us is our own personal relation to Christ."⁵² He caused an important shift in missionary strategy that served to give new impetus to a classic pillar, a discontinuity that paved the way for a continued and even renewed practical operation of traditional Evangelical dualism, an assumption not generally acknowledged but always there.

45. D.O. Moberg, *The Great Reversal: Evangelism versus Social Concern* (Evangelical Perspectives, J. Warwick Montgomery, gen. ed.; Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Co., 1972).

46. H. Lindsell, "Fundamentals for a Philosophy of the Christian Mission," in Anderson, 1961, pp. 239-249.

47. Cf. also H. Lindsell, "The Evangelical Missions: The Home Base," in W.J. Danker and Wi Jo Kang, eds., *The Future of the Christian World Mission: Studies in Honor of R. Pierce Beaver* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 90.

48. Lindsell, "Fundamentals," pp. 242-244.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

51. A.G. Honig Jr., *De heerschappij van Christus en de zending* (Theologie en Gemeente no. 6; Kampen: Kok, 1973), p. 29.

52. *Principles*, p. 99.

III. Influential Factors in Mission Mentality

A. Pietist Elements in Evangelicalism

In the above section, references have been made to Pietism as a component of the S.U.M.'s mentality. Earlier chapters, furthermore, contain charges by critics that Pietism has led Evangelicals astray. It is time we examine this matter more closely.

When we embark upon an investigation of Pietism as it relates to our study, it is well to remember the positive contributions of the movement. Its basic aim was to restore recognition of personal and spiritual commitment as a necessary ingredient of the Christian faith. Leonard Verduin, a long-time student of Anabaptism, defines Pietism as "that movement in post-Reformation times which sought to put an end to nilly-willy Christianity," "nilly-willy" referring to the idea that Christianity embraces all members of a society and ignores the need for spiritual re-birth of individuals.⁵³ Out of that initial reaction emerged a number of new stimuli for further corrections. Renewed interest in pastoral care during the 19th century is attributed to Pietism. The movement is also credited with having provided the main impetus to modern missions.⁵⁴ It can thus be said that the positive contributions of Pietism have hardly been matched in Post-Reformation times.

Further clarification is needed. Pietism in the narrow sense of the word was a reaction against a rationalistic orthodoxy and was associated especially with the Lutheran church, though not exclusively.⁵⁵ However, it is also used in a broader sense to refer to Pietistic elements found in Evangelicalism. Especially Anglo-Saxon authors tend to use the term in this sense⁵⁶ and it is thus that we employ it. That there has been much interaction between Lutheran Pietism on the one hand and British Evangelicals and their precursors on the other is too well attested for dispute.⁵⁷ Even though the Evangelical missionary movement

53. L. Verduin, "The Heritage of Pietism," *The Banner*, 29 July/77, pp. 4-6.

54. G. Brillenburg Wurth, *Christian Counseling in the Light of Modern Psychology*, trans. H. de Jongste (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1962) p. 31. *Supra*, p. 103.

55. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, pp. 15-16, 174, 177, 186. Latourette, III, p. 14; IV, pp. 274, 277. J.H. Kane, *Understanding Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1974), p. 142. J.D. Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival," in G.V. Bennet and J.D. Walsh, eds., *Essays in Modern English Church History in Memory of Norman Sykes* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966), p. 148. W.R. Hogg, "The Rise of Protestant Missionary Concern, 1517-1914," in G.H. Anderson, p. 103. Walker, pp. 444-453. S.G. De Graaf, *Hoofdlijnen in de kerkgeschiedenis* (2nd rev. ed.; Kampen: Kok, 1948), pp. 99-100. D.D. Runes, ed., *Dictionary of Philosophy*, (New Students Outline Series; Ames: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1959), p. 236.

56. Cf. Hogg, p. 103. *Supra*, chs. 5, 7.

57. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, pp. 17-18, 31, 32, 36-37, 39, 40-46, 51-52, 56, 59, 74-75, 79, 81, 88, 95, 99, 114, 122, 124-125, 127, 174-175, 185-186. Walsh, pp. 142, 144-147, 157. Neill, *History*, pp. 231, 233. Latourette, III, pp. 14, 437. He calls Methodism the "most extensive fruitage" of the Moravians, p. 48. IV, pp. 65, 281. Walker, pp. 458-460.

cannot be described simply as Pietist in the narrow sense of the word, the effects of this movement were "clearly visible for a long time," according to Bavinck.⁵⁸

We intend to describe the Pietism within Evangelical missions. This should not create the impression that such missions were a totally homogeneous group. Bavinck points out that "many trends developed which . . . are not so easily brought under a single common denominator." But, having uttered the warning he proceeds to a description of general characteristics. Van Den Berg similarly warns that there is a considerable variety, "but underlying this variety there was a deeper unity which makes it possible to see the various branches of British missionary life . . . as branches of one great movement."⁵⁹ Although it was an international movement and included adherents of a wide variety of Christian traditions, it was everywhere "of similar temper. In striking fashion they interacted and influenced one another."⁶⁰ One is thus justified in speaking of common characteristics that will aid in understanding our topic. And if the emphasis is on certain negatives, it is because the subject demands such, not because Pietism has nothing to commend it.

One characteristic of Pietism is its emphasis on personal piety. Evangelical piety was concerned for men's souls, writes Hogg.⁶¹ Pietism, affirms Latourette, "led to a more personal and inward life . . . and placed emphasis upon 'spiritual religion'." The stress was on "an inward, transforming religious experience."⁶² De Graaf attributes to it personal piety, ascetic tendencies and devotionism, all coupled to an over-evaluation of emotion.⁶³ Bavinck agrees that Pietism, being individualistic, sought individualistic reforms and placed too much emphasis on the inward life.⁶⁴

If we knew no more about British Evangelicals, we might think of them as a quietist lot, but we have seen the opposite. The heart of this religion was indeed experienced in these terms, but it was combined with an aggressive activism⁶⁵ in economics, politics, mission and relief. This combination is difficult to understand except in terms of the dualism we describe in the next section.

Pietism being a reaction against, among other things, rationalistic theology, it has tended to be short on theology. Bavinck asserts that the Moravians, among Pietism's pioneers, were simple folk without theological training.⁶⁶ De Vries concurs that a remarkable feature of early German missions is the great distance

58. *Introduction*, p. 297.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-300. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 126.

60. W.R. Hogg, "The Rise of Protestant Missionary Concern, 1517-1914," in G.H. Anderson, *Theology*, p. 105.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Three Centuries*, pp. 380, 14, 47.

63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 99-103, 116.

64. *Zending*, pp. 115, 120.

65. Van den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 81.

66. *Zending*, p. 118.

between them and theology. It rejected theology together with its rationalism.⁶⁷ Similarly, the closely-related movement of Evangelicalism was characterized not by reflection, but by feverish activity. This characteristic is attributed to their missionaries by the Japanese Yamaya: they had no time for quiet study or reflection; their "*Wissenschaft*" was superficial.⁶⁸ Kraemer refers to the indisputable theological weaknesses and vacuums of the British missionary movement.⁶⁹ Though missionaries during this period were preoccupied with the notion of the Kingdom of God, within their circle in China, "there has never been a clearly defined theory, practice or experiment . . . as to what . . . the Kingdom of God would mean for China."⁷⁰ Thus it was not difficult for the 1910 Edinburgh conference to decide to avoid theological issues for the sake of unity.⁷¹ Of course, it is impossible to avoid theology in missions. Conscious avoidance of it only leads men to act on basis of undefined categories that lead to inconsistent policies.

Paradoxically, the Pietist reaction against rationalist theology rendered her peculiarly vulnerable to rationalist philosophy as it came to expression in *laissez-faire*. The movement's non-theological bent resulted in a syncretism with rationalist elements. Van Den Berg draws attention to "that seeming *coincidentia oppositorum*, that blend of Rationalism and Pietism, which again and again proved to be one of the main characteristics" of British missions. They had a "distinctly synthetic character."⁷² This syncretism was the result of lack of serious philosophical thought that led the community to follow the mainstream of practical culture without much criticism.

We have seen that Evangelicals were deeply moved by suffering. However, lack of theological and philosophical reflection prevented them from understanding some of the main causes for the shortcomings of *laissez-faire* economics. The economic order as a whole had their approval; they only rejected its extreme adverse effects. These were recognized as aberrations committed by immoral individuals against a basically healthy order. Thus one finds Evangelicals opposing the effects of the very order they so enthusiastically espoused.

Though they supported the *laissez-faire* tradition with its emphasis on natural law, Evangelicals also recognized that there are Biblical laws that have socio-economic implications. This potential inconvenience was solved in an individualistic moralism.⁷³ Having reduced the social problem to a moral one, the churches discussed ways to solve moral problems, but tended to shun "technical and controversial issues as improper for open consideration within the

67. *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

68. S. Yamaya in Schipper, p. 508.

69. "Houding," pp. 106-107.

70. L.M. Lee in Glasser, IRB, p. 11.

71. Moorhouse, p. 289.

72. *Constrained*, pp. 59, 124.

73. *Supra*, p. 24.

churches." Forsyth "could not penetrate the churches, pre-occupied as they were with religion, with an individualist morality, and a sentimental gospel that knew nothing of the 'law' . . ." Wickham dubs this moralism "a dangerous heresy," for it prevents the church from effectively applying the Gospel to social problems and leads them to seek amelioration rather than reconstruction.⁷⁴ God's commandment was "too much identified with the rules of the very petty bourgeois morals of the day," suggests Brillenburg Wurth.⁷⁵

B. Dualism

1. Description and Background

Besides Pietism, an additional culprit singled out repeatedly in the literature is that of dualism. Dualism can take many shapes,⁷⁶ but the form occurring within the Western Christian community can generally be traced back to the nature-grace scheme associated especially with Thomas Aquinas. Herman Bavinck has made clear the importance of this issue for "the practical affairs of life." He submits that "all movements and schools which lay claim to the lives and minds of men" — and that certainly includes missions — "can be described and judged according to the position which they take on *this* question . . ." He elevates this issue to the key factor in understanding serious divergences among Christians.⁷⁷

In its pristine form, this dualism is based on Aquinas' attempt to synthesize Christian teachings with Greek philosophy, particularly Aristotelianism. Greek philosophy, of course, was Pagan, but Aquinas thought the 2 could be combined in his nature-grace scheme. Philosophy and the sciences can be conducted on basis of man's natural reason, while the truths of religion and theology require revelation.⁷⁸ Nature, *i.e.*, the area of philosophy and science, enjoys a relative autonomy from revelation and theology, but it is not to be wholly separated from them, for they are related to each other in hierarchical fashion. Above nature and man's activities in it is the area of grace or supernature, the area of religion, church, revelation and theology. The former stands under the

74. *Op. cit.*, pp. 194, 198, 203.

75. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

76. J.H. Olthuis, "Must the Church Become Secular?", in J.A. Olthuis *et. al.*, *Out of Concern for the Church* (Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1970), pp. 117-121.

77. J. Veenhof, "Nature and Grace in Bavinck," trans. A. Wolters (Toronto: Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship, n.d.), p. 1.

78. F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. II: *Mediaeval Philosophy Augustine to Scotus* (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960), pp. 303, 312, 319, 323, 326, 423. G.C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God*, trans. D.W. Jellema (Studies in Dogmatics; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), pp. 218, 220. H. Dooyeweerd, *In the Twilight of Western Thought: Studies in the Pretended Autonomy of Philosophical Thought* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1960), pp. 118, 121, 130, 162-163, 171. H. Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing en bezinning om het reformatorisch grondmotief* (Zutphen: J.B. Van Den Brink, 1963), ch. 2.

authority of the latter. Whenever natural reason draws conclusions contrary to the tenets of theology, reason would have to submit. The natural is in some way sanctified in this relationship to the supernatural. H. Bavinck describes the scheme in this way:

Grace... is in the first place a quality which is added to men above and beyond the natural order, and through which he is in principle taken up into a supernatural order, becomes a participant in the divine nature and the vision of God, and is enabled to accomplish... supernatural works.⁷⁹

The supernatural element in man is a special faculty which enables him to relate to God. It is here that man can reach his intended height of contemplation of the divine. Man is created

for a profounder and more intimate knowledge of God than he can attain by the exercise of his natural reason... and so revelation was... necessary in order that his mind might be raised to something higher... and that he should desire and zealously strive towards something "which exceeds the whole state of this life".

However, and that is important, philosophy maintains "a certain autonomy of its own." Philosophy based on reason is good in so far as it goes.⁸⁰

Basic to this structure is a non-radical view of sin. In nature, sin has an effect, to be sure, but it was a "weakness of the human intellect... not its radical perversion."⁸¹ The power of one's free will is weakened, but not eradicated.⁸² Man's reason is wounded, but not corrupted.⁸³ The radical nature of the fall has found its expression in the realm of grace; man lost the *donum superadditum*, the ability to relate to God in true communion. Here he is in need of divine revelation to relate him to God and to construct true theology.⁸⁴ Bavinck summarizes the view as follows: in this system

... 'the world' more and more loses the ethical significance which it has in the Scriptures. That which is natural is not sinful, but it is that which constitutionally does not attain the supernatural... Consequently, Christianity and Grace, which have entered the world to enable us to attain the supernatural, the *visio Dei*, do not reform and recreate the existing order, but only complement creation. Christianity transcendentally supervenes upon the natural, but does not penetrate or sanctify it... The catholicity of the Christian principle, which purifies and sanctifies everything, has been replaced by the dualism which puts the supernatural in a separate position alongside, or, rather in a transcendent position, above the natural. Creation and re-creation remain two independent qualities over against each other.⁸⁵

79. Veenhof, p. 7. Cf. also Dooyeweerd, *Twilight*, pp. 66, 162-163. *Vernieuwing*, p. 130.

80. Copleston, pp. 310-311.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

82. Berkouwer, *Man*, pp. 163-164.

83. Dooyeweerd, *Twilight*, p. 145. *Vernieuwing*, p. 112.

84. Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing*, p. 112. *Twilight*, pp. 145, 192-193. Berkouwer, *Man*, p. 162.

85. Veenhof, pp. 4-5. It must be remembered we are describing classical scholasticism, not today's Roman theology where new emphases against such strong dualism are arising. Berkouwer, *Man*, pp. 165-167. Dooyeweerd, *Twilight*, p. 141.

Scholasticism sought to retain the unity of the grand structure under ecclesiastical authority, but eventually it was rent asunder because of the inherent tensions between its Pagan and Christian elements, a tension Aquinas did not fully realize.⁸⁶ From our historical standpoint, Copleston suggests, this synthesis was "almost certain sooner or later to lead to philosophy going her own way independently of theology." It was a "precarious" synthesis. It was bound to lead to philosophies that would move from mere autonomy through opposition to the absorption of the elements Aquinas relegates to the supernatural.⁸⁷ It could hardly be otherwise in a system that, though seeking to synthesize, so far separated truths known by faith from revelation and those known by natural philosophy that "it is impossible for there to be faith and knowledge concerning the same object, that the same truths should be both known scientifically (philosophically) and at the same time believed (by faith) by the same man."⁸⁸ Thomistic philosophy is said to appear modern because it can so easily be divorced from its "Christian spirituality."⁸⁹ A precarious synthesis it was indeed.

It is a frequent theme in Dooyeweerd that the fragile synthesis was constantly threatened by inherent antinomies and was bound to break up. William of Ockham's denial of any relationship between the natural and supernatural as well as his rejection of the subjection of science and state to ecclesiastical authority represents the beginning of its disintegration. With him nature is entirely autonomous. The West is now faced with 2 principally antagonistic directions, those of the Reformation and of modern Humanism, but which in the church hardly separated.⁹⁰

Luther broke with the power of the Roman church in a radical way and he insisted on the radical nature of sin, but it cannot be said that he initiated a radical or total reformation.⁹¹ Being "*von Ockams Schule*,"⁹² he posited a separation of grace from nature, with each area having its own source of authority. In the religious area of the church or grace, one is guided by divine revelation and reason needs to be exorcised. In the area of nature and human culture in general, reason is the principal guide, directed as it should be by love and

86. Copleston, pp. 424, 428-429.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

90. *Vernieuwing*, pp. 132-135.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 135. J. Van Dyk, "The Institutional Church in History: From Deformation to Reformation," in J.H. Olthuis, *et al.*, *Will All the King's Men . . . : Out of Concern for the Church Phase II* (Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1972), p. 81.

92. Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing*, p. 135. A.S. Wood, *Captive to the Word, Martin Luther: Doctor of Sacred Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), pp. 33-37. W. Von Loewenich, *Luther's Theology of the Cross*, trans. H.J.A. Bouman (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976), pp. 65-71.

natural law. In this realm, reason is basically sound.⁹³ Furthermore, though service in the state, for example, ranks high in Luther's thought, it still ranks second to service in the church.⁹⁴ That Luther is very serious about this separation is clear from his opposition to the Anabaptists: their mistake is to insist on social reformation not on basis of reason, but on basis of the Gospel.⁹⁵ Thus he posits a "deeply hidden unity of perception among believers and nonbelievers" on basis of a "harmony of reason and love," a "repeatedly proclaimed elemental" conviction of the reformer.⁹⁶ This conviction is reflected in a recent Lutheran statement that "the practice of politics has no uniquely Christian properties" and that "outwardly the political involvement of the Christian differs little from that of his non-Christian neighbour." It is also embodied in the casual remark of a Lutheran missionary that if he were to engage in politics, he would do so as a citizen, not as a Christian, an exact parallel to Luther's statement that one is a soldier as a citizen, not as a Christian.⁹⁶

Bornkamm tries very hard to play down the dualism associated with Luther, but his very attempt is couched in dualistic terms. The unity of Luther's system is external and consists of the fact of God's and man's action in both,⁹⁷ but it lacks an internal point of contact between the Gospel and the world.⁹⁸ Thus from its very beginning Protestantism did not free itself from dualism between nature and grace. Dooyeweerd posits a direct connection between Luther's dualism and Melancton, who once again sought a synthesis with Greek philosophy and thus became the father of Protestant scholasticism.⁹⁹ It was against this that German Pietism arose, that movement which we have shown to have such close relations with British Evangelicalism.¹⁰⁰

93. Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing*, p. 137. Von Loewenich, p. 71. H. Bornkamm, trans. M.H. Bertram, *Luther's World of Thought* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1958), pp. 244, 247, 250, 255, 259, 265. W.H. Lazareth, "Luther on Civil Righteousness and Natural Law," in I. Asheim, ed., *The Church, Mysticism, Sanctification and the Natural in Luther's Thought: Lectures Presented to the Third International Congress on Luther Research, Jarvenpaa, Finland, August 11-16, 1966* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 182-185. P. Althaus, trans. R.C. Schultz, *The Ethics of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), pp. 46-47, 58-59, 79-80, 123-124, 149-151. G. Wingren, trans. C.C. Rasmussen, *Luther on Vocation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), pp. 15, 17, 103.

94. Bornkamm, p. 244. Althaus, pp. 56-57.

95. Bornkamm, pp. 238, 266. Althaus, p. 61.

96. H. Bornkamm, trans. K.H. Hertz, *Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in the Context of His Theology* (Facet Books; Social Ethics Series, F. Sherman, gen. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 14-15. Lazareth, p. 183. Althaus, pp. 123-124, 149. C.F. Reuss, ed., *Conscience and Action: Social Statements of the American Lutheran Church, 1961-1970* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1971), p. 39. D. Sinnema, "Luther and Calvin on Christianity and Politics" (Stencilled notes; Toronto: Institute for Christian Studies, 1976), p. 11.

97. Althaus, pp. 53, 56. Von Loewenich, p. 59. Wingren, pp. 27, 85.

98. Dooyeweerd, *Vernieuwing*, p. 136.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. *Twilight*, pp. 158, 193-194. Bornkamm, *Luther's World*, p. 177.

100. *Supra*, p. 446.

Having discussed the background of dualism, we are now in a position to appreciate Rookmaker's clear description of it in a popular modern form. Basic to it is the view that

this world is good, but yet has autonomy of its own. The world of faith, of grace, of religion is the higher one, a world for which we have need of God's revelation. This is where our aims and affections should be set. But the lower world, the world of men, the world of "nature", can be understood by reason, and here in fact reason reigns. It is as such non-religious, secular. Here there is no difference between the Christian and the non-Christian, as both act according to the natural laws of thought and action.¹⁰¹

Diagrammatically, the scheme would look like this:

Higher	Grace	Divine Revelation	Spiritual	Soul	Theology	Church ¹⁰²
Lower	Nature	Autonomous	Material	Body	Philosophy	Secular

Alves puts it this way:

Traditional ecclesiastical languages have their ultimate concern in eternity, God, and salvation of the soul. Their relation to the world, to life, to history, when it is not negative is purely tangential. Or it puts the world and life in an inferior hierarchical rank: natural/supernatural; the secular world/the religious world; the material/the spiritual; the temporal/the eternal.¹⁰³

Tawney describes dualism as relating the religious and secular as "parallel and independent provinces, governed by different laws, judged by different standards, and amenable to different authorities." It is based on "an attitude which forms so fundamental a part of modern political thought, that . . . its precarious philosophical basis . . . (is) commonly forgotten."¹⁰⁴

This is the dualism that has led to a popular mentality among Christians that would seek to divorce their religious obligations from their artistic, scientific, political, social and economic participation in their various cultures. Rookmaker warns that when Christians — even devout ones — separate these concerns from their religious life, they are unwittingly giving in to this long western philosophical tradition. They are really saying

that these realms of "worldly" pursuit, belonging to our human nature and not sinful as such, are just human, that is, apart, outside of the realm of grace, of God's work and revelation. The only claim God has in this realm of human endeavour is in the field of ethics . . . , the Christian must show his Christianity by avoiding immorality of any sort.¹⁰⁵

Stringfellow concurs with this analysis of Christianity being reduced to a private moralism. The churches acknowledge only a limited application of the Gospel in "a man's personal and family life." He continues:

101. *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. Cf. Van Dyk, pp. 77-78.

102. This is my variation of the diagram by F.A. Schaeffer, *Escape from Reason* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1968), p. 9.

103. R.A. Alves, "Theology and the Liberation of Man" *Search*, p. 89.

104. Tawney, p. 279.

105. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

Religion then is thought of as providing a personal ethics for prudential conduct. But religion then becomes a scheme embracing, defining, and informing merely personal morality. Religion then is the index of what is right and . . . wrong . . . in private life.¹⁰⁶

Van Dyk correctly identifies this mentality with that of both Pietism and Evangelicalism,¹⁰⁷ though Stringfellow's exposition shows its prevalence throughout the American Christian community. It is this dualism that Bavinck singles out as the cause for the powerlessness of missions. The message of faith in Christ and repentance could become the foundation for a new integration in dislocated cultures, but missionary work has been hampered by insufficient awareness

of the thoroughly dangerous character of our own one-sided technical culture, and we have also failed . . . to come to a sufficiently clear and unified point of view, compatible with our Christian faith. Too frequently there is in our own heart an irreconcilable dichotomy between our faith in Jesus Christ and modern life and thought. In a much deeper sense than we are ourselves aware, we have become modern men . . . Those whom we have reached often have sensed this poverty and deficiency in our lives more clearly than we ourselves. And from the very beginning they have felt the cleft in our lives . . . Such poverty has rendered us . . . weak in our struggle against . . . secularization . . . We have been overly naive . . . in our notion that we simply preach the gospel . . . Too frequently we have failed to see that the education we give and our whole attitude toward life is to a strong degree propaganda for Western culture, with its extremely dangerous elements.¹⁰⁸

That the S.U.M. shares this dualism is not merely a conclusion drawn from its general prevalence, but its documents cannot be understood without reference to it. We repeat that dualism was never officially accepted or acknowledged and that it was never more than an unconscious element in the spiritual composition of the staff. If attention were drawn to it, it would probably be denied, but its existence and practical application is almost shouted from the house tops in the sources. It is the only explanation for the mission's narrow view of Christian education that did not go much beyond evangelism and morals, while otherwise secular government textbooks were acceptable. To be sure, such a policy was partly imposed by the government who gave grants for the so-called neutral subjects only.¹⁰⁹ This idea of basic religious neutrality of so-called non-religious subjects was adhered to by both agencies. Schools ought to embrace "both religion and education," Farrant suggested,¹¹⁰ a case where the conjunction indicates disjunction. In a general discussion it was agreed that "a school is not primarily a place to teach reading and writing, but a place where first of all a moral foundation is taught."¹¹¹ In "secular" subjects the government syllabus

106. *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

107. *Op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

108. *Introduction*, p. 107.

109. J8, March/37, pp. 2-3.

110. 1 Mar/24 (J).

111. Conference of SUM branches, Dec/23 (J).

was followed at Gindiri, while the mission had its own for "religious teaching."¹¹² Discussing the need for Christian testimony at the new University of Ibadan, Farrant apparently could not conceive of this being embedded in the actual approach of Christian lecturers to their subject matter. Its primary focus was to be a theological faculty; in other words, a separate and more narrowly "religious" faculty.¹¹³ Medical work was frequently discussed as "justifying itself as a definite spiritual opportunity," for it served to create friendly attitudes, thus "giving an opportunity of introducing the Gospel." Upon this interpretation, Maxwell reported, "all agreed."¹¹⁴ Medical work, according to one medical missionary, "is a means to an end, it breaks down prejudice, and wins the affection and confidence of the people more than any other agency,"¹¹⁵ a sentiment occurring time and again.¹¹⁶ In fact, medical work and evangelism were described as "dual" ministries¹¹⁷ between which sometimes tension existed.¹¹⁸ Fortunately, one can also point to various statements that indicate more integrated views. Their existence along with expressions of dualism demonstrates the carelessness of the mission in such vital concerns. This dualism is a main reason for their failure to carefully determine an official, well-defined and theologically-grounded view of the relationship between evangelism and social ministries.

Our emphasis has been on British Evangelicals. It is useful to remember that the same influence with much the same result can be found among American Christians, those who have taken over from Britain the lead in missions. A succinct and well-documented study of it is sociologist David Moberg's *The Great Reversal*. Not only does Moberg clearly demonstrate the existence of dichotomies in that community, but he also draws attention to the fatal naivité it has caused with respect to social issues, to its inherent escapism and lack of realism.¹¹⁹ All the social shortcomings attributed to 19th-century British Evangelicals by dissenting prophets, to 20-century colonial missions by the I.M.C. and related literature, are ascribed to contemporary American Evangelicals by Moberg with a barrage of examples. Stringfellow similarly attests the prevalence of a dualistic mentality among his Christian compatriots.¹²⁰ Writing about "the religiosity of religion," Stringfellow explains that "the central idea about religion in America is that religion has only to do with religion, not with

112. Annual Report for Gindiri Training School, 1944 (J).

113. WD/50, p. 98.

114. *Century*, p. 171.

115. Local Field Conference, 3 May/21 (J).

116. Annual Report for Vom, 1923 (J). J8, Mar/39. J14, "Bornu Leper Colony", 1936.

117. J14, "Bornu Leper Colony."

118. Annual Report for Vom, 1943 (J).

119. *Op. cit.*, chs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8.

120. W. Stringfellow, *A Private and Public Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), pp. 18-25.

life."¹²¹ This idea may not be embedded in official doctrinal statements, but the writer's examples demonstrate clearly the practical force of this unofficial and usually unacknowledged doctrine in the life of the American church and nation.

2. In Economics

The S.U.M.'s continued approval of the economic system that developed in Nigeria is only explicable in terms of their dualism that was the basic factor preventing them from measuring colonial economic structures by Biblical standards. Dualism drove the mission to spend all its energies, resources and deep devotion on evangelism in the narrow sense of the word or on social projects that would serve as bait for the former. Dualism deprived her of the stimulus to think analytically of so-called "legitimate commerce," a doctrine we have earlier shown to be a product of synthetic thinking,¹²² that combined the Gospel with autonomous economics. The mission supported it on basis of superficial observations and failed to take seriously the constant barrage of criticism from nationalist and ecumenical quarters. She was so busy with "spiritual" matters that she lacked the inclination to bother herself with such analysis, too busy not primarily because of lack of time but because of this hierarchical dualism that relegated matters such as economics to the secondary rank of the secular. Abrecht explains that "missions lacked any general theory of economic development, and their economic activities were always secondary to, and frequently only justified as a means to support, the work of evangelism."¹²³ Dualism has seen to it that, instead of voicing prophetic protest, missions copped out in ostrich fashion with respect to socio-economic implications of the Gospel,¹²⁴ for these implications were regarded at best as mere consequences, not as constituents of the primary message.¹²⁵ Like Evangelicals of the 19th century at home, missions concentrated on a narrowly-conceived religion and, under the impinging pressure of increasing secularism, lost their interest in the totality of life, while turning increasingly conservative with respect to economic and political change.¹²⁶

Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* is a most enlightening analysis of the historical development of this Christian dualism in economics. Though many Christians dismiss "the concern of Churches with economic relations and social organization as a modern innovation," he concludes that it is this lack of concern that is novel. "What requires explanation is not the view that these

121. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

122. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, pp. 132, 148.

123. *Op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

124. Van Leeuwen, p. 48.

125. Niles, p. 26.

126. Kraemer, "De Houding," p. 103.

matters are part of the province of religion, but the view that they are not."¹²⁷
Beginning with the Middle Ages, he shows that

Religion has been converted from the keystone which holds together the social edifice into one department within it, and the idea of a rule of right is replaced by economic expediency as the arbiter of policy and the criterion of conduct.¹²⁸

"The conflict between religion and those natural economic ambitions" has been solved

by a truce which divides the life of mankind between them. The former takes as its province the individual soul, the latter the intercourse of man with his fellows in the activities of business . . . Provided that each keeps to its own territory, peace is assured. They cannot collide, for they can never meet.¹²⁹

The view described here differs from that of Evangelicals only in that the latter provide moral palliatives to limit the worst excesses of this divorce but that leave the basic philosophy intact. This basic philosophy, which states that "the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavor and the final criterion of human success," is the very

negation of any system of thought or morals which can . . . be described as Christian. Compromise is . . . impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies. . .¹³⁰

Still, Evangelicals managed to make the compromise.

3. In Politics

The observed dualism also prevented principial political thinking. Previous chapters are ringing testimony to the deep political involvement of missions, including the S.U.M., in imperial concerns. Neill's *Missions and Colonialism* is a powerful witness to that universal fact. Missionaries encouraged colonialism as they understood it in every conceivable way, they consciously saw themselves as part of the colonial team, they boasted that they were more effective in subduing peoples than were armies, they participated in negotiating treaties, they . . . — one could continue for some time, but in spite of all that, missionaries almost invariably with a straight face claimed not to be involved in politics! In fact, they were generally forbidden such involvement by their boards.¹³¹ At the Madras conference, the I.M.C. displayed consciousness of this ambivalence, but, like other problems discussed at such occasions, missions tended to ignore whatever enlightenment they may have gained.

There were certain conscious exceptions to the rule of no political involvement. The community crusaded on certain limited issues, namely, the liquor

127. *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

131. De Vries, pp. 180, 211. Abrecht, p. 109.

Though it cannot be said that the S.U.M. rejected politics as an avenue for Christian service, her political ineptness and consequent ambiguous behaviour prevented it from consciously equipping Nigerian Christians for their political task. To the contrary, politically-inclined sons of the church assert that they met opposition from missionaries for their political activities. Two relatively successful politicians, Lot and Azi Nyako, testify of the opposition they encountered.¹⁵⁰ The references to the specific political activities on the part of Lot and attempts to form a Christian party are extremely scanty in the sources and very hesitant. Such an aggressive Christian attempt was hardly within the mission's frame of reference and they thus took merely a "wait and see" attitude. The mission helped create social sensitivity through the Gospel, but it did not help Nigerians to apply the Gospel.¹⁵¹

The approach of missions was generally diametrically opposite to that advocated by the authors we have adduced. If politics is inescapable, then the rational mission approach is to channel that involvement consciously and to accord it a legitimate place in the missionary program. Thus Maury concludes that evangelism without political action is "incomplete and distorted."¹⁵² Niles affirms that Christian political action can be evangelism of the greatest significance,¹⁵³ while Verkuyl insists that politicians can also be missionaries.¹⁵⁴ All of these calls are not attempts to politicize missions, for in their political innocence they were in fact heavily politicized already, but to make them politically responsible in terms of their own task. Taylor suggests that a dualistic gospel that separates itself from politics was acceptable even to Nazis and to Communists.¹⁵⁵

C. Influence of Class

At various stages in this study reference has also been made to the influence of class on our concern. Chapters 1 and 3 demonstrate the close connection between middle classes, churches and missions. As these middle classes had difficulty comprehending criticism of the laissez-faire order domestically, so did missions advocate the extension of the system abroad. The Christian community, suggests Wickham, had vested interests that did not coincide with the views of critics or with the needs of workers. The composition of churches "precluded any sympathy" in this direction. He compares the church to a chameleon, reflecting the instinctive view of the social group of which it is part." Such a condition, he submits, was caused by the "trade spirit" of the class, which

150. Interviews with Lot. SS, 17 Sept/78.

151. Abrecht, p. 104.

152. *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 37.

153. *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

154. *Daar en nu*, p. 23.

155. *Politics*, p. 18.

"induces shallowness of spirit" and that precludes deep critical thought. "Nothing is more striking and terrifying," he observes, than the extent to which intelligent men, with no particular ill-will, can be imprisoned by their inherited and unconscious axioms and prejudices."¹⁵⁶

Wickham is by no means the only one to locate an important component of our problem at this point. Though Roberts indicates that Johann Wichern of the Innere Mission in Germany strongly opposed laissez-faire economics,¹⁵⁷ Van Leeuwen attributes failure to Wichern's project and ascribes this at least partly to its relation to the Christian bourgeoisie.¹⁵⁸ Vidler suggests the same with respect to French Roman clergy.¹⁵⁹ We are discussing the commercial-industrial class, one pre-occupied with profits, and profits, in Bavinck's opinion, tend to blind one to other interests.¹⁶⁰

Sociological studies not infrequently come to similar conclusions. M.A. Thung has concisely assembled the basic findings of a number of such studies of the church, including those of Weber and R. Niebuhr, all of which conclude that most churches are dominated by a particular class and that the predominant social views of that class are shared by most church members with their non-Christian class-mates. In fact, as the class of a church changes through social mobility, so do its social views adjust to the new class. This trend does not always hold for each individual member, for some buck this process. However, the majority moves along with the trend and the result is a church that, if it had any prophetic vision at all, now loses it and it begins to tailor its gospel to the interests of its new class.¹⁶¹ This is the process we have described in Chapter I.

There were additional psychological barriers preventing middle-class Christians from breaking out of such a climate. The class was a restless one and unceasingly active in its church life as well as in its commercial and industrial adventures. Moody, Pollock confides, assumed that "godliness must be measured primarily in terms of ceaseless action" and quotes the evangelist as urging men to "go to church all you can, as many prayer meetings as you can."¹⁶² The Evangelical movement "valued action rather than reflective scholarship," Latourette agrees.¹⁶³ It was largely a "practical" movement that did not experience the need for a "principial-theoretical" view of her affairs, for it was dominated by the "business spirit," asserts B. Esser.¹⁶⁴ Kraemer occasionally

156. *Op. cit.*, pp. 198, 259, 183, 237.

157. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

158. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

159. *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

160. *Zending*, p. 113.

161. M.A. Thung, "Verticalisme, horizontalisme en sociologie," *Wending*, June/71, pp. 246-265.

162. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

163. *The Great Century*, p. 38.

164. B.J. Esser, *Zending en polygamie: de gedragslijn der christelijke zending ten opzichte der veelwifverij historisch toegelicht* (Unpublished dissertation for the Free Reformed University, Amsterdam, 1905), p. 83.

defends British Evangelicals against the accusations of superficiality continental scholars tend to level at them, but he admits that there was indeed an Anglo-Saxon activism that, though an expression of a sense of social responsibility, was in no way a clearly biblically-grounded expression of the prophetic relationship of the church to the world.¹⁶⁵

Lest it be thought that the class mentality in the church belongs to the past, we draw attention to a discussion held at the 1969 Sodepax conference. As among 19th-century Evangelicals, so did this conference find confessional differences irrelevant for social issues. John Bennett proposed that disagreement on social issues tends "to grow out of the effects of social experience." Regardless of our traditions, "we all live in response to realities . . . which profoundly influence our theological thinking . . ." ¹⁶⁶ Paul Löffler went even further — or returned to 1928? — with his remark that "no church can break out of the framework of ideology and politics of the respective nation for which it . . . shares responsibility." ¹⁶⁷ The point of our study includes a rejection of such social determinism, but the discussion does indicate the strong force of the ideological climate within which Christians operate. Lack of awareness of such limitations upon us easily leads to succumbment to them and may prevent a sympathetic listening to other classes not only, but can also form a barrier to a sensitive understanding of the entire Scripture.¹⁶⁸

IV. Resultant Theology

In this section we wish to analyze briefly the type of theological thinking that has emerged out of the mentality described above.

A. Kingdom, Providence, History and Liberation

We have already indicated the shift that occurred in the S.U.M. towards Allen's approach. Previous to that change, however, the mission betrayed a remarkable breadth of interest, if not in its actual policies, at least in *The Lightbearer*. It shared with its contemporaries a broad concept of the Kingdom of God and the related doctrines listed in the above heading that has obvious relationships to biblical teaching. God was conceived as providentially working out His Kingdom purposes in ordinary history. Though Evangelicals are often associated with a dualistic concept of history that separates general and salvation history, during those early years the S.U.M. entertained a more unified view in which political, economic and religious forces cooperated in establishing the

165. *Mission*, p. 6.

166. *In Search of a Theology of Development: Papers from a Consultation on Theology and Development Held by Sodepax in Cartigny, Switzerland, November, 1969* (Geneva: Publications Dept., The Ecumenical Centre), pp. 1-3.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

168. Goudzwaard, *Aid*, p. 43. Gollwitzer, p. 66. *Church and Society*, p. 207.

Kingdom, or something closely akin to it. Instead of a "sacred" and a "secular" history, each going its own or parallel way, there was a deep sense of the "radical ordinariness of salvation history." It was realized

that God's work of caring for his creatures by his Providence, of saving us from evil and our distorted living, of overcoming disintegration in the world, occurs as an integral feature of the course of the ordinary affairs of our lives and of our cultures. Seen in this way, salvation history is the history of God's redeeming human beings and the whole creation in and through the ordinary course of history moving toward the eschaton.¹⁶⁹

In Teinonen's words, the Anglo-Saxon missionary view was that *Weltentwicklung* and *Reichsentwicklung* are part of the same history and placed on the same level. Missionary work is one aspect of general historical development taking place under God's providential rule, the other components of which include social, economic and cultural affairs.¹⁷⁰ Whenever justice was done, missionaries correctly detected a bit of Kingdom *shalom*.¹⁷¹ In their constant relating issues of political and economic justice and liberty to the larger designs of God, missionaries had caught a Biblical emphasis of great import for their work. Christian justice and liberty were not defined in narrowly spiritual terms, but included the politico-economic, in fact, all aspects of life. There was a genuine desire for complete Biblical *shalom* in Africa.

The views summarized above have a potentially powerful effect and should have constituted the basis for a healthy mission program. The Kingdom of God is central in Scripture and to the missionary task. "The central theme of Jesus' message . . . is the coming of the kingdom of God . . .," according to Ridderbos. With reference to the New Testament, "It is hardly possible to mention any other theme equal in importance . . ."¹⁷² The Kingdom is the climax of history, according to Berkouwer.¹⁷³ In addition to Biblical support,¹⁷⁴ the importance of this affirmation is emphasized repeatedly in missiological literature.¹⁷⁵ Not only is the Kingdom central, but it is all-inclusive and thus missions by their very definition must have a deep interest in the type of concerns the

169. C.T. McIntire, "God's work in History: the Post-biblical Epoch" (Toronto: Institute for Christian Studies, duplicated speech, n.d.), pp. 18-19.

170. S.A. Teinonen, *Missio Politica Oecumenica: A Contribution to the Study of the Theology of Ecumenical Work in International Politics* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society for Missionary Research, 1961), p. 17.

171. C.T. McIntire, "Historical Study."

172. H. Ridderbos, *The Coming of the Kingdom*, transl. H. de Jongste, ed. R.O. Zorn (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1962), p. xi.

173. G.C. Berkouwer, *The Providence of God*, transl. L.B. Smedes (Studies in Dogmatics; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952), pp. 174, 186.

174. Mat. 3:2, 4:17, 6:33; Mark 1:14-15; Luke 4:43, 12:31.

175. E.g. J.H. Bavinck, *The Impact of Christianity on the Non-Christian World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), p. 35. *Introduction*, pp. 155, 158. O. Cullmann, "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament," in Anderson, p. 43. P. Tillich, "Missions and World History," in Anderson, p. 281. W. Anderson, "Further toward a Theology of Mission,"

early S.U.M. displayed.¹⁷⁶ The preaching of that Kingdom is intended to bring about sweeping changes in social structures as well as in personal relations, *i.e.*, to become a catalyst towards social renewal, peace and justice.¹⁷⁷ The unity of history is a Biblical doctrine, as we have already seen from historian McIntire.¹⁷⁸

These ingredients of S.U.M. doctrine were, however, part of a larger framework of reference the mission shared with its fellow Evangelicals. In keeping with Evangelical traditions, none of these notions were carefully considered or defined; they were accepted uncritically as a basis for thought and action. Both the Scriptures and 19th-century Liberalism speak of freedom, but the agreement is merely formal, for the two interpret the word very differently. The S.U.M. did not discern the difference and accepted both.¹⁷⁹ The truthful elements were embedded in a sloppily constructed frame of reference that seriously distorted these Biblical insights. The latter were thus prevented from exercising their potentially redemptive influence.

The "legitimate" commerce prescribed for Africa referred to the laissez-faire variety that we have already exposed as not qualifying for Christian legitimacy, though an infusion of commerce was undoubtedly one of the needs. Though the S.U.M. never recognized it, the variety of commerce to which she subscribed had inherent seeds of a new slavery that was soon recognized by Africans. The commendable unified view of history was distorted because it was placed in an evolutionistic framework typical of the 19th century, and hardly qualifies for Christian legitimacy. *The Lightbearer* contains notions of a historical progression from barbarism to a state of civilization that would reach its climax in something like the Kingdom of God. The S.U.M. came very close to a potentially imminent kingdom. The Kingdom, the Bible teaches, is here, but only in a provisional way. We are in an interim situation that will not end up with anything approaching

trans. J.C. Weber, in Anderson, p. 304. Verkuyl, *Daar en Nu*, pp. 24-26. *Revolution*, pp. 14-15. H. Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (Studies in the World Mission of Christianity, no. VIII; New York and London: I.M.C., 1947), p. 77. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 192.

176. Bavinck, *Impact*, pp. 18, 27. *Introduction*, pp. 108-110. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 193. Goudzwaard in Puchinger, p. 252. *Church and Society*, p. 198. Cf. also references to I.M.C. documents in earlier chapters.

177. Berkouwer, p. 103. Bavinck, *Impact*, p. 40. *Introduction*, p. 158. Verkuyl, *Evangelie*, pp. 170-174, 195. *Daar en Nu*, pp. 24, 75. *Revolution*, pp. 15-19. *Liberation*, ch. 1, pp. 43-44. *Church and Society*, p. 201. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 193. Honig, pp. 27-28. Cf. I.M.C. references in earlier chapters.

178. Cf. also Berkouwer, p. 186. J.D. Godsey, "History of Salvation and World History," in G.H. Anderson, *Christian Mission in Theological Perspective: An Inquiry by Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967), throughout, but especially pp. 69-74.

179. Cf. Goudzwaard, *Aid*, p. 34 and *Option* p. 31 for similar examples of the same word being used in the contexts of different philosophies and thus being given totally different meanings.

the Kingdom through human effort. Though surely guided by God's providence, history is an ambiguous affair, the theatre of evil as well as good. Neither history nor Scripture support the notion of steady progress in one direction.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, though it is undoubtedly true that this Kingdom is "invincible," that under God's guidance there is a "dynamic movement of history . . . guiding and compelling . . . races and individuals," this rule is also incomprehensible.¹⁸¹ The ideological identification of Britain's mission with the onward march of Kingdom is a dubious exercise and leads to opposing interpretations of events. Berkouwer warns that "the interpretation of an historical event as a special revelation of Providence too easily becomes a piously disguised form of self-justification."¹⁸² The fact of providence stands. It is the interpretation of it in a specific historical context that is difficult, for we have no norms for such.¹⁸³ The complexity is well illustrated in the Joseph story.

It is striking that Honig's critical remarks about current ecumenical misology are almost identical to our objections to the early S.U.M. viewpoint. He warns against the danger of identifying uncritically all changes, renewal and liberation with the work of Christ. Scripture, he reminds us, speaks also of rebellion, the man of lawlessness and the "son of perdition."¹⁸⁴ Present identification of salvation and world history are based on hidden 19th-century evolutionistic optimism, according to him.¹⁸⁵ He complains of an insufficient testing of the spirits working about us.¹⁸⁶ It would appear that a reenactment of the same scene is taking place, but with the main actor ascribed a different role: the former "liberator" is now identified as the "oppressor" by Christians. Though the use of similar and faulty categories is to be deplored, this development is not as striking as it seems, however, for it has been a main burden of this study to demonstrate that laissez-faire economics is oppressive, inherently so, and that even though it broke the power of established injustice in Nigeria, its philosophical underpinnings should have been recognized as setting the stage for a new form of oppression. Though the influence of Roland Allen meant a change in mission policy, it had little or no bearing on the issues of this study, except that interest in them waned. The basic evaluation of colonialism remained constant.

B. The Misplaced Antithesis

The S.U.M. justified the colonial endeavour on basis of the "white man's

180. Ridderbos, ch. 4. Bavinck, *Impact*, pp. 36-38. Verkuy, *Revolution*, p. 43. *Church and Society*, pp. 200-201. Cullmann, p. 43. Tillich, p. 282. Newbigin, pp. 26-28.

181. Berkouwer, pp. 83-84.

182. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-166, 170.

183. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 171-175.

184. II Thess. 2:3-4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 34. 61.

185. Honig, p. 23.

186. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 42.

burden." It confessed the divinely-imposed duty to participate in spreading the blessings of western — particularly British — civilization in a dark continent. Though we do not recall the term in the documents, the theory was in fact based on an assumed *Corpus Christianum*, defined by Van Den Berg as the "*terminus technicus* for the unity of western Christendom since Constantine."¹⁸⁷ It has reference to a state of affairs in which the relationship between church, state, culture and society as a whole is seen as integral, each of these elements supporting the others, including the Christian religion.¹⁸⁸ The Enlightenment with its rationalism dealt the principal deathblow to whatever reality the *Corpus* may have had by insisting on reason as the only avenue to truth. The threat of a fully autonomous philosophy was now realized and it encouraged rapid secularization of the West.¹⁸⁹ Though Evangelicals rejected the effects they recognized in theological liberalism, we have noted that they unwittingly accepted its politico-economic expression. Jansen Schoonhoven relates that during the 18th century the missionary community recognized the breakdown of the integration, but that the *Corpus* ideal gained in popularity during the 19th century.¹⁹⁰ The S.U.M. is a case in point. Missions consciously advertized themselves as powerful allies in the spread of western culture without embarrassment, for it was a supposedly Christian culture they were spreading.¹⁹¹ The development was almost inevitable, considering Evangelical lack of critical distance from their own culture.¹⁹²

There was, of course, an element of truth in the assumption that the West was Christian. Our discussion of Gheddo's theory concerning the causes of development indicates our agreement that the Christian religion has indeed deeply influenced the West. Niles, a Sri Lankan theologian, even italicizes his assertion that "*Western culture and civilization have their roots in the Christian faith.*"¹⁹³ Kuyper was second to none in expressing his doubts about European Christianity,¹⁹⁴ but in contrast to other parts of the world, he felt free to speak of a Christian West that honoured the cross.¹⁹⁵ Western mobilization was the result of the Gospel, he affirmed.¹⁹⁶ The benefits of western civilization must

187. J. Van den Berg, "Corpus Christianum en zending," HB, July/60, p. 159.

188. Cf. E. Jansen Schoonhoven, "Corpus Christianum en zending," in Pos, p. 156.

189. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

190. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165. Van Den Berg, "Corpus," pp. 170-171. The continuation of the *Corpus* ideal has evoked different reactions. While Neill thinks it "not unreasonable," (*History*, p. 571.) Hoekendijk calls it a "remarkable fact" with which he is obviously none too pleased. (J.C. Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," IRM/50, pp. 164-165.) This difference is directly related to their evaluations of western culture, both of which reflect main currents in their respective national traditions: synthetic and antithetic thinking.

191. Jansen Schoonhoven, p. 165.

192. Van Den Berg, "Corpus," pp. 166-167.

193. *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

194. *Pro Rege*, III, p. 312. *Program*, p. 999.

195. *Pro Rege* III, pp. 307-310.

196. *Program*, pp. 970, 1007.

be spread.¹⁹⁷ However, his insistence and that of others on the deeply Christian influence on the West was less ideologically flavoured than that of the S.U.M. and kindred circles, because it was limited by an equally vivid awareness of the elements that have their inspiration in non-Christian philosophies.¹⁹⁸

Evangelical blindness to the other aspects of western civilization prevented the S.U.M. from a more balanced perspective and encouraged her on the ideological path of colonialism. The near identification of the kingdom and of the *Pax Britannica* with the *Pax Christi* came easily, especially when western culture was contrasted to that of a disintegrating Africa. It led to what is called "civil religion," particularly in North American literature, *i.e.*, a version of Christianity that "was allowed to support a particular political order after that same . . . order had been secularized, that is, cut off from the redeeming Lordship of Christ."¹⁹⁹ This unbalanced understanding of western culture, coupled with the Christian imperative to liberate the poor and bring the Gospel, resulted in a civilizing mission that became the ideological support for colonialism.²⁰⁰ The *Corpus Christianum* faced the *corpus demonicum* in Africa, according to missionary descriptions. Though Kumm agreed that Africans and Europeans were one in their common need for salvation, their 2 civilizations were separated by the antithesis of darkness and light respectively.

We do not intend to deny the elements of deep Scriptural truth in such evaluations. In days of strong reaction against S.U.M.-type evaluations of African culture, there is the temptation to repudiate them without qualification. However, we must take care that in our criticism of such ideas we do not fall into another ideological pit. Kraemer insists that religions are to be evaluated "in the light of the revelation of Christ;"²⁰¹ Bavinck suggests "God's Word" as the basis for judgment.²⁰² A *locus classicus* for such an analysis is Romans 1. In the light of that chapter various theologians, without a hint of western superiority, apply such terms as "suppressing knowledge of God," "foolish hearts," "darkness," "futile thoughts," "given up to impurity, dishonorable passions and a base mind."²⁰³ God gave them up, Bavinck repeats after Romans 1. Pagans stifle the

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 974, 1008.

198. We are not suggesting that Kuyper was free from ideology, *Cf.* his *De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika*, trans. C.K. Elout (Amsterdam: Hoveker and Wormser, 1900).

199. B. Zylstra, "Thy Word Our Life," in J.H. Olthuis, *et al.*, *Will All the King's Men . . .* (Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1972), p. 199. *Cf.* also Stringfellow, ch. 1. R.V. Pierard, "The Golden Image of Nebuchadnezzar," *RJ*, Dec/72, pp. 9-13. De Vries, p. 89.

200. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 303. Teinonen, p. 18. Kuyper, *Crisis*, pp. 54, 56. Van Den Berg, *Constrained*, p. 190 and "Open pad," p. 89. De Vries, pp. 66, 79.

201. *Message*, p. 110.

202. J.H. Bavinck, *The Church between the Temple and Mosque: A Study of the Relationship between the Christian Faith and Other Religions* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.), p. 117.

203. J. Blauw, "The Biblical View of Man in His Religion," in Anderson, pp. 37-38.

truth. They have plunged themselves into darkness. God has vanished from their sight.²⁰⁴ Not only S.U.M. staff, but "every missionary . . . can easily tell a multitude of stories about cruelty, the sexual perversion, the self-deification, and the merciless contempt for the miserable, the slaves, and the outcasts which are found wherever . . . heathenism holds sway," he asserts.²⁰⁵ Men are indeed to be transferred from darkness into light, from death to life.²⁰⁶ "There were tribal wars, famine, the Arab slave-trade and terrible epidemics", insists Crane, and "no one can fully comprehend to-day the terrors of that . . . time when life was cheap . . ." ²⁰⁷

However, though the S.U.M. tended to stop at this point, the above is not all there is theologically to be said about non-Christian religions. Without belittling the negatives, Bavinck claims the support of Calvin in rejecting the notion of "absolute darkness." God, in His "everlasting goodness . . . does not leave us to the inclinations of our own hearts." Gentiles may not have the law, but they "do by nature things contained in the law." The non-Christian "seems to comprehend the general bearing of the commandments of the second table and he is not ignorant of the fact that only in the way of obedience to these commandments can the order of the community be preserved." Every culture has "an untraceable influence in it that cannot be scrutinized because it has its origin in the mercy of God."²⁰⁸ Bavinck employs various theological terms to explain the light he detects in non-Christian cultures, such as general revelation,²⁰⁹ common grace,²¹⁰ moral consciousness,²¹¹ the activity of the Holy Spirit²¹² and *semen religionis*.²¹³

Long before Bavinck, John Calvin was second to none in his rejection of medieval dualism with its inadequate sense of sin.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, without retracting from his insistence that human reason is corrupt, he recognized remnants of light in Pagan culture that evoked his admiration. He explained these with the use of terms such as common grace, God's kindness, mercy,

204. *Temple*, pp. 118-122.

205. *Impact*, pp. 97-98. Cf. also *Introduction*, pp. 54, 226.

206. John 12:46; Eph. 2:1-6.

207. *Op. cit.*, p. 327. We do not wish to enter the discussion to what extent the disorientation of the western slave-trade contributed to the chaos described, but it might be more than is generally realized.

208. *Impact*, pp. 76-77.

209. J.H. Bavinck, *De boodschap van Christus en de niet Christelijke religies: een analyse en beoordeeling van het boek van Dr. Kraemer: The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (Kampen: Kok, 1940), pp 28-29. *Temple*, p. 123. *Introduction*, pp. 65, 54.

210. *Introduction*, p. 227.

211. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

212. *Temple*, p. 125.

213. *Impact*, p. 91.

214. *Infra*, p. 487.

indulgence, particular grace to some or all, divine providence distributing gifts and restraining sin.²¹⁵

It is not our intention here to develop theories about the relationship between Christianity and other religions and cultures. We simply wish to indicate that this matter requires much reflection and study. It was lack of such professional reflection that accounts for the S.U.M.'s wholesale and simplistic condemnation of African culture and allowed her to subscribe to a distorted view of Christian superiority, a perfect "theological" justification for colonial ideology. Thus the mission came with an offensive sense of superiority that may be universal, as Warren argues,²¹⁶ but that was fatal in their estimate of the situation and that could have been prevented by responsible missiological reflection.²¹⁷ This was no *innocent* case of a misplaced antithesis; it was the result of pietistic dualism that could not be bothered to reflect scientifically on cultural problems and therefore failed to understand both the home and foreign cultures.

V. *Evaluation of the S.U.M.'s View of Colonialism*

A. Providence

The S.U.M. was in most respectable theological company in its insistence that colonialism was a movement directed by God in His providence. De Vries has little appreciation for German colonialism in Namibia, but he agrees theologically that it can nevertheless become a divine instrument for the advancement of the Kingdom; it remains under God's sovereignty.²¹⁸ De Vries' judgment is similar to the Bible's interpretation of Jacob's sons selling their brother into slavery²¹⁹ or of traditional interpretation of Judas' act of betrayal. The interpretation does not redeem these acts of betrayal one whit, it only places them in larger perspective. Though he vehemently opposed laissez-faire economics, Kuyper saw the expansion of the West willed by God for the sake of the spread of the Gospel so that the Kingdom may be more fully revealed and God's name be glorified.²²⁰ We recall Warren's estimate of imperialism as a "*preparatio* for God's good will for the world." Imperfect though it may have been, colonialism was a more successful method of peace and progress than any

215. J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. H. Beveridge, Vol. I (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), I, 5, 14; III, 3, 25; II, 2, 17; II, 2, 14, 17; II, 3, 4; II, 3, 3. Cf. J. Klapwijk, "An Evaluation of Non-Christian Philosophy within the Tradition of Reformational Faith: A Confrontation with Calvin and Neo-Calvinism," (Unpublished paper written for Researchgroep Geloof-Filosofie at the FRU, 1972.) A revision of this paper was to appear in *Philosophia Reformata*, no. 38/73.

216. *Social History*, pp. 156-157.

217. Bavinck, *Boodschap*, p. 25. Jansen Schoonhoven, p. 171.

218. *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

219. Gen. 50:20.

220. *Pro Rege*, III, pp. 311, 315-316.

other so far devised.²²¹ For all its ambiguity, the movement was related to providence.²²² Crane recognized "that in a deep and meaningful way imperialism was an instrument of the divine intention to restore man to the fulness of the life inherent in the new creation, even if the actors were not always conscious of being thus used."²²³ No admirer of colonialism, the Indian ecumenical leader M.M. Thomas' reaction is to view it

in terms of God's providential dealing with His people: the coming of the West was necessary to break up the static social structure and lay the basis for the political unity, personal freedom, and social development of the Asian peoples. Mr. Thomas does not say explicitly that this Western impact was divinely ordained, although he hints at this in drawing the analogy between British control over India and the Roman power . . . which . . . Paul interpreted as ordained of God, "for your good."²²⁴

The problem appeared when the mission jumped to conclusions from providence to divine approval of the human motives. The identification of British colonialism with divine providence was ideologically based, not Scripturally. The theological and philosophical indifference of the mission blinded her to the ambiguity of this movement, especially to its politico-economic aspects.²²⁵

B. Trusteeship

The notion of trusteeship has been prominent in all colonial discussions. Both the League of Nations and the U.N. propagated it. Moderate nationalists and ecumenicals have recognized its legitimacy. The S.U.M. shared Lugard's idea that the abundant natural resources of Africa should not be left idle, but that they should be harnessed for the benefit of all parties. The Biblical teachings of the cultural mandate, stewardship and of sharing are in support of such a view. Where, for whatever reason, a local people does not possess the technology necessary for this purpose, the Scripture encourages a pooling of gifts for the common good. Past and current discussions on the responsibility of the north for southern development have emphasized such a communal approach. "Nations and governments are true to God's calling only if they cooperate in the search for . . . more equitable allocation," we are told. "Mankind must accept collective concrete responsibility for development . . ." "Sovereignty over the earth was given to all people, not only a few nations."²²⁶

Groen Van Prinsterer also recognized the divine calling to share the blessings of Christianity with the rest of the world. As men are entitled to a reward for their services rendered to each other, so Groen Van Prinsterer considered a financial return from the colonies legitimate. However, he strongly rejected the

221. *Supra*, p. 350. *Caesar*, pp. 27-28, 32-38.

222. *Caesar*, p. 13.

223. *Op. cit.*, pp. 327-328.

224. Abrecht, pp. 100-101.

225. *Supra*, pp. 456-460.

226. *Church and Society*, pp. 89, 139, 198. Cf. also Kuyper, *Class Struggle*, p. 53. Goudzwaard, *Aid*, pp. 13, 87. Puchinger, p. 237. Abrecht, p. 143.

framework in which colonialism was conducted, namely, that of liberalism. He was deeply conscious of the state of western civilization of his day and analyzed liberalism as human revolution against divine authority, as an attempt to establish full humanistic autonomy. As autonomous liberalism had created havoc in Europe, so it was bound to do in the colonies. The latter were being reduced to a mere football of liberal capitalism; Indonesian villagers were becoming the tools of speculators and capitalists. Though there are no indications that the S.U.M. ever recognized the link between economic interests and the prohibition of mission work in Muslim communities, Groen Van Prinsterer saw a direct connection.²²⁷

Groen van Prinsterer's spiritual successor, Abraham Kuyper, also accepted trusteeship and suggested a three-fold mandate to teach morals, to care for the resources of the wards to the latter's profit, and to prepare them for independence.²²⁸ This mandate could be properly carried out only if nations and individuals wake up to their responsibilities before the Supreme Judge.²²⁹ A faithful carrying out of this mandate, moreover, entitles a people to a just reward, including employment for their excess population and raw materials for their economy.²³⁰ So far, Kuyper's views do not differ markedly from those of the S.U.M. Furthermore, he shared with them a strong dose of paternalism.²³¹

The difference between Kuyper and the S.U.M. is to be found in the fact that he, like Groen van Prinsterer, rejected liberalism for the colonial as well as the domestic situation, for both led to exploitation, the evil of which far outweighs its advantages.²³² The divine colonial mandate has been smothered in the search for gold.²³³ The colonial government must protect the native from the excesses of traditional governments not only, but also from the European capitalist,²³⁴ who has made profits the main aim of industry.²³⁵ Colonialism was to bring the glory of Christ to the nations and anything that impedes that purpose was to be effaced. If colonial governments favour Islam to ensure profits, such protection is wrong. If the government fears to support the Christian cause, it has forfeited its right and ought to leave the colony.²³⁶ It is this deep awareness of the non-Christian roots and practices of liberalism that places the superficial resemblances between Kuyper and the S.U.M. in a totally different perspective.

227. H.W.J. Mulder, "Groen van Prinsterer en de overzeese gebieden," *Tot Vrijheid Geroepen*, May/76, pp. 103-109.

228. *Program*, p. 964.

229. *Ibid.*, p. 963.

230. *Ibid.*, p. 976. *Class Struggle*, p. 55.

231. *Crisis*, p. 19. Verkuyl, *Revolution*, pp. 27-29.

232. *Program*, pp. 964-965.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 967.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 983.

235. *Class Struggle*, pp. 48-49, fn. 34.

236. *Program*, pp. 961, 970. *Pro rege*, p. 315.

Without that awareness the claim to trusteeship sounds hypocritical; with that awareness it might have been possible to redeem this mandate in the context of genuine mutual service in a colonial relationship. The lordship of Christ, coupled to a philosophical-theological understanding of culture that consciously rejects all dualism, can make all the difference in the world. This difference in understanding is vital and stands, regardless of the fact that Dutch colonial practices have been recognized by their own prominent sons as inferior to those of the British.²³⁷ As it was, the mission was blinded and largely misunderstood the nature of colonialism. Its definition was a hope based on ideology more than on reality and the Bible.

VI. *The Key to Evangelical Heresy*

We offer at this point the major key to understanding missionary evaluation of and participation in colonialism: *a fatal combination of pietistic dualism and class blindness*. We do not pretend this to be a startlingly new discovery. In fact, it has been advanced by various people throughout the pages of this study. However, by having exposed the effects of this in a concrete situation we hope to have demonstrated with new vigour the terrible consequences of this combination so that missionary strategists may take note not only, but also begin actively to insist that these demons within the Christian community must be exorcised by a radical renewal of the Christian mind and of missionary strategy. We hope this study will contribute to a raising of Evangelical consciousness, the first pre-requisite for a new approach in the neo-colonial era. Evangelicals traditionally insist that their high view of Scripture is an effective obstacle to their falling victim to the passing fads of modern theologies.²³⁸ Without belittling the value of a Biblical doctrine of Scripture, it is our contention that the Evangelical variety of it has not served as a guarantee for purity. Dualism and class blindness have prevented a careful listening to the full testimony of the Bible and from a sympathetic hearing of the world's proletariat. Evangelicals, we submit, have been peculiarly susceptible to the *heresies* of western humanistic philosophy.

This susceptibility has rendered Evangelicals as a whole and their ambassadors abroad impotent to understand their own culture and, consequently, colonialism. This judgment is almost unanimous and monotonously repeated. The churches failed to understand the social conditions they helped to create. Kitson Clark affirms that they did not understand the difficult nature of the problems they faced and thus their solutions were naive.²³⁹ After praising Evangelicals for their concern for the victims of society, Van Den Berg hesitantly suggests that "perhaps they had more an eye for the difficulties of the individual than for the

237. Kuyper, *Program*, pp. 987-988, 1004, 1007-1009.

238. Cf. Johnston, p. 72. Lindsell, pp. 239-240.

239. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

collective problems."²⁴⁰ The theme appears frequently in Wickham's study. Evangelicals suffered from a "most serious lacuna," namely "the failure to understand the nature of the social problem determining the lives and thinking of the people, and its significance for the Christian Church." For a time, Nonconformity "rode the waves and indelibly marked the history of the country." "After riding the waves, she was driven by the waves, waves that were themselves receding, and in a turbulent sea whose deeper currents were not understood." "The supreme weakness then was a failure to understand the signs of the times, a failure of vision and perception." "There was the lack of creative tension with contemporary thought . . ." "The churches were . . . not good enough, penitent without understanding the complexity of sin . . ." The church suffered from "zeal without knowledge." The church did not fully understand the scientific and social revolutions of the century. Wickham describes Forsyth affirming the traditional approaches of the church, but they were not enough. "We cannot do without these, but to stop there shows some lack of insight into the complex nature of a great public problem." Not only did the church fail to understand society, it also experienced an "impotence to apprehend the Gospel."²⁴¹

Both Wickham and Kraemer express surprise at the church's stand.²⁴² It is astonishing, asserts Wickham, that the leadership of the churches was so little influenced by the social critics. He adduces Henderson who affirmed that "we know nothing in the Churches' history which is so difficult to comprehend" as its insistence on the relief approach over against structural reformation. Not only was this position astonishing, it was also alarming. Discussing the long list of social critics, both individuals and conferences within the church, Wickham concludes that the church "showed . . . an alarming capacity . . . to produce ideas and ignore them, or to absorb them and smother them."²⁴³ Indeed, should one compare the Evangelical stance with what one might expect from the Bible, he would be astonished at the great discrepancy. However, taking into consideration the explanation we offer, it is not at all surprising, but probably inevitable — and both Kraemer and Wickham knew it.

VII. *Effects on the Nigerian Christian Community*

A. Redeeming Factors

Whether one discusses missions as part of the colonial movement or on their own merit, the mysterious nature of the sudden and persistent outpouring of spiritual energy of the movement since 1800, its amazing spread through the world and its impressive victories, especially in Africa, are sufficient to lead to caution in any evaluation of its short and long-term effects. Here one needs to

240. *Constrained*, p. 152.

241. *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 192-193, 214, 222, 202, 237.

242. Kraemer, "De Houding," p. 118.

243. *Op. cit.*, pp. 192, 200, 240.

practice the same reserve as in the question of colonialism. In addition to historical factors encouraging such an attitude, there are Biblical considerations linking missions directly, in spite of all their ambiguities, to the work of God, who motivates, guides and completes this effort and through whom it is related to that Kingdom for which so many grope desperately in our day. In spite of the heavy barrage of criticism in the foregoing chapters, we insist with Kraemer, whom we know by now as an untiring critic of the missionary movement from within, that those who "find cause only for condemnation and scorn" are "blinded by an emotional inhibition." Such condemnation is evidence of neglecting the elementary obligation to take into account the entire story.²⁴⁴ Missions, in fact, are much better than earlier pages, because of their one-sidedness, seem to indicate. They have been an important redeeming factor in colonialism. The fact that they are not frequently so recognized is due not only to an emotional aversion to anything colonial, but also to the humanistic tradition of the West that is unwilling and unable to understand the Christian legacy with the same degree of sympathy and objectivity with which it has studied other aspects of culture and other religions.²⁴⁵

Kraemer's dubbing missions a redeeming factor is correct. The fact of an almost universal church²⁴⁶ is itself the greatest redeeming factor of all, for there is evidence that the Spirit is aiding these new churches to break through the limitations missions have imposed on them. Black, yellow and liberation theologies all represent attempts to overcome these restrictions. Even Panikkar recognizes Christianity as "one of the religions of Asia."²⁴⁷ Missions have helped undermine the pillars of stagnation and contributed by providing potential underpinnings for a new integration.²⁴⁸ Though missions have often been reserved with respect to nationalism, the 2 movements are recognized by many as being on one continuum. Henry Venn has been described as "father of African nationalism" by Idowu, a well-known nationalist himself.²⁴⁹ Much of this was unwittingly accomplished through mission schools that have graduated an amazingly high percentage of present leaders.²⁵⁰ Missions softened the colonial blow by behind-the-scenes intervention with the government and in public crusades about the Congo, forced labour in East Africa and the opium

244. *World Cultures*, p. 82.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

246. Neill, *Colonialism*, pp. 424-425.

247. *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

248. Kraemer, *World Cultures*, p. 90.

249. E.B. Idowu, "The Predicament of the Church in Africa," in C.G. Baeta, ed., *Christianity in Tropical Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 427-428. Abrecht, pp. 95, 104, 109. Hoekendijk, "Afrika," pp. 290-291. Taylor, p. 33. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 265. Warren, *Social History*, pp. 119, 131. Coleman, p. 96.

250. Warren, *Caesar*, p. 60. Panikkar, p. 319. Verkuyl, *Onderweg*, p. 37.

question in Asia.²⁵¹ True, mission criticism often took place behind the scene.²⁵² It is also true that most criticism was within the colonial framework, not against it. Yet, it cannot be denied that in Nigeria, for example, missionaries "were vigorous critics on behalf of the African."²⁵³ Abrecht observes that the churches' contributions for social improvement, both direct and indirect, are not sufficiently realized.²⁵⁴ A single paragraph insisting on such contributions really does missions less than justice, but the aspect with which we deal does not allow for more.²⁵⁵

B. Social Ineptitude and Suspicion

When one measures the results in terms of the liberation idea advanced by the S.U.M., it is more ambiguous. Positively, colonialism withdrew and Africa appeared on the world stage — the dream in Kumm's bosom. However, the projected kingdom had not materialized and could not have for it was a syncretistic construction. The liberalist liberation idea merely replaced traditional oppression with a capitalistic one.

Not only did this economic liberation fail to materialize, but Christian missions and churches are in various quarters grouped among the oppressors. The evidence in earlier chapters is there. One does not need to turn to the church's enemies for verification. A faithful son of the church who also commands the highest moral respect among African leaders, Julius Nyerere, repeatedly warns the church against its ties with forces of injustice. The following quote could just as well have emerged from the British situation of the 19th century:

The representatives of the Church . . . often give the impression as if human development were a personal and "inner" matter that can be divorced from the society and economy . . . in which he earns his living. They preach patience and appear to regard the present social, economic and political structures as fixed. They attempt to improve intolerable conditions by philanthropy. But when the victims of poverty and oppression begin to assert themselves . . . by seeking to change these circumstances, the Church's representatives withdraw.

The church, Nyerere continues, accepts people who help give shape to the present politico-economic structures and who seek to retain them, as long as they attend church and give liberally. But that is the very system that has contributed to the "hunger, the thirst, the nakedness of millions of people." If God were to ask the miserable of the earth who their friends are, will Christians

251. Abrecht, pp. 109, 135. Crane, p. 328. Neill, *Colonialism*, pp. 371, 375-376, 327-330. Oliver, *Factor*, pp. 245-262. C.P. Groves, "Missionary and Humanitarian Aspects," Duignan and Gann, I, pp. 475-477.

252. *Supra*, p. 458. Coleman, pp. 110-111.

253. Coleman, pp. 110-111.

254. *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-76. Cf. Verkuyl, *Onderweg*, pp. 38-39. Kraemer, *World Cultures*, pp. 86-87, 97.

255. Cf. A. Glasser, "Africa, 1976, and the Gospel," *Missiology*, Oct/76, p. 387.

be mentioned among them?²⁵⁶ The African press frequently links missions with the neo-colonialist activities of the West.²⁵⁷ Though missionaries tend to dismiss such charges as mere emotional nationalism, the history of mission collusion provides perfect justification for such suspicion.

Mission support of western efforts abroad has occasionally led to their expulsion. In China, for example, though already during the early part of this century far-sighted missionaries warned against dependence on treaty clauses, the movement as a whole did not act on the warnings. Panikkar asserts that these clauses "wrote the ultimate doom of Christian activity in China."²⁵⁸ The incomplete Gospel has driven some men to Communism and has not been able to stem its tide.²⁵⁹

The frequent negative attitude towards nationalism on the part of missions has driven potential leaders away from the church. Even though many African political leaders have graduated from mission schools, it is often pointed out that many of them have only a tentative relationship with the church.²⁶⁰ Again, early warnings that the church must approach nationalism with greater depth²⁶¹ were ignored with the result that nationalists found little reason to associate with the church, even though missions had called them into being. They concluded that "loyalty to the emerging nations was incompatible with loyalty to the . . . Church."²⁶² Neill suggests that the danger arose only when nationalists became suspicious of colonialism, but that previous to this new awareness "no particular harm" could come of the association.²⁶³ In other words, it was merely a matter of wrong tactics! This study shows that much more was involved than mere tactics: it was a basic misunderstanding of the Gospel. "We will never be able to convince the modern world of the truth of the Gospel unless we offer it in its fullness . . ."²⁶⁴

Needless to say, missions were ill equipped to train Nigerian Christians for their political task. Verkuyl points out that churches have inherited "politico-phobia" from them,²⁶⁵ though, as we have already noted, Christian leaders are now trying to shake off this inheritance.²⁶⁶ Nowhere is this true more than in

256. J. Nyerere, "De Kerk moet aanvaarden dat ontwikkelen thans opstand betekent," *Onderontwikkeling*, pp. 73-75. Taken from *Internationale Katholieke Informatie*, July/73. Unable to locate the original English text, we have translated back into English from the Dutch version.

257. *Supra*, p. 437.

258. *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

259. Verkuyl, *Evangelie*, pp. 168-170.

260. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 334. Oliver, p. xi.

261. Mott, *Decisive*, pp. 36, 111. Kraemer, *Padvinder*, p. 6.

262. Neill, *Colonialism*, p. 334. Beetham, p. 134.

263. *Colonialism*, p. 333.

264. *Church and Society*, p. 13. Maury, p. 27.

265. *Onderweg*, p. 16.

266. *Revolution*, pp. 30-31.

Nigeria of 1979. Many regard the church as incapable of the dynamic leadership required in times of rapid change.²⁶⁷ Taylor finds African Christians uncertain in their political stance.²⁶⁸ Warren declares that the church has done very little

to prepare Africans for an understanding of politics and the Christian's responsibility At a time when Africans are becoming more . . . politically conscious, this represents a major failure It is at least arguable that failure at this point is going to negate much of the value of its achievements in the realm of *agape*, and may well reduce its witness to the sovereignty of God to the level of a *cliché* which bears no marks of relevance in those "tumultuous lists of life" down which the young African is going . . . , but going, alas, without . . . the guidance and blessing of God's priest.²⁶⁹

The force of this already powerful statement becomes even stronger when one realizes the habitual restraint under which Warren writes. Lot confides that he found it difficult to discuss political issues with missionaries.²⁷⁰ The latter never showed him any literature to help him think about the relationship of politics to economics. The missionary opposition to Nyako's political involvement has already been mentioned.²⁷¹ Had the mission recognized the importance of politics from a Christian perspective, it might have aided these men in developing a Christian approach, but such a task did not fit the vision. Rubingh describes the fragmented, dualistic vision of the church among the Tiv of Nigeria. He is very vague in ascribing the cause of this development, but at least twice he refers to the scientific explanation offered by the mission for so-called "natural" phenomena that "pushed back the immediacy of the supernatural." "The instant and immediate intervention of God through hailstorm or disease gave way to scientific explanation."²⁷² His language suggests a lack of integrated thinking among missionaries. We suspect that this may be the reason for the negative reaction on the part of the Tiv church to politics when the latter threatened to become an alternate focus of loyalty among the ambitious. Church leaders "warned against involvement in politics of any kind by affirming that Christians had nothing to do with such matters of the world, but belonged instead to 'the party of Jesus'."²⁷³

267. Abrecht, p. 104.

268. *Christianity*, pp. 8, 11, 15.

269. *Caesar*, p. 67.

270. Interview, 18 March/75.

271. *Supra*, p. 460.

272. *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-158.

273. *Ibid.*, p. 164. Fortunately, the Tiv church, under the pressure of alleged Muslim political maneuvers, is recently taking a more politically responsible stand, indicated especially by the items she has placed on the agenda of the annual meeting of the Fellowship of Churches of Christ in Nigeria, (Tarayyar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi a Sudan, Meeting at Zing, 8-13 Jan/75, min. no. 864), and by a statement the church submitted to the Nigerian government. ("Comments and Recommendations on the Draft Constitution by N.K.S.T. Emergency Synod" 5 July/77.) The latter document, however, indicates that this increased sense of responsibility is still couched in a dualistic framework. Cf. also J.H. Boer, "Review Article: *Sons of Tiv*" (IRB, no. 48, 1972), pp. 41-48.

C. The *Sharia* Debate

The issues we are discussing have a terrible relevance for Nigerian politics during the present exercise of a scheduled return to civilian rule in 1979. In preparation for this event, Nigeria has recently produced a new constitution in the discussions of which more heat was expended in debating the issue of *sharia* than on any other.²⁷⁴ The question was whether the Muslim *sharia*, their concept of justice and system of courts, should receive a place in the federal court system alongside, parallel with and at a level equal to the secular system inherited from Britain. *In this debate, the underlying issue really was the nature of religion.*

The arguments in favour of including the *sharia* advanced mostly by Muslims include the following. (1) A majority or a large minority cannot have its rights suppressed.²⁷⁵ (2) Against the argument that a dual legal system would destroy the unity of the nation, proponents posited that unity in a diverse nation such as Nigeria can be assured only by giving constitutional recognition to unity in diversity.²⁷⁶ (3) The most important argument from our point of view was the insistence that Islam is a holistic religion that embraces all of life and that any attempt to limit its application to a so-called "spiritual" or private realm amounts to suppressing Islam as a whole. Abubukar Mahmud Gumi insists that "Islam means a complete submission to the laws of Allah" and "includes all aspects of life."²⁷⁷ Sociologist Ahmed Beita Yusuf similarly explains that in Islam "law, religion, education, government and indeed every aspect of life are . . . inextricably intertwined."²⁷⁸ Thus also argues Saleh Umar Minjibir: "Islamic Sharia and Islamic Religion are one and the same thing. You cannot separate Sharia from Islam."²⁷⁹ If Islam is holistic, then the positing of a neutral non-religious zone in life must result in oppression of its true genius. Then limiting the application of Islam and, for that matter, of Christianity, is in effect to replace these religions with secularism and atheism. For the government to refuse to finance religious education, e.g., whether Muslim or Christian, constitutes "the advancement of secularism while at the same time tolerating all forms of religious teachings, practices and observances," insists Yusuf. It "is next to condemning religious propagation . . . , thus giving undue preference to secularism and atheism." He emphasizes that "the false principle of . . . neutrality" encourages "a callous indifference to religious groups and . . . interests. That would indeed amount to favouring those who believe in no religion . . . over

274. NS, 4 Apr/78.

275. Abdullahi Adamu, NS, 22 Nov/77. Adamu Ciroma, NN, 28 Sept/77.

276. Abubukar Mahmud Gumi, NN, 11 May/78. F.R.A. Williams, NN, 4 Nov/77. Ahmed Beita Yusuf, NN, 23 Sept/77.

277. NN, 11 May/78.

278. NN, 23 Sept/77.

279. NN, 18 Jan/78. Cf. also A.G. Sani, NS, 22 Nov/77.

those who do believe."²⁸⁰ A similar argument is adduced by Hamisu Yadudu.²⁸¹ The authors of the original draft constitution realized that insistence on a totally secular system of justice would in fact be an encroachment on Islam and thus they sought to include *sharia*.²⁸² Bappa Mahmoud provides examples how secular law does in fact oppose Islam, examples, furthermore, that indicate the profundity of the problem and that are among the very reasons others have opposed the *sharia*. His examples deal with the legal rights of one born out of wedlock and with the right to change religion.²⁸³ Sani provides examples of marriage laws that conflict.²⁸⁴

A number of objections to the inclusion of *sharia* have been raised,²⁸⁵ but most of them are based on a narrow view of religion we associate with dualism. *Sharia* will retard efforts to unify the nation — and God knows how great that need is! "A dual legal system will tend to bring disunity in the country," affirms Abari.²⁸⁶ A related argument is that religion and, therefore, *sharia*, should be kept out of the constitution because religion is in itself divisive. It is one of the factors that has contributed to disunity in Nigeria, charges Amalaha.²⁸⁷ It "is capable of ruining our unity," Opugo asserts.²⁸⁸ The definition of religion as essentially a private affair is another argument. Babatope, by his own confession opposed to religion in general, views religion, when brought into public affairs, as divisive and suggests that "at best religion should be considered a private affair."²⁸⁹ Opugo insists on a sharp demarcation between religion and politics. The former concerns man's relationship to God and has to do with his conscience. It is personal, whereas politics is a public concern.²⁹⁰ Non-Muslims are fearful of including the *sharia* because they have experienced oppression at Muslim hands where the latter are in the majority. Bitrus Duniya relates rejection of the *sharia* directly to past and present Muslim oppressive measures.²⁹¹ The articles by Mustapha Muhammed and Bappa Mahmoud, both Muslims, whether so intended or not, are in effect confessions that human rights have not flourished at Muslim hands.²⁹² In fact, the attempt to include the *sharia* is interpreted by many Christian leaders as a thinly-disguised form of *jihad*, a Muslim crusade to achieve hegemony in Nigeria. Wilson Sabiya has been

280. NN, 23 Sept/77.

281. NN, 28 Sept/77.

282. Williams, NN, 4 Nov/77.

283. GTFK, 15 Aug/77.

284. NS, 22 Nov/77.

285. Cf. Yadudu for a list of them, NN, 28 Sept/77.

286. NS, 15 Sept/77.

287. NS, 22 Nov/77.

288. NS, 2 Jan/78.

289. NS, 19 Sept/77.

290. NS, 2 Jan/78.

291. SS, 20 Nov/77.

292. NS, 22 May/78 and GTFK, 15 Aug/77.

a particularly strident advocate of this view and he has rallied much support for it.²⁹³

One can hardly have anything but strong sympathy for those who oppose including the *sharia*. The need for greater unity in Nigeria is overwhelming indeed. Muslim intolerance of other religions is best illustrated by the position of Christian minority groups in Muslim countries. Nigerians have every reason to be on their guard against such developments. However, the question is: what alternative do Christians offer? It is here that the Christian shoe begins to pinch.

The overwhelming demand is for a secular constitution that eliminates all religious influences. Osita Okeke feels that Nigeria must be seen "as a secular state and therefore any laws based on religion should have no place at the centre."²⁹⁴ George Hoomkwap similarly opts for a secular state which he defines as "one in which no single religion receives official patronage or recognition to the exclusion of or in preference to others."²⁹⁵ Abari objects to the *sharia* precisely because it "is not a secular law but a religious law."²⁹⁶ Patrick Okpabi states that the "Common Law . . . is neither a Christian nor Moslem system of law. It is a law for everyone."²⁹⁷ An unnamed author advocates

the common law which is secular and not the Sharia which has religious undertone. In order not to make either Muslims or Christians feel that one group has an edge over the other, common law should be adopted — which is secular and neutral from the canon and the Sharia laws.²⁹⁸

In the secular solution noted above it is not difficult to recognize a direct relationship with the dualistic view of religion we have earlier pointed out. As over against the Muslim view of religion as a total way of life, these objectors to the *sharia* generally seek a solution to their *very genuine fears* in a reduced version of both Christianity and Islam. Religion is private, personal. Religion tends to divide. Hence we must go beyond religion to what men have in common, to a neutral zone where one can be objective and work together. Here we have a clear indication of modern Humanism at work, a philosophy that will only tolerate a religion that limits itself to a spiritual realm and that lays no

293. W. Sabiya, "The Draft Constitution: The Religious Provisions Provide a State Religion and Denies Non-Muslims High Executive Offices" (Privately circulated paper, n.d.) and "The Constituent Assembly and the Sharia Controversy: The Hour of Decision: Sharia or Jihad (Chaos)? ?" (Paper presented at a seminar, University of Jos, 25 Feb/78.) In our files we have also a letter addressed to the Head of State, 25 May/77, from a group of Christians whom we decline to identify further in order not to betray its confidential nature. That letter features a long list of Christian grievances and provides strong reasons for suspecting that perhaps some attempt at *jihad* is (was) in the offing.

294. NN, 6 July/78.

295. SS, 27 Nov/77.

296. NS, 15 Sept/77.

297. NS, 7 Nov/77.

298. NS, 16 Sept/77.

obligations on the public domain. Not the law of God, but the laws that man concocts for himself are to apply in politics. The revelation of God is restricted to church and personal life; common reason guides public affairs. What Aquinas tried to keep together has been effectively rent asunder.

It is by no means only theologically illiterate politicians who advocate such dualistic solutions to this intricate problem. Let us listen to voices emerging from the churches themselves. In addition to pointing out various problems that will arise from the inclusion of *sharia*, an N.K.S.T. statement suggests that it is precisely the *religious* foundation of the *sharia* that makes it objectionable: "We are aware of the highly codified nature of the Sharia law, but we still contend that this . . . does not make it non-religious, because these laws are still injunctions from the Koran and Islamic theology." The ingrained nature of this dualistic vision is further demonstrated by a declaration composed by a conference called by the I.C.S. in Ibadan. It also posits the possibility of religious neutrality of a constitution that should uphold only "the *ordinary* law of the land administered by the *ordinary* law courts."²⁹⁹ This law is to be neither Christian nor Muslim, but to be based on "ordinary" notions, terminology one cannot help but identify with the modern Humanistic idea of a general, neutral and objective common sense shared by all men, based on sound reason quite apart from their basic religious commitments. Muslims not having experienced western autonomous rationalism, have quickly pinpointed the problem, but Christians who are heirs to the tradition of dualism are found advocating a court system that must be divorced in principle from their highest source of authority, the Bible itself. Without belittling the tremendous urgency of the problem, we contend that the solution for Christians must be sought in a different direction, namely within the framework of Biblical thought.

Though we reject in principle a dualistic approach, we are not suggesting that a more Biblical solution is within easy reach. The *specific* solution offered by Ibrahim Usman, a member of the Constituent Assembly, may not be possible, for he appears to advocate a rather legalistic adoption of Mosaic laws.³⁰⁰ However, his attempt to find a non-dualistic solution and his fearlessness in presenting it in spite of opposition of the Christian community in general is nothing short of admirable. And one would hardly expect one individual to solve the complicated problem in a fully satisfactory way. Adegbola is one of the few voices calling for a similar direction, but he advises the Christian community as a whole to seek a solution.³⁰¹

299. "Communique from a Consultation on Religious Pluralism and the Draft Constitution, 22-26 June/77 (Ibadan: ICS). Italics mine.

300. I.S. Usman, "The Constituent Assembly: A Case for a Canon Law Courts System in Nigeria" (Privately circulated paper, 1977) and his notes accompanying his motion to the Constituent Assembly on 31 Oct/77 (Reformation day!).

301. E.A.A. Adegbola, "Religious Pluralism and the Draft Constitution for Nigeria" (Stenciled paper; Ibadan: ICS, 1977.)

Not only have fellow Christians rejected Usman's approach, but they have indicated no appreciation for his basic concern, namely to seek a *Biblically* legitimate solution. Even less have they presented a responsible Biblical alternative or given a responsible *Biblical* reason for the rejection of Usman's attempt. We locate the reason for this reaction in the dualism inherited from the missions. This inheritance has led to a limited religion that has little or no constructive role in public affairs. In the public arena it is replaced with humanistic concepts. Here humanistic values and beliefs reign. However, it is not a matter of subjective religion versus an objective and neutral approach; it is a matter of one religion – Christianity – versus another set of religious values and beliefs that emphasize faith in the ability of autonomous man to find his own solutions, but that will have little truck with Biblical notions of a reason severely impaired by sin. Secularism is not non-religion, it is another religion that, because of its subtlety, is a far greater threat to the Christian community than is Islam. We thus find Christians resorting to the beliefs and practices of one rival religion in order to undercut the threat posed by another. In spite of all the forces surrounding the church that encourage her to adopt a more holistic approach – traditional African religion, Islam and the Bible itself – it was the same dualism that caused missions to go astray in their support of capitalism and colonialism, that tragically triumphed.

Gloriously optimistic predictions regarding the future of Christianity in Africa are common in missiological literature, but we do not share this easy optimism. Oliver draws attention to the church's failure to get a serious foothold in Africa's cities and to the danger that "under the stress of political and social change organized Christianity may start to disintegrate at the centre while it is still expanding at the circumference."³⁰² Glasser seriously posits the question, "Can the Church in Africa be saved, or is it doomed to extinction?" The question, he asserts, "is being increasingly asked."³⁰³ That question, we submit, is far from being theoretical.³⁰⁴

VIII. *The Question of Blame*

We do not raise the question of blame to play into the hands of enemies of the missionary movement or for a cheap thrill at the expense of predecessors. We are discussing earlier generations not only, but our own as well. We are uncovering these details in order to understand our present situation, a prerequisite for new advance. Throughout this study we have emphasized the representative nature of missions; they are a reflection of the church in general. The dualism and class mentality are those of the entire church. This fact explains the

302. *Factor*, p. xi.

303. "Africa," p. 388.

304. J.H. Boer, pp. 47-48.

reason the terms "mission" and "church" are frequently used interchangeably in the literature.

The question before us is whether or not one can legitimately blame missions for being colonialist? It depends on one's definition of colonialism. If by colonialist one means a person or group who consciously supports colonialism as Kraemer has defined it, the answer is negative. Whatever the mistakes and failures of missions, their support of colonialism was generally based on the notion of mutual profit and whenever a clash of interest was detected, missionaries generally sought to resolve it in favour of the colonized people — as they recognized it. Neill's formidable study is unshakable testimony to this fact. The "one thing that shines through all this tangled history is that the missionaries were actuated throughout by one consideration only — the welfare of the Africans whom they had come to serve."³⁰⁵ If, however, a colonialist is one who for whatever reason and regardless of his degree of understanding supports colonialism, then obviously the S.U.M. and kindred organizations were deeply colonialist.

Having established the colonialist nature of missions in the latter sense and, therefore, of the church, we have not yet answered whether or not they can be blamed for this situation, Kraemer, Verdoorn, Warren and others agree that colonialism was inescapable. Neill points out repeatedly that missions seldom had a choice and where they did, it was merely between one form of colonialism and another, or between chaos and order. In that context does the question of blame make any sense?

One needs to return to the 19th century for an answer. We have shown in earlier chapters that politico-economic developments were no accident, but they arose out of a combination of man-made circumstances and philosophies. Decisions were made, choices between various alternatives. It was these decisions, choices, many of them small by themselves, that led to the situation we have described. All along the way prophets warned against these developments, pointed to the dualism and class blindness of the church, and demanded deeper reflection, but their cries fell on deaf ears. Even if the argument were advanced that the church fell into the situation — which it did not — the manner of her involvement would certainly have been very different if there had been clearer vision. The voice of prophecy was there, the voice of protest almost hoarse from repetition, but missions continued undisturbed along their *chosen* path.

Missiologists and others, without denying praise for mission accomplishments, have expressed their criticism in various degrees of mildness. We do not intend to recall them all at this point. Rubingh repeats Duff's statement that "we are only playing at missions."³⁰⁶ Both Van Leeuwen and Warren agree that missions took their task too lightly, without counting the cost.³⁰⁷ Lack of responsible

305. *Colonialism*, pp. 376, 107-108, 233, 280, 305.

306. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

307. *Werelddiaconaat*, p. 47. *Social History*, p. 75.

reflection is another frequent castigation.³⁰⁸ There was failure to foresee the times or to read the signs.³⁰⁹ Honig rejects any contextual concerns, such as reaction against the social gospel, as insufficient excuse for the failure of churches on this score.³¹⁰ Without breaking a lance for "horizontalism," he refers to the traditional pietistic approach as a "terrible heresy,"³¹¹ essentially the same term used by Visser 't Hooft.³¹² Van Leeuwen focusses on the heritage of the revivals as the final culprit.³¹³

IX. *Prerequisites for World Mission in Obedience*

We have engaged in a study of the recent past because this past is still much with us. Colonialism has given way to neo-colonialism. The economic trends of colonialism largely continue. Evangelicals show few signs of basic change in their general socio-economic behaviour and present missionaries do not display any deeper insight in our issues than did their forebears. The most forceful missiological school of thought in the U.S.A. centres on "church growth." Despite admirable aspects of this movement, it does not take deep study to recognize it as standing within the succession of pietistic missions. The presence of dualism as a main pillar of its theories is obvious.³¹⁴ Hence it is not equipped to present an alternative of the full Gospel of the Kingdom over against the alleged "horizontalism" of the W.C.C. "Horizontalism" cannot be corrected by an equally one-sided "verticalism" with a dualistic background. We regard McGavran's school as a perpetuation of the very mentality we have singled out as the main problem. The following few paragraphs aim at no more than a brief resume of certain basic requirements if Evangelical missions are to become the prophetic force to which they aspire.

The prerequisites described below are for the whole church, not just for missions; for churches throughout the world, not just for those in the West. Missionaries must represent a community that offers clear and viable alternatives to competing ways of life in today's global village. The church must shed its conservative reputation of being in league with oppressors. As long as the church as a whole retains that reputation even the most prophetic missionary's testimony will carry limited weight and his witness to the Kingdom be garbled in the ears of his audience.

To achieve a new reputation the first step is a renewed listening to the

308. Abrecht, pp. 69, 100. Taylor, p. 92.

309. Neill, *Colonialism*, pp. 334, 381.

310. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

311. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

312. Gollwitzer, p. 16.

313. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

314 J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction*. Trans. and ed. D. Cooper (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 54, 68-69, 192.

Scriptures. The Bible, Goudzwaard insists, is clear enough, but Christians listen poorly.³¹⁵ Our

receptiveness to the Gospel is impaired. The norms and ideas which we hold, therefore, often have more to do with humanistic common sense than with the Gospel. The contents which we ascribe to concepts such as freedom, justice, responsibility, and community are seldom based on a deeply evangelical insight. They are based, rather on a hodgepodge of libertarian, rationalistic or other prejudices.³¹⁶

We tend to be blind to the implications of the Gospel in our time.³¹⁷ A renewed reading of the Scripture must overcome our dualism. Van Leeuwen posits the rejection of dualism as the first of 2 essential changes to be made. We must rid ourselves of the "fatal reduction and narrowing down of an overly spiritualized and graecised Gospel," he demands. The Bible is concerned with "soul *and* body," with

heaven *and* earth, with salvation of the individual *and* renewal of society, with love *and* justice, with piety *and* prophecy . . . , with peace of the soul *and* peace on earth, with repentance *and* revolution, with eternal salvation *and* daily bread, with the church *and* the Kingdom, with prayer *and* politics.³¹⁸

This clearly is no plea for a barren horizontalism against which McGavran *c.s.* crusade. Honig is second to none in rejecting such horizontalism and regards McGavran's warnings as legitimate,³¹⁹ but he nevertheless contends for a full Gospel and an all-inclusive sense of salvation. He rejects separating the preaching of "spiritual repentance" from "social, economic and political repentance." One cannot Biblically have a part in Christ and in the politico-economic *status quo*. Churches by word and deed must testify to this wholeness of the Gospel.³²⁰ It is impossible to be too worldly in our concept of salvation, he submits.³²¹ Glasser predicts that "evangelicals will continue to be ambivalent about . . . social action." The reason, he suggests, is that it has not been very successful and has tended to crowd out evangelism. Furthermore it is often based on false premises.³²² We submit it is time for Evangelicals to quit reacting negatively to other schools of thought and to develop their own positive approach free from all dualism.

The second and related fact inhibiting the application of the Gospel is the church's captivity to a bourgeois mentality. It is no accident that the W.C.C. has been paying increased attention to the concerns of this study in direct proportion to mounting southern participation. When western Christians

315. *Aid*, p. 43.

316. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

317. *Church and Society*, p. 207.

318. *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-49. *Cf. Church and Society*, pp. 89-90.

319. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

320. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

321. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

322. Glasser, "Outreach," p. 111.

are "stone deaf," southern brothers sharpen the former's ears.³²³ Bennett affirms that western Christians have been made aware of the problems through "the two-way relations within the world-wide Christian community." The poor "may not always be correct in their ideologies, but what they see in the world is an essential corrective" of what western Christians have seen.³²⁴ To this we should like to add that the same holds true for southern Christians where they have succumbed to the same mentality – in Nigeria they are legion. Thus, Christians *everywhere* are to keep their ears attuned to the cries of the poor and other victims and detect in them at least a correcting echo of the Biblical warning against oppression.

Together with the Apostle Peter, Martin Luther King, John Olthuis and Rubingh, we have a dream³²⁵ of a world-wide Christian community equipped with the full arsenal of Biblical resources, shorn of all false reductions and Pagan Greek categories. We dream of a community that, without losing sight of the provisional nature of our present dispensation, recognizes the full width of the Kingdom of God as co-extensive with creation, and is cognizant of the fact that there is no cranny in this universe that is excluded from this Kingdom. This implies that the church by no means exhausts the Kingdom and that all attempts to so reduce her are not only illegitimate, but fatal, for such limits upon the Kingdom always restrict the scope of man's obedience to the King. A limited sense of the Kingdom results in withdrawing large areas of human concerns from the guiding light of the Gospel. These areas then become autonomous, secular, non-religious in men's minds. On the other hand, full recognition of the extent of the Kingdom prepares the way for viewing all of man's endeavours in relation to it. Then economics and politics become areas as holy as that trodden by ecclesiastics, for men serving in these areas are also working in obedience to the same King. Then those areas will also be seen as areas where men perform their religious service. Though these areas will then be seen autonomous in relation to the church, they will not be autonomous in relation to the Kingdom or the Bible, but they will become as fully the concern of mission as the church always has been. They will receive a legitimacy of their own in mission and no more be regarded as preparatory for evangelism.

We dream of the Body of Christ shorn of all humanistic illusions of human grandeur and ability to solve our problems by the application of an autonomous reason that is basically healthy and that all have in common. Basic to Aquinas, Luther, Pietists – including Evangelicals – and most objectors to the *sharia* is

323. Verkuyl, *Onderweg*, p. 40.

324. *Search*, p. 5.

325. Acts 2. M.L. King received an honorary doctorate from the same university for which this dissertation is written. J.A. Olthuis, "The Wages of Change," in J.A. Olthuis *et al.*, *Out of Concern for the Church* (Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1970), pp. 20-21. Rubingh, p. 259.

the acceptance of a secular realm where men of all persuasions can co-operate on basis of a common sense that is basically sound. In the case of Aquinas and Luther and their offspring this assumption is held consciously, but Evangelicals and most objectors to the *sharia* hold it unconsciously and have not had their attention drawn to this background. Here is one large slice of life, almost all of life, in fact, where reason is sufficient.

Calvin had a deeper sense of sin and wider. He did not restrict the effects of sin to a limited area of life, but spoke of total corruption. This does not mean he despised human culture. To the contrary, he could be deeply moved by the cultural products even of non-Christians.³²⁶ He recognized the sparks of light that remain in sinful men and the imposing cultural edifices this has produced as evidences of God's continued grace upon fallen man, not as evidence of human soundness. The remaining light, moreover, is "smothered by clouds of darkness."³²⁷ Immediately after expressing his admiration for the products of human reason, he insists that nevertheless "the natural gifts . . . were corrupted after the fall,"³²⁸ a statement one must understand in the context of his rejection of Scholasticism. Calvin even speaks of men knowing right conduct from natural law, but this is not to indicate the height of his ability so much as to render him inexcusable before God.³²⁹ Even in matters relating to the second table of the law the light in nature is constantly stifled.³³⁰ In short,

our reason is exposed to so many forms of delusion, is liable to so many errors, stumbles on so many obstacles, is entangled by so many snares, that it is ever wandering from the right direction. Of how little value it is in the sight of God, in regard to all the parts of life, Paul shows, when he says, that we are not "sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves" (II Cor. 3:5).

On basis of additional texts he concludes that "everything which our mind conceives, meditates, plans, and resolves, is always evil . . ." "It is thus plain that our mind in what direction soever it turns, is miserably exposed to vanity."³³¹ We are here removed from any idea of a self-sufficient human reason in *any* area of life. That the common sense that is alleged to exist is not so common as Humanism declares is demonstrated in the *sharia* controversy. What appears like common sense to some is hardly that for the other. But to the extent that it exists, it requires the correcting influence of special revelation, for this common sense, too, has been corrupted, not merely wounded. Evangelicals failed to recognize the implications of this for economics and too easily accepted the laissez-faire product of rationalism. Objectors to the *sharia* too readily resort

326. *Op. cit.*, II, 2, 15. J. Klapwijk.

327. *Institutes*, II, 2, 12.

328. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 16.

329. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 22.

330. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 24.

331. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 25. Cf. also Klapwijk's papers for expansion.

to the alleged secular area and do not appear to realize sufficiently that there too reason is not self-sufficient but is guided by a sinful heart.

Awareness of the extent of human corruption is necessary in order to appreciate the need for special revelation. The salvation proclaimed in the Bible is not simply salvation from sin and for eternal life in a narrowly spiritual sense. The salvation offered is a new way of life on earth, guided by a wisdom very different from that of the world about us. In fact, the 2 often cancel each other out.³³² In this revelation there is a new law, a new spirit, a new motive that in many ways is in direct conflict with that of laissez-faire economics. This opposition has not always been recognized because the application of this new law has been restricted to spiritual and personal categories. Goudzwaard's *Overdevelopment of the West* is a fine example of an attempt to relate Scriptural laws to modern economics. And though Ibrahim Usman's effort to find a Christian approach to a political constitution may be somewhat mechanical, he nevertheless indicates the direction in which such problems have to be solved: in the light of the Bible. Under the influence of dualism, missions have not brought the total law. Humanistic aversion to law and external authority is a negative heritage we must reject. This law is not some foreign supernatural afterthought imposed upon us, but not really fit for us; it is a republication of the laws of creation which we no longer fully understand because of the effect of sin upon our hearts and reason, all the claims of autonomous reason notwithstanding. We need to recapture the joy of the psalmist who found his strength in the law of God without reservations. We dream of a Christian community that rejoices in this law and understands its total claim. We have visions of a universal church that has the spiritual imagination needed to apply these laws not in a legalistic fashion, but by allowing an interplay with local and historical conditions in such a way that the power of the Gospel has free play for the healing of the nation.

We cherish the hope of a church that no longer restricts religion to a narrow segment of life. Man was created to serve God in this world. He was given a cultural mandate to develop his creation, to unveil its mysteries and to utilize them for His glory and man's enjoyment. When man fell, he did not become less religious; he exchanged one religion for another. He cannot do otherwise, for it is his very nature to be religious, to build his life on basis of certain commitments he makes deep in his heart. When modern man declares himself free from religious superstition, he is merely falling for a most subtle variety, namely secularism — but still a religion, still a *system based on faith*, on a set of assumptions that he *believes*. Evangelicals and most of the objectors to *sharia* have effected a synthesis with this youngest of all world religions.

When opponents to *sharia* advocate a secular constitution to avoid religious elements, they are pursuing a myth. They are merely substituting one religion with another that is very uncompromising towards other religions, unless these

other religions allow themselves to be defined by it. The Nigerian government constantly forbids the conscious intrusion of religion into politics, while at the same time encouraging Christians and Muslim to teach morals. This is exactly the recommendation of Martin Dent. "Both Islam and Christianity are to be cherished by the Nigerian Government, within the confines of the secular state, both feed into national life essential moral and spiritual ingredients."³³³ The secularist-Humanist will tolerate Christianity and Islam only if he can define the nature and limits of the latter. Muslims do not accept the secular definition; Christians, because they have already synthesized their faith with secularism, appear prepared to do so. We dream of a church that understands the ingrained nature of religion in the human heart and its crucial role in all man's affairs. Once these facts are recognized and combined with an understanding of the effects of sin on human reason, Christians will not fall prey so easily to foreign thought patterns. As far as the *sharia* question is concerned, our approach will not make a satisfactory solution any easier, but an *apparently* easier solution based on lack of realism and on false theological premises will in the long run serve no one.

It is in the context of these theological categories that we seek a reformation of mission, indeed, of the entire Christian presence in the world. At first glance, insisting upon a critical difference between Christianity and secularism in the Nigerian situation may appear to emphasize differences and go counter to the urgent search for unity, but we submit that such would be a superficial reaction. Unity based on myth is most precarious. Furthermore, the Christian community can help bring healing only when it understands its own basics. We have no reason to fear consistent application of divine laws, for these laws are given by the Architect of creation Himself, by Him who understands more deeply than we do what will bring *shalom*. These laws would not be imposed upon an unwilling nation. Consistent with our dream, we envision a Nigerian Christian community living out of the full Gospel by word and deed, also in politics and economics. It is this entire lifestyle that would constitute a recommendation to the nation to try this approach. Though these divine laws are in fact obligatory for all, Christians have no right to impose them. Only the Holy Spirit can write them in the hearts of men. Christians would vie with Muslims and secularists in friendly and respectful competition in "doing good" according to the genius of their religion.

On basis of the theological considerations offered earlier, Christians have a fascinating task of reinterpreting a myriad of Biblical concepts necessary for a new approach to life and mission. Besides the obvious moral crusade that is necessary against bribery and corruption, Christians would go beyond moralism to search out the application of the Bible for economics and politics. For

economics, the idea of stewardship would be liberated from its present confinement to church contributions to become a basic principle of responsible use of all resources and property. The goal of business would no more be defined exclusively in terms of profit for the owners. Property would be regarded as a trust to be used for the benefit of the community. The owner would realize he is not free before the Lord to do with it as he pleases for his own benefit. No one would build houses merely for filthy lucre. The labourer would be raised above the level of a cog in the machine and his wages would not be regarded as an unpleasant but necessary expense. All work, in fact, would be regarded as a religious service to God. Industrial engineers would take as their basic principle not merely efficiency, but also the fact that every worker has God-given talents that are meant to be developed, not suppressed in the service of the machine. Labour would be given a voice in determining policy of the enterprise, for they invest labour, which is more than that of the investor and equal to that of management in value. The Body of Christ as envisioned in I. Cor. 12 would find its expression in the economic sector. The whole income structure of the country would be revised to create a situation where cleverness, education and power are no longer the sole determinants, but considerations of need and justice gain the upperhand. In other words, the spirit of the Gospel infused into economic life would lead towards totally different economic goals and structures. The spirit of capitalism inherited from missions and rampant among Christians would be declared heretical. Neither western nor other Christians would continue their "innocent" participation in MNC's or smaller companies and churches would be careful as to how they invest their funds. Businessmen and others engaged in the economic sectors would be liberated from the burden of living at best a secondary-level existence in the Christian scheme of things.

Politically, Christians would reject the notion that the voice of the people is the voice of God. Not the will of the people, but that of God would be recognized as sovereign. As Bernard Zylstra puts it, the government "is indeed 'for the people,' but is not 'of the people'."³³⁴ It is of God. Laws are to reflect his will, not that of Capitalists or Communists or African Socialists first of all. Christian politicians would search the Scriptures for the true meaning of concepts such as human rights, liberty, prosperity and happiness. Such key terms are used by every ideology, but close examination will soon reveal that each ideology has its own definition of such terms not only, but also that these are generally far removed from those in the Bible.³³⁵ Deciding on priorities between a host of pressing needs competing for attention and finances constitutes an important political task. On what basis does one select such priorities? Would sensitivity to Scripture opt for coloured television and extremely expensive government hotels catering to the rich, when most of the peasantry still has to cope with very poor

334. B. Zylstra, "The Bible, Justice and the State," IRB, no. 55/73, p. 12.

335. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-17. Goudzwaard, *Option*, pp. 31-41.

roads or mere trails, with disease-ridden sources of drinking water and with a transport system that is forced to pay double the price of petrol people in the larger towns pay? Would sensitivity to the total Gospel not liberate Christian politicians from their attachment to oppressive bureaucrats who insist on the government's paying extraordinarily exorbitant rents to the already rich owners of luxurious homes the latter are building to house those very bureaucrats — rents of N10,000 or \$15,000 annually, when workers in government-owned factories in Jos have a beginning daily wage of N1.50 or \$2.25? These situations have arisen partially because Christians have reduced the impact of the Gospel to personal and ecclesiastical categories that has left practical decision-making with no guide beyond that of autonomous reason — or of concupiscence to which even so-called autonomous reason has been subordinated. The terrible consequences of a dualistic reduction of the Gospel are reaching their inherent limits of toleration at a fast pace. The time has come for Nigerian Christians to take seriously the voice of a modern Amos among them, Adegbola.³³⁶ As to western Christians, they must realize that unless they firmly demand that the directions shown in chapter 9 be changed, much of the work of their missionaries will be misconstrued. They must demand radically new policies on the part of their governments with respect to development of the poor nations that reflect readiness to sacrifice their dubiously gained wealth. They must listen to their prophets.

We are not recommending utopian idealism for Christians in politics. The Biblical realistic teachings about sin are a healthy antidote to any such tendency. However, sensitivity to the claims of the Gospel should bring about a radical turn-about in Nigerian politics that would inaugurate a drastically different direction for the benefit of the peasant majority. They would be equipped by their more educated brothers to drop their inhibiting fatalism and to begin to demand the right of justice, a right not generously granted them by any government, but by God himself.³³⁷

In evangelism, churches would no longer use education, mass communication, health care and rural development as aids to evangelism only. The great commission would be related to the cultural mandate. Evangelism would aim to equip people to understand that following Christ means, among other things, to serve Christ in culture. The traditional view that relegates social activities to a position subordinate to evangelism would be turned upside down. The great commission, without belittling the importance of evangelism, would become subordinate to the cultural mandate. It would point men back to the original call to religious service. These realms of service would regain their own independent legitimate

336. Unfortunately, Adegbola's writings are mostly scattered about in *ad hoc* stenciled statements. Gathering all his papers under one cover would constitute a significant contribution for the development of a national Christian social conscience.

337. "Rural People: Victims of Social Change in Nigeria," a report on a consultation of rural development workers, July, 1978 at Bukuru, Nigeria (Ibadan and Jos: ICS).

place within the Kingdom of God without requiring the evangelistic justification.

The approach at which we are hinting would apply not only to Nigeria, but *mutatis mutandis* to any nation where Christians have enough influence. Where Christians are under oppression or are small minorities this type of approach may not be possible or even desirable. At this point, however, Christians in Nigeria have the opportunity to let their influence be felt. For how long they will enjoy this opportunity will partly depend upon how soon they will effect the type of reformation we are proposing. The capitulation to secularism can still be halted. But Gollwitzer warns us that the powerful generally will condescendingly tolerate only a narrow Gospel whose main function is to console and comfort. The reaction will be less friendly once the attempt is made to apply the Gospel to public affairs. He predicts violence and murder.³³⁸

We are not pleading for the Church to *make* the Gospel relevant; it *is* relevant as it stands. Neither are we assuming that a more conscious and more faithful church is going to reverse present world trends. Perhaps it could. The issue is the church's obligation to total obedience to the total Gospel — and let the chips fall where they may. Probably under the influence of Kraemer, Verkuyl's writings are spiked with the term "*theologia obedientiae*," which he defines as "a continued translation of theological insights into deeds of obedience or such as point in the direction of obedience."³³⁹ The church's missionary must be recognized as the representative of that community where obedience is practiced across the board, and that offers an alternative lifestyle based on renewed biblical insights as advocated earlier, a life style that clearly demonstrates the difference between the wisdom of God and that of the world. *Then* the prophet may regain some credibility. The church must understand and count the cost of being the representative of the Kingdom of *shalom*. The *entire* church is to be involved in her mission to the *entire* world in *entire* obedience to her Lord, who, as the suffering servant, *entirely* emptied Himself.

Mission in the shadow of the Kingdom — and the cross

A dream . . . and an assignment!

338. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

339. Puchinger, p. 347.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1¹

"Memorandum of Agreement made and entered into between the Kings and Chiefs of the Nupe Country and the National African Company Limited of 34 to 40 Ludgate Hill, London;

"We the Kings and Chiefs of the Nupe Country in Council assembled being clearly within our rights and representing our Country in accordance with our laws and customs do hereby give and grant of our own free will and accord to the National African Co. Ltd. . . . the following rights for ever.

1. We give to the National African Co. Ltd. the entire charge of all trading interests in the country; all foreigners to the country wishing to have the right to trade therein must obtain permission to do so from the National African Co. Ltd.
2. We grant to the National African Co. Ltd. the sole right to mine or extract minerals and stones in every part of our Country also sole rights over all alluvial deposits or otherwise. The National African Co. Ltd. on their part agree and bind themselves to allow anyone who wishes to trade full liberty; always provided it shall be on equitable terms and according to British Law.
3. Fair value for any lands required by the National African Company Ltd. for mining purposes shall in all cases be paid to the owner thereof.

In consideration of the above the National African Co. Ltd. promise to pay to the King yearly the following Cowries².
(800) Eight hundred Bags native value."

¹ Source: LP, s. 58, p. 198. Similar contracts were made with the Sultan of Sokoto for the annual sum of 3000 bags of cowries, with the King of Gandu for 2000, *et al.* (LP, s. 58, pp. 195-196). By 1884 the company had concluded 37 such treaties. (Crowder, *Story*, p. 186). Cf. also W.N.M. Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1927), pp. 179-180. C. Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1965), pp. 28, 32 and especially pp. 287-288 for examples of treaties.

² The value of the cowrie is difficult to determine and differed from locality to locality. Crowder ascribes it a value of 4000 to 1 shilling in 1900. (M. Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 278). Ayandele equates 400,000 cowries with 10 pounds, (p. 134) also in 1900, but which meant only half the value Crowder ascribes the currency. Hunter set the value of 200 cowries at one cent. (J.A. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire: the Life and Work of R. V. Bingham* (S.I.M., 1962), p. 57). Missionary Burt informs us that in 1905, 600 cowries were worth 3d in Wukari, while in Wase one could get a mere 250 cowries for that price, (LB, Oct/05, p. 12) which, in terms of shillings, would amount to 2400 and 1000 cowries respectively.

*Appendix II*¹

"FROM SHEHU BUKAR GARBAL, SON OF SHEHU IBRAHIM, SON OF SHEHU UMAR, SON OF MOHAMADU LAMINO-EL-KANEMY, THE HUMBLE SLAVE OF ALLAH: EMIR OF BORNU BY THE POWER OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

I salute Governor Lugard, the representative of the KING OF ENGLAND. May God prolong his days.

After that we knew that the KING OF ENGLAND is waging war against the Germans. The war is close to us at Mera. Who knoweth the ways of Allah? We are warring against proud and stiff-necked people, as the Germans are. In such a case ALLAH is on our side. Our Lord Muhammed saith: "Those who break friendship, kill them like pagans. If you kill them, perhaps they will repent."

I have assisted the Resident with all that has been required, horses, donkeys, bullocks, carriers and corn, and everything that he asked for. The Resident told me that the KING OF ENGLAND wanted them. I am the KING OF ENGLAND's servant. Why should I not help him? After that we knew that Governor Lugard wants money for this war. I remember that last February I gave him £4,000 for Schools, Public Works and Sanitation. I should like the destination of this money to be changed and given for the war. I give this £4,000 to the KING for the war. However, of this £4,000 I should like £800 to be deducted and kept for the Schools, because they do good for my country as I have seen in the case of my own sons, and through them the people learn to read and write. But I leave this to the discretion of Governor Lugard.

After that I pray for the victory of the KING OF ENGLAND, and for long life for him and for Governor Lugard. Given at Shehuri on Sunday, the 14th day of Zulkaadah, in the year of Hijra 1332. Written by Shetima Arri Kusta.

¹ Source: LP, s. 77, p. 52. The original was written in Arabic. Translator not known.

*Appendix III*The Basis of the Evangelical Alliance, 1847¹

... "That the parties composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views, in regard to the matters of doctrine understated, viz:—

- "1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
- "2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
- "3. The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.
- "4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
- "5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
- "6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
- "7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
- "8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.
- "9. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

¹ A.P. Johnston, pp. 265-266.

Appendix IV

Presentation and Discussion of the Report at the meeting of the conference on Wed., 15th June, 1910¹

Dr. H. Karl Kumm (Sudan United Mission, London) said: It was my privilege last year to follow the border line from West Africa to East Africa at least as far as the Nile, and therefore to see something of this remarkable advance of Islam in the heart of the Dark Continent. Whilst travelling it was my privilege to visit pagan tribes on this border line that had never been reached, and I cannot do better than give you a list of the tribes which are not yet evangelised by Protestant Missions: Fulani, Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe, Guari, Bassama, Muntchi, Rago, Afo, Kibyen, Panyam, Dimmock, Miriam, Kwolla, Ankoi, Angass, Pirpum, Montoil, Yergum, Gurkawa, Burmawa, Jukum, Djen, Dengele, Mbula, Beri-Beri, tribes numbering from five thousand to two million each along the border line of Central Africa. Paganism, driven out by the crescent faith from the fruitful plains of the northern half of the Sudan, took refuge in the mountains of the Murchison range, the Bautchi Hill country, in Adamawa, the Mandara Mountains, the Sudd region, and the more inaccessible parts of the Shari Valley. The barrier which nature has built against the advance of the religion of Mohammed in the Central Africa, was made the best use of by the warlike pagan tribes of those lands, and successfully they maintained their independence, and their fetish worship. Now through the conquest by the European Powers both of the Mohammedans in the northern parts of the Sudan, and the pagans in the south, through the establishment of peace, the encouragement of commerce, and the opening of these regions by a network of new highways, railways and river communications, the better education of the Moslem and the prestige connected with his creed are enabling him to spread the faith of Mohammed in an almost unprecedented way amongst the independent pagan tribes. The Central Sudan is at present in a state of religious solution and should a fanatical rising take place there after the tribes have been won for the crescent faith, such a rising may have very serious consequences. As already stated by Dr. Robson, European administrators are directly advancing and assisting Mohammedanism. These tribes living in the mountains of the Central Sudan are the most warlike in Africa. They are worth the winning, and it will be an eternal shame on our generation if we let those tribes go over to Islam.

¹ WMC, I, p. 406.

Appendix V

S.M. Zwemer: Introduction to *Pools on the Glowing Sand*¹

The subject of this interesting biographical tribute belongs to the goodly fellowship of missionary pioneers in the period that preceded the Edinburgh Conference and in a day when the unoccupied areas of the world held the attention and gripped the heart of the Church more than they do at present. Dr. Karl Kumm personified the idea of missionary expansion and grew eloquent when he spoke of the regions beyond the present achievements of the church.

He had the qualifications and limitations of the explorer-class to which he belonged and who by vision, faith, prayer and dauntless effort extended the bounds of Christian empire. He himself tells us that as a boy in the Harz mountains of Hanover he had three ambitions: "To ride well on horseback, swim well and shoot well." History and mathematics were his favorite subjects at school, but natural history was his delight. His forest-born physique neither malaria nor dysentery were able to break down on his long journeys in Central Africa. He had a natural gift for languages and most of all those qualities of adventure and

¹ Cleverdon, pp. vii-ix.

of leadership that enabled him to persuade others to follow the trails he had blazed.

His own books of travel, especially *From Hausaland to Egypt* and *The Lands of Ethiopia* reveal the intrepid adventurer and the bold missionary explorer. Although of German birth and education, he became almost British and American through long residence and marriage, for Dr. Kumm was essentially and international. As the author of this life sketch points out, he was cosmopolitan and super-national in his devotion to world-peace and by his life-long contacts with missionaries from many lands and in the border-marches of Africa

Once captivated by the idea of winning the vast and then yet unoccupied Sudan for Christ, it became a spiritual obsession. Those who heard him pray at the Edinburgh World Conferency for these vast provinces – laying all the detail of their geographical areas, their spiritual destitution and the urgency of the hour before the Throne – can never forget the reality of such pleading. The unknown always attracted him. Obstacles allured him. Difficulties only knit his moral fibre and strengthened his life purpose. Ceaseless in advocating the establishment of stations across the whole vast Sudan from the Niger to the Nile, he founded missions, started prayer-groups and wrote many books and magazine articles. Sometimes the chosen policy of diffusion and the lack of due concentration gave cause for criticism or awakened doubts as to the wisdom of some of his plans. Of course they were not faultless nor was he; and he himself was well aware of these limitations. Nevertheless, his faith and zeal triumphed. He saw the reward of his toil. Others have entered into his labours and the Sudan United Mission is his enduring monument, worthy of all his efforts.

“And the world has its heroes of lace and gold braid,
That are honoured and wined for the waste they have made;
But the world little knows of the debt that it owes
To the Hearer, the Blazer of Trails.”

In reading the brief story of this life with its hopes deferred, and plans frustrated, with its domestic anxieties and felicities, its constant agonies of separation and loneliness, one is also reminded of the words of Dr. P.T. Forsyth: “The missionary suffers from a strange, inverted homesickness so that he longs for another land and loves another people more than his own.” It is this constant tension, this agony of love that adds to the glory of the task and the joy of the crown; even though it is at times misunderstood.

When I was asked to write a foreword to the story of this life, I tried to recall when and where I had first met Dr. Kumm. We were first drawn into friendship some twenty-five years ago by our mutual recognition of Islam, whether passive or militant, as the standing menace to missions in pagan Africa. He realised the strength of this religion and understood the strategy of forestalling its entrance into Central Africa. In our correspondence and on the rare occasions when I heard him speak or when our tracks crossed in Egypt, Great Britain and America, this was the burden we shared mutually. He had clear vision of the importance of North Africa and its great hinterland – the battlefield of rival faiths. His gifts as a scholar, geographer and missionary leader are evident as one reads these pages, but the supreme gift was his desire to tell the Old Story to those who had never heard it and win others to do it also. God used his glowing speech, his vivid imagination, his ringing convictions, his sweeping generalisations as a trumpet-call to service on the platforms of many a missionary gathering. He knew how to enlist recruits. May this book contribute to the same end and so help forward the evangelisation of all Africa.

Appendix VI

The Nigerian Economy, 1900-1945¹

Year	Imports £	Exports £
1900	1,735,244	1,886,883
1901	1,812,131	2,018,775
1902	1,977,615	2,512,380
1903	2,128,146	2,356,617
1904	2,422,716	2,781,113
1905	2,592,405	2,552,110
1906	2,847,317	2,950,391
1907	3,839,340	3,863,332
1908	4,046,572	3,335,911
1909	4,529,604	4,114,237
1910	5,122,370	5,258,452
1911	5,234,874	5,354,101
1912	5,951,883	5,773,488
1913	6,331,751	7,097,646
1914	6,276,956	6,420,461
1915	4,983,729	4,946,228
1916	5,174,474	6,029,546
1917	5,808,592	8,602,486
1918	7,423,158	9,511,971
1919	10,798,671	14,675,789
1920	20,763,382	16,956,270
1921	10,237,117	8,258,500
1922	10,303,688	8,936,302
1923	11,761,852	11,705,012
1924	12,921,337	15,038,077
1925	16,278,349	17,370,161
1926	13,597,480	17,339,618
1927	15,664,637	16,340,957
1928	16,663,525	17,206,933
1929	13,404,447	17,922,501
1930	12,700,037	15,174,315
1931	6,744,199	10,644,519
1932	7,243,143	9,628,944
1933	6,645,268	9,067,143
1934	5,435,054	10,078,226
1935	8,299,297	12,049,643
1936	12,665,772	15,557,256
1937	18,567,675	19,575,665
1938	11,567,104	14,390,662
1939	8,626,112	14,150,510
1940	10,822,261	13,052,916
1941	7,025,099	14,582,594
1942	15,373,879	15,164,858
1943	18,567,694	15,436,949
1944	18,504,070	17,929,384
1945	15,917,862	19,251,836

¹ Crowder, *West Africa*, pp. 518-519.

Appendix VII

Nigeria: Revenue and Expenditure in the Twenties and Thirties¹

Year	Revenue	Expenditure
	£	£
1st Apr. 1922	—	—
1922-23	5,505,465	5,410,983
1923-24	6,260,561	5,501,242
1924-25	6,944,220	5,768,715
1925-26	8,268,928	6,583,167
1926-27	7,734,429	7,584,692
1927-28 ²	6,304,636	6,723,715
1928-29	5,894,658	6,861,099
1929-30	6,045,359	6,289,901
1930-31	5,622,200	6,329,668
1931-32	4,857,612	6,188,301
1932-33	4,984,505	4,983,739
1933-34	4,889,152	5,035,562
1934-35	4,960,765	4,836,666
1935-36	5,995,921	5,757,180
1936-37	6,259,547	6,061,348
1937-38	7,342,450	7,375,570
1938-39	5,811,088	6,867,408
1939-40	6,113,126	6,498,566
1940-41	7,273,157	7,254,325
1941-42	7,975,054	7,026,894
1942-43	9,034,000	8,999,000
1943-44	10,913,000	9,977,000
1944-45	11,445,000	10,133,000

¹ Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 520.

² From 1927-8 onward the above figures exclude Railway Revenue and Expenditure, but include the net profit or loss on Railway working.

Appendix VIII

Reduction in Railway Fares¹

Chairman stated that delegates had been allowed to travel to Conference on single fare for the double journey. For Europeans this was an ordinary concession extended to passengers travelling to public meetings but a special concession had been made in this case by allowing "boys" accompany delegates on single fare.

The present fares were 4d per mile first class, about 1½d per mile second class and ½d per mile third class. The second and third class fares were² reasonable but the first class very high. The missionaries of several Societies, because of the high first class fares, were in the habit of travelling second class.

The Chairman and other members of Conference mentioned some drawbacks to travelling second class-e.g.

¹ *Minutes of Conference of Missions, Northern Provinces, Nigeria, 1926, p. 15.*

Dr. Adam, Deputy Director of Medical Service, said it was unsafe for Europeans to travel in close proximity to natives considering the frequent presence of Cerebro Spinal Meningitis and Bubonic Plague in the Country. Dr. Stirrett pointed out the danger of contracting Relapsing fever, carried by body lice, and now prevalent.

The Second Class accommodation, besides carrying the bona-fide second class passengers, was used by the Travelling Ticket Collector, the Train Policeman and usually by the "boys" of the first class passengers.

At one time it had been a custom for missionaries to travel first class on a second class ticket. The custom had had an unofficial recognition but was now apt to result in unpleasant situations.

There had been on one or two trains a rather comfortable second class coach but it was rarely seen now and the railway discouraged Europeans from travelling second class.

"B" class officials who formerly had travelled second class now travelled first class.

Res. 10. *In view of these circumstances the Conference resolved to approach the General Manager of the Railway and ask that European Missionaries shall receive a reduction of 50% on first class fares.*

The session was closed with the Benediction.

Appendix IX¹

Government palaver. This is not meant for publication, please make no reference to it when speaking to Government officials or other white men and only to missionaries with caution. After a couple of preliminary conferences amongst ourselves, we had an interview last week with the Governor and Palmer. There were present for the missionary side, Oldham and Paton, Secretaries International Missionary Committee, Bishop of Salisbury and Garfield Williams representing the National Assembly of the Church of England Missionary Committee; Cash and Hooper, C.M.S.; Playfair S.I.M.; Farrant and myself S.U.M.; MacLennan, Secretary Conference of Missionary Societies.

Oldham had prepared a memorandum which made out a strong case. At the end were five or six requests. The Governor took the chair and, ignoring the body of the memorandum which contained some problems for him, dealt with the requests. Probably you have heard that Palmer declared to Smith and others that it was a matter of definite Government policy that the three Northern Provinces should be Moslem and continue so indefinitely, this quite apart from any promises supposed to have been made by Lugard. The Governor turned this down completely. He said that the Government policy was that Missions should be allowed to enter these Provinces sooner or later but protested that the time was not propitious because of some isolated incidents which had aroused Moslem fear and opposition, as for instance, Miss Miller's booklet on Mohammed, Cotton's preaching, Mrs. Cotton's visitation, etc. The Governor said that he knew Miss Miller had no connection with any Society; he read letters from the Emirs of Kano and Zaria, and said that he was aware that the missionaries thought that there was Government suggestion at the back of the Emir's opposition but that he was sure that no Government official would thus oppose a known policy of the Government. A simple answer to that, of course, is that until Graeme Thomson made the declaration the Government policy against missionaries getting into the three Provinces. We know what value to place on the suggestion that the work of the Cottons has had any effect in arousing opposition, but these points were not debated. The Governor practically gave in on every point but always with the plea for time to put things

¹ Dawson, (?) July 1/27 (J).

right and bring a new condition of things to pass. Palmer attempted to defend the exclusion of missionaries from Bornu by statements regarding Mohammedan influence from the Eastern Sudan, and also by going back about a thousand years into Moslem history. Garfield Williams took him up on the latter point, Cash knocked him out altogether on the Eastern Sudan point, as he has intimate knowledge of the conditions there. With regard to the Pagans, Palmer's contention was that the pagan areas were not settled. I asked them when they had become unsettled, seeing that we had been invited to occupy them thirteen years ago by the Resident and Playfair had letters from Zungeru received at the same time stating that the tribes were all open to missionary work. The Governor was rather taken aback at this and Palmer tried to counter it by saying that Ruxton was ill at the time and could not attend to matters properly. I replied that his letters to me reached me some considerable time before he took ill. Palmer then said that Ruxton had not been able to get around the Province and could not have accurate information (he would surely as Resident have known whether the tribes were unsettled). My answer to that was that Ruxton had sent me full particulars regarding the various tribes and had suggested my calling on the different D.O.'s in the pagan districts to consult them further. The Governor tried to cover Palmer's difficulty by saying that Palmer had made a special study of that Province and they had more complete information now, but it was easy to see that he felt that he had been let down. Then the old gag about the Missionary Societies finding work to do along the Benue was brought out, although Oldham had, in his memorandum, disposed of it. Farrant informed the Governor that there were only two large pagan tribes along the Benue still unoccupied and these two had been refused to the S.U.M. several times. The Governor said that the S.U.M. had marked off large areas on the Benue which they were not occupying, one could only suppose that his informants had looked at the map and had seen a long distance between out Stations. We answered him by stating that we would be glad to go over the map of Nigeria with him and show that our stations had been linked up the one with the other by working the districts in between, and also pointing out that there were large districts very sparsely populated. This was evidently all new to him and he admitted that he did not know the country very well. Playfair also had an innings with Palmer over sites refused to them in Bauchi Province. Palmer expressed surprise and was ready to promise almost anything. Whenever they went into details we had them in our hands, so the Governor said that they could not touch details on matters then but would stick to broad principles.

Oldham and the others were well pleased with the result of the Conference. MacIennan said that he had been watching the two men and had never seen such a case of a chief feeling that his subordinate had let him down, and that he did not envy Palmer his subsequent interviews with the Governor. Playfair, Farrant and I would have liked to have a little more detail work, but we must rest content and wait and see what the ultimate result is. Oldham pressed Thomson to make a public statement along the line on what he had said to us, but Thomson demurred to this excepting that he promised to make his statements known to the Residents at the first opportunity, and also suggested that he would initial any account of our Conference.

Appendix X

HISTORIC MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT MIANGO WHEN THE SUBJECT OF RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO GOVERNMENT WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION¹

The subject was opened by Mr. H.D. Hooper, the C.M.S. Secretary for Africa. Rev. R.V. Bingham then rose and addressed the meeting presided over by Bishop Smith as follows:

¹ (J).

Missions in Nigeria have shown long patience with a government that has long hindered their progress, and in calling for further and united action, it is well to consider the steps that have been taken in the past.

The Church Mission Society was the first to undertake entrance into, and the opening up of, the Northern Provinces of Nigeria to the Gospel. They were magnificently led by Graham Wilmot Brooke and Charles Robinson. From Lokoja they faced the task before them. They sought no protection from the British Government. Carefully they prepared for advance into the Northern Territories, and then the tragedy occurred, and both of these men laid down their lives on the border of the land which they sought to occupy.

It was five years later when the society with which I am connected undertook its first pioneer effort from Toronto, Canada. Our way up the Niger was blocked at that time by the Royal Niger Company, holding charter from the British Government. It refused permission to us to sail up the Niger. We landed in Lagos and assayed the difficult task of the overland entrance into the Northern Territories of Nigeria, then known as the Central Sudan. Again we asked no protection from the British Government. My companions faced the Moslem emirs of the north, passed through Ilorin, Bida, Kontagora, Zaria, and to-day their graves, the one in Bida and the other in Ghirku, in the Zaria Province, give testimony to the fact that, long before the British occupation, the Christian Missionary entered these lands.

We were preparing for our third effort to get a foot-hold at the time the British decided to cancel the charter of the Royal Niger Company, and to seek direct administrative connection with these great territories. At that time, Sir Frederick Lugard appealed to us to submit our plans and movements to him lest we might hamper his operations, and lest any untoward incident with the missionary might demand a punitive expedition which would seriously embarrass them. The Church Missionary Society, which was about to launch another effort led by Bishop Tugwell and accompanied by Dr. Miller and others, made this promise. Our Sudan Interior Mission agreed to Sir Frederick Lugard's request, but, in concluding their letter acquiescing to his proposal, placed, as one condition, that immediately on the effective occupation by the British, no further restriction should be placed on missionary operations.

Sir Frederick Lugard made no protest or demur at such a condition, and, whatever the later interpretation Government has sought to place upon its proclamations, *we claim that an understanding then entered into with our Canadian Mission is just as sacred as any like understanding made with Moslem emirs.*

When Britain finally undertook to break the power of the Moslem emirs of the North, it was on grounds of humanity, and to put an end to the fearful bloodshed of the perpetual slave-raiding wars carried on by those Moslem emirs. When the British successfully completed their task with scarcely any bloodshed, the whole populace welcomed relief from these cruel oppressors. On Sir Frederick's own testimony, the populace of Kano, sick and tired of the rule of their Moslem king, met them miles before they reached the city with food for his troops. When finally the fleeing Moslem emirs were captured, they trembled for fear that the British Government would give them some of their own medicine, and that they, who had sought to force the Mohammedan religion, at the point of the sword, upon great populations that endeavoured to resist them, would be themselves compelled to give up the Moslem faith and to accept Christianity. When Sir Frederick Lugard decided on his policy that those same blood-thirsty slave-raiders should be placed back again to rule these peoples now brought under British control, he sought to set their fears at rest in this sphere by issuing his proclamations. Those proclamations applied to the missions with which Sir Frederick was then in communication as much as they applied to the Moslem. We quote from one of these as follows: "The English Government never interferes with religion. Taxes, law and order, punishment of crime, these are matters for the Government, but not religion." We claim this as our Magna Carta for Northern Nigeria just as much as these Moslem emirs. We claim it, too, for all the subjects that then came under British rule. We

claim that it is the inalienable right of everyone under that British Flag to be left free to peaceably accept and to peaceably propagate whatever religion they choose.

But it is upon a false interpretation of these very proclamations that the Government of Northern Nigeria has built its whole anti-missionary propaganda, claiming that these lands were assured that their religion would not be interfered with and that it involves the exclusion of the missionaries.

We hold the sworn statement of the man who officially translated Sir Frederick Lugard's proclamations into both Arabic and Hausa, and in that statement he declares that there was nothing in a single proclamation that either implied or involved the exclusion of missionaries, and he further states that, as a British citizen and a Christian man he would have refused to translate it had Sir Frederick Lugard requested it. We hold the letter which Sir Frederick sent thanking him for his services and increasing the fee which he had asked for his work.

The whole conflict must be waged right at this point of our right. In the early years Sir Frederick Lugard had not thought of the interpretation which he has since permitted to be placed upon his words. We can prove it both by his actions and his words. We quote from his own annual reports as follows:

"1901 - Dr. Miller (of the C.M.S.) and Rev. Anthony (of the Sudan Interior Mission) afford us every confidence that both missions will be of great value in the work of civilization and progress. It may be advisable hereafter that Government should give them a small annual grant based on results." Both of these missions at that very time had occupied Moslem areas with Sir Frederick's approval.

In the report of 1903 Sir Frederick Lugard states: "The C.M.S. in addition to their stations at Ghirku and Lokoja, and in the Bassa country, opened a mission at Bida with the concurrence of the emir and Mohammedan chiefs." (And yet, since then in Bida itself there has been Government restriction, and, at the present, they refuse to grant license to marry in their Church building inside the town. Why, and by what authority?)

In 1905-06, in the Government Report, the following paragraph occurs, "The Hausa Mission situated hitherto in the Ghirku District, forty miles south of Zaria, transferred its headquarters to the latter city in March 1905 with my consent on the invitation of the emir, and *they have it in contemplation to open a mission next year at Kano with the consent of the emir and chiefs, and also propose entering Kontagora, where the emir seems quite anxious to allow them to come.*"

Sir Frederick at that time was interested in the occupation of these Moslem emirates by the missions. Not until British officialdom adopted a different attitude was there any question either of right or of peaceable entrance. It is a group of anti-missionary officials who have been responsible for building up the whole position as we have it to-day, and a later changed attitude of Sir Frederick himself when he returned to his second period of administration. It was in the development of his policy of indirect rule that the manifestation of this antagonism came up, and little by little laws were formulated in which the missionaries had no voice, that curtailed more and more their liberties. These laws were put out under various pretexts. It was under the specious plea of health that the enactment was passed that no white man, including missionaries, should live within 440 yards of any native hut. This enactment often compelled residence miles from the towns in which their work was carried on. Missionaries were the only ones that desired to live in the midst of their people. The enactment worked great difficulty and hardship. Our first lady missionary has been compelled to wade up to the waist in water in the rainy season in coming from her work to the site far out of town in which they were permitted to reside. Of course, this was for her health?

At last our missionaries, tired of conflict with the Government, decided to yield this point, and, though they would have their schools and dispensaries in town, walk in the morning, and stay until evening. But, no sooner did they cease fighting this ordinance regarding residence in town, than the order went forth that no site should be granted for

any purpose whatever within native towns.

Then, too, came the Government order commanding, under penalties, that no one should practise medicine or be permitted to bring in poisonous drugs unless they were qualified so to do in Britain. If Government had undertaken to place doctors throughout the whole country and to meet the great needs of the natives in this sphere, nothing would have been said. But it involved the closing of all our dispensaries had we obeyed. It invalidated the right of our doctor, who had put his whole fortune into the work, and holds his degree from Toronto University, from practising.

Twice we memorialized the Government on these matters. On one occasion, Lord Maclay, who was then in the Cabinet, presented that memorial, but our petition was turned down, and we were told that we need expect no amelioration of these conditions.

We continued our dispensary work, and our doctor continued his ministry, prepared to let the Government enforce its penalties. Those were war days. On our council we had two men each with four sons at the front. Another member of our council was brother-in-law of the first Canadian General who laid down his life in Flanders. The rest of us were bound with close ties to our country's cause. Had we passed over to the United States at that time the facts that, in German territory in Africa, missionaries had ten times more liberty than in British Nigeria, it would have had a very serious bearing upon public opinion in the United States. At the very time that Mr. Lloyd George sent over his group of leading British ministers and clergymen with a view to creating kindlier feelings in the United States toward Britain and her allies, we could have vitiated that whole mission by the simple statement of conditions existing in Nigeria. We remained silent in the expectation that, when war was over, we would secure from our country changed conditions. But we have looked in vain to Government for this. Instead of this, some of the very territory taken from the Germans, in which the missionaries had entire freedom, has now been proclaimed a "closed area" by this government.

Some things have been modified, and the laws which we were told by viscount Milner would not be rescinded, have been changed. It was one of those Governors who, on taking charge, received our missionary delegate, and who, asking the Resident why the law excluding missionaries from residence in native towns had been enacted, was informed by that official that it was "a health law, Your Excellency," to which the incoming Governor responded, "Between the choice of duty and health, a missionary should choose duty." Under that Governor, some of this legislation was rescinded, but he imbibed from those under him, the impression that the British Government had given assurances that missionaries would not be permitted in the Moslem territory, and, while we have much to thank Sir Hugh Clifford for, in retiring from his term of service, he enunciated anew the same idea, as though it had been a matter of permanent British policy.

Again, to prove that such was never intended by British Government, let us quote from the reply received from Downing Street on July 15th, 1911, in response to a protest against certain restrictions by Residents of that day, as follows: "Mr. Harcourt, however, thinks it right to say at once that he cannot believe that the local authorities desired to favour Mohammedan rather than Christian Missionary work, or that any instructions from him are needed to make them aware that such an attitude would be wholly contrary to the views of His Majesty's Government."

We charge a complete change of Government attitude since Mr. Harcourt, as Colonial Secretary, made that splendid pronouncement. We can prove that, while the present Government in Nigeria is refusing us permission to enter vast areas in which there are not only Moslems, but tens of thousands of pagan subjects, they are sending their Government-trained Moslem teachers into pagan areas, and that they are using their influence as Government representatives to introduce the Moslem faith.

Two years and a half ago, when the missionary delegation led by the Bishop of Salisbury and Mr. Oldham waited upon the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor of Nigeria in

London, we were assured as an outcome of the better understanding there that Government would take steps to instruct the Moslem emirs in the principles of British religious toleration with a view to our entrance into the territories of the north. We have waited patiently for that change. In one case we had the willingness of the Moslem emir for our entrance, and yet upon making our application to headquarters we were advised to withdraw our application. Before the Conference, replying to our request for a site in Kano, not in the native city, but in the area occupied by white residents, our application was refused, and when request was made for a reason, the reply was given to us, "I have to inform you that it is against the precedents and policy of Government to give facilities to a mission when the object would seem to be the conversion of Muslims in a Mohammedan emirate. I must reply further that His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces, regrets that he is unable to recommend the granting of your application." Now this was written January 26th, 1927. Whatever may be the wish and desire of the Governor to fulfil the missions his promises, the letter clearly indicates that the head of the Northern Provinces stood in an attitude where he refused to permit our liberty to peaceably approach Mohammedans with an offer of the Christian faith. While assured of a changed attitude, we still wait, after two and a half years, for permission to enter Kano and the northern emirates.

We have borne long and patiently. We do not believe that these men represent the British citizenship of the Empire. We have their own official statement that, in permitting missionaries to enter these very territories, there would be no likelihood of a breach of the peace. For thirty years we have worked in Moslem regions, and Government cannot point to a single place where missionaries have asked protection, or where any disturbance has been created by their presence.

Far from desiring agitation or publicity for our cause, we have sought quietly and reasonably to get Government to listen but the day has passed when we should come as suppliants to them when they place in control men who are known not to be governing with British fair play as neutral in this sphere of religion, but men who are pro-Moslem and anti-Christian.

We never sought Government aid when we went into these provinces before the British occupation. We claim that, since that occupation, the British government has no right to bar our entrance. While acknowledging our debt to many friendly Residents who have sought to aid us, we refuse longer to leave the question of religion to be decided by Residents or Governors, many of whom have no interest in the religious. We ask for our Moslem fellow-subjects of the British Crown the same religious liberty that we demand for ourselves.

With our final appeal to Government, therefore, we should serve notice that now we ask for rights. We are not supplicating for favours, and, if these rights cannot be assured to us, then we must take the only course left open. We are going into these Northern Territories as the ambassadors of Jesus Christ, who, sitting upon the Throne of power says, "All authority is given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations."

Appendix XI

Antagonising the Christian Church¹

Opposition of Government to the advance of Christian Missions has been strongest in the Moslem Emirates but because Missions have now occupied so much of the pagan areas it must not be thought that their entrance there was unopposed.

Objection was made because a tribe was under a Moslem Emir, or the claim that a

¹ Farrant, Dec. 16/29, pp. 4-5 (J).

district was unsettled was continued long after danger had ceased. A Political Officer when interviewing a chief with regard to an application for a site by a Mission would so enlarge on the responsibility that would fall on the chief if the missionary were murdered that the chief would promptly refuse the responsibility and the application would be turned down on the ground of the chief's refusal. Under cover of showing to the native how neutral the Government was with regard to religion a Political Officer would ask so many questions and couch them in such a way that the chief would conclude that the officer did not wish the Mission to enter and would say therefore that he did not. The power which a Political Officer wields in this way is very great. It was expressed to me by one officer in the words - "The District Officer can help, he can hinder and he can absolutely block." No charge of bad faith can be brought against the official for no European is present when he interrogates the chief. Later however, especially when the Mission eventually gains access to the tribe, the people tell the missionary very frankly what occurred. None of these things are secret to the native and the people are often puzzled to know why the Government should object to the coming of the Mission. The missionary who feels bound to maintain the prestige of Government is as puzzled to reply.

After a Mission is established there are still interferences, varying in magnitude from the destruction of a Church, an instance of which is given in this memorandum, to instances of petty but vexatious meddling. Some of these latter are due to the personality of the official and would not be supported by Government but there is reason to think that the knowledge that the policy of headquarters was antipathetic to Missions allowed individuals to do things which they would not otherwise have done.

Perhaps, more than from any other cause, interferences arise from the apparent inability of any Political Officer to think of the Christian Church as anything but a foreign organisation. In some districts Islam is not ten years old but is accepted as indigenous and left alone. In the same district Christianity may be twenty five years old and spreading from native to native in the identical way in which Islam spreads. Yet a native Christian will be interrogated by a District Officer as if he were a dangerous propagandist from Moscow instead of a common farmer who has come to know the Lord Jesus Christ.

There are few chiefs who do not believe that their conversion to Christianity would be received with disfavour by Government.

Taking Garkida and Zaria as two examples of what I mean - every native in these districts, be he Christian, Moslem or pagan, is quite sure that the Government is against the Mission. In the whole of Northern Provinces the total mass of interference accumulated throughout the years is prodigious and every bit of it is known and remembered by the native whether he is Christian or not. The Church therefore is growing up in the consciousness that it was born against the wish of the Government. The strongest impressions are formed in childhood and the impression made on the Church in the Northern Provinces will probably never be effaced.

Speaking purely as a Christian the fact that it has been so clearly shown to all the Northern Provinces that the Christian Church is not protegee of an alien Government gives me no cause to complain. Anyone who studies the history and present position of the Church of Scotland and contrasts it with that of the Church of England will be assured that lasting benefits accrue to a Church which grows up in opposition.

Speaking however as a British subject, I and the greater part of the three hundred missionaries in the Northern Provinces who are also British subjects, ask if the Church can only grow strong by discomfiting the Government and if it is really necessary for the Government to alienate further the organisation which is destined to be the greatest spiritual force in the Protectorate.

*Appendix XII**According to Moscow – The Bangkok Conference¹*

The *Literaturnaja Gazeta* of Moscow declared in its issue of 18 March that the Bangkok Conference was an attempt on the part of American Imperialism to combat the liberation of the Asian peoples. The Ecumenical Press Service draws our attention to main passages from this article:

“For a number of years measures have been in progress in the U.S.A. for the forming from the Christian Churches of a single religious centre for the fight against Communism and democracy. As is known, the Vatican, the obedient tool in the hands of world reaction, the universal bulwark of obscurantism, keeps only the Catholic Church united. Now American imperialism is setting up a world centre for religion to embrace all the Churches.

“It was for the furthering of this conception that the so-called World Council of Churches, which directs, in particular, the activities of the Protestant Churches, was started. One of its leaders is the well-known war-monger John Foster Dulles.

“The latest events in China have caused great agitation among the American expansionists. In order to thwart the peoples in their fight for Freedom, Wall Street has brought into play every means at its disposal, mobilizing even the Church in the service of imperialism.

“The World Council of Churches recently organized in Bangkok, Thailand, a conference of representatives of the Christian Churches in Asia. The aim of this meeting, which was attended by delegates from *Kuomintang* China and South Korea and by observers on behalf of the colonizing politicians of England, France and the United States, was, as is stated in its findings, ‘to work together for the further evangelization of the population of Asia.’

“What was meant by the ‘further evangelization of Asia’ emerged clearly at the opening of this church assembly in Bangkok. It transpired that what was meant was the mobilization of reactionary forces to combat the national movement towards freedom of the peoples in Asia. The Churches were allotted the special role of exercising restraint upon this movement. The general tone of the conference was set by the American General Secretary of the International Missionary Council, Ranson, who stated at the very beginning the immediate reasons which had led to its being held. ‘What is going on in China,’ he said, ‘affects most profoundly the other countries of Asia, from a political and religious standpoint.’

“Well, there is no blinking the facts. And the fact of the matter is that the peoples of Asia, however little people like Ranson and those above him may like it, are no longer prepared to remain in a state of subjugation.

“And the representatives of reaction are right to be uneasy. Millions of simple people are rising in revolt against the kings and the great landowners, and the princes of the Church who are oppressing them, against the capitalists of their own or other countries.

“Dr. Ranson urged, ‘We must adapt ourselves to these factors,’ and hence the churchmen in Bangkok resolved to ‘adapt themselves,’ i.e., to resist the spread of Communism.

“But the effort to hold back the course of history is doomed from the start. The peoples of Asia are firmly resolved to fight their national battle for freedom to a finish.”

E.P.S. comments that the majority of the delegates were nationals from nine Asian nations. The officers of the Conference were all Asians. There was no delegation from China. The conference rejoiced in the fact that “the struggle for and attainment of political freedom have awakened the hitherto submerged peoples of East Asia to a new sense of dignity and historical mission.”

1. W.D., 1950, p. 204.

Appendix XIII

Per capita incomes for various areas of the world in dollars (1952/1954 purchasing power) for the years 1860, 1913, and 1960, and the annual growth percentage between 1860 and 1960.¹

Area	1860	1913	1960	Annual Growth % 1860-1960
North America	420	1000	1900	1.54
Oceania	440	580	1020	0.84
North West Europe	230	460	860	1.33
Soviet Union	95	160	890	2.26
South East Europe	110	200	420	1.35
Latin America	100	160	330	1.20
Japan	40	90	300	2.03
Far East	50	90	120	0.89
South East Asia	48	65	70	0.38
China	44	47	110	0.92

¹ Goudzwaard, *Aid*, p. 83, Cf. footnote 24, ch. 9.

Appendix XIV Industrial investments of the United Africa Company in Nigeria, 1948-65¹

Company	Product	Year of start-up	Fixed capital ^a £000	UAC equity (per cent)
African Timber and Plywood	timber and plywood	1948	3,000	100
Nigerian Breweries (3 plants)	beer and minerals	1949	3,500	33
Taylor Woodrow	building contractors	1953	500 ^b	50
Nigerian Joinery (3 plants)	woodwork and furniture	1953	100 ^b	50
Prestress	pre-stressed concrete	1954	40	20
Nipol	plastic products	1957	105	35
Raleigh Industries (3 plants)	cycle assembly	1958	75	50
Vehicle Assembly Plant	Bedford lorries	1958	500	100
Minna Farm	pigs	1959	35	80
Northern Construction Co.	building contractors	1960	100	30
W.A. Thread	sewing thread	1961	450	20
W.A. Portland Cement	cement	1961	4,500	10
W.A. Cold Storage	meat products	1961	250	100
Walls	ice cream	1961	90	100
Vono Products	beds, mattresses	1961	80	38
Cement Paints	cement paints	1962	35	16
Guinness	stout	1963	2,000	33
Fan Milk	re-constituted milk	1963	100	445
Nigerian Sugar Co.	sugar and by-products	1963	3,800	7
Norspin	cotton yarn	1963	1,100	53
Pye	radio assembly	1963	40	50
Vitafoam	foam-rubber products	1963	100	50
A.J. Seward	perfumery and cosmetics	1964	200	100
Bordpak	fibre-board cartons	1964	800	100

Kwara Tobacco Co.	cigarettes	1964	500	80
Associated Battery Mfgs.	vehicle batteries	1965	65 ^b	22
Crocodile Matchets	matchets	1965	120	51
Textile Printers	printed textiles	1965	3,250	68

^aEquity, capital reserves and long-term debt as of 1965.

^bAuthor's estimate.

Industrial investments of John Holt & Company in Nigeria²

<i>Company</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Equity capital £000</i>	<i>Holt's equity (per cent)</i>
Costains	construction	1948	400	6
Holt Tanneries	—	1949	150	53
P.S. Mandrides	groundnut crushing	1960	625	10
Holt Rubber Co.	rubber creping	1962	120	100
Thomas Wyatt	stationery	1948	220	30
Nigerian Breweries	—	1949	1,500	7
Nigerian Canning Co.	corned beef	1956	100	30
Critical-Hope	metal doors, etc.	1958	160	14
Asbestos Cement Products	—	1960	1,000	3
Nigerian Enamelware Co.	—	1961	130	50
Haco	perfume and plastics	1963	175	51

Note: Equity capital is not comparable to fixed investment in first table above, which includes capital reserves and long term debt as well. The 51 per cent of Haco's equity was purchased for £310,000.

¹ Kilby, "Manufacturing," p. 498. *Supra*, p. 415.

² *Ibid.*, p. 500. *Supra*, p. 415.

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--- "Nationalism as an International Asset." IRM/55.

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Young, G.A. "China's Dunkirk." WD/46.

Zylstra, B. "The Bible, Justice and the State." IRB, no. 55/73.

III. Archives

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Maxwell, J.L. Diaries. MSS Afr. s. 1112. Rhodes House Library, Oxford University.

Sudan United Mission. 75 Grandville Road, Sidcup, Kent, U.K. Except for those of more recent years, the archives at the Sidcup headquarters of the S.U.M. are in a state of total disarray, a legacy of World War II bombings that the mission's finances never allowed them to correct. The following classification bears little resemblance to reality and the specific numbers assigned to the various units are a mere invention of the author for the sake of convenient references in footnotes. The same can be said for the Jos archives, though, after we completed our research there, the mission has placed the documents in somewhat of a chronological sequence.

-- at Sidcup.

SPM - Sudan Pioneer Mission Minute Book No. 1. Contains minutes from Nov/02-June/04.

SUM 1 - English Council Minute Book No. 1.

SUM 2 - Sudan United Mission Minute Book No. 2.

SUM 3 - Minute Book No. 6 of the London Council.

SUM 4 - Minute Book No. 3 (1911-1917).

SUM 5 - Minute Book No. 4 (1918-1925).

SUM 6 - Minute Book No. 5 (1925-

SUM 7 - Letter Book

SUM 8 - Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home Minute Book.

SUM 9 - Committee papers. Notes on Agenda, etc. 1933-1935.

SUM 10 - Minutes of Conference of Missions in Northern Provinces, Nigeria, 1935.

SUM 11 - Box File 1935.

SUM 12 - Unmarked bundle of papers from the 1940s.

SUM 13 - A bundle, "A.M.R.M. and Other Field Correspondences left by Mr. Dawson."

SUM 14 - Farrant Files.

SUM 15 - Committee Notes, Agenda Notes and Minutes, 1947-1949.

SUM 16 - Box File with miscellaneous papers.

SUM 17 - Parcel of minutes of Executive Committee of British Branch, Jan/50-Apr/53.

SUM 18 - File box, "Field Council, 1941-1951."

SUM 19 - Minutes book from 1955-1956.

SUM 20 - Bundle of Executive Committee Minutes and Agendas, 1953.

SUM 21 - File box, "Survey."

SUM 22 - File, "Committee etc.,"

SUM 23 - File box, "Christian Council of Nigeria."

SUM 24 – File, "Annual Reports," 1957-1958.
 SUM 25 – Bundle, "Jos Correspondence, May/58-Dec/60."

--- at Jos. (All unclassified material with a "(J)")
 J1 – Book of Maxwell correspondence, Apr/09–Jun/10.
 J2 – Book of Maxwell correspondence, Oct/09–Mar/10.
 J3 – Book of Maxwell correspondence, 26 Apr/10–9 Jun/11.
 J4 – Book of Maxwell correspondence, Oct/10–Nov/10.
 J5 – Bundle, "Letters of Redmayne to Roome and Bailey, 1909-1910."
 J6 – Vol. of Minutes of Field Council, 1 Nov/13–30 Aug/21.
 J7 – Book of Burt correspondence.
 J8 – "Field Committee Minutes British and S.A., 1925-1940."
 J9 – "Field Committee Minutes British and S.A., 1941-1952."
 J10 – Wrapped bundle, "Annual Reports, 1939-1941."
 J11 – File, "Official Correspondence," mostly from 1910-1930.
 J12 – File, "Letters from F.S.H.," 25 Aug/23–1 Jan/24.
 J13 – File, "New Government Education Scheme."
 J14 – "Branch Superintendent's File."
 Monthly Logbook on Ibi
 Farrant, a brief diary, 21 Jan/13–May/14.
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IV. *Unpublished Materials*

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